ICOMOS

Changing World, Changing Views of Heritage: heritage and social change

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Foreword

Gustavo Araoz, President, ICOMOS

It is my pleasure to introduce to our membership and to the international cultural heritage community the proceedings of the third and final stage of the program adopted by the Scientific Council of ICOMOS to gain and disseminate a greater understanding of the profound effects that rapid global changes are having on the role that cultural heritage plays in contemporary society and on the ways in which the specialized heritage community can give it the best protection. Over the past years, the program looked at the effects of the increasing rates of change in climate and technology, culminating with this focus on the acceleration of social change.

As communities throughout the world have come to recognize the importance of their cultural heritage, a number of unexpected results have arisen which demand our close analysis. These include the emergence of new heritage categories, a growing convergence of intangible and tangible heritage, and an increasing demand for traditional conservation specialists to share our decision-making authority with those individuals and groups that have strong links to a particular heritage site. The tasks of conservation are further complicated by the phenomena of cultural and economic globalization, explosive urbanization, broad and diasporic movements, the uneven distribution of resources, and the growing influence of civil society that are explored in this volume. The proceedings of this symposium along with those of the previous two, constitute an important contribution that sheds new light on all these issues and gives us a solid orientation on the tools that need to be developed to protect the cultural heritage in the 21st century.

This third symposium, organized to coincide with the 2010 Advisory Committee Meeting of ICOMOS was held in Dublin Castle, under the able and generous auspices of the Irish National Committee of ICOMOS and numerous Irish Government agencies, professional institutions and the sponsors. The extraordinary support provided by the superb team of ICOMOS Ireland, and in particular that of Grellan Rourke, Peter Cox and Elene Negussie who secured the success of our work in Dublin deserves special recognition. Our gratitude also goes to Pamela Jerome and Neil Silberman for the intellectual conceptualization and organization of the symposium.

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Introduction

Pamela Jerome, Scientific Council Officer, ICOMOS
Neil Silberman, Symposium Chair, ICOMOS

This symposium, third in a series of events organized by the ICOMOS Scientific Council, was held on Saturday 30 October 2010 at Dublin Castle, in connection with the annual ICOMOS Advisory Committee Meeting. This symposium was part of a multi-year program of inter-disciplinary research on Global Climate Change and its effects on cultural heritage. The first of these, held at the Advisory Committee Meeting in Pretoria in 2007, dealt directly with the issue of 'Heritage and Climate Change'. The Advisory Committee subsequently approved the continuation of this symposium series, with the theme of 'Heritage and Technological Change' examined at the symposium held at the Advisory Committee Meeting in Valletta, Malta on 7 October 2009, and the theme of 'Heritage and Social Change' addressed in Dublin in 2010.

The three 'change' themes were chosen to focus scholarly and professional attention on the challenges ICOMOS now faces, as highlighted in ICOMOS President Gustavo Araoz's 'Tolerance for Change' online forum and the activities of a number of individual International Scientific Committees (ISC), including the Committee for the Theory and Philosophy of Conservation.

The reason for this concern with change is clear. The 21st century has already witnessed far-reaching political, economic and cultural transformations of industrialization, urbanization, mass migration, regional fragmentation, ethnic tensions, and the fluctuations of transnational markets that transcend national and cultural boundaries. No country or continent has remained unaffected by the globalizing tendencies - either in the wholesale obliteration of traditional landscapes and abandonment of distinctive building forms, or in a zealous retreat into nostalgia and self-representation as picturesque, exotic (and not entirely authentic) tourist destinations. Both responses pose some basic questions for ICOMOS: how do the rapid and far-reaching changes of the present era affect the foundations of heritage practice? How effectively do national heritage codes and categories address the dislocations and today's sweeping development plans?

In the same way that Global Climate Change (GCC) is altering familiar landscapes and environmental relations, and technological change (TC) is transforming communication and information networks, the social changes of massively shifting populations, unprecedented industrial development, and dramatically changing lifestyles and landscapes are creating new meanings for the cultural hybrids of 'local' and 'global' all over the world.

Since cultural heritage is created by people and valued by people, it seems quite evident that changes in lifestyles, values, and economics will undoubtedly have significant impacts on both the form and significance of heritage.

Indeed, the relationship between Heritage and Social Change (SoCh) lies at the heart of some of the most important intellectual and professional paradigms now emerging in the heritage world. The goal of the Dublin symposium was thus to explore the impacts of social change on heritage policy and practice and to assess their implications for the future of the field.

Format and themes

The Dublin symposium, based on the Pretoria and Valletta models, began with a morning plenary session, open to the general public, during which a series of papers (selected by a double-blind peer review process) were presented, dealing with the following four major symposium themes. Each theme represents a difficult, challenging, or contentious issue for contemporary heritage professionals, who are for the most part trained in documentation and conservation, rather than social change. Yet each of the themes raises a number of questions that directly affect the conduct of heritage practice in evolving societies throughout the world.

The heritage of changing/evolving communities

- To what extent do traditional heritage conservation and management practices retard or accelerate other social processes?
- How can heritage 'sustainability' be defined in social terms? Does World Heritage site inscription create unanticipated pressures on the contemporary communities that surround them?
- How does World Heritage listing alter the traditional social context of the communities that live in the proximity of World Heritage sites?
- How can heritage 'conservation' become a part of future-oriented development?
- Has traditional heritage practice served to erect boundaries or build bridges between states, regions and ethnic communities?
- Should contemporary social changes (demographic, economic, cultural) contribute to evolving concepts of heritage value and significance?

Diasporic, immigrant and indigenous heritage

- In a world of movement, migrations and cultural diversity, how can monuments and intangible heritage be honoured and appreciated by both local and diasporic communities, often with very different perspectives and ideas of significance?
- Does the heritage of indigenous and aboriginal communities require special management and interpretive methods?

- Should the history and traditions of immigrants become part of the heritage of the host country?
- How should heritage professionals deal with the reality of the major demographic changes now occurring throughout the world?

Religious heritage

- What is the relationship between active religious observance and heritage monuments? Is ritual an obstruction, a privileged activity, or a common human heritage meant to be accessible and viewable by all?
- What role can or should religious observance play in 21st century heritage practice relating to places of worship?
- What are the requirements or needs for conservation of religious structures that are no longer active places of worship?
- Can heritage play a constructive role in encouraging coexistence between faiths?

The social impacts of global climate change

- How does climate change affect human settlements and economic patterns in a way that indirectly impacts cultural heritage?
- The earlier Scientific Council discussions dealt with physical threats posed by GCC on tangible heritage resources; what is the effect of GCC on intangible traditions?
- What change in significance does a monument undergo when its environmental context shifts?

These are just some of the main issues - and some of the many questions - that highlight today's major heritage challenges in dealing with an environmentally, economically and culturally changing world. Following the presentations, the symposium participants split into breakout sessions to further debate the four themes. The Dublin scientific symposium served as a fitting conclusion for the triennial series of discussions under the overarching theme 'Changing World, Changing Views of Heritage: the Impact of Global Change on Cultural Heritage'. And we hope that in the texts of the introductory speeches by President of Ireland, Mary McAleese, by Minister of State for Sustainable Transport, Horticulture, Planning and Heritage, Ciarán Cuffe, in the papers that follow - both those presented at the symposium and those subsequently contributed for this publication - and in the discussion summaries, readers will find a wide range of intriguing and thought-provoking perspectives on each of the symposium themes.

Opening speeches

Mary McAleese, President of Ireland

Dia dhíbh a chairde, it is a pleasure to be here with you today on the occasion of the 2010 ICOMOS International Advisory Committee Meeting, Scientific Council Meeting and Scientific Symposium. I am delighted to extend the traditional Irish welcome of 'céad míle fáilte' to such a truly international gathering of experts in the field of cultural heritage conservation. I would like to thank Mr Grellan Rourke, President of ICOMOS Ireland and Mr Peter Cox, Vice President for the kind invitation to address you.

You picked an interesting place in which to gather. Dublin Castle has played host over many centuries to captive audiences of one sort or another, but in the 21st century at least so far, they have all, like you, come of their own free will. What is now a fine, even benign conference centre was of course once a place whose mere name instilled terror into the hearts of the citizenry. Now it's just conference speakers who feel that fear! If the castle complex has its fair share of ghosts and grim stories it also has some of historic Dublin's, oldest surviving architecture as well as some gems of Dublin's legendary Georgian architecture not least of which is the building in which we are now located.

Dublin was granted the accolade of UNESCO City of Literature this year and those of you familiar with James Joyce's Ulysses will know that its most powerful evocations of both culture and place are associated with this old Dublin heartland. These stones hold our heritage and though the world changes and landscapes change too, there is a guardianship that is required of each generation, to effectively protect all those elements of heritage which deserve our care. Each one of you has made it your vocation to safeguard and to showcase that heritage. The broad context in which you do that is always in flux, from the encroachment of urbanization, rapidly altering demography, the years of the building boom and the present years of more frugal resources.

Changing too are the national and international knowledge, skills and experience bases and ICOMOS provides an invaluable platform for professional networking and inter-disciplinary exchange between experts, national heritage services, museums, universities, local authorities, archaeologists and architects and all those whose work impacts on the preservation of cultural heritage, including buildings, historic cities, cultural landscapes and archaeological sites. The opportunity offered by this conference is invaluable and we in Ireland appreciate the long history of leadership that ICOMOS has offered around the world. We are delighted that you have chosen Dublin for this advisory meeting and hope that its welcome and its atmosphere will set the scene for intensive deliberations that will eventually help all of us take the right next steps, the surest next steps as we try to accommodate the contemporary world and keep heritage at its heart.

The current economic circumstances, and changes in the fortunes of economies throughout the world, give a particularly sharp focus to this year's theme - the impact of social change on our heritage. You will have noticed I am sure that many new buildings sit now alongside Georgian Dublin. They will form part of the built heritage of the future among them new stadia, concert halls, conference centres, public squares and landmark buildings that will endure long, long after we have overcome our current economic difficulties. Who can predict the ebb and flow of the fortunes of a city or a country over the centuries? No-one could hope to do so with any degree of accuracy yet there is a need to ensure that whatever the ups and downs, the known and the unknown, a common and unbroken thread of care for heritage will run through the present and the future, that it will have a structure and an exacting science underpinning it and will not be left to chance. So your presentations on the impact of social change on heritage practice can help to inform us about how best to protect our cultural assets - not just in good times but in challenging ones too and into the realm of that which is still unknowable.

There is considerable potential in the new initiative through which the International Scientific Committees are partnering with a wide group of Irish institutions and organizations, including Dublin City Council, ESB, the Construction Industry Federation, the Irish Heritage Trust and many more. This week's events will allow hundreds of Irish cultural heritage professionals, contractors and crafts people learn from your combined wisdom and I want to thank the foreign delegates from the International Scientific Committees who are participating in this partnership process for so generously sharing their expertise and experience and putting them at the service of our Irish heritage.

That heritage is rich and varied. It has shaped our character and identity and is a source of real national pride and international interest for we in Ireland are custodians of fascinating elements of our common human patrimony. The island of Ireland is home to three World Heritage sites, Skellig Michael in the far South West - the Archaeological Ensemble of the Bend of the Boyne in the centre and the Giant's Causeway and Causeway Coast up in the far North. They each provide us with layer after layer of fascination from the physical and geological, to the mythologies, folklore and lived histories that have gathered around them and travelled out from them. In the same spirit of wonder and appreciation, Ireland has also recently reviewed its Tentative List of potential sites for nomination to the World Heritage List and it reflects a diverse and fascinating array of possibilities.

I know that representatives from ICOMOS Ireland played a key role in helping to prepare the reviewed list and I

thank them for their expertise and advice. The hosting of this international meeting in Dublin complements Ireland's World Heritage priorities and its focus on the preservation of our diverse cultural heritage.

Thank you to ICOMOS Ireland for bringing this important meeting to Ireland and thanks to each one of you for being champions and advocates of a way of thinking about the world that refuses to be overwhelmed by the frenetic demands of the moment and forces us to reflect deeply on where we place heritage in the present and in the future, so that we do not let ourselves become cultural orphans who waken up too late to what we have lost. I hope you also get the opportunity to enjoy first-hand experience of Ireland's heritage and culture. I wish you every success with all the strands of this meeting; may you leave here with new ideas and new enthusiasm for preserving, protecting and promoting the world's most significant sites and monuments for this generation and for the future.

Go raibh míle maith agaibh go léir.

Ciarán Cuffe, Minister of State for Sustainable Transport, Horticulture, Planning and Heritage

Social change has had a significant influence on our heritage and will continue to do so. Some of this influence has been positive and some negative. ICOMOS is setting out the possible contribution it could make in addressing the various challenges and in bringing forward possible initiatives and collaborations. I applaud you for your work in grappling with this issue.

I know that ICOMOS is an advisory body to UNESCO on matters relating to World Heritage. As you are aware Ireland has two properties on the World Heritage List. Over the next decade, we hope to bring forward further nominations to the World Heritage List from our new Tentative List. This list was announced by my colleague, Minister for the Environment, Heritage and Local Government, John Gormley T.D., in April and noted by the World Heritage Committee at its meeting in Brasilia earlier this year. I understand that you have received Ireland's World Heritage brochure. I am sure you will agree that the photographs in the brochure of Ireland's World Heritage properties and the properties on the Tentative List provide an impressive display of Ireland's rich and varied heritage.

Over the last few years, Ireland has strengthened its links with UNESCO and the World Heritage Centre. For example, last year, we hosted a follow up meeting on World Heritage periodic reporting in Western Europe to take stock of progress to date. I note that you are to have a presentation today on 'Conserving the Lalibela World Heritage Site in Ethiopia'. Ireland has provided funding for this project.

World Heritage designation is important in terms of the conservation and presentation of properties of outstanding universal value or OUV. World Heritage sites are also a means to stimulate economic development. I believe that tourism needs, local community benefits and conservation can co-exist in harmony. It is important to get the balance right. The International Cultural Tourism Charter of ICOMOS provides a framework for assisting in doing so. It sets out key principles to guide the dynamic relationships between tourism and heritage.

Last year, Minister Gormley launched the Government Policy on Architecture 2009-2015 Towards a Sustainable Future: Delivering Quality within the Built Environment and I believe that you have received a complementary copy of this publication. The Policy provides the appropriate framework for architectural policy in Ireland over the next six years. This Policy, under my remit, places an emphasis on sustainable development of the environment and urban design, encourages and supports high quality modern architecture, and incorporates architectural heritage in a holistic, integrated manner. The Policy complements and supports the Government's wider economic strategy Building Ireland's Smart Economy: A Framework for Sustainable Economic Renewal in areas such as research, green enterprise and the development of efficient and sustainable technologies for the built environment.

Under the Government Policy on Architecture, research is required into the specific effects of a changing climate on Irish buildings and on our traditional building materials and construction methods. In line with the Policy, next week, Minister Gormley will be launching an advice series booklet Energy Efficiency in Traditional Buildings with booklets on the Repair of Roofs and the Repair of Ruins. This series of booklets produced by the Department of the Environment, Heritage and Local Government is designed to guide owners and occupiers of historic buildings on how best to protect their properties and consequently Ireland's architectural heritage. Particularly and of specific focus is The Energy Efficiency in Traditional Buildings booklet which explores ways of improving energy efficiency while maintaining architectural character and significance, which you will agree here today is one of the foremost challenges facing our cultural heritage.

One of the themes of this scientific symposium is the 'Social Impacts of Global Climate Change'. I thought that it would be useful to give you a brief outline of Ireland's climate change policy. The National Climate Change Strategy 2007-12 is the centrepiece of our national policy and it sets out a target-based approach to comply with our EU requirements for the purposes of the Kyoto Protocol.

Our Environmental Protection Agency has published its provisional estimates of greenhouse gas emissions for 2009 and has reported a significant decrease in Ireland's emissions. Carbon emissions decreased across all sectors in 2009 due to the effects of the economic downturn. Ireland is on track to meet its Kyoto commitments but we must not take our eye off the ball.

The challenge facing us now is to use the opportunity to embed fundamental emission reductions in the economy in order to meet the very stringent EU 2020 limits which we face and to move permanently to a low carbon economy. We cannot rely on a recession to meet our future targets.

In December last, Minister Gormley issued a Framework for the Climate Change Bill 2010. The Bill will, among other things, set the context for our national transition to a low carbon, resource efficient, environmentally sustainable and climate resilient economy and society. The General Scheme of the Bill is currently being drafted. Following approval by Government, this scheme will provide the basis for full stakeholder consultation on the proposed provisions of the Bill.

In parallel, work is underway on developing national policy on climate change adaptation with a view to publishing a framework on adaptation in the near future.

As a research report, the Department of the Environment, Heritage and Local Government commissioned ICOMOS Ireland to provide recommendations on monitoring solutions for the impacts of climate change on the built heritage, in particular, at Ireland's World Heritage site Brú na Bóinne and at a property on our Tentative List, Clonmacnoise. The Department has been in discussion with Met Éireann (the Irish Weather Service) and the Office of Public Works, which has responsibility for the management of both properties, as to how the recommendations contained in ICOMOS's report might be implemented. This project provides a good framework, as a test case, for the measurement and monitoring of the effects of climate change on the built heritage from a practical perspective.

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Selected papers

Protecting Kraków's heritage through the power of social networking

Monika Bogdanowska, ICOMOS Poland
Martin Taylor, Tsirus UK Limited, United Kingdom

Introduction

The Old City of Kraków was listed as a World Heritage site as early as 1978. Since then this most valuable and authentic of Polish cities has been subject to both revitalization and restoration programs, as well as anarchic alterations. It is currently threatened by industrial, commercial, housing and transport infrastructure developments. Following the political transition of 1989, these changes gathered momentum. Kraków's beauty has made it an increasingly popular tourist attraction, but it also began attracting business and property developers. Chaotic, uncontrolled and unplanned changes have brought degradation of the historic city and damaged the natural environment. Development of tourism has made it very difficult for local people to live in the city centre, damaging civic culture and leading to an open-air museum effect. City authorities seem to be unprepared or unwilling to halt these processes.

On finding conventional means of protest ineffective, local activists have embraced Internet-based technologies in order to distribute information and allow organisation. Conventional active.ities, while useful for dissemination of more static information, were found to be less effective than social networking sites such as Facebook, which facilitate rapid distribution of information reflecting the real-world dynamics of the city. Furthermore, by allowing people a voice and to share experiences through a wide range of media, highly effective 'virtual communities of interest' have evolved, which include not only local people, but also those from the international community who share similar problems in their own towns and cities.

Historical background

For many reasons, Kraków is a city of unique character, which is centrally important to Polish culture, as the former royal capital of the Kingdom of Poland. Kraków's mediaeval layout has survived entirely intact, completed with its Old Town, city walls and ancient structures. The Market Square, surrounded by palaces, dozens of churches and Wawel Castle on its hill, along with its cathedral, the coronation church of the Polish kings and their burial place, together make Wawel the symbolic centre of Poland (Fig. 1). The core of the city is supplemented by districts of individual character, the whole area having been embraced by the 19th century fortress of Kraków, one of the largest in Europe. It was further expanded with carefully arranged residential areas, which led to it being described as a 'Garden-City by natural development', by Ebenezer Howard when he visited Kraków in 1912 (Bogdanowski, 1979, p. 12).

During the post-war period, communist ideology overwhelmed Kraków's indigenous tendencies as the 'City of Science and Culture' and brought devastation to the eastern suburban agricultural regions through the building of the giant 'Lenin Steelworks', together with the social realist city of Nowa Huta. During the following fifty years, the city's area grew eighty times and the number of inhabitants tripled. Kraków suffered chaotic development and ecological disaster due to acid rain falling on its precious monuments. Fortunately, the backlash to this devastation gathered momentum and since 1985 the city has been granted special restoration funding, which has allowed the protection and restoration of hundreds of churches, public buildings, private houses, and countless other artefacts. The historic centre of Kraków, including the Jewish district of Kazimierz, was amongst the first inscriptions on UNESCO's World Heritage List in 1978. When Poland finally became independent in 1989, no one expected further threats to emerge, but they did so as a consequence of economic and political transition. The issue of acid rain was replaced by the so-called 'rules of the market' and this, accompanied by an incomplete legal framework and lack of proper planning controls, has brought about the worst threat ever to the integrity of the city of Kraków.
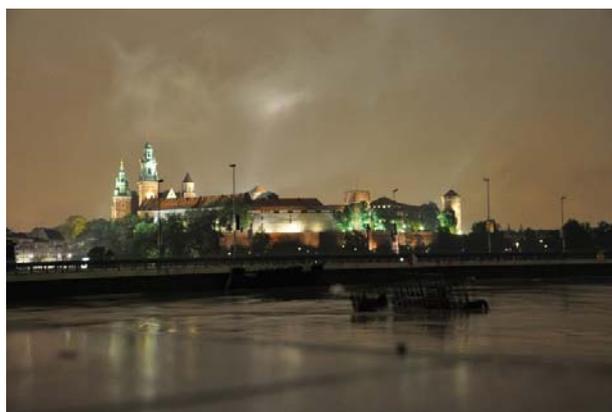
Figure 1 Wawel Castle Hill and the towers of the Cathedral. M. Witosławska, 2010.

The Archiszopa award

One of the first social reactions to the chaotic changes in Kraków's public space was the 'anti-award' known as Archiszopa ('an architectonic shed'), given for the worst architectural development of the year. However, since modern online social networks did not exist in 2001, when Archiszopa made its first award, discussion tended to take place on Internet forums. Initially, citizens suggest their most disliked buildings from the previous year, the Archiszopa jury then chooses five or six candidates and during the following days the offending proposals are presented to the local newspaper. Information is given

about the architects, developers and designers and the public vote for or against. The final vote is made by the jury, but the meeting is open to the public and it generates strong emotions, especially if the architects of the unfortunate candidates decide to engage in public discussions (which only occurred once during the eight years of Archiszopa's existence). The system is very much disliked by architects, who complain about the ungrateful audience, who they maintain are unable to understand their creations. But the Archiszopa Award precisely defines the weakness of the town planning system, the lack of legal regulation and helps identify and predict possible threats to the well-being of public space in the city (Fig. 2).

Figure 2 Archiszopa Winner in 2002: the Monopole Hotel (to the right) with destroyed façade. Note also the conversion of 'Kino Wanda' into a supermarket (to the left), previously a beautiful Art Deco cinema, Kraków, Gertrudy Street. Nemuri [pseud.], 2007.

The Podgórze.pl group

The Podgórze.pl group was the first website-based group to be established, which involves local people and friends of the Podgórze district. They have initiated numerous social actions; many of them aimed at protection of monuments. An example concerns the Fort of St Benedict, one of the most valuable elements of a former fortress and one of few built in Europe due to the extreme cost of the design (Fig. 3). There were originally two in Kraków, but one was pulled down during the 1950s, while the other has suffered from neglect over the last twenty years or so. When the plans for its adaptation were announced, which included covering this fantastic military artefact with a glass dome, many Cracovian organizations protested. Podgórze.pl was one of them and became party to various administrative proceedings defending the historic character of the building.

Podgórze.pl is also engaged in a number of social activities. One of them is related to intangible heritage and oral history. Activists have recorded the memories of local people on the outbreak of World War II and collected old photographs of the district. Dozens of records form a unique archive and help older people feel involved by passing down their life history in the city. One of many initiatives focused on integration of citizens, with an anniversary night meeting on 21 June at the top of the prehistoric mound of Krak (believed to be the ancient tumulus of the city founder) to wait for the early sunrise. This has helped turn public attention to the long history of the city on the banks of the Vistula River.

Figure 3 Fort No. 31, Maximilan Tower; also called St Benedict. Designed by F. Księżarski (1853-56). This abandoned miracle of 19th century military architecture has been neglected and allowed to degenerate. P. Kubisztal, 2009.

Protect Kraków heritage Facebook group

Perhaps one of the first conservation-orientated Facebook groups to be created was the 'Protect Kraków Heritage' (PKH), which was formed as an international collaboration between the authors. After many years of discussion on conservation issues around the city and the accompanying frustration at the way things were growing worse, we felt a need to document the situation, raise awareness and promote sustainable development. Although we started the PKH with a website, it quickly became evident that a Facebook group that had been created at the same time was becoming the hub of a new 'virtual community of interest'. Many people who are concerned at the apparent loss of heritage occurring due to thoughtless development quickly joined the group, both in Poland and around the world. The multimedia nature of Facebook and the immediacy of its communication facilities allows for long-term, focused and natural dialogues to take place, which are difficult or impossible through more conventional means such as email and physical meetings. A wide range of topics quickly emerged, including:

- The large number of illegal posters, signage and advertisements in the Market Square and surrounding areas of the Old Town;
- The destruction of original façade features within in the World Heritage site, such as windows and doors;
- The destruction of street vistas caused by cluttered signage and frontage modification;
- Imposition of inappropriate modernist buildings in context sensitive areas;
- Demolition and neglect of important buildings in sensitive areas;
- Noise pollution in the centre of the city driving out residents;
- Modern shopping centre developments and their impact on the culture and economy of the city;
- Inappropriate modification and extension of existing buildings; and
- Placement of modernist sculpture in highly questionable locations (Fig. 4).

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Figure 4 A highly inappropriate modernist fountain on Mały Rynek located within the World Heritage site. M. Taylor, 2009.

Since the creation of the multi-issue PKH group, many others have been formed with the intention of promoting specific issues. Facebook has many advantages over other approaches, as it makes it possible to set up a new group in a matter of minutes and at no expense and to recruit a new membership within a few days. This flexibility allows focused reactions to events which are not only easily arranged without technical knowledge, but capable of providing a community hub with a sustained information gathering and dissemination role.

The anti-balloon campaign

PKH was soon joined by another group founded by Chris Gray, an American who decided to fight against 'The Balloon', a tourist attraction placed at the foot of the Wawel Castle hill. The city authorities have suggested that this is not to be its permanent location. However, the green boulevard on which it was located was spoilt and the windows of the neighbouring houses blocked by the huge white orb. The balloon dominates Cracovian public space, constituting an intrusion on the historic vistas; appearing day and night like an enormous moon, which some consider a romantic motif of the city (Fig. 5). The city authorities plan to relocate it onto the opposite riverbank, but the owner intends to cover it with adverts. Activists claim that this location and its domination of such sensitive public space are against the UNESCO World Heritage Convention, which protects the historic panoramas and the context of the monuments. Few authorities seem to care.

Figure 5 Baroque Pauline Monastery in the Kazimierz District of Kraków dominated by the 'White Phantom'. M. Bogdanowska, 2009.

Błonia green space

Błonia is a large and much loved grassy field in the heart of the city: an area that has always been kept as an open green space. Twenty years ago, one might even have seen cows there. A hundred years ago, this part of the city was planned to be a recreation and sports area, thus places around Błonia were developed with sports stadiums and landscaped parks. In view of its exceptional landscape value, Błonia was listed for protection. A few years ago, city councillors made the decision to rebuild two of the football stadiums (Fig. 6). Using huge amounts of public money, two monstrous concrete structures were erected despite many voices asking why two stadia were needed within less than a kilometre of each other and within a ten-minute walk from the medieval city centre. No reasonable answers were given, since none were possible. A year ago, supposedly on the basis of dendrological analysis, city authorities declared that the hundred-year-old lime and ash avenue running along the boundary of the area was in a very poor state. They then suggested it should be 'recreated' by cutting down all four hundred trees and replanting them in a more convenient location. The actual reason was to allow reorganization of local communication infrastructure in order to provide mass access to the stadia.

Figure 6 Stadium lights impinging on Kraków's skyline. M. Bogdanowska, 2009.

In response, a Facebook group under the name 'Ratujmy lipy przy Błoniach' ('Let's protect Błonia's lime trees'), which aimed at protecting the lime avenue, was immediately organized and supported by numerous local ecological organizations; although, at that point, the situation seemed to be hopeless. Social network activists organized two events which involved posting leaflets and calling on citizens for support. During the second event, most trees were wrapped with white sheets, which were splashed with red paint, giving the impression that they were bleeding (Fig. 7). Citizens learned what the authorities planned to do and they were asked to write and complain against the idea of cutting down so many living trees. Hundreds of people supported the protection of their favourite green space and a second opinion on the condition of the trees revealed that they were in fact in reasonable health. In this case, social network pressure stopped the city authorities from implementing their plans - at least for the time being.

Figure 7 'Let's protect the Błonia's lime trees' happening in September 2009, Błonia, Kraków. A. Zych.

The 'Biprostal' case

Erecting tall structures in Kraków has been forbidden at least until the mid-1960s, out of respect for the city's great panoramas. The first to be built is known as Biprostal, the only skyscraper at that time in Kraków (Fig. 8). It dominated the city panorama for years, but was also one of the first examples of high buildings implemented with modern technologies (steel and concrete). As one of the walls was left with no openings, architects designated that it be decorated with mosaic - the favourite technique of the time - frequently adopted in numerous architectural structures during the 1960s and '70s. Last year, the present owner of the building decided to insulate the whole structure and consequently it was planned that the huge mosaic would be removed. A Facebook group aimed at protecting the Biprostal mosaic was established the same day on which the information was revealed and was immediately supported by more than 1,800 people. Protest lists were written to the Polish Ministry of Culture, the General Restorer of the State and the President of the city. Activists collected signatures using online petitions. The social pressure was so great that the City Conservator registered the mosaic and gave it legal protection. The mosaic is a unique artefact, composed of tiny coloured ceramic squares, which decorates almost 600 square meters of wall in accordance with the Op-Art style of geometrical abstraction - so popular in those times.

This is an exceptional case, for thanks to social networks, a new understanding of what a monument is was realized. It shows that social expectations and tastes have been shifting and it was followed by many local initiatives to register post-war buildings as examples of post-modernist architecture. At present, not only Historicist or Art Deco buildings are perceived as valuable, but also early Constructivist or Social Realist architecture and artefacts are perceived to require protection. Furthermore, it is considered that they should be kept original and unaltered, as in their original form they constitute landmarks in the city space and illustrate the stages of architectural development. A similar Facebook protest was associated with the so-called 'razor-blade buildings' - public buildings which resemble match boxes. The intention was for their characteristic 'razors' to be removed. However, although many disregarded their artistic value, eventually it was agreed that the buildings deprived of their 'decoration' would

definitively look worse. In this case, the owner, perhaps proud of having such favoured buildings as a private estate, promised to protect the original appearance.

Figure 8 The Biprostal, Królewska Street. Architects: M. Wrześniak and P. Czapczyński. Mosaic designed by C. Styrylska-Taranczewska in 1964. This geometrical abstraction is made of thousands of tiny ceramic squares. M. Bogdanowska, 2010.

The 'ads and signage campaign'

Figure 9 The Main Market Square in Kraków, with an area of 40,000 square meters. It was the largest in medieval Europe. This is the vista towards one of the oldest preserved Romanesque churches, called St Adalbert's. One can see Gothic and Renaissance palaces covered with posters in the background and the Easter market is in the foreground. M. Bogdanowska, 2008.

It sometimes seems as though the aesthetic appearance of Kraków's public space has been completely abandoned by the city authorities (Fig. 9). The form of each sign, ad or banner, located within the World Heritage site and the 'Monument of History Protected Zone', should by law be agreed with the appropriate officers, but no one seems to care about such issues.

This neglect has destroyed the appearance of Kraków, as well as many other parts of Poland. Activists from Facebook groups have been documenting each poster within the Old City, since they are individually violations of the law. More than two hundred were counted on a single street. The City Conservator claims that less than ten per cent have legal permission. It is hard to say why the law is not being applied, but thanks to social action, at least some of the monstrous banners were removed after representatives of one of the firms involved were informed that their advertisements are completely illegal.

Recently, a new phenomenon has occurred, which involves spray paint graffiti of commercial logos - incredibly, those of supposedly respectable companies, some of which are locally based (Fig. 10). This is a disturbing indicator of the complete lack of respect such organisations have for the city and its heritage.

Figure 10 Commercial graffiti in the heart of the city and a highly inappropriate poster inside a nursery school playground. K. Naylor, 2010 (top). M. Taylor, 2009 (bottom).

'Kraków heritage under threat' Google map

Custom Google maps provide a useful means of collaboratively capturing information and disseminating it in a user-friendly and highly accessible manner. As with other social networking solutions, no technical knowledge was required to build the Kraków map and the technique is suitable for general application as a means of creating a geographical visual database of heritage assets. In this case, smart tagging allows pictures and information to be located on a map of the city, which can be displayed in

both street and satellite views. When a user clicks on a tag, an information bubble is displayed (which can contain images, text and links to other web locations). In the case of the 'Kraków Heritage Under Threat' map, specific examples of sites of interest to heritage activists were displayed (Fig. 11).
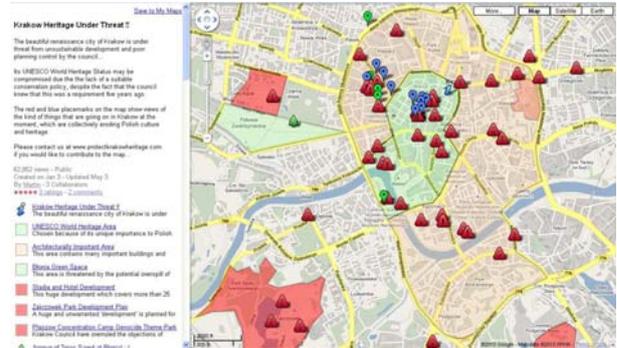
Figure 11 'Kraków Heritage Under Threat!!' Google map. Designed by M. Taylor, 2010.

Let's light a candle for the spirit of the place

Just after All Saints' Day, when Poles make a pilgrimage to cemeteries to light candles on the graves, there was a one-day action to light candles for the passing of the beauty and uniqueness of the city. Dozens of people gathered next to beautiful wooden villas that have fallen to pieces, squeezed between petrol stations, superstores and crossroads (Fig. 12). They brought candles and lit them, taking some time to look into the empty dark windows of abandoned heritage buildings, which although listed will be lost.

Figure 12 Wooden Villa designed by J. Gałęzowski in 1920, Podgórze, Kraków. The architect, who wrote a book on Polish national style, tended to introduce it in practice. The present owner undoubtedly intends to wait until the structure falls down and will replace it with modern buildings. A. Zych, 2009.

Many activities within social networks are followed by journalists, who help draw attention to neglected places through their reports in the local press and TV. In fact, one of the most positive impacts of social networks has been the way they help to create media focus on important issues. In recent times, many articles based on information from social network groups were written and activists gave many interviews both to local and international media.

Future developments

The whole arena of web-based social networking tools and consequent virtual communities is rapidly evolving and becoming more and more sophisticated. It is clear that existing tools are limited, in particular because they are general purpose, were initially designed for entertainment and not optimized for specific scenarios, such as group social activism, which have particular requirements.

The 'Many Eyes' philosophy is part of the broader Digital Democracy movement and attempts to address the issue of accountability by those who make decisions in society to the stakeholders who live with the outcome of those decisions - the ordinary citizens. There are many more stakeholders than decision makers and consequently, stakeholders can provide valuable feedback to decision-makers, given suitable software tools. Equally, under their own initiative, groups in society can analyse the behaviour of decision makers and validate that the decisions made on their behalf are carried out in a lawful manner.

Corruption is a major issue in the realm of development and heritage protection. In Kraków, for example, there are many examples of developments which breach the UNESCO and Valletta conventions. By providing tools (Fig. 13) which allow citizens to report and document such violations, and by acting in partnership with global bodies such as ICOMOS and UNESCO, we hope for mitigation of damage to our collective heritage.
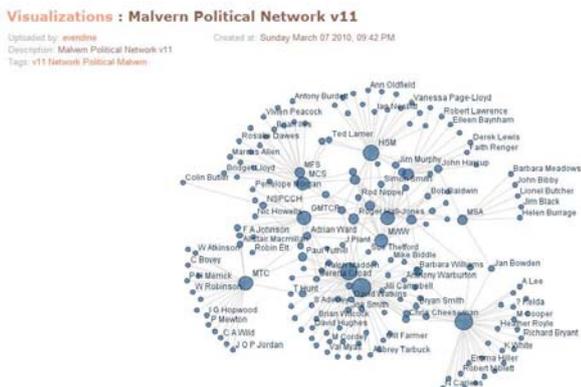
Figure 13 A network visualisation diagram illustrating the relationships between individuals and political organisations within a community. Designed by M. Taylor, 2010.

This concept could be extended globally. We propose a new group entitled 'Protect Global Heritage' which is dedicated to connecting people who care about and wish to protect our collective culture. It is intended that it will provide a rich set of facilities for heritage and cultural activists across the world, in the form of freely available software and online databases integrated within an easy-to-use environment. Moreover, it will provide a secure network which links groups across the planet. It will include:

-   Communication and conferencing facilities;
-   Social networking software, optimized for distributed heritage protection;
-   Legal support groups and facilities;
-   Best practice repositories with exemplary techniques/approaches;

-   Multimedia Wiki libraries documenting threatened objects and areas;
-   Campaign management software;
-   Aggregated statistically derived maps of threatened areas;
-   Accessibility interfaces providing information to the general public;
-   Anti-corruption documentation and analysis software; and
-   Partnership programme interface automation with global bodies such as ICOMOS and UNESCO.

It seems highly likely that in the future, the 'Many Eyes' approach to cultural democracy will rapidly gain ground, as the tools to make it a practicality become available and more and more people become aware of the potential benefits to their communities and culture.

Conclusion

In 2007, social organizations of Kraków gathered to found a confederation, Cracovia Urbs Europaea (CUE), when it became clear that working together would provide more power to influence events. They are not only concerned with cultural heritage protection but also preservation of green spaces, which have been sold by the city and are subject to intensive redevelopment. When Karl Naylor, one of the social network activists, asked Professor Roger Scruton to support the concept of CUE, he immediately replied with the following:

'Kraków is a symbol of Poland and its culture, a city that maintained its moral and aesthetic identity throughout the worst experiences of the 20th century. For those who came during the last days of communism, it offered the face of hope and its beautiful architecture and dignified streets spoke of the historical Poland, which was determined to endure beyond the years of oppression. Its ancient university, its royal castle, its churches with their unspoilt interiors, and its magnificent market square all embody the idea of the city as a seat of learning, culture and religion, and a place where the nation shapes itself by building a home. There is no place like this city on our continent, and I fully endorse the work of CUE in its determination to save Kraków for future generations. All over Europe the predators are at work, exploiting our heritage for financial gain, and in the process destroying it. Let them not succeed here, in the heart of Poland. For if they succeed; the whole nation will suffer in its soul.'


Figure 14 A visualisation made as a protest against a potential project of rapacious 'tourism activists'; rolling-out their balloon business across the city. Is this where we are going? Hopefully not! R. Paprocki, 2009.

It is obvious that Kraków belongs not only to Cracovians, but to all of humanity as a part of our shared World Heritage. Will the candles lit for the spirit of the place bring hope and stop the demolition of heritage? The activities of many in Kraków prove it is still possible, but a lasting solution calls for concerted international support and co-operation.

Acknowledgements

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Excavating globalisation from the ruins of colonialism: archaeological heritage management responses to cultural change

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Introduction

In a globalised world where architecture and urban design are no longer clearly differentiated between cultures and locations, newly layered urban environments are an attempt to make the past a visible presence in contemporary life, emphasise local uniqueness and celebrate local identities and stories. My focus in this paper is urban archaeological heritage conservation in 'post-colonial' nations, where history and heritage engage with the legacies of colonialism, neo-colonialism and the relations between colonisers and indigenous peoples. I particularly want to explore the socio-cultural role of colonial archaeological sites and heritage places in this context where material memories are crafted, literally, from the ruins of colonialism (Healy, 1997).

Archaeological heritage conservation has participated in the creation of layered urban landscapes in several ways. It has advocated for the physical conservation of these past layers and it has provided the places, objects and stories to inspire creative past and present connections through design and interpretation. The interplay of archaeological remains and new architectural and urban designs could now be said to constitute a particular kind of 'aesthetic', a new urban vernacular of infinite local variation where urban design and architecture incorporate and are inspired by traces of revealed past landscapes. As architects and designers must come to grips with all aspects of the existing physical, urban and natural environment through their design process, archaeology can now be sought out as an aspect of the local environment which provides a design focus, a leitmotif or an identity for an urban precinct.

This is a great opportunity for heritage managers and archaeologists, but not without challenges. This paper asks what the cultural drivers and causes are for this situation. Is it the maturing heritage conservation system as it garners greater community support, or is it a response to broader cultural change? How can we better understand and respond to cultural change and the role that heritage conservation plays in it through our heritage management practices and philosophies? What socio-cultural role do these conserved archaeological remains play in the life of communities and how are they experienced? What messages do they transmit and how do they shape understandings of past and present, community and place?

Heritage and cultural change

Contemporary cultural heritage breaks radically with the western tradition, as documented from the Renaissance and later periods in Europe, of the appreciation of ruins and ancient sites as reminders of death and mortality, as moral lessons on humility instructing how even the great and powerful are eventually reduced to rubble and dust (Woodward, 2002). In contrast, 20th and 21st century heritage sites are described as cultural anchors, touchstones, symbols of ownership, territory, belonging and identity. Rather than being understood as linking contemporary societies to death, humility and frailty, these sites conjure a vision of cultural immortality. This hubristic role of heritage has been intimately involved with the construction and bolstering of national and ethnic identities and in the post-colonial world with projects ranging from legitimising colonial occupation to embodying historical revision and reconciliation. What these contemporary forms of heritage have in common is their future focus, using elements of the past to represent shared values as a basis for a vision of a nation's future. This is a particularly powerful conceit in post-colonial nations, where suitable symbols of history and cultural values are constantly sought and constructed as expressions of a shared identity for a culturally heterogeneous population (Ireland, 2001; Rowlands, 1994; Trigger, 1989).

Colonialism and heritage

The title of this paper recalls Chris Healy's (1997) From the Ruins of Colonialism: History as Social Memory. Healy's research dealt with how ideas about the past circulate in the public sphere; how museums, heritage places and less formal commemorations 'perform' the relationship between past and present and create a field he termed 'social memory'. Healy's research began in the 1980s, an era of unprecedented government interest and investment in Australia's historical landscape and in promoting representations of national identity (1988 was the bicentenary of the arrival of the First Fleet in New South Wales and the founding of Sydney). His research was completed in the 1990s, when Australia had plummeted into the 'history wars', a period when the meaning of the colonial past was hotly debated in politics, the media and in scholarship (Macintyre and Clark, 2003). The 'history wars' were largely about the legacy of colonialism, how the nation should understand and deal with this legacy and how it was perpetuated through practices such as heritage, history and archaeology. These were poignant questions for heritage practitioners who had been lobbying for recognition of the values of colonial and indigenous cultural heritage since the late 1960s. Anne Bickford (1991, p. 77) wrote the following about colonial heritage places such as Port Arthur in Tasmania: 'such abandoned sites are Australia's romantic ruins, the equivalent of Britain's Tintern Abbey or Stonehenge. The presence of old sites has a powerful effect. It legitimises a society's occupation of the land and gives it historical depth. Surely a people must have a valid claim to ownership of a land punctuated with sites marking their conquest?'

These concerns were shared broadly around the Pacific where, since the 1970s, ripples of critique of the ongoing implications of colonialism were caused by indigenous cultural and political movements as well as academic analyses. In societies administered by neo-colonial governments such as Australia, New Zealand and

Hawaii, struggles between settlers and indigenous people continue for control of the past, while states moving towards or having achieved independence are actively employing 'archaeological narratives as materials for identity building' (Lydon, 2006, p. 297). Both situations embody challenges for archaeological heritage management. In Australia, there has been a tendency for Aboriginal cultural landscapes, as opposed to archaeological sites, to remain invisible to cultural heritage managers, although reformulations of landscape approaches since the 1990s attempt to redress this (Byrne, 2003; Ireland, 2003b, 2010). In New Zealand, the Maoritanga, or 'Maori Renaissance', and subsequent policies of biculturalism have encouraged reformulations of Maori cultural dynamics and adaptation in the context of colonialism (Lydon, 2006; Phillips, 2000). In Fiji, which acquired independence from Britain in 1970, tensions between colonial and 'traditional' heritage persist, while in New Caledonia, still aspiring for independence from France, narratives derived from archaeology simultaneously constitute concepts of cultural continuity, disruption and creative appropriation (Lydon, 2006).

Cultural heritage has played an important role in critiques of colonialism but has also been implicated in perpetuating some aspects of the historical master narratives of Europe. Heritage management has grappled with cultural imperialism since the 1960s when heritage tended to promote essentialised views of indigenous cultures. However, fundamental transformations of practice occurred in many countries by the 1980s, when indigenous rights discourses incrementally increased acknowledgement of indigenous ownership and control of their heritage in many post-colonial nations (Murray, 1996). A further response to these issues has been the growth in community-based heritage, history and archaeology projects, which has seen 'consent and consultation' style research transformed into 'community controlled' research (Marshall, 2002).

Cultural heritage has therefore been a site of conflict between different social groups and the heritage management system is an arena through which post-colonial nations arbitrate contested identity politics (Ireland and Lydon, 2005). The state of 'post-colonialism' is characterised most by an urgent political desire for identity and by questions of cultural authenticity. However, there is nothing very 'post' about post-colonialism - colonialism has not been left behind - since cultures and environments have been transformed through these processes in ways in which communities and scholars are still trying to understand. As a means of demonstrating the attachment of people to place, and the significance of the past to the present, heritage plays an important role in post-colonial politics, a role that emerges from real life experiences and conflicts rather than simply from intellectual discussions. As Laurajane Smith (2006, p. 62) observes: 'while the increasing awareness of subaltern understandings and memories may have been facilitated, both in Britain and in the rest of the Western world, by post-modernist shifts in intellectual theorisations, their existence is not a reflection of this. Certainly the use of heritage to contest received history and collective memory is particularly pronounced in post-colonial nations'.

Globalisation and the 'culture of memory'

Early explanations of globalisation suggested that the modern world of nations was well on its way to being replaced by a new global system proclaiming an epochal change in world history (Albrow, 1996; Appadurai, 1996). Appadurai, who has since tempered his view on the imminent obsolescence of nations, observes that globalisation has led to a complication in the field of sovereignty, which in turn tends to intensify the politics of the past because 'the coherence of location and recollection cannot be taken for granted' (Appadurai et al., 2001, p. 36). When asking how and under what conditions locality is produced in the context of globalisation, he suggested that archaeology and its attendant discourses of science and authenticity could be combined to produce a local sovereignty which is perceived as more valid, to ratify and sustain a past which otherwise might seem more vulnerable. This interpretation fits well with both indigenous heritage and the 'invention' of colonial tradition, in a range of post-colonial contexts (Appadurai et al., 2001, p. 43).

While it is clear that the way the relationship between past and present has been imagined has changed significantly in recent times the question is whether this should be seen as a true epistemic shift (Appadurai, 1996). It also needs to be questioned whether globalisation represents a complete break with the past or whether it is more a consolidation and intensification of the trends of modernity (Lazarus, 1999). The latter position seems to better explain the historical and political realities of the post-colonial world. Globalisation, albeit in an earlier technological form, can be interpreted as the key process having shaped the colonial world. Exploration, imperialism, colonisation, mass migration and the spread of capitalism are processes which have been crucially interwoven with the subsequent rise and spread of post-colonial nationalisms. While in many nations globalisation appears to have resulted in an intensification of the level and importance of nationalistic imagery, it is also clear that concepts of personal and collective identity, and thus shared or social memory, have changed and fragmented in recent decades and that perhaps this should be understood as a cultural effect of globalisation.

Heritage can be seen not only as a global discourse, but also as a discourse of globalisation in its promotion of the idea of heritage as material and authentic (Ireland and Lydon, 2005). Heritage thus occupies a dual position as both a cause and effect of cultural globalisation. Andreas Huyssen (2003) has claimed that memory politics reached a crescendo as a transnational, and arguably a global phenomenon in the 1990s, caused by a transformation of spatial and temporal experience as a major effect of cultural globalisation. Huyssen is concerned with the role of trauma, in particular the Holocaust, as a focus for the shared historical memory of the 20th century. In Australia, as in many other post-colonial nations, the narrative of the 'stolen generations' and memories of other forms of violence and injustice against indigenous people formed a core of trauma in the 1990s and contemporary public historical discourses and commemorations of the colonial past. Non-indigenous histories of colonialism also tend to focus on shared trauma, including themes of sacrifice in war, convictism, forced migration, slavery, exodus and exile, and battles

against a harsh environment (Curthoys, 1999; Ireland 2003b). Sharing memories of past trauma in places of commemoration also adds to the effect, as noted by both Augé and Nora, of using the material remains of the past to reinforce contemporary concepts of identity through contrast with a brutal past: 'no longer a genesis, but the deciphering of what we are in the light of what we are no longer' (Augé, 1995, p. 26; see also Nora, 1989).

The field of memory studies casts heritage conservation as 'memory work', highlighting a society's active construction of the physical conditions for shared performances of remembering or commemoration (Hamilakis and Labanyi, 2008). Laurajane Smith (2006, p. 65) notes that the function of heritage conservation as both 'things to have' and 'something that is done' highlights its role in creating the material conditions for rehearsing shared social memory and in negotiating what will be remembered and what may be forgotten. The rise of the 'culture of memory' has also been associated with the emergence of 'values-centred' conservation in the United States, where the 'preservationists' traditional focus on materiality is augmented by a means for dealing with different cultural interpretations, competing political demands, and economic influences' (Mason, 2006, p. 28). Mason (2004) earlier suggested, however, that the extent to which heritage conservation implicitly shapes memory through its material interventions and the extent to which heritage conservation actually sets out to shape memory and uses conserved material as a means to this end are questions which are insufficiently explored in the body of conservation or preservation literature.

Material memories

Archaeology is therefore one of the ways contemporary communities practice or perform social memory and it is a distinctive practice because of its material dimension. As a result of their materiality, archaeological sites and remains are not only amenable to the discourses of empirical science in a way which history is not, but they can also be experienced as things or places which appear to carry the past into the present in an unmediated way. Rowlands (1994, p. 136) has suggested that 'in escaping the deceit of historical writing, the production of past material cultures has the spontaneity of a kind of unconscious speech, a taken-for-granted, common-sense existence which simply demonstrates that a people have always existed in that place'. The materiality of archaeological remains, along with the understanding that they have been lost but are now recovered, is a key to the sensory, experiential and evocative dimension of conserved and excavated sites. This evocative character combined with the concept that material remains reveal truth and cannot intentionally embody bias, are ideas which have a tradition in Western literature since the Renaissance at least and are foundational aspects of the modern practice of archaeology (Lowenthal, 1985; Thomas, 1991).

Archaeology can also reveal the ordinary and everyday things from the past and this has been seen as an antidote to the propensity of history and heritage to focus on the grand and the great. Small things speak of the day-to-day lives of ordinary people, a factor that has been an important theme in historical archaeology in the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and elsewhere. The archaeological study of the recent past, where the historic context is rich, can be justified on the grounds that things reveal information about people who have no monuments and no historical voice such as slaves, indigenous people, women, the illiterate and the poor (Little, 1994). Thus, historical archaeological sites and research is closely linked to 'subaltern' histories which have been influential in challenging dominant imperial narratives.

Things therefore render the past more significant, more palpable, but crucially, not better known. Shared memories are evoked through a sensory experience of authentic material remains, but these archaeological places of memory are created deliberately, shaped by their context in politics and society. They are not Proustian moments of recollection inspired by the scent of afternoon tea, but a planned arena where a community agrees to commemorate. Each and every response to an object or site relies upon a memory, a history or a narrative framework within which it can be sited. The sense of authenticity is an important component of this carefully constructed 'aesthetic experience' of archaeological remains conserved in the midst of new urban places: archaeology, science and history combine to produce a sensuous frisson of contact with an alien past (Jones 2009; Holtorf and Schadla-Hall, 1999).

Archaeological places

Huyssen (2003, p. 7) argues that the invasion of our urban spaces and cities by manifestations of memory and temporality is one of the most intriguing cultural phenomena of our times, suggesting that imagined palimpsests of historical memory are increasingly being given material form: 'the strong marks of present space merge in the imaginary with traces of the past, erasures, losses and heterotopias'. The desire for experiences of the past in the present, and for the use of conserved archaeological remains in urban environments as a trigger for social memory has intensified and become more broadly shared in communities in many parts of the world (e.g. Matero, 2000). While there is extensive literature on the technology and techniques of archaeological conservation and preservation in situ, there has been more limited discussion on its perceived cultural effects and the meanings and responses these places might transmit to and thereby shape communities, although some literature has dealt with this subject (e.g. Asensio, 2006; Fouseki and Sandes, 2009).

The growing number of places around the world where archaeological remains are conserved and displayed in situ is generally seen as evidence of a maturing heritage conservation system, related to the growth of cultural tourism and the building influence of significant international heritage doctrine, such as the ICOMOS Charter for the Protection and Management of the Archaeological Heritage and the Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance ('Burra Charter') (Willems, 2008). While these archaeological places are certainly partly 'conservation successes', and while the important effects of conservation doctrine are not disputed, the growing use of conserved archaeological remains in urban locations over the last two decades also needs to be recognised as a distinctive practice emerging in response to cultural change. This practice is a form of urban design which creates an aesthetic vocabulary of memory and archaeological

authenticity, what Huyssen (2003) terms the 'urban palimpsest' - merging present space with historical time.

Conservation in situ of colonial archaeological remains, particularly sites of high research potential, has been an aim of archaeological heritage management in Australia since the 1980s, largely following trends in historical archaeological sites conservation in the United States (Temple 1986; 1988). However, successful examples of conservation in situ have been, until recently, very rare and often highly controversial, not only because conservation in situ prevented maximised commercial development, but also because of disputes about the value, significance and meaning of the physical remains in question. In the last decade, the number of conservation in situ projects in Australia and New Zealand has grown steadily and quickly, in both capital cities and regional towns. This process appears to have a number of drivers: consent conditions imposed by regulatory authorities requiring conservation; community lobbying and pressure; and, perhaps most interesting are the instances where developers and their design teams decide to plan for in situ conservation and display of archaeological remains as a means of distinguishing and differentiating their product, albeit often in conjunction with the impact of the previous two factors. In the latter scenario, the traditional understanding of the research potential and broader cultural significance of the archaeological site is of less importance than the physical characteristics and location of the remains and their ability to present an engaging and visually interesting display.

Experience in Australian heritage management over the past two decades suggests that conservation of colonial archaeological remains is today seen as a more desirable option by the community, whereas in previous decades many would have suggested that this kind of activity was only appropriate in 'old world' places like Greece and Italy and that the archaeology of the colonial periods was not really old enough to be of interest. This change of attitude is driven not only by the expanding category of national heritage, but also by the work of the designers, engineers and architects who expound their vision for how past and present co-exist in the urban landscape. In this it is clear that the design vocabulary of places conserved in situ is influenced by global architectural examples, but how are local practitioners incorporating local meanings and political issues into this idiom? If the practice of conservation in situ has been exported from Europe, perhaps uncritically as Willems (2009) has suggested, then the question is how, if at all, has this form been adapted for colonial archaeological remains which occupy contested social space in post-colonial nations. Is the 'aesthetic' of archaeological remains from the recent colonial past conserved in situ a device that mimics the historic depth of ancient European cities and does it aim to make the post-colonial world more like Europe by creating evidence of similar historical depth? Or is archaeology being used to provide material evidence of the legitimacy and tradition of the nation as a basis for sovereignty? I suspect all these elements have some significance in the process, but the key here appears to be the use and appreciation of archaeological remains as a device that highlights the modernity, technological progress and economic success of the culturally diverse post-colonial nation: the contrast between old and new emphasising 'progress' from colonial outpost to fully modern nation (Hamilakis, 2001).

Types of archaeological places

Displaying the excavated archaeological remains of the colonial past is a selective and constructed process, perhaps particularly so in places like Australia and New Zealand, where colonial sites are likely to be unencumbered by monumental masonry and where remains are usually small scale and require considerable interpretation to be visually legible. The examples discussed in this section are drawn from Australia and New Zealand where the current emphasis of urban archaeological heritage management is largely on the display and interpretation of excavated remains, rather than on the conservation of unexcavated sites. Whether further patterns of common experience can be identified in post-colonial heritage and memory in a broader range of locations is a question for further research and analysis. In reviewing the corpus of conserved archaeological places in Australia and New Zealand, instead of looking at how remains have been conserved as the basis for a typology (Fouseki and Sandes, 2009), I have considered how the remains have been interpreted and incorporated into the urban environment, focusing on the key quality of their materiality that is captured in the conservation in situ process. The three categories can be summarised as: archaeological landscapes where the archaeological remains are presented primarily as a historic layer in an urban environment; archaeology as aesthetic focus where the archaeological remains inspire a design approach to a place or precinct; and symbolic or 'sacred' sites where the fabric of the site is of such high cultural significance and is linked to such powerful cultural memories, narratives or events, that its physical conservation is seen as essential for commemoration. Of course many sites cross over these categories and display aspects of each of the three types, but the types are useful to explore the conservation in situ process and the nature of the urban places it has created. It is not suggested that these place types are original or unique to post-colonial locations.

In fact, they highlight that the archaeological management process employs a globalising discourse of conservation, irrespective of the diversity of local meanings of the material remains actually being conserved.

Archaeological landscapes

In this category archaeological remains are used to manifest memories of past places and communities, and to merge their traces with contemporary developments. This was a popular approach in Australia and New Zealand in 2010, with the inventory of places growing annually, although little has been published to date. The Cumberland and Gloucester Street excavation in Sydney's Rocks district is an exception. The excavation and subsequent research outcomes have been published widely and have been significant to the historical archaeology of the colonial world (e.g. Karskens, 1999). The decision to conserve the site in situ was made several years after completion of the excavation and after its research results had been publicised widely and promoted in publications by the excavation team (Godden Mackay Logan, 1999). The archaeological

remains on the site consist of low footings, stone-flagged floors and streets, a number of wells and cesspits - the humble remains of a humble neighbourhood. They are not visually arresting and they need to be traced carefully by visitors so they can understand what they are looking at. However, the depth of research carried out, reflecting in turn the integrity of the archaeological site, has populated this ghost neighbourhood with the stories of people who lived here, the extraordinary and ordinary stories of convict and immigrant families. This site challenges the understandings of visitors about what life was like in the early colony. In recent years, the site has been given a new life with the development of a Youth Hostel, which sits lightly over it, conserving the entire archaeological neighbourhood in situ and using it as an education facility (Fig. 1). The archaeological landscape approach is a feature of Sydney's Rocks district as a whole, which has many conserved sites contributing to the experience of a rich, layered urban landscape, with a deeply rooted urban identity and sense of place (Johnson, 2003).

Figure 1 The Sydney Harbour Youth Hostel on the site of the Cumberland and Gloucester Street excavation. W. Johnson, 2010.

An example of the archaeological landscape approach from Dunedin in New Zealand is the remains of corduroy track, found during excavations for the construction of a new shopping centre (New Zealand Historic Places Trust/Pouhere Taonga n.d.). The remains of the 1840s timber causeway have been conserved and will be displayed underneath a glass floor within the new shopping mall complex. The timber is still currently being conserved off site, but the display has been constructed. This 'archaeological landscape' suggests historical depth and continuity of use in this place, even over the relatively shallow timescales of the colonial period. The causeway was assessed as an evocative remnant of Dunedin's frontier past when the town was known as 'Mudedin', due to the boggy conditions of the area prior to major development following the Otago gold rush of the 1860s. Is this how it will be understood by viewers in the context of a viewing port in the floor of a new

shopping mall? The archaeological landscape of the Rocks is contextualised within a district where the urban form has changed little since the early 19th century and where the streets and laneways provide a context and a scale, within which archaeological remains are interpretable.

Archaeology as aesthetic focus

In 2003, the utilitarian and partly demolished site of the 1920s Glebe incinerator was a remnant of Sydney Harbour's industrial past, designed by the famous architect Walter Burley Griffin. Through archaeology, interpretation and urban design, the site has become homage to Griffin's architectural legacy and to the lost history of Sydney Harbour as an industrial working port. Architectural remnants and archaeological remains in distinctive Sydney sandstone revealed through excavation were incorporated into the design of a new residential complex which set out to use the archaeological remains as an aesthetic focus for the new development (Australand et al., 2007).
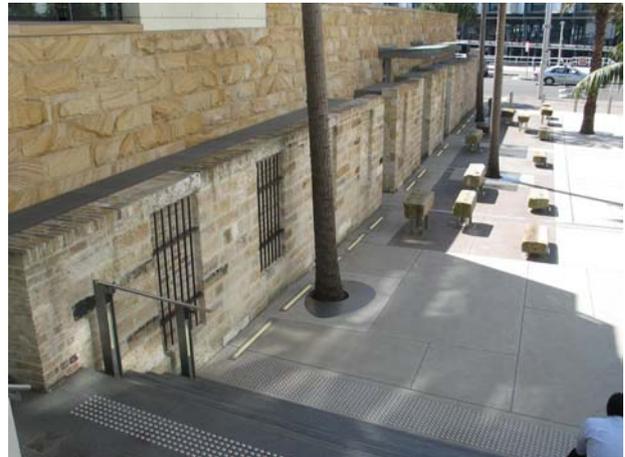
Figure 2 Towns Place, Millers Point, Sydney. T. Ireland, 2010.

Towns Place at Walsh Bay, Sydney Harbour (Fig. 2), is another site where archaeological remains and materials have provided design inspiration for the redevelopment of this inner city precinct. The site of a significant archaeological excavation of a harbourside industrial precinct, remnant architectural remains have been incorporated within new buildings and the distinctive texture and tones of old and new, Sydney sandstone provide the theme for the design, evoking colonial architecture, the natural environment and the underlying geology of Sydney. Excavated artefacts relating to the seafaring past of the precinct are displayed in foyers around the square, forming repetitive patterns from the archaeological objects. The use of Sydney sandstone at this site, as at the Glebe incinerator site evokes a particular sense of place. It suggests not only the natural environment and prior Aboriginal occupation, but also the distinctive colonial use of this building material, particularly its associations with the convict chain gangs used to quarry the stone for roads and other construction. These sites use archaeological remains to create an identity for a new urban precinct, taking the edge off newness by referencing the past and the aesthetic qualities of its material remnants.

The final category includes sites where the conservation of the fabric takes on a much higher priority, because of its association with significant historical events and people, and as rare physical evidence of early colonial history. Such places link to strong, mythic themes in history and memory, particularly to notions of origins and birthplaces. An example in this category from New Zealand is of particular interest because Maori cultural remains have been conserved in situ in the centre of the capital city of Wellington. Remains of the Te Aro Pa, a Maori habitation site occupied in the early colonial period from the 1820s to the 1880s, were discovered during construction of an apartment building (Kerr, 2008). Following extended negotiations, the apartment building was redesigned to enable in situ conservation of three structures (whare ponga), two of them permanently accessible for public display. The conserved site was opened in October 2008, with cultural rituals conducted by Maori people from Wellington and Taranaki designed to re-awaken the site. These archaeological remains have been interpreted by the Wellington City Council as an important symbol of the shared colonial heritage of Wellington, particularly significant as rare surviving remains of Maori heritage within the urban context of the capital city.

In contrast, in Sydney in 1995, a focus on indigenous and contact history in the newly opened Museum of Sydney on the site of first Government House was seen as an affront by some groups who had campaigned for its preservation and who resented the Museum's failure to celebrate the site as the birthplace of the nation (Ireland, 1996). While the Museum has since been successful and provocative, it has provided little focus on the meanings of the material remains over which it presides. The Museum of Sydney is on the site of the archaeological remains of Australia's first Government House for which construction began in 1788, the first year of white colonisation in New South Wales (NSW). It was demolished in 1845 having housed nine colonial governors. After a series of excavations of the site since 1983 and a long-term public campaign for its preservation the NSW government finally agreed to conserve the site in 1987. Several years of deliberations followed on how best to achieve this end and it was finally concluded that the fabric of the site, largely soft, under-fired bricks, was too fragile for long-term display and should be reburied and conserved under a plaza. Only two small areas are now exposed to public view (Fig. 3).

At this site the archaeological exposure of tangible relics of 1788 evoked a unique response from the community at the time. However, following the in situ preservation of the archaeological remains, archaeology became only one of several competing modes of interpretation of the place. As the issues of conservation of the remains became pre-eminent, research questions for the excavated material were not developed and this caused long-lasting problems for the interpretation of the site. The first curator of the site's museum accused archaeology of producing meaningless, fragmentary interpretations for the public: 'What is this place?...It's not an archaeology site; the conservation action was to preserve the site under concrete. It's not a house museum; the house doesn't exist. It's not a museum of

collections; we have a collection of archaeological artefacts that will be stored in the study centre but can never be the basis for complete interpretation of the place' (Emmett, 1994, n.p.). The conservation action of reburying most of these highly symbolic remains seems to have caused a conundrum for their interpretation. The fact that archaeological research on the excavated material was not persevered with has also meant that their interpretation cannot be anchored in authentic narratives derived from the material in the way that the interpretation of the Cumberland and Gloucester Street archaeological landscape has been successful as discussed above.

Figure 3 Archaeological remains on view in the Museum of Sydney on the site of the first Government House. T. Ireland, 2009.

A final example in this category is the conservation of the archaeological remains discovered during the redevelopment of Sydney's Conservatorium of Music. The conservation of these remains was not driven by archaeological assessments of their cultural significance or research potential. The aim of this landscape archaeology project was to extract as much meaning as possible from this landscape, designed and constructed from earliest colonial times, along with colonial and pre-colonial evidence of Aboriginal occupation (Casey, 2005). Excavations in 1998 revealed, as expected, roads, drains and other landscape features. However, the site then became the centre of a public campaign designed to stop the re-development of the Conservatorium site. The conservation in situ of the archaeological remains was therefore driven by a public campaign which developed an argument for community attachment to these features, but in the context of opposition to the proposed new design for the site (Casey, 2005). In response, government regulatory authority required for the retention of some archaeological elements in situ, necessitating amendments to the architectural design, but certainly not avoiding the impacts of scale as initially opposed by the community activists. This conservation in situ included landscape features such as drains and also the removal of sections of a rock-cut cistern and several lengths of a brick barrel drain, so that they could then be reinstated in the underground areas of the new building, approximately in their original location. The resulting display is visually quite heroic (Fig. 4 and Fig. 5), but extremely limited in its interpretative value because of the unenlightening (banal) nature of the remains displayed (drains and a well) and the loss of relationship between these elements and their landscape context.

The question then is why this site is included in the category for sacred or symbolic sites. The Heritage Council of NSW, which required this conservation, suggested that these remains were of cultural significance because the community held strong beliefs about them. The Heritage Council claimed, very specifically, that these archaeological remains were symbols of key themes of social memory for white Australians: the suffering of convicts, the hostile Australian environment, the colonial imposition of order and civilisation, and Governor Macquarie as hero (Heritage Council of NSW, 1998). The findings of the Heritage Council also explicitly stated that these remains had a role in reinforcing a perception of contemporary Australia as a successful, modern nation, establishing clearly the 'sacred' quality of these remains in the context of national heritage.

Hamilakis (2001) has discussed the sacred qualities of antiquities in the context of the Greek nation in a brief review of archaeological displays in the Athens metro. In escaping the formal space of the museum, it may be questioned if these antiquities are becoming more a part of everyday life and space or if they are transferring their sacred/ritualistic qualities to the everyday spaces of the metro, transforming the typical 'non-place' of the modern metro station into a place (Augé, 1995). Hamilakis (2001) argued that it was still too early to judge what the socio-cultural effect of the antiquities escaping the museum would be, but he suspected that these types of archaeological displays would expand the sacred qualities of the museum into the profane spaces of the urban environment, imbuing these places with special qualities which both represent the sacred realm of national heritage, as well as, ironically, reinforcing the modernity of the nation through contrast with the antique. In this Australian example the remains in question did not embody the same kind of sacred qualities possessed by Greek antiquities. It is the process of archaeological excavation, conservation and display which provides them with a similar aura of authenticity and national significance and then extends these qualities to the everyday spaces now containing them.

Figure 4 Inside the below ground foyer of the Sydney Conservatorium of Music, featuring in situ archaeological remains on the upper levels, exposed bedrock and display cases of archaeological finds. T. Ireland, 2009.

Figure 5 Remains of a rock-cut cistern in the below-ground foyer of the Sydney Conservatorium of Music. T. Ireland, 2009.

Heritage management issues

Interpretation and archaeological research

The promise of archaeology, and the raison d'être of archaeological heritage management, is that new knowledge can be acquired from the material remains of the past. The essence of heritage conservation, however, lies in the connections made between memory and environment (Mason, 2004). This can cause tensions between using heritage places to confirm received interpretations, which link to themes of social memory, and exploiting the research potential and broader cultural significance of archaeological sites. Current cultures of memory tend to use archaeological remains, and their inherent aura of authenticity, to provide evocative experiences of the past, rather than building on archaeological research to present more challenging or confronting interpretations (Ireland, 2003a). This fact has worked against acknowledging the contemporary political significance of colonial sites and in realising the full research potential of colonial archaeological places, where conservation for future generations and for future research tends to be the stated aim (Karskens, 2002). As we saw with the first Government House site, debates over the range of meanings of the conserved material remains were hampered by limited archaeological analysis and research. New and challenging interpretations of the past require investment in research, analysis and creativity. Such interpretations of the past are not produced by technically excellent conservation, inspiring designs and architecture, or by the experience of authenticity. Without the input of critical and challenging archaeological research on the material culture of the place, and without an anthropologically informed theory of heritage values and memory making processes, then the interpretations relayed by these

colonial archaeological places tend to confirm received narratives and celebratory forms of nationalism, focused on how the civilised present has triumphed over a brutal and racist past.

Clearly, heritage conservation and archaeology are only two of a range of stakeholder positions amongst groups which construct meaning from the material past. The examples discussed here clearly demonstrate that architects, designers, and property developers, as well as local, national, indigenous and non-indigenous communities, all engage in the active use of colonial archaeological heritage, as much as any other form of tangible or intangible heritage. However, is this archaeological heritage management process successfully offering voice to the range of cultural positions and values which relate to archaeological sites? Is it living up to its ethical objectives of decolonisation and empowerment of disenfranchised groups? The aim here is not to rehearse an argument for regaining archaeological disciplinary control of the meanings of heritage, but rather reinforcing the need for an expansion of the heritage management process that currently uncritically supports conservation in situ, but is less helpful in understanding the long-term results and benefits of these conservation actions in socio-cultural terms.

Technical conservation: neutral tool or agent of change?

While there is extensive literature on the technology and techniques of archaeological conservation and preservation in situ, there has been only limited discussion on its perceived cultural effects and the meanings and responses these places might transmit to, or shape in, communities (but see Asensio 2006; Fouseki and Sandes, 2009). In terms of the relationship between archaeology and the conservation process, Camardo (2007) and Matero (2000) have questioned the current distinction between the processes of excavation and conservation, where conservation is often seen as the neutral, technical process which follows on after excavation to preserve a site. Conservation is a process that can both contribute to and control access to cultural knowledge about a site, as well as advising on processes of deterioration and how to arrest them. Conservation actions do not simply conserve cultural values; they create them. The economic investment alone represented by conservation actions imbues the conserved remains with a new kind of asset value, which necessitates their ongoing protection. In the Australasian region at least, closer collaboration between conservators and archaeologists during excavation; during the stabilization/conservation phase; and during ongoing management, monitoring and long-term reassessment, is essential for more sustainable and more culturally meaningful conservation and interpretation outcomes for archaeological sites.

Cultural change and assessing cultural significance

Willems (2008) has recently commented on the need for reflective critique of the use of archaeological conservation in situ as a heritage management tool, noting that the 'success' in Europe of the conservation in situ option has led to a tendency for preservation to be regarded as an end in itself, rather than as a means to an end. This early research on archaeological conservation

in post-colonial contexts, shows that archaeological remains are increasingly, and perhaps also uncritically, being seized upon to provide material links with the past in urban environments, a process which reinforces the importance and historical depth of the recent colonial period in an active memory-making program. While assessments of cultural significance aim to consider the historic, social, scientific, aesthetic and spiritual significance of places, following the Burra Charter, it can be difficult to predict the form that community attachments to items revealed through excavation will take, and how they may link to contemporary socio-cultural concerns or political themes, as shown in the case of the Sydney Conservatorium of Music. While the cultural significance of the remains of first Government House site in Sydney and the Te Aro Pa in Wellington were well analysed at the time of their excavation, does that assessment of cultural value continue to align with the way in which communities interact with these conserved archaeological remains today? And critically, we need to ask: how well is significance assessment guiding decision making about what should be conserved in situ and understanding the long-term management requirements of such places? What is the potential cultural longevity of our current appreciation of this genre of conservation in situ? Attendant to the decision to conserve and display archaeological remains, is the responsibility to plan for the long-term management and re-evaluation of their cultural significance, which we know will change as the values of their encompassing architectural environment change, become dated, and less in line with public expectations for interpretation and display.

Essentially, the current emphasis on conservation in situ within new urban designs gives rise to an urgent need for the cultural significance of conserved archaeological sites to be monitored and re-evaluated, just as the fabric of any heritage place needs to be monitored, as does the relationship between the condition of fabric and cultural values. In this vein, a priority is for more long-term studies of conserved archaeological sites to be undertaken to document how and why values and public perceptions of archaeological places change over time. Lyon's (2007) study of the reconstructed Temple of Mithras in London is an example of this approach.

Lyon argues that the decision-making process used to determine that the temple remains should be moved back to the temple's original site, failed to consider the heritage values that the temple had accrued as an example of 1960s archaeological conservation and reconstruction, reflecting the values and socio-economic imperatives of those times.

The political drivers for re-assessment and re-formulations of concepts of colonial heritage are unlikely to become less intense over the decades to come, although their emphases will undoubtedly change. Heritage conservation methodologies, including the role of the conservation process and significance assessment, need to be reformulated as anthropological tools for understanding cultural change, as well as for the more passive process of recording and documenting values, and stabilising and preserving fabric at any given point in time. The Parks Canada concept of 'commemorative integrity', which is used in monitoring the conservation of cultural significance, rather than in

monitoring the performance of a management plan or organisation, offers direction in this area, as discussed by Mason (2006, p. 40). Ideas such as 'archaeological ethnography', which seek engagement with the political context and multi-temporal nature of archaeological sites, including consideration of the social and political interests served by research and conservation, may also serve as a starting point for theory building for heritage research which grapples with the created meanings of conserved archaeological places (Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos, 2009).

Conclusions

Recent intensification of global cultures of memory, perhaps in response to transformations in the experience of temporality which are seen as a key effect of cultural globalisation, give rise to challenges for archaeological heritage conservation. Archaeological places have been conserved in situ to serve a range of purposes: to manifest layers of history and provide past/present connections in urban places; as evocative, aesthetic devices which provide identities for urban designs; and as commemorations of symbolic and mythic associations which derive meaning from the aura of authenticity provided by material relics. These conserved places extend the domain of the museum into the everyday urban environment, creating a form of symbolic cultural capital that contributes to the identity of the nation and the locality.

But has this conservation process challenged and educated about the past and shown how the post-colonial present is riddled with the evidence of historically based assumptions and practices? The experience of such heritage places tends to be largely sensory. Our experience of standing in the remains of a tiny room from 1820, touching the soft bricks from 1788, or the sandstone hewn by convict forbears, tends to confirm our present sense of ourselves and confirms how we have become more sophisticated, more affluent and more successful (Dening, 1997). Archaeological heritage can disrupt this sensual experience of the past with more challenging ideas. It is the job of the heritage manager not just to neutrally document and conserve cultural values, but to engage with the conservation process, the history and the material remains in order to question how those values were formed and how places both shape and are shaped by cultural change. Significance assessment, management processes and conservation methods in archaeological heritage management need to be extended to acknowledge the various uses to which archaeological remains are being put, and to include ongoing monitoring and analyses of the 'social life' of these cultural places. In short, a critical and theoretically engaged heritage practice can see the development of heritage research which contributes to the understanding of cultural change in the context of cultural globalisation, rather than simply documenting this change and conserving the relics of its passing.

Acknowledgements

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The long and winding road: a challenge to ICOMOS members

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Introduction

The opportunities presented by the ICOMOS Scientific Symposium to engage directly with so many diverse minds, cultures, personal and professional experiences are such a temptation. How appropriate that we meet in Ireland, a nation whose people have looked outward for centuries, adapting, enriching and enlivening the far corners of the world to the tin whistle tune of eighty million descendants. For it is outward that ICOMOS must also look to re-assess the evolving economic and social context of its work and to reflect upon the relevance of current practice and priorities.

After more that three decades of active engagement with ICOMOS, nationally and internationally, I am encouraged and challenged by the call to arms of ICOMOS President Gustavo Araoz to be part of an international ICOMOS reflection on new heritage paradigms and to consider what the role of the International Scientific Committees and the Scientific Council might be. This reflection has been stimulated by a conference by the ICOMOS Scientific Committee on Theory and Philosophy, held in the Czech Republic in May 2010, which opened debate on President Araoz's paper 'Preserving Heritage Places Under a New Paradigm'. This paper draws on aspects of those perspectives that I presented at that meeting, 'Tolerance for Change: Introducing a Concept and a Challenge to ICOMOS Members'.

Here in Dublin, I would like to briefly travel down the long and winding road from the Venice Charter (International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites) to the Burra Charter (Charter on the Built Vernacular Heritage), to the Nara Principles on Authenticity and beyond, and reflect upon the evolution, opportunities and challenges of current conservation practice. For me, this requires a re-focus not away from fundamental philosophies but towards an emphasis on excellence in communication and presentation of heritage principles and tools through a diversity of contemporary media.

I will close with a case study on the Sydney Opera House to illustrate a possible new tool for the ICOMOS toolkit, namely the concept of assessing sensitivity or 'tolerance for change', a tool developed in recent conservation management plans. I must stress at the outset that I use the term 'tolerance' in its engineering sense of 'limited allowance', a permissible difference; the freedom to move within limits of variation. The alternative term 'sensitivity to change' may translate better into other languages and cultural contexts.

The road from Venice to Burra

Post-war reconstruction

In the post-war period, the Venice Charter provided influential direction, processes and principles for heritage reconstruction. It aimed to inform the actions of governments and institutions facing the vast challenges of rebuilding the historic cities, towns and cultural institutions of Europe. At that time, repairing the damaged building fabric and landscapes, which held the cultural and institutional memory and the very identity of nations, was of great importance to post-war physical and psychological recovery. The Venice Charter laid down evaluative processes for heritage practice, moving beyond the dominance of the individual curator/decision maker and promoting a multi-disciplinary approach to historical evidence.

Nevertheless, post-war reconstruction in Europe swept away much original building fabric and layers of evidence which, in less urgent times or with different resources available, may have been conserved. Indeed, Leo Schmidt (2008, p. 9) describes the first two decades after the war as a 'second destruction', citing Dresden as an extreme example of the loss of historic urban structure in the quest for a car-friendly city.

Post-war urbanisation

In Asia, post-war recovery often also coincided with a post-colonial political urge for new national identity. Building booms, unleashed after the lifting of wartime austerity, brought with them the rapid destruction of metropolitan fabric and the establishment of urban fringe landscapes. Factors such as the dramatic shift of population from rural to urban living, increasing urban density, general industrial recovery, broader urban wealth, rising private car ownership and the requirements of larger floor plates for commercial buildings all placed unforgiving demands on the morphology and historic urban landscape of virtually every major city. Decisions about 'the things we want to keep' reflected a need to establish national approaches to the interpretation of indigenous and non-indigenous heritage places.

In many nations, resident action groups and professional organisations rallied to oppose the loss of places, monuments and sites through the 1970s and 1980s. Europa Nostra, national trusts, landmark registers, main street programmes, land claims, green bans and resident action groups, large and small, voiced community demands for more balanced development.

Eventually, heritage legislation saw the protection and listing of major indigenous and non-indigenous heritage monuments and sites by the state in many nations, responding to the international leadership shown in the operation of the World Heritage Convention, 1972. ICOMOS' World Heritage role as an Advisory Body demanded expert knowledge and intellectual rigour, and as a volunteer-based NGO the strength of its early relationships with academic institutions and major government departments, provided essential support and gravitas.

From management by the state and specialists to community judgements of association and meaning

In many countries the 1980s and 1990s saw the rapid growth of what Robert Hewison (1987) has termed 'the heritage industry'. Abruptly, the world of economics and finance entered heritage practice in Australia (as it had in the UK) as public policy explicitly adopted a strong market orientation. Hewison felt that heritage had become commodified; packaged and sold as sites for consumption to the rapidly expanding mass tourism and leisure sectors. Conversely, many site managers felt that these very processes were simply 'bringing the past back to life'. The demands of commercial marketing began to pressure the judgements of institutionally based advisers on the management of respected major public and religious buildings and archaeological sites.

In the UK and in Australia government planning departments staffed by specialists implementing heritage legislation rapidly expanded and professional heritage consultancy firms emerged to service the private sector heritage owner. Leo Schmidt (2008) identifies similar staffing shifts occurring in Europe at that time. In Australia the heritage values of a very broad range of heritage site types were being identified through historically informed and thematic heritage surveys throughout the 1970s and 1980s. Public and private heritage sites alike were being regulated by state or local government authorities and backed by public funding resources.

By the turn of the 21st century the broadening scope of heritage work usually meant that available public funds did not match the scope of the survey and heritage management tasks: regulation incentives had dwindled and taxation incentives had disappeared. In many Australian jurisdictions political support for heritage diminished and, as the regulatory processes were reviewed and reviewed again, statutory controls were reduced. Once more, many communities are forming resident action groups and taking to the barricades to fight development that threatens heritage places as statutory protection wanes.

Community values: an open-ended process

Gradually, but with different timeframes internationally, the role of community stakeholders has become more prominent in identifying and effectively selecting heritage places with local meanings and associations. In the UK the National Trust noted that determining what was 'significance was no longer the preserve of the expert, but involved the shared judgement of everyone with a stake or interest' (National Trust UK, 2004, p. 5).

In Asia, the Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China, commonly known as the China Principles, also assert that while heritage values are inherent our understanding of them can change through recognition and awareness of different cultures. 'Recognition of a site's heritage values is a continuous and open-ended process that deepens as society develops and its scientific and cultural awareness increases' (Agnew and Demas, 2002, p. 71). World Heritage listings such as Hiroshima (1996), Robben Island (1999) and the Mostar Bridge (2005) also reflected the shifting acceptance of the contribution of intangible values in significance

assessment: 'the implementation of the World Heritage Convention can be characterized as evolving from a more materials based approach towards a greater emphasis on intangible values', as noted by Christina Cameron at the ICOMOS General Assembly in 2008 (Cameron, 2009, opening session address).

Philosophically, there has also been recognition that heritage is a concept in time and cultural context to be continually re-visited and re-defined. Debates around the definition of 'authenticity' and most recently that of 'integrity' have been of particular importance in Asia.

Asia and authenticity

By the 1990s, the relevance and appropriateness of the Venice Charter's practical implementation in Asia was being very politely questioned. European practices such as anastylosis were not so relevant in countries with centuries of wooden building tradition, where maintenance and replacement/renewal actively maintained revered intangible traditional building skills and techniques as well as ceremonial portent. Conservation practice in temples in Japan reflected the cultural necessity to regularly renew or ritually revitalise the spiritual power and presence of the place, and the implied value of the fabric of the building was thus also different.

In 1994, the need to recognise the authenticity of multiple sources and voices in identifying heritage values was raised at a major international meeting in Nara, culminating in the Nara Document on Authenticity. This sought to identify the close relationship between heritage values and cultural identity: relationships that were diverse and mutually enriching and founded in the authenticity or truthfulness of a variety of information sources including functional uses, skills and spiritual traditions, as well as documentation and building fabric.

At the 2002 Madrid General Assembly of ICOMOS, Andrezij Tomaszewski (2002, p. 214) astutely noted that 'a deep divide became visible between two philosophical-methodological approaches: the European conception of authenticity of the monument, seen entirely in terms of authenticity of substance and derived directly from the Roman-Christian cult of Holy Relics, and the Far Eastern conception seen in terms of authenticity of form, function and tradition, derived from a belief in reincarnation… The first concept was reflected in the work of Western conservation theoreticians, the second reflected local building traditions, sometimes even codified in modern building laws… This controversy, having a concrete practical source in the creation of the World Heritage List, caused - after decades of sterility of conservation theorising - a great and lively intellectual discussion.'
But where has that lively discussion led? Today, the Nara Document is duly acknowledged, and the test of authenticity is carefully assessed in current World Heritage nomination dossiers, although the issues around the concept of integrity have yet to be fully explored and integrated.

The Florence Charter (1981) and the Vernacular Charter (1999) also opened discussions about issues with universal resonance, questioning the transitory nature of the significance of fabric and the critical impact of intergenerational transfer on integrity and authenticity.

But where did those debates flow? What new tools were developed and distributed by ICOMOS?

On the ICOMOS website today there are twelve ICOMOS charters dating from 1968 to 2008 (eight of which are more than ten years old), eleven ICOMOS resolutions/declarations dating from 1972 to 2005 (all but one are over twelve years old) and a range of local and national documents (only two of which have been prepared within the last five years). Do these documents represent a lively debate? Do they comprise a cogent or contemporary ICOMOS toolkit? Or do we need to move on?

Lest panic ensue, rest assured that I am not suggesting that ICOMOS abandons its heritage of charters and declarations, but perhaps it is time to synthesise the advances of these philosophical debates into new resources for the ICOMOS toolkit. Is this a challenge and an opportunity for every International Scientific Committee and for the Scientific Council?

A new decade: time to re-focus?

In recent times we have celebrated forty years of ICOMOS, twenty-five years of the Burra Charter and UNESCO is preparing for celebrating forty years of the World Heritage Convention in 2012. ICOMOS can be justly proud of its legacy at national and international levels - but what of the future? In the last few years the world has experienced a global financial crisis (GFC) of unparalleled impact. The GFC has caused us all to re-evaluate our personal futures and financial habits and governments everywhere have reviewed expenditure and investment priorities. At the close of the first decade of a new century, many countries face a new and shared international context, with the reduction of national government sovereignty in economic and planning decisions impacting on their futures.

Changing times

Four seemingly unstoppable forces are driving these social changes:

1   International capital decisions. The intensification of the globalisation of capital means that development and property management decisions, which are non-national in their interest and outcomes but impactful on heritage places, are often more complex than national sovereignty issues (let alone local management) due to the macroeconomic repercussions of refusal or constraint. Recent cases of multi-national-driven large new buildings in the historic urban landscapes of cities like London, St Petersburg, Beijing and Vienna demonstrate the power of global capital forces and the difficulty of management faced by many World Heritage cities.

2   The communication revolution. The communication revolution of the Web 2.0 has swiftly changed most processes of daily communication. The exchange of data, ideas, principles and visuals is performed on an instant and international level as never before. The age of web wisdom represents a unique change of intergenerational knowledge transfer. ICOMOS has only recently started to use blogs and Internet forum dialogue to develop philosophical and practical positions, preferring instead the traditional, familiar, but slower conference/declaration/charter communication route. This effectively excludes us from pertinent communication with new generations who activate social media daily.

3   Mass tourism. It now impacts on cultural heritage management practice in every corner of the world, with new cultural tourism and ecotourism ventures developing and subsiding daily, as the latest 'new destination' is blogged overnight. Too often sites are heritage listed or promoted without preparation for the tourism onslaught that will follow their celebrity, and the sustainability of the very heritage values for which the site was listed may be threatened or even destroyed. In the UK, heritage has been strategically repositioned as core government business, a move which is underpinned by impressive statistical analyses that demonstrate increasing visitor numbers to historic properties despite the credit crunch. Tourism is now the UK's fifth largest industry, with heritage tourism contributing 4.36 billion pounds to GDP (comparable to the film, motor vehicle and advertising industries of the UK). Considerable intelligence and expense have been applied to establishing the statistics around heritage visitation and economic contribution, delivering well-reasoned data for heritage practitioners and investors.

4   Politicisation of the World Heritage Convention. In the last two decades we have also watched the increasing politicisation of World Heritage Convention (WHC) processes. Indeed, the shift from expert representation to the pressures of politically motivated inscriptions recognises that the economic and community outcomes of listing are more blatantly obvious in the WHC meetings today than ever before.

The recent ICOMOS report on the World Heritage Committee meeting in Brasilia stated:

'The frequency of occurrences where the Committee's decisions diverged from the recommendations of the Advisory Bodies was noted by many observer State Parties in attendance and was the subject of discussions throughout the session. For some, the cumulative weight of these decisions seemed to imply a desire on the part of the Committee for fewer rigors in demonstrating Outstanding Universal Value, as well as greater leniency concerning the protective structures that the World Heritage Operation[al] Guidelines require to be in place prior to inscription in the World Heritage List' (ICOMOS, 2010).

It is admirable that ICOMOS stands firm to the scientific nature of the WHC processes, as we must do at all levels. It is my observation that the politicisation of heritage decisions is the same at national, state and local level. Heritage values emerge a poor second to economic demands in so many cases.

Towards a new paradigm?

President Gustavo Araoz's challenge of defining a 'new heritage paradigm' is therefore very pertinent to ICOMOS members. We should personally reflect upon our own professional role in the changing economic and social context of our respective countries and professions and perhaps ask why heritage conservation is not always

seen as an important factor in political decisions about economic development. Have we focused too much on getting the science right without effectively presenting heritage values to stakeholders and communities? Have we failed to respond to the need to reposition cultural heritage in the context of economic globalisation? Are we failing to present and communicate heritage issues effectively in contemporary media?

In my opinion, the social and economic context of heritage conservation has changed dramatically and this is a good time to reconsider ICOMOS priorities. Not away from our fundamental ICOMOS objectives, philosophy and attention to our science, but diverting some serious attention into how we deliver heritage conservation messages to keep heritage prominent and relevant. And the subject of our forthcoming General Assembly - sustainability - is the perfect focus for us to consider the following:

- Are the existing ICOMOS charters, guidelines and principles created in such different times, still useful and relevant for international conservation practice today? Or is it time for the ISCs to review them?
- Has the resistance to changing documents such as the Venice Charter and the resulting plethora of subject-specific charters and guidelines confused conservation practice and limited its progress? Has it led to lively discussion or polarised positions?
- Are there other discipline-specific or regionally based tools that we can share and adapt? How can ICOMOS be that centre for intellectual exchange and documentation?

These are questions that ICOMOS as an organisation, as well as each of us as individuals, must face and answer to remain relevant as leaders in cultural heritage conservation and management.

A relatively easy answer could be for the Scientific Council to invest in and vigorously promote the role of ICOMOS in constantly gathering and sharing new methodology and approaches to conservation practice, accessible information, open debate and leadership, through symposia such as this, such vital work being promulgated by the ICOMOS Documentation Centre. A second priority could be collecting and developing heritage tools and making them electronically accessible to practitioners, communities and audiences.

The shift from the traditional emphasis on the preservation of fabric by technical experts to the recognition of a range of community voices in the conservation process has been accompanied by the increased recognition of the importance of interpretation and presentation of heritage places (although those very words are contested by some).

Interpreting the meanings, associations and stories of diverse communities through positive, negative and multi-cultural voices becomes the challenge, not simply presenting history or aesthetics through 'authoritative' discourse or academic treatise. The 2008 ICOMOS Charter for the Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites (ICIP) is a seminal contribution to this work and an essential component of the heritage toolkit in engaging communities with heritage places and concepts. The ICIPs website features a blog and a case study. An illustrated version of its charter is in development.

Moreover, ICOMOS generally needs to focus on the role of heritage and sustainability. We can observe the development and early implementation of the English Heritage (2008) Principles of Conservation: Policies and Guidance for the Sustainable Management of the Historic Environment. This is surely one of the most ambitious and comprehensive heritage management documents of our time. The Principles define conservation as 'the process of managing change to a significant place in its setting in ways that will best sustain its heritage values, while recognising opportunities to reveal or reinforce those values for present and future generations' (Principle 4). It goes on to wisely state that 'sustainable management of a place begins with understanding and defining how, why, and to what extent it has cultural and natural heritage values: in sum, its significance. Communicating that significance to everyone concerned with a place, particularly those whose actions may affect it, is then essential if all are to act in awareness of its heritage values' (Principle 24).

In my opinion, this is the way forward and the Principles are a seminal document for everyone involved in heritage conservation. Congratulations are due to English Heritage and the many participants who evolved the document.

The capacity of ICOMOS to deliver change

It is not enough to be an expert anymore. It is not enough to cherish and publish charters; we need to communicate heritage values to generation Y and X decision makers who live their lives through YouTube, Facebook, SMS and Twitter. We need to invest in implementing an ICOMOS Communications Strategy that will reach the new generations of decision makers with heritage messages. As individuals, we also need to promote and refocus heritage conservation messages as an integrated part of sustainable resource use and development, not as an end in itself. This is a fundamental shift for some of us, a slight inflection for others. The ability of ICOMOS, as an international organisation, to be willing to review its own practices and to actively review existing practice, share and develop new tools to meet these challenges is thus of crucial importance to our discussions.

The length of time it takes for ICOMOS to develop and verify charters almost guarantees they will be out of date by the time they are approved. We need to speed the plough. By way of example, I note that three key aspects of conservation practice have been useful in sustaining organisational flexibility in ICOMOS Australia, which may have equally useful application at an international level:

1   Regular review of practice and process. The first key aspect is a strong belief that in the future, regular review and revision of the Burra Charter would be essential, so that practice continually informs policy. This belief flowed consistently from the first Burra Charter in 1981, into the many hundreds of surveys, conservation plans and significance assessments for Australian heritage places, which the Burra Charter has guided, most of which contain policies requiring review within a five-year period. In this way, policies, practice and significance are regularly

reviewed by new minds with new information and contexts.

2 Membership commitment to ethical practice. The second key aspect is an agreed ethical approach toward each other and to heritage. Australia ICOMOS requires all its members to agree to 'practice within' the Burra Charter and, since 2002, to practice in accordance with the international ICOMOS Ethical Commitment Statement for ICOMOS Members adopted at the Madrid General Assembly in 2002. The concept of ICOMOS members committing to specific common principles is also relatively rare. The Ethical Commitment Statement represents the first attempt to nominate a holistic philosophical relationship between practice and ethical principles for ICOMOS members. It is one of the few items of ICOMOS doctrine that has universal application and the only such doctrine to include a regular review clause[1] and it may be modified at any time by the ICOMOS Executive Committee.

3 Sharing knowledge in the ICOMOS network. A third key aspect of Australian conservation practice that has been beneficial is the sharing of tools and methods swiftly and generously. Each of us will have locally adapted tools that we use daily, but if not, let us not re-invent wheels, let us share them. The URLs for the documents I have mentioned are in my footnotes and the ICOMOS Documentation Centre blog site is an ideal location for sharing more examples amongst members.

Indeed, I would like to see an ICOMOS toolkit section on the ICOMOS website including, for example, the disaster preparedness manuals that members use; the volunteer register approaches; and the lessons learned from the Indian Ocean tsunami, the earthquakes in China, Haiti, Italy and the floods in Pakistan. This would be a powerful resource assembly of best practice documents or links.

In my daily practice

I want to close my paper with a brief discussion of a new concept, which is perhaps a potentially useful addition to the ICOMOS toolkit. This is a tool which provides clear guidance for heritage place/site managers in day-to-day site management decisions. It is a work in progress, so contributions are very welcome.

My daily work as a heritage consultant involves me in a diverse range of research, policy development, impact assessment, interpretation, advice and consultation. However, our clients do not always see heritage conservation outcomes as their prime or even secondary obligation. Often they have purchased or inherited a responsibility for heritage place simply as an asset for which a new use is envisioned or required. Perhaps interventions may be needed to sustain a building in use (and therefore being maintained) and to provide necessary repair funds. In the current economically turbulent atmosphere, generating good results for privately owned heritage places requires approaches and tools quite distinct from those we would use for a public building that is heritage listed.

Managing heritage places using the concept of 'tolerance for change'

I believe that change in the historic environment is inevitable. It may be caused by natural processes, the wear and tear of use, or by social, economic and technological change. Managing change sustainably requires two basic skills: assessment and communication (English Heritage, 2008, p. 14).

Every conservation decision should be based on an identification and assessment of its likely impact on the place's significance embodied in the fabric or in less tangible attributes. Only through understanding the significance of a place is it possible to assess how the qualities that people value are vulnerable to harm or loss, in other words their sensitivity or 'tolerance for change'. That understanding provides the basis for developing, implementing and communicating management strategies, including maintenance, cyclical renewal and repair, that will best sustain the heritage values of the place in its setting.

Assessing the sensitivity or 'tolerance for change' (TFC) of heritage places is a concept having evolved in recent conservation management plans with which I have been involved. Perhaps this is the start of a new tool for the conservation tool kit. It is based on understanding and retaining of heritage significance. It explains conservation in 'lay terms', readily understandable to administrators, architects and owners alike, as well as heritage experts.

Already, some of our government and corporate clients use this decision-making process in day-to-day heritage asset management. We have found that it can be especially useful for living, active sites where an understanding of the breadth of heritage significance, particularly the associative or intangible attributes, is needed to support and inform the ongoing physical asset management decisions from historic defence establishments and private houses, to the World Heritage listed Sydney Opera House.

TFC is based on the philosophical principles of the Australia ICOMOS Burra Charter. It recognises that heritage significance is a dynamic and diverse social construct, which benefits from broad stakeholder engagement and regular review to be fully understood. TFC is a way to better understand significance, by identifying what attributes of a place are sensitive to change, by analysing and prioritising the attributes of a heritage place that are significant.

This helps to define constraints and opportunities for each element to be managed. TFC integrates policy guidance for individual elements at a glance. Its method seeks to provide a clear structural approach for evaluation of heritage significance by asset owners and communities, through:

- Understanding each attribute of significance by place and element; and
- Assessing how much it can change and presenting the outcome clearly.

In this way, decisions about change, new uses and conservation demands can be negotiated in relevant detail. The TFC concept is currently being used in the

revision of the Sydney Opera House (SOH) 2003 Conservation Plan (SOHCP).[2]

The Sydney Opera House: OUV and a performing masterpiece

The SOH provides a useful case study in the potential application of the tolerance for change concept because its significance is not just as an architectural masterpiece. The 2006 World Heritage listing citation for the SOH recognised its extraordinary architectural and engineering achievements and its aesthetic qualities as an architectural masterpiece. A further key aspect of its significance is its functional authenticity as a performing arts centre:

'…The Sydney Opera House continues to perform its function as a world-class performing arts centre: The Conservation Plan specifies the need to balance the roles of the building as an architectural monument and as a state of the art performing centre, thus retaining its authenticity of use and function. Attention given to retaining the building's authenticity culminated with the Conservation Plan and the Utzon Design Principles.[3]

The nomination dossier recognised the special place that the SOH holds in the history of modern architecture and also its role as a mass cultural icon, both iconic and canonic, widely revered and 'capturing the hearts and minds of everyone who experiences it.[4]

The SOH site is five acres, with over 1,000 rooms and seven major performance venues, together with extensive retail and dining venues. The 440 staff welcome seven million visitors every year; 1.2 million attend performances. This marvellous building has some acknowledged functional problems: the orchestra pits are inadequate; delivery facilities are dysfunctional, some acoustics are unsatisfactory and access for disabled patrons is poor. Resolving such weaknesses are long-term projects.

The day-to-day activities of Australia's busiest performing arts centre require building asset management systems that are swiftly responsive to operational needs. However, the building fabric and forms in which these functions operate are of world, national and state heritage significance, and the conservation of these heritage values is therefore an asset management priority as well.

I am a government appointed member of the Sydney Opera House Conservation Council, and we are acutely aware of the risks of making cumulative small decisions under immediate operational pressures that may erode the overall heritage significance of the place. A simple methodology for assessing and avoiding adverse heritage impacts whilst responding quickly to the urgent needs of public performance venues is necessary.

On this matter, I must correct President Araoz a little. In his challenge paper he states that at the SOH, 'local authorities insist that its values reside equally in the material aesthetic forms and the use of the place as a major performing arts centre. What this means is that the building's interiors may be altered and changed in accordance with the conservation plan and the Utzon [Design] Principles, without any alteration to its overall

significance as long as those changes respond to the demands imposed by the constantly evolving technology of musical and performing arts presentations'.

That is not an accurate representation of the facts - every proposed change is tested for its heritage impacts. Performance needs do not override heritage requirements. All works are assessed using the standard Australian practice of Heritage Impact Assessment. What is different at the SOH is that part of the significance of the place is its performance role. Its functional use is an attribute of its significance, just as much as its form, fabric and location and so the impacts on the whole range of attributes must be assessed and balanced.

In the revised conservation management plan (CMP), all of the auditoria and internal spaces have been assessed for their significance within the broader context of the SOH significance, so they may not be altered without reference back to and testing against this significance, both at the macro (policy) and micro levels. Like all CMPs the SOH plan currently under review includes policies to guide change and development at a macro level. At an operational level more detail is often needed. Stepping through the TFC process can provide a micro-level understanding for the building manager who needs to understand the significance of each element to consider how much change may be tolerated.

The tolerance for change process in action

The following description of the TFC process is an excerpt from standard conservation plans under my responsibility recently. The TFC process is a simple and effective four-step process. The first and last step will be familiar to most conservation practitioners, while the middle two steps offer a different methodology for approaching the management of change whilst retaining heritage significance. The term 'element' is used for the separate parts of the place, and may be made up of a range of components:

- Step 1: Why is the place significant (and to what degree)? Understand and define the relative heritage significance of each element (exceptional, high, moderate, little or intrusive). Such gradings are based on an assessment of the integrity[5] and authenticity[6] of each element.

- Step 2: What is significant about the place? Identify and assess which of the attributes of the element contributes to its heritage significance and how that contribution is manifest. Usually it is a combination of a number of attributes: form (i.e. design, details, spaces, scale, character, configuration, envelope and infrastructure); fabric (i.e. physical material, landscape features, interiors, subsurface remains, related contents, artefacts and documentation); function (i.e. current and historic uses; social and associational significance); location (i.e. setting, views and relationships between elements - current and historic); and intangible values (i.e. associations, meanings, traditions, techniques and management system, the spirit, experience and feeling of the place). Understanding who values the place is always an important aspect of understanding heritage significance, for different communities will hold a variety of perspectives. In almost all places,

significance will be embodied in a combination of physical attributes interpreted by community perspectives.

- Step 3: How much change can the significant attributes of the place tolerate? This step in the process calls for expert judgement about how much alteration can happen to those attributes without adverse impacts on significance, so that we can assess the degree of tolerance for change for each attribute (nil, moderate or high) of the element or its contribution to the site overall. Sensitivity or tolerance for change may be ranked in words or numerically, one being the highest sensitivity and consequently the least tolerance for change. I prefer to use words consistently, rather than use numbers, which I find can be counterproductive. Once again it must be stressed that this is about tolerance in the sense of engineering tolerance: an allowance, a permissible difference; allowing some freedom to move within limits.

- Step 4: Develop conservation management policies/plans. Develop conservation management policies/plans that will provide operational guidance which avoids/or minimises adverse heritage impacts on the significant attributes of each element.

The following description of the TFC process is a typical table used in standard conservation plans prepared under my direction recently (Table 1).

Degree	Policy
1. No tolerance for change - highly sensitive	The key attributes (form, fabric, function, location, intangible values) contribute to the heritage significance of the element and/or its contribution to the significance of the site. The element retains a high degree of integrity and authenticity with only very minor alterations that respect or enhance its significance. The key attribute should be retained and conserved with no adverse impact on the assessed significance of the element or site.
2. Moderate tolerance for change	The key attributes (form, fabric, function, location or intangible values) partly contribute to the heritage significance of the element and/or its contribution to the site; it may have undergone some alteration/change which does not detract from its authenticity and significance. The key attributes of the element should be generally retained and conserved. Moderate change to specific attributes is possible provided there are only minimal adverse impacts and the assessed significance of the element or the site overall is retained.
3. High tolerance for change - nil/low sensitivity	The key attributes (form, fabric, function, location or intangible values) of the element have relatively little individual heritage significance, but may contribute to the overall significance of the site. A greater level of change is possible to specific attributes of this element, avoiding adverse impacts and retaining the significance of the site overall.

Table 1 The TFC process used in standard conservation plans.

The 2005 UNESCO World Heritage Operational Guidelines refer to four tangible attributes of the 'test of authenticity': design, material, workmanship and setting, which have since been revised to include traditions, techniques, language and other forms of intangible heritage, as well as spirit and feeling or other issues. The tolerance for change approach reflects this expansion.

In summary, the TFC methodology embodies two simple interrelated but separate assessment tools, evaluation of the specific attributes in which significance is embodied; and evaluation of the amount of change that each attribute may undergo, without loss of significance:

- Tool 1: Evaluation of the specific attributes. Evaluation of the specific attributes of any site involves separately assessing the form, fabric, function, location and intangible values of the place. The rationale for breaking down cultural significance in this way is that these different values may have differing tolerance/sensitivity to change. Therefore, appropriate conservation policies may allow for a different quantum or type of change, which may differ between the different attributes of the same place. In other words, policies may allow for some aspects of a place to be changed a lot, while not allowing any change at all for another attribute of the same place/element.

- Tool 2: Evaluation of the amount of change. Evaluation of the amount of change that an attribute can sustain without loss of significance involves a judgement that is separate from the evaluation of significance. If this were not so, then the 'tolerance for change' concept would not be needed - conservation policies could simply be directly related to significance levels alone. Some attributes of some heritage places can tolerate a 'counter-intuitive' amount of change, i.e. highly significant attributes of highly significant places may be able to accommodate a great amount of change, while conversely, attributes of low significance may not be able to be changed much at all without fundamental loss of significance.

The innovative aspect and indeed the whole point of the TFC methodology is that it allows for judgements of this kind to be uncoupled from the linear logic that usually links significance and change. It is not an endorsement of change without proper regard to heritage values.

Conclusions

This TFC addition to the heritage toolkit is evolving. It is being tested and changed project by project and as we share our practical experience with colleagues worldwide, seeking feedback and proposals for its critical adaptation, this is literally a work in progress which can always be improved. It is offered for open debate. I hope that ICOMOS members will take up the challenge of reviewing and evolving such tools for practical improvement as the monuments, sites and places we cherish undergo change and as our awareness and management of that change defines the continuity of the monument. Global communications now offer ICOMOS members marvellous opportunities for collegiate exchange assisting us to adapt and integrate such tools and methodologies into our own philosophy and practice and instantly share the experiences. I believe that it is

time for the Scientific Council to take the lead in re-focusing conservation practice in the light of the social, urban and communication changes of the first decade of the 21st century. We need to develop new tools for heritage work and to engage new communities with heritage. As leaders in our profession we need to be part of the solution. I look forward to the further deliberations of the Scientific Council and indeed all ICOMOS members on these issues.

Notes

1　The Ethical Commitment Statement is to be reviewed by the ICOMOS Academy in 2010-11.
2　Five yearly reviews of conservation plans are standard in Australia (the SOHCP review is being undertaken by Alan Croker of Design 5).
3　UNESCO World Heritage Centre, Decision 31COM 8B.31 OUV Statement for Sydney Opera House 2007.
4　Phillip Goad (2005) quoted in SOH Nomination by the Government of Australia for Inscription on the World Heritage List, 2006 p 43.
5　Integrity is a measure of the wholeness and intactness of the place and its attributes. Examining the conditions of integrity, therefore requires assessing the extent to which the property: a) includes all elements necessary to express its outstanding universal value; b) is of adequate size to ensure the complete representation of the features and processes which convey the property's significance; c) suffers from adverse effects of development and/or neglect. The physical fabric of the property and/or its significant features should be in good condition, and the impact of deterioration processes controlled. A significant proportion of the elements necessary to convey the totality of the heritage significance conveyed by the property should be included. Relationships and dynamic functions present in cultural landscapes, historic towns or other living properties essential to their distinctive character should also be maintained (adapted from the 2008 World Heritage Operational Guidelines). In Australia, condition is a measure of the deterioration of a place or element, and thus its ability to survive into the future without remedial action being required. It should not be used interchangeably with integrity. Some structures have extraordinary authenticity and integrity, but may be in very poor condition.
6　Authenticity: cultural heritage places may meet the conditions of authenticity if their cultural values are truthfully and credibly expressed through a variety of attributes such as form and design, materials and substance, traditions, techniques and management systems, location and setting, language and other forms of intangible heritage, spirit and feeling. A heritage item or conservation area is said to be authentic if there has not been adverse impact upon its fabric and the reasons for which it is considered significant. This may include impacts from conservation processes undertaken to better reveal or emphasise heritage significance. An authentic place is the honest product of its history and of historical processes (adapted from 2008 World Heritage Operational Guidelines).

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Sense of place in changing communities: the plurality of heritage values

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Introduction

This paper focuses on the North Pennines, a northern upland region of England which in 1988 was designated by the government as an Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty (AONB). The paper presents data collected in 2008 and 2009 in the context of socio-economic change in the region. The paper asks: how does heritage contribute to sense of place for residents in the North Pennines; what are their reasons for engaging with this heritage; how is interest in heritage affected by their demographic profile; and what does this engagement reveal about the way heritage values are manifested for local people?

In the North Pennines, communities are affected by limited local employment (North Pennines AONB Partnership, 2009), the consequent out-migration of the young and the in-migration of wealthier urban commuters and retirees (Convery and Dutson, 2006). Increasingly, younger people are forced to move away from the region in search of work. At the same time, the charm of the region, known as 'England's Last Wilderness,' attracts those with wealth enough to establish residence in this rural and relatively remote location. Such in-migrants can afford to make a return journey to work in the nearby cities of, for example, Durham or Newcastle upon Tyne. The peaceful and picturesque rural setting also holds appeal for older people who are attracted to the area in their retirement years. This contributes to an ageing of the population (Ward, 2006). As a result of these socio-economic changes, a particular way of life and sense of place are threatened (Soane and Nicholson, 2005). The research presented here, focuses on the enthusiastic interest in heritage acted upon by community members in the North Pennines through engagement with heritage projects. It is perhaps the awareness of socio-economic change taking place around them that galvanises these people to involve themselves with heritage, as volunteers or in their leisure time. In-depth interviews were conducted with twenty-seven such individuals and an analysis of this dataset forms the discussion of this paper. Their responses are referred to in the discussion below as NP01 to NP27.

Firstly, the paper will outline the way in which heritage has contributed to sense of place for local people in the North Pennines. Heritage raised the self-esteem of respondents by producing the feelings of distinctiveness and continuity of identity which formed their sense of place. Next, the paper will discuss the explanations those interviewed gave for their interest in heritage, in terms of developing collective identity, representing it for others and producing sense of place through the social interaction of engagement with it. Finally, the way in which motivation to engage with heritage differed according to demographic profile is examined. Interest in heritage is discussed in terms of in-migrants, 'born and bred' residents and older people.

By focusing on the way respondents engaged with heritage, the concluding section of this paper will propose that heritage can be valued in multiple ways. For respondents, heritage existed as an intangible expression or meaning-making process parallel to its manifestation as a physical object, site or building. The need to acknowledge such layers of understandings of heritage demands attention and the paper concludes with a call for an 'alternative heritage discourse' which has the capacity to recognise the more nebulous conceptions of heritage held by local people.

The contribution of heritage to sense of place

Within the literature, the view is frequently taken that sense of place is a social construct emerging from the 'involvement between people, and between people and place' (Pretty et al., 2003, p. 274). Often discussed in terms of place attachment (Moore and Graefe, 1994), place dependency (Jorgensen and Stedman, 2006; 2001) or place identity (Lalli, 1992; Proshansky et al., 1983), the literature fails to examine the relationship between the three notions. While it is not the purpose of this paper to untangle such conceptual overlaps, notions of place identity put forward within the field of environmental psychology do provide a useful framework with which to explore sense of place in the North Pennines. Most notably, an empirical study of sense of place in Rotherhithe in the London Docklands, used an identity model adapted from psychology for examination of place-identity (Twigger-Ross and Uzzell, 1996).

This research identified the four elements of self-identity to which place contributed as continuity, self-esteem, self-efficacy and distinctiveness. Heritage has been seen to underpin three of these elements: continuity, self-esteem and distinctiveness (Hawke, 2010; 2011). Discussion will now review this argument, summarising the data supporting each of these elements in turn, noting first the contribution of heritage to feelings of self-esteem, then distinctiveness, before looking at data pertaining to the contribution of heritage to notions of continuity of identity over time.

Heritage supporting self-esteem and distinctiveness

It has been suggested that places can support self-esteem (Korpela, 1989). They can do so by stimulating feelings of pride by association with, for example, a distinctive or historic place (Twigger-Ross and Uzzell, 1996; Lalli, 1992). In the North Pennines, respondents referred to feelings of pride for instance by living in a historic medieval village, or in knowledge of the skill and tenacity of their industrial revolution predecessors who worked as lead miners and farmers (Hawke, 2010; 2011). This pride was evidenced through the care which local people invested in the maintenance of their surroundings and their continued interest in heritage through membership of heritage societies. A respondent and member of a number of heritage groups commented:

'One of our members cuts grass in the churchyard in St John's Chapel because it needs doing and he's got a pride in it and there are generations of people who lived in the Dale buried in that church yard and out of respect to them he keeps it clean and tidy and I think generally people do have a pride in the traditions and I think that's some of the reasons why these societies are still going really' (NP07).

Twigger-Ross and Uzzell (1996) used an identity process model in their analysis of place identity which gave 'distinctiveness' alongside self-esteem, as a component of identity. Association with the particularity of a place can allow a person to differentiate themselves from others and thereby place can support feelings of distinctiveness. For some in the North Pennines, distinctiveness came from an awareness of natural heritage. References were made to the wildness of the landscape which humankind has tamed in comparable rural settings. This respondent describing sense of place said it related to:

'…the openness and the wildness of the place. The towns and villages where I've lived before, the landscape's all manicured, it's all farmers' fields and hedges and things like that. Whereas here, I step out in the garden and see hills for mile upon mile and nothingness and it's this space and being able to look over and beyond and just, you feel as if you can breathe here' (NP10).

Some respondents used natural heritage to illustrate qualities of uniqueness when describing their sense of place and they experienced this alongside an awareness of industrial heritage, for example: 'I see a deer going across the road past a (mine) shaft…all these are experiences I take in' (NP26).

Respondents also called upon intangible forms of heritage when describing their sense of distinctiveness. Notable were references to a shared cultural heritage of isolation which shaped identity (Hawke, 2010; 2011) so that a particular 'disposition' amongst local people was apparent: 'it's a different mindset altogether really. They have a different… you can tell people who aren't local…' (NP21). The idea that a local characteristic was formed of shared cultural heritage was supported by another respondent who referred to the legacy of hard working miner-farmers. Miner-farmers were small holders who also worked in the lead mines of the North Pennines' in the 19th century industrial heyday. The respondent commented: 'commonality is significant… The very strong feeling of independence and self-sufficiency and… having to look out for yourself and do things for yourself… is common across the area and I think links it together' (NP16). The data shows that heritage can contribute to sense of place by supporting self-esteem and notions of distinctiveness in the North Pennines. Following the model presented above (Twigger-Ross and Uzzell, 1996), the third element of identity to which place can contribute is a sense of temporal continuity. Discussion now turns to the way in which heritage supports feelings of continuity across time for respondents in the North Pennines.

Heritage supporting continuity of identity

Following the model presented above (Twigger-Ross and Uzzell, 1996), senses of continuity across time can be further subdivided. Continuity can be achieved through reference to a place as the setting of an individual's life and this form of continuity is described as 'place-referent continuity'. Place can also provide continuity for an individual if it is in keeping with their self-image, presenting a set of values in harmony with this self-perception. In this sense, continuity is described as 'place-congruent continuity'. The following discussion examines the North Pennines interview data for evidence of place-referent and place-congruent continuity in turn.

Some respondents in the North Pennines were 'born and bred' there, in other words, they had lived in the North Pennines for their entire lives, as this respondent explained: 'I think there's still a much bigger proportion of people who have spent their lifetimes and their ancestors lived in the North Pennines, than you get in any other part of the country' (NP07). Sense of place has been related to duration of stay (Hay, 1998) and it has also been suggested that place can support continuity of identity by acting as an aide-memoire (Korpela, 1989). For those with a durable relationship with the North Pennines, the environment was the physical setting of their memories as indicated by the following response: 'there isn't a single place in the dale I haven't been in. I've been in every little hillside…' (NP20). This experience of place has been described as 'autobiographical insideness' (Dixon and Durrheim, 2000; Rowles, 1983). The feeling of autobiographical insideness and the ability to draw on place as an anchor for memories and continuity of identity was particularly apparent for those acutely aware of the socio-economic change taking place around them: 'a lot of people that I know in the village have died or moved out… but you know when you go on the fells, it's just timeless… as long as I've known it, it's been like that. And it probably will be you know, for as long as I'm here' (NP08). Such respondents also reported social 'insideness' (Relph, 1976) whereby respondents were fully integrated into the fabric of the community over time (Rowles, 1983): 'people know you and your history and the same with other locals, you know them and you know their history and you can go back over a lot of years sometimes…' (NP21).

Relph (1976) has noted that an attachment to place through its distinctive characteristics can be reinforced by the experience of change. This argument has been developed (Hawke, 2010; 2011) with the suggestion that place can continue to support 'place-referent continuity' for individuals, even when the physical heritage of the place has changed beyond recognition. Through autobiographical insideness, the landscape can be read as a palimpsest of memories of which the contemporary setting is only a 'drab remnant' (Rowles, 1983, p. 303). Place can therefore be seen, 'as a topology of memories' (Atkinson, 2007, p. 523). This is supported by 'memory talk' (Degnen, 2005), a concept discussed later in this paper, whereby the process of producing heritage value happens at community level through everyday chatter that shuttles between references to people and places, past and present.

There are however, others in the North Pennines who are not able to draw on lengthy duration of residence in their experience of sense of place. For them place supported the continuity of their identity by providing characteristics congruous with a 'life story' undergoing continuous construction (Savage et al., 2005). For newer residents, place offered them a continuity of identity, helping them to account for the journey their life had taken in bringing them to this point. Place supported their self-image, for example, being a 'countryside person': 'I'm not a person that loves towns' (NP22). For several, place was consistent with their notion of their identity in the past, when they lived in other places. This respondent who had previously lived further south in the Peak District, found the way in which she had unconsciously sought out a similar landscape, quite remarkable: 'it's quite funny that (I've) sort of come back to the same thing' (NP24). For others, the sleepy nature of North Pennines villages, unaltered by the years, represented nostalgia for other places where they had lived which were now transformed. The North Pennines was a place for them where the positive qualities of society in the past were preserved and as such the region was congruous with past selves: 'Castleside… when I was a child, was a small village, you knew everybody the same as you do here. (But) in fifty years, things had changed…' (NP22). For some, this congruence with past selves was found in the way their children could enjoy a childhood similar to their own in the past: 'he's got a childhood like my childhood. It feels like stepping back in time' (NP24).

For these respondents heritage supported their sense of place by supporting the continuity of their identity over time. For long-term residents, the natural heritage acted as a physical aide-memoire, a landscape of memories that translated into autobiographical insideness. The cultural heritage of continuing generations of residence allowed for a sense of social insideness giving the individual a sense of continuity of identity. On the other hand, newer residents found continuity of identity in the congruous elements of the natural landscape which fitted with their past experiences and also the intangible cultural heritage of 'old-fashioned' social values.

The differences between the experience of long-term residents and newer in-migrants was also apparent in the extent of their interest in heritage, and before discussion moves on to examine this difference, the next section discusses the reasons respondents gave for this interest, in the context of socio-economic transition in the region.

Motivations for engaging with heritage

This paper posits that individuals are engaging with heritage in order to renegotiate their identity in the changing socio-economic context of the North Pennines. There are a variety of ways in which they engage with heritage. Those interviewed were involved in heritage activities such as: collecting oral history; researching local history in order to write newsletters, pamphlets and books; creating local history exhibitions and heritage interpretation leaflets; and running volunteer-led museums. Some were interested in traditions: restoring traditional flower-rich hay meadows; reinvigorating the village show; teaching young people music traditions; or passing on skills such as dry stone walling and bee keeping. Interviews were also conducted with members of heritage trusts, societies and museum friends'

associations. Uniting these diverse heritage activities was the common interest in safeguarding a cultural distinctiveness particular to the North Pennines: its sense of place. The reasons they gave for their interest and involvement, suggested heritage was a collective exploration of sense of place. In some cases this was a presentation of heritage for outsiders which bonded participants through engagement in the process of identity work which it involved. Specifically, it was possible to code interview data under the broad themes of: developing collective identity; representing sense of place for others and producing sense of place through 'memory talk'. The discussion that follows takes each of these themes in turn.

Developing collective identity

Respondents in the North Pennines accounted for their interest in heritage by describing the manner in which such engagement presented rewards for their efforts. Heritage activity as a collective exploration of sense of place and in some cases as an interpretation of that sense of place for the outside world, served to bond those engaging with it as a community. The following respondent is a vicar in a small, historic village. He was involved in researching local history for the parish newsletter, chaired a community development organisation which runs the annual village show and had recently invited museum professionals to run an oral history training event for residents. When asked why he engaged with heritage he replied:

'It's something that is part of what makes us who and what we are… I think it's important… because all these things are part of being a community really. And not just a sense of place, but you know the sense of community within the place really' (NP26).

His response is interesting in several ways. Firstly, heritage is clearly related to identity (it 'is part of what makes us who and what we are') and the respondent is unequivocal that the reasons for engaging with heritage go beyond the individual, noting that an awareness of heritage is 'part of being a community'. Here, engaging with heritage allows participants to consider their 'cultural roots' in order to make statements about themselves and their collective identities (Dicks, 2003, p.140). Secondly, heritage is a concept which has three dimensions. In essence, heritage is the notion of time; knowledge and values brought forward from the past, but added to this, the respondent above explains that his engagement with heritage is not just about place but 'the sense of community within place'. The understanding of heritage here is as a relationship between people and place, with the essential temporality of heritage adding a three-dimensional depth. This is a view that finds synergy with emerging conceptual approaches to the intangibility of heritage as a living culture existing between time, place and community (Stefano and Corsane, 2008).

Finally, the respondent continued: 'I also feel that… it is important for these people in this place… I do feel it's important for these people in this place.' He felt it was timely for his community to engage with heritage and he made reference to the changes affecting the region which are outlined above. What emerges from this comment and from other interviews is a sense that individuals or groups are galvanised by local socio-economic change to

become involved in heritage activities and that an exploration of collective identity is particularly pertinent for residents at this time. Relph (1976, p. 31) identifies a relationship between change and the value attached to heritage, noting that the persistent characteristics of a place are related to the 'very nature of change that serves to reinforce a sense of association and attachment to those places'. Community representation of 'cultural particularism' has also been seen as a response to the effects of globalisation (Dicks, 2003, p. 28; see also Robertson, 1992) whereby local identity claims are made by social groups who are keen to present themselves as distinctive in a world of increased homogeneity. Interview respondents referred to this experience of representing their identity for others, particularly through local history exhibitions, and what follows is a discussion of data analysis under this theme.

Representing sense of place for others

Local change in the context of the wider pressure of globalisation, finds North Pennines residents in a process of identifying and claiming their cultural heritage and identity. As this collective identity is discovered, 'those with access to exhibitionary resources (from media to museum) can circulate and market this (identity) through cultural display' (Dicks, 2003, p. 29). A number of interview respondents had been involved in creating local history exhibitions and the following individual, a senior teacher heavily involved in the local community described her experience:

'The only way I've sort of got involved is because people got to know (me) through having these exhibitions and you know… I mean originally, initially it was a money making effort, but eventually… it got to be more of an educational thing than a money making effort' (NP25).

Whilst for her, creating a local history exhibition began as a fundraising enterprise, it developed more popularity amongst the community and visitors to the village than she had anticipated, so that the annual event became more of an 'educational thing'. In other words, the exhibition allowed local identities to be 'discovered, claimed and publicly affirmed' (Dicks, 2003, p. 29). This final respondent describes the origins of a community action group which, at the time of interviewing, he chaired. Again, local people were galvanised to present their heritage to visitors when the extent of the threat posed by change became evident to them:

'It was partly because of a newspaper article… which was titled "Britain's Dying Villages" which came out in about 1985 and they picked on Allenheads as a village… where the pub had closed, there was a small shop and post office and nothing else and a lot of derelict buildings around the place…And this article, this article sort of got people talking in the village and the attitude was, "Well ours isn't a dying village, let's get an action group together and tidy it up... we'll make a heritage centre, we'll create jobs, we'll create a café"…' (NP27).

In each of these examples, agents are producing heritage for consumption, selecting the stories, media and creating the interpretation, with a specific purpose in preserving cultural heritage or reinforcing sense of place (Groote and Haartsen, 2008) by, for example, creating 'heritage centres'. Here the value of heritage is found in

'a popular feeling for the past and for place identity, manifested in people's reluctance to see the signs of "their" history obliterated in a speeded up world of constant change' (Dicks, 2003, p. 139). Perhaps then a desire to exert control over identity and how it is seen by others in times of change is motivating people in the North Pennines to become involved in heritage activity (Hawke, 2011; Newman et al., 2011). The process of producing exhibitions to represent heritage or sense of place for others, also involved a production or reaffirmation of identity through interactions between residents at these exhibitions as the ensuing section describes.

Producing sense of place through 'memory talk'

Some respondents described the motivation and reward for participating in heritage projects in terms of the process and dialogue about cultural identity that heritage opened up between those engaging with it. Heritage contributed to sense of place through the intangible process of 'memory talk'. This is a process identified through an ethnographic study in the north of England where it was noted that references to people and places, past and present threaded through the everyday interactions observed (Degnen, 2005). Social memory there was 'part and parcel' of everyday interaction, helping individuals place themselves in the 'webs of relations' (ibid. p. 730) between people and places in the community.

In the North Pennines, respondents indicated they were engaged in memory talk as a process of negotiating heritage values. Respondents involved in developing local history exhibitions as representations of sense of place or 'collective identity,' explained how the exhibitions acted as a forum for 'memory talk'. This respondent described pleasure in overhearing memory talk at an exhibition which she organised:

'It's interesting to listen to people… I try to put names on (photographs) as much as possible, and people say, 'That's so and so,' 'No I don't think it is,' 'Are you sure, I think it's so and so.' And it's just a friendly argument, if there's a person (in a photograph) with no name on you know, who is it? And that to me, once (the exhibition is) up… That's the interesting part about it, listening to what people say' (NP25).

Local exhibitions prompted interaction through which individuals were able to place themselves within 'webs of relations' thereby representing, consuming and producing (du Gay et al., 1997) notions of cultural heritage and collective identity. Heritage can thus be seen as an intangible process of social dialogue. As indicated earlier, however, for some respondents in the North Pennines their relationship with place was of shorter duration.

Discussion will now turn to the demographic profile of those engaging with heritage. Interview respondents continually referenced the interest in heritage shown by in-migrants and how this compared with that of 'born and bred' residents. Interviews also frequently touched on the particular appeal of heritage to older people. Data was coded to three broad themes and the following discussion focuses on the reasons for engaging with heritage of each group in turn: in-migrants, born and bred residents and older people.

Engagement with heritage and demographic profile

The discussion above has shown that respondents accounted for their interest in heritage in terms of the development, representation and production of collective cultural identity. It was suggested that the context of socio-economic transition in the North Pennines motivated residents there to engage with heritage. Interviews also shared two recurring motifs which can be similarly related to the experience of social change. Firstly, references were frequently made to the relationship between interest in heritage and life-stage, with older people more engaged with heritage through volunteer and leisure activities. Secondly, many respondents remarked on the clear contrast between the interest in heritage of long-term residents and that shown by in-migrants. Research conducted in areas surrounding the city of Manchester, found that few 'locals' in those areas were born and bred and where such locals did still exist, they often thought of themselves as marginal in terms of belonging (Savage et al., 2005). The newcomers or in-migrants, on the other hand, had chosen to live in those localities and expressed a keen sense of belonging. There are significant differences between the circumstances affecting the Manchester respondents and those in the North Pennines. However, it is clear that the newer residents in the North Pennines were similarly highly motivated to explore and articulate their place identity (Savage, 2009; Savage et al., 2005). This section will examine the categories of people involved in heritage activity as 'elective belongers', born and bred residents and older people.

Elective belonging

In an analysis of data pertaining to the nation's cultural involvement, Savage (2009) has suggested that the geographically mobile middle classes are able to exercise choice in where to live. He drew on earlier research (Savage et al., 2005) and suggested that such individuals elect to belong in a place that is appropriate to their sense of themselves, and that they 'can give eloquent stories about their sense of place' (Savage, 2009). The following respondent had moved to Weardale within the last five years and her comments indicate a strong interest in learning about the area, in order to articulate a 'satisfactory account' (Savage et al., 2005) of her sense of place:

'You've still got, I think, a real connection with the history of this landscape … if you know about it I suppose. If you don't know about it perhaps you wouldn't have. But I do know about it and I'm interested in it and I'm interested in researching it so you know, the landscape is very much a man-made landscape and you've got that, I've got that feeling of, you know, of following on in the footsteps of all these other people who lived here, and made this place' (NP24).

It is possible to see here the respondent's endeavours to articulate an account of her sense of place. She has no personal history or family connections in Dale (without 'autobiographical' or 'social insideness'), but has earned her 'real connection' with place by learning about it: 'I do know about it and I'm interested in it.' Through this knowledge, she has constructed for herself the intangible sense of 'insideness' to which born and bred respondents continually referred: 'I've got that feeling of… following in

the footsteps of all these other people who lived here'. Other newer residents were similarly motivated to find authentication for their sense of place as this local history society archivist described:

'You get occasionally local people interested in their family trees. Surprisingly few, it's always people from outside. It's as if people are… you know like a kite that isn't tethered to the ground sort of thing, they want to come and make that connection and think, "Oh phew" you know, "I'm still hanging on to my roots"…' (NP10).

This is re-iterated by a respondent who had investigated her genealogy as a new resident to the North Pennines, who acknowledged that finding a distant ancestral connection could not replace having immediate family in the locality, 'but it still does make us feel like I have some kind of investment in the area' (NP04).

The discussion has seen that for in-migrants, the North Pennines offered them place-congruent continuity, fitting neatly into the self-image they wished to present, for example, being someone with integrity in their environmental ethics: '(we) leave a lesser carbon footprint than we have in the past' (NP15). Some newer residents were eager to proselytise their passion for sense of place: 'I feel as though I've got a real interest and emotional investment in the area. I want to work here… I want to develop other people's interest in the place' (NP24). They showed characteristics of 'elective belongers', choosing to belong in a place congruous with their self-image (Savage et al., 2005), in a process supported by an exploration of heritage through local history and genealogy. Conversely, respondents indicated that unlike newer residents, born and bred residents were less likely to engage with heritage and the following section offers some possible explanations for this.

'Born and bred' residents

The reluctance of born and bred residents to take part in heritage activity was referred to several times in the North Pennines interviews, as this respondent explained: 'you know they sort of think the off-comers are all a bit nosey and digging all this stuff up you know, all the old customs and things like that, and… you often think that the locals would rather just let them float away' (NP14). For some residents born in the North Pennines, engaging with heritage did not appear to hold fascination. The following respondent is born and bred in the North Pennines and in an interview which referenced the dearth of employment opportunities which had seen her friends from school leave the area in pursuit of better work, she speculated on the failure of some local people to engage with their heritage through voluntary or leisure-time activity:

'Some (born and bred residents) I just don't think care… you'll probably find it's the more… intelligent people who actually do the thinking and you know the "where have we come from" and "why are we here" and all this kind of thing… probably the (born and bred who are not interested in heritage) … just accept the fact that they're here and that's enough' (NP08).

Whilst born and bred residents in the North Pennines are engaging with heritage, many are not. The above response resonates with Savage's hypothesis (Bennett et

al., 2009; Savage, 2009) that it is the educated middle classes who are more likely to exercise mobility and make choices about where they live, moving away in search of more profitable and fulfilling work. Moreover, it is this group which is more omnivorous consumers of culture thereby more likely to engage with heritage. Interviews indicated that in contrast to tepid interest from born and bred residents one group which was deeply enthralled by cultural heritage was that of older people entering retirement.

Older people

Discussion has seen that the majority of respondents in the North Pennines were newer residents creating an articulation of sense of place through engagement with heritage. Overwhelmingly, respondents reported a difficulty in recruiting younger people and that heritage groups and activities were best supported by older people. Whilst the North Pennines is an ageing population (Ward, 2006), perhaps this is unsurprising and many of the in-migrants or individuals 'electing' to belong in the area are those in retirement. Explanations are discussed here first in terms of ageing membership and secondly in terms of the particular time of life in which interest in heritage blossoms.

When writing about social capital, Putnam suggested that in the US, associative activity was less popular amongst the generation of Post-World War II 'baby boomers', born between the years 1946 and 1964 and even less so for the later 'generation x' than their forebears (Putnam, 2000). In the North Pennines, several respondents commented that: 'it is mostly older people that turn up for everything' (NP10) and 'the membership do tend to be older' (NP08). For some retired people, volunteering in the North Pennines fulfilled a need for 'busy work' (Orr, 2006). Their involvement in heritage was an extension of an amateur interest or hobby and participants were, 'looking for an interest... or... something else to do' (NP10). The interest of older people in heritage then could be characterised as the pursuit of committed or serious leisure (Orr, 2006; Stebbins, 2007).

Moreover, it has been suggested that the enthusiasm of older people for culture, in this case heritage, is connected to the need to develop concepts of self-identity (Newman et al., 2011). This sort of identity work has been recognised as relevant for those entering retirement and experiencing lifestyle change (Proshansky et al., 1983) and who are no longer able to draw on a career or dependent children to define their role in life. In Rowles' (1983) study of the older members of a North American community, he concluded that attachment to place was intimately related to a sense of self and thereby to wellbeing in later years. His ideas have been further developed by Newman et al. (2009) who suggested that 'in order to generate and sustain a self-concept in old age, a process of life review takes place, which involves reminiscence'. Heritage work builds identity capital (Côté, 1996) for older people who can take up an 'identity position', giving them control in social situations (Newman et al., 2009).

The enthusiasm of older people for heritage activity can be related to this development of identity capital in later life, reflection on the past helping individuals place themselves in the present and taking a role within

associative heritage activities providing an identity as a 'career volunteer' (Orr, 2006). The above discussion has demonstrated how for older people, newer residents and long-term residents, engaging with heritage was a means to renegotiate identity in times of socio-economic change.

Conclusion

This paper has shown that for residents in the North Pennines, heritage supported sense of place by providing a source of pride and self-esteem, by contributing to the particular characteristics of a place which can enhance feelings of distinctiveness and also by supporting continuity of identity through time. Heritage strengthened this continuity of identity by reinforcing 'insideness' acting as an 'aide-memoire', as a process of 'memory talk' and as a particular type of cultural heritage congruous with self-concept and therefore chosen by 'elective belongers'. Those interviewed explained the motivation and reward for engaging with heritage in terms of the exploration, representation and production of collective identity and this was perhaps felt more urgently in the context of socio-economic transition. Interviews uncovered tensions between the values attributed to heritage by new residents in the North Pennines and those who were born and bred there. Ultimately, older people making the transition into retirement were the most enthusiastic about engaging with heritage as volunteers or for leisure.

Sense of place in the changing communities of the North Pennines manifests in a variety of ways for long-term and newer residents. This paper has demonstrated that heritage contributes to sense of place in ways beyond its tangibility as a landscape, object or site. In the North Pennines, respondents made references to intangible forms of heritage: the process of negotiating heritage values through memory talk, for example, or the expression of cultural heritage as a particular, local 'disposition'. For some respondents, heritage manifested as a 'way of being' amongst local people that was the legacy of a cultural heritage of isolation and survival. It is perhaps this intangibility of heritage and sense of place which can account for the apparent disinterest in heritage projects expressed by born and bred people. This paper suggests that for them, heritage is a lived experience, one of autobiographical and social insideness, embodied in their habitual interaction with places which are sometimes only the 'drab' contemporary remains of what once was. Such notions found agreement when discussed with heritage professionals in the region. Staff at the North Pennines Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty Partnership debated the findings of the research. They noted the inadequacy of the traditional approaches to heritage in acknowledging the sort of heritage values held by born and bred residents. A product of Enlightenment systems of thought, the existing heritage discourse values heritage through designation and protection (museum object or World Heritage site for example) (Davis, 2009). However, this approach lays decision-making power in the hands of the heritage profession as an outsider elite, an elite whose ability to value notions such as 'insideness' and 'memory talk' is limited to the applicability of systems of designation and listing.

This paper has seen heritage manifested through the physical landscape, but also as a process in and of itself:

the activity of meaning making at exhibitions and through story telling and memory talk. The capacity of the heritage profession to recognise these ways in which local people make and invest heritage value is increasingly questioned (Waterton, 2005; Smith, 2006; Gibson and Pendlebury, 2009). Indeed, the cultural turn experienced within the humanities and social sciences allows for multiple meanings and as such poses a challenge to the established heritage discourse. What emerges is an 'alternative heritage discourse' (Hawke, 2010, p. 1337) which demands the democratic involvement of local people in decisions about heritage value and acknowledgement of their many ways of ascribing meaning (Howard, 2002). This discourse requires a renegotiation of heritage management systems to develop the capacity to acknowledge heritage as a process in and of itself: interaction at festivals (Smith, 2006), exhibitions (Dicks, 2000; 2003) and through the stories and reminiscence shared through memory talk (Degnen, 2005).

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Dublin docklands: the urban fabric as cultural heritage

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Introduction

Since the 1980s there have been major policies and projects for the redevelopment of Dublin Docklands. These projects were mainly aimed at profitable development of office, commercial and residential space, without a sound plan that would preserve the identity or community of the area. The recent shift in policies and urban design principles in the Dublin Docklands Area Master Plan 2008 shows that policy makers have acknowledged that mistakes were made in the last decades of the 20th century. The current map of the Dublin Docklands Area Master Plan 2008 gives us useful information about these changes. The Ringsend/ Irishtown area, which has kept a great part of its urban form and community identity throughout centuries, is described as an 'area of protection of residential and services amenities' (DDDA, 2008, map A). Meanwhile, the area of the Grand Canal Docks, recently developed, is described with the objective 'to seek the social, economic and physical development or rejuvenation within an area of mixed use of which residential and enterprise facilities would be the predominant uses' (DDDA, 2008, map A). This classification shows that recent development has been unable to achieve the cohesion and complexity of existing neighbourhoods, revealing flaws not only in policy, but also in the built environment and approaches to urban design.

The shift towards the consideration of more community participation reveals a need to understand the tradition and past of these communities, while the urban fabric of small plots in the existing neighbourhoods, therefore, seems to have a very important role in the conservation of identity of place and providing the opportunity for difference within regularity. On the other hand, the new fabric of residential block developments in the docklands denies the possibility of developing a sense of community, and by providing only regularity, does not leave space for difference.

This paper will address questions related to urban morphology and town analysis in the case of Ringsend and Irishtown. This will provide a tool to learn from the past and perhaps find new models of development that might be less detrimental for the heritage of cities and urban communities. One of the ideas of this paper is to adhere to the new tendency in conservation policies to provide a broader analysis of urban areas, not only considering individual monuments in cities, but also analysing the significance of urban morphology and intangible heritage. It forms part of an OPW Post-Doctoral Fellowship in Conservation Studies and Environmental History.[1] Research has been carried out in different areas of urban history of Dublin's southern waterfront, including infrastructure history and a thorough analysis of the letters of the Pembroke Estate of the 19th century, which included the areas of Ringsend and Irishtown. However, this paper focuses on the study of urban form of the area and its significance to Dublin's heritage.

Figure 1 Ringsend vs Docklands. A. Martire, 2010.

Docklands redevelopment in a global context

Over the last three decades, urban waterfronts globally have attracted large-scale urban development. The key drivers of this development have been the technical, political, social, and economical transformations, which provoked significant changes on the spatial configuration of the city in general and on their waterfronts in particular. Writing about urban docklands has grown significantly during the last two decades. The scope and extension of urban renewal on the urban waterfront led to the need of some reflection on these developments.

The most descriptive publication on the phenomenon appeared in the mid-1990s. Breen and Rigby (1994) published a catalogue of case studies of waterfront redevelopments from the Americas, Asia and Europe. Even though useful as a source for case studies, its scope is limited and there is barely any analysis of the projects, except for quantitative information.

Urban planners and designers have approached the subject in a more analytical manner. Joan Busquets

(1992; 1995) analysed the characteristics of urban planning operations, focusing on infrastructures, and from the tradition of the private-public partnership of the urban project. Han Meyer (1999) analysed the cases of New York, Barcelona, London and Rotterdam under the premise that the role of the urban planner in 'the cultural significance of the design and redesign of infrastructural works' (Meyer, 1999, p. 9) is crucial for its development. Even though he addressed the problems of the relations between different scales and between the existing urban fabric and the new developments, Meyer failed to acknowledge certain issues such as existing waterfront residential areas or the importance of the streets in these areas as leading public spaces. Joaquin Casariego (1999) also used a comparative analysis to clarify concepts and ideas of planning activities in Las Palmas and Rotterdam.

The planning and urban design perspective of the authors mentioned has the tendency to give little attention to the social, political, historical and economical issues at stake in these regeneration processes, therefore avoiding some of the most complex set of problems these projects may have.

Most of the literature about the urban waterfront also fails to address two key issues, one being the evolution of harbour areas and waterfronts as spaces of leisure, which I have analysed in my doctoral thesis (Martire, 2008), and the other is the significance of existing residential areas and the way they are affected by docklands redevelopment, which is addressed in this paper.

Another outstanding omission in the literature about the waterfront is the distinction between the concepts of docklands and waterfronts. Docklands and waterfronts are different places, and they have distinct social, economic and spatial characteristics. They also have a different history and therefore an approach that acknowledges this distinction may be useful to analyse the way these areas are used today and to provide tools for future urban design.

Urban conservation

The first description of building conservation policies can be traced to 1877, in William Morris's The Manifesto for the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings. The ICOMOS Charters of Venice (1964), Florence (1981) and Washington (1987) contain the main guidelines for urban conservation today.

Urban conservation is not only based on the conservation of buildings but also on the preservation of the whole ambience, including cultural significance (Thorsby, 2002; Cohen, 2001). This cultural significance is preserved not only in the built fabric but in the way this fabric is used by its dwellers. Therefore, urban conservation is about how people live, work and play in an area, as described by Tan (2006, p. 1):

'How they live is inextricably linked to historical buildings; buildings that house their abodes; buildings where they earn their living; buildings whose shape, size and locality form the essence of their lives and how they carry it out.'
Urban conservation also helps to reduce urban sprawl and reduce the creation of new towns through the revitalization of the old town and adaptive reuse of old buildings. This is more sustainable than to open new land because in the old town, basic infrastructure and the amenities are established. Moreover, it is considered that conservation might lead to the museification of urban areas, as explained by Burtenshaw (1985, p. 365):

'Quality rests on the twin strengths of the urban conservation movement and tourism to maintain the diversity of functions within cities. Such policies needed to be monitored to ensure that we were not creating urban museums in the centre of, for example, Bruges, Regensburg and York.'

This is why the sound analysis of the urban fabric becomes a useful tool to understand the historic development of a specific urban area, to allow planners to act in the urban environment in an informed manner. This brings us to the relevance of urban morphology to understand the significance of historic urban areas.

Urban morphology and historic urban landscapes

Geographers and urban planners have approached the evolution of urban form by applying different theories. These professionals have used urban morphology and town plan analysis to disect the conditions of the city. According to Jacinta Prunty (2010), the use of town plan analysis is justified by the need of a sense of continuity of existence, based on a sense of group-supported continuity. This is only viable in a place where there is a sense of community, which calls this place 'home'. Prunty also poses that morphological analysis is a prerequisite for informed action, as its consequences are long term. These reflections shed light on phenomena such as those of revitalization of dockland areas, especially as opposed to the more conserved residential or 'mixed use'[2] areas of the waterfront.

Since the end of the 19th century there has been a need to explain and apply urban form through theory. The Garden Cities of Tomorrow by Ebenezer Howard (1898), Le Corbusier's Ville Radieuse (1935), and Wright's Broadacre (1935) are some examples of this approach. Since the 1960s, these approaches were either used as tools for development in various urban and suburban contexts, or strongly criticized from a social point of view, such as Jane Jacobs (1961) and Kevin Lynch (1960) from a perception and planning perspective, and Christopher Alexander (1987) from an analytical perspective. All of them, however, argued for a more humane approach to city planning, based on observation of what actually works in existing cities.

Urban morphology has its origins in the end of the 19th century in Germany. Otto Schlüter was one of the first geographers to focus on urban form and was the mentor of the most renowned urban morphologist in the English-speaking world, M.R.G. Conzen. Conzen transformed the examination of historical evidence into a powerful tool for elucidating the development of towns and cities in Britain. In Italy, Saverio Muratori and Gianfranco Caniggia also approached the subject of urban morphology since the 1940s, which provided the basis for the integration of new architectural works in the syntax of the urban tissue. There was little exchange between these schools of thought in their origins, but they have been recently integrated in research (Maffei and Whitehand, 2001).

Whitehand (1972; 1987) and Slater (1982) are pre-eminent amongst the researchers who have more recently made contributions in this tradition. Even though the discipline of urban morphology has been present in geography since the 1960s, what becomes apparent is that this type of analysis of urban form is still needed but is not practiced when it comes to urban development. As Whitehand recently noted at the Space Syntax conference of 2007:

'Facts such as these should have implications for the way we think about cities, but frequently planners, including those with responsibility for conservation, show little appreciation of how the form taken by the urban landscape is connected to the historical grain of the city. The administrative boundaries to which planning decisions tend to relate often cut across the units in the urban landscape that are products of the city's historical development. (...) In most countries management of historical urban landscapes goes no further than conservation of individual buildings, monuments and special areas that are architecturally or historically significant or both' (Whitehand, 2007, p. ii-4).

There needs, therefore, to be a different approach to planning and heritage management, which does not just conserve buildings as monuments for their own sake, but also looks at the wider context of the city and the way different communities live in it with a historic continuity.

According to Whitehand (2007, p. ii-5), Conzen considered two especially important elements: the 'historical expressiveness' of the urban landscape and 'morphogenetic priority' of the different 'form complexes' as contributors to the landscape. 'Historical expressiveness' is seen as an invaluable source of experience, where social and geographical experiences meet. 'Morphogenetic priority' reflects the persistence or lifespan of the elements that comprise each form complex, which have high resistance to change.

Attempting to provide another detailed analysis of urban form, Bloch (1968) recognised that the fundamental element of urban structure is the plot, and that the essential instrument for the analysis of urban form is the historical map. Francoise Boudon in the 1970s also considered the plot as an elementary denominator of urban form:

'The plot is the smallest common denominator of human settlement where the legal, social, economic elements which form the history of the earth, [and] where the experiences of culture and dwelling take place. Historical analysis of the fragmented structure of the urban fabric is the way to sustain the link between place and architecture, between place and function. It alone can explain the relationship of each element with its neighbour and record the variety of different sequences of urban achrony' (Boudon, 1975, p. 773).

The radical transformation of the urban landscape on waterfronts, due to the change of function from industrial to a more traditional mix of urban uses, poses many difficulties in the recognition and conservation of features that are characteristic of such a place. This is why by studying the urban morphology of an area and analysing its history we can have a clearer idea of how to intervene in it today.

Ringsend/Irishtown and Dublin Docklands historical background

The history of Ringsend and Irishtown has not yet been analysed thoroughly. Most of the literature on the area relies on memory rather than on historical records and sources are scant (Payne, 1989; Flynn, 1990; McKenna, 1993). On the other hand, books like Gilligan (1988) and Givens (2006) display a journalistic account of facts relating more to the bay and harbour than to the urban area itself. This paper is based on rare articles on journals and maps of the estate to present a more reliable and diverse picture of the waterfront area.

Ringsend was originally a long narrow peninsula separated from the rest of Dublin by the estuary of the River Dodder. According to De Courcy (1988, p. 324), 'from the beginnings, the first evidence of settlement (at Dublin) suggests occupation of two patches of dry ground of which the more important was the spur on which the castle was built near the main ford of the river, the other was the low gravel ridge at Ringsend'. Irishtown was populated later on; in 1654 Henry Cromwell exiled every person of Irish blood from the limits of the city to two miles from the city wall, which led to the foundation of Irishtown. The Irish community settled in Irishtown, outside the city walls, giving the area its name. In Ringsend, by 1660, 59 inhabitants were of English origin and 21 were Irish. In Irishtown 23 people were English and 75 were Irish. The Catholic population that initially settled in the area of Irishtown dictated the social, formal and institutional conditions of the area. In the same way, the mixed population of Ringsend dictated their own conditions.

Ringsend was exclusively a fishermen's village until, in the 16th century, it took over Dalkey's position as the main landing harbour out of Dublin. By 1640, when the first bridge between Dublin and Ringsend was built, Ringsend became the main entrance of goods to Dublin harbour. It was still a dangerous harbour due to the unpredictable tides and harshness of currents.

Ringsend first appears on a map of 1673 (de Gomme 1673), with a fort structure at the end of the approximately 70 meter wide peninsula, and a series of buildings are drawn with black line drawing, in the location of what today is the area of Ringsend. In de Gomme's map the distance between Ringsend and Irishtown is approximately 270 metres. The first depiction of Ringsend and Irishtown as two distinct villages is in the map of 1706[3] (Fig. 2). Ringsend appears as a set of plots distributed regularly, divided and grouped by streets running from north to south and from east to west. In contrast, Irishtown appears as a set of scattered houses, with no sign of roads or streets. In the print on the top side of Charles Brooking's Map of 1728 the morphology of the village of Ringsend does not appear too different from that of the southern quays, the houses are slightly smaller, but the main characteristic is that this location is isolated from the rest of the city.

This urban form is resilient to change, and even in the map of 1762, Ringsend appears as a regular array of blocks with one main street dividing them, and each block has a regular set of plots. Irishtown still appears as a set of scattered houses, but there is one path that connects it with Ringsend.
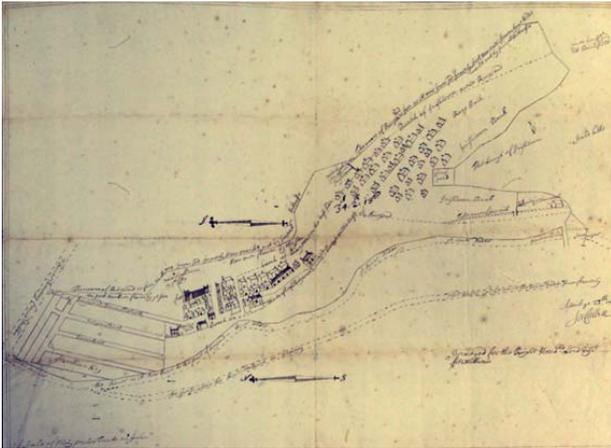
Figure 2 A map of Ringsend and Irishtown. J. A. Cullen, 1706.

In Roque's maps of 1756, 1760 and 1773, Irishtown appears for the first time as arranged in blocks of houses, with one main street. These maps do not provide information of the uses apart from one church in Ringsend and another in Irishtown and baths in both areas. What are now the docklands areas were called the South Lots, and it was part of the landfill done consistently since the 17th century. The Grand Canal Docks were built to link the Grand Canal with River Liffey, these works were finally accomplished in 1796, which gave the land the form is still has today.

The perception of this area of the city changed through time. Francis Elrington Ball, in 1903, reminisces on the conditions of Ringsend two centuries earlier:

'Ringsend at the beginning of the eighteenth century is described as being a clean, healthy and beautiful village, which houses on the walls of which vines were trained; and later on Mrs. Delaney speaks of Ringsend, where she went to buy shells for her grotto, in connection with a description of the environs of Dublin which aroused her admiration. It was then inhabited, in addition to seamen, by officials belonging to the Port of Dublin, and for their convenience, as the parish church of Donnybrook was often inaccessible owing to floods caused by rain and tides, the royal chapel of St. Matthew, commonly known as Irishtown church, was erected, in what was then an adjacent village' (Elrington Ball, 1903, p. 35).

The perception of Ringsend and Irishtown as two distinct areas, separated from the rest of the Estate, is evident in this quote. The positive image of the area as a bathing location was also depicted in the text by Donal T. Flood:

'Bathing in the sea was generally accepted as beneficial to health, although it must have served also as a cleansing process. In the early part of the century, Ringsend became a celebrated bathing resort' (Flood, 1978, p. 133).

The baths in this area remained during the 18th and most of the 19th century. In Rocque's map of 1756 the baths for men appear on the coast of Ringsend and those for women on the coast of Irishtown. Even as late as the 1790s, citizens would spend summers in Irishtown for the health benefits of the seaside. An example was Theobald Wolfe Tone, a leading figure in the Irish independence movement, who rented a small cottage in the village for the improvement of his wife's health (Elrington Ball, 1903, pp. 39-40).

There were several changes in infrastructure that altered the form and function of Ringsend. The construction of the South Wall, during the 19th century allowed for a transformation of the area, with the prevention of floods and the installation of new industries. The Ballast Office established its builders' stores and workshops in Ringsend. The Pidgeon House was built further east on the wall and operated as a packet station until it was replaced by the one in Howth in 1818. The other significant infrastructural engineering work was the diversion of the River Dodder, which took place by the late 18th century.

The situation of these towns had dramatically changed by the beginning of the 19th century, and Irishtown was considered a filthy and deteriorated area. Sir John Carr, Duke of Bedford, an English traveller, said: 'it is one of the most horrible stinks of filth I ever beheld, every house swarmed with ragged squalid tenantry and dung and garbage lay in heaps in passages' (Elrington Ball, 1903, pp. 39-40).

In the map of 1808 the layout of the docklands was already configured, even though no structures appear built yet, while the areas of Ringsend and Irishtown remained basically unchanged. However, what does not appear to be detailed on the map yet, but would appear subsequently, is that the areas of Ringsend and Irishtown were changing rapidly. The transformation of the waterfront towns was partly due to the new contaminating industrial processes of salt and glassworks:

'The little port of Ringsend, once the busy focal point for travellers, to and from England, by the sailing packets, had become "an unchangeably wretched village" wreathed in the smoke of its factories. Ringsend and Ballybough became centres of coal-consuming industries. D'Alton records an iron foundry, a glass-house, and three salt-works in Ringsend' (Flood, 1978, p. 130).

This condition is reflected in the maps of the 1820s and 1840s; the maps commissioned by the Pembroke Estate give detailed information about the uses and tenants of the plots of Ringsend and Irishtown. In 1822, the area appears much more consolidated. Thorncastle Street was the main road in Ringsend and the plots were located on both sides, perpendicular to the road. The plots closer to the Liffey were wider, with a strong presence of industrial buildings, painted gray, and with less residential uses, painted red.

The plots closer to the bridge over the Dodder were much smaller, compact and consolidated, having less free space in the back yards. Fitzwilliam Street, Quality Row and Thomas Street, parallel to Thorncastle Road limited the blocks. The rest of the land southward in front of the River Dodder was practically empty, and was leased to the main agent of the Estate in Dublin, Richard Verchoyle. The area between Ringsend and Irishtown on the seafront was also practically devoid of buildings, except for Murphy's baths on the edge of Irishtown. Judging by the map of 1822 (Fig. 3), the area of Irishtown appears already to have been consolidated. Bath Street and Pembroke Street ran from north to south

concentrating the greatest amount of dwellings, which plots were rather wider than those in Ringsend. The area of Irishtown seems to have fewer industrial facilities, though the church appears also painted gray, as other industrial facilities.

Figure 3 A Map of Part of the Estate of the Earl of Pembroke. J. Roe, 1822.

The poor situation of Ringsend and Irishtown was recognized by the landlords and their agents in Dublin. The situation of Ringsend and Irishtown as boundary areas of the City of Dublin was clear in these letters, especially in the need to develop infrastructures. The lack of intervention of the Grand Jury in works on the area is consistently mentioned in the letters, as well as the increasing poverty of the population:

'I regret having to state that the tenantry at Ringsend and Irishtown have suffered much in the two last days by the breaking in of the sea, the tide having risen several feet higher than for many years' (Sullivan 22 December 1827).

'Permit me to direct your attention to the situation of Ringsend particularly to the main street leading from the bridge to the wall which is and has been for a considerable time almost impassible. This has been in a great measure occasioned by the heavy pressure of the wagons and carts to and from the Pidgeon House. From various circumstances but principally from the loss of the salt trade ship building, a large portion of the inhabitants have been so much reduced in circumstances as to be unable to contribute in a sufficient manner for the improvement of the town' (Sullivan 29 May 1828).

The agent of the Pembroke Estate even addressed the House of Lords for help in the matter:

'I am obliged to call your Lordships attention to the subject, and as a new Bill is now proposing for paving the City and Environs, to request that your Lordship will take into consideration the property of extending the borders thereof to Ringsend and Irishtown, but particularly to the former, not more than a ¼ of a mile from the boundary of the City. (…) The inhabitants of Ringsend are charged with levy caps by the Jury and complain with justice of the dangerous and neglected state of their town' (Sullivan December 1828).

Other correspondence between Countess Pembroke and the Estate managers mention the dereliction of the area and the need of support, which eventually did come from the funds of the Estate:

'Ringsend and Irishtown presently the former place, contain a number of destitute persons and there our operations can be most beneficial, at the same time that it would be meeting the objects of the association. Whatever sum your ladyship may authorize the disposal of in this way, shall be done in the most productive manner for the objects requiring relief' (Sullivan October 1829).

By the time the map by Brassington and Gale was drawn in 1844, the urban form of the area remained practically unchanged. Very few leases of the towns of Ringsend and Irishtown had changed and the main industrial areas remained the same as in 1822. A discernible difference actually took place between 1844 and 1864. In the 1864 Ordinance Survey map a much greater area appears as built, especially in the once empty area between the two towns. A set of terraces appears on Irishtown Road, connecting both towns, and other terraces appear south of London Bridge Road, where previously there was no construction at all. A few terraces give their back onto the seafront, near the rope walk and the whole area seems generally more consolidated.

Meanwhile, the Grand Canal Docks area was slowly being constructed as a mainly industrial and port area. However, it is evident by the print of 1846 that this area was also residential and commercial. On the eastern side of the dock the buildings are evidently warehouses, while the western side was still devoid of buildings, whereas the blocks surrounding the area were residential, with a square evident on the southern end of the docks.

The social characteristics of Ringsend and Irishtown matched the development of industry in the area. As Daly (1984, p. 201) observes, in the 1860s: 'the suburbs of Dublin repeated the social pattern prevailing in the city and reinforced the social domination of the area south of the river Liffey, somewhat distant from the river itself and its related dockland. This ensured the social pre-eminence of Rathmines and Pembroke, though in the latter the case matter was complicated by the working class dock areas of Irishtown and Ringsend.'

Some of the significant industries in the area of Ringsend were the saltworks and glassworks. According to Arthur Flynn (1990), the Act of Union of 1801 caused the collapse of industries such as salt, glass and Haig's distillery, adhering to the idea that the Act of Union was the cause for the decline of the city. However, even though this is not proof of the industries' success, but at least of their subsistence, they still appear in the Ordnance Survey maps of 1864 and 1867, as the main industries of the area.

By 1867, most of Ringsend that fronted onto the Dodder was occupied by industrial buildings, while the streetscape was mainly made up of residential terraces. These characteristics did not change until well into the 20th century. On the 1911 map, we can still see that churches and schools founded in the 19th century remained, and some more public buildings had appeared, such as the technical school of Ringsend. By 1911, all of the docks hinterland was industrial, which was evidently due to the fact that loading and unloading of material took place on the waterfront. In the 1907 OS map, the areas of Ringsend and Irishtown were still on the seafront, but by the 1935 map, the landfill between

the rope walk and the south wall was already developed. The beach road ran in a straight line from Marine Drive (Seafront Avenue) to Cranfield Place to Bath Street. The neighbourhoods may have lost their waterfront, but they also gained public parks and housing estates.

Unfortunately, the relationship of Ringsend with the River has been all but lost, as commented by De Courcy as early as 1988:

'In the last two decades however, one must record with some regret how its Great South Wall, so bravely painted by William Sandler, has lost its contact with the river near Ringsend, through the building of the new quays to the pigeon house and the formation of the new approach road to the East Link Toll Bridge, so that it now, after 250 years of service, lies largely buried in the new works, its purpose finished, and its very existence unknown to most who pass along its route' (De Courcy, 1988, p. 327).

Today, despite losing the waterfront, and despite the construction of new housing, Ringsend and Irishtown preserve their urban fabric and with it their everyday activities and vibrant communities. The urban morphology of Ringsend and Irishtown requires a more thorough analysis, in order to understand its urban complexity, and would have to be confronted with street directories of the 19th and 20th centuries.

The scope is too great for a short paper such as this one. However, the enduring nature of the urban fabric of Ringsend and Irishtown as distinct urban neighbourhoods is clear through time and might be one of the main factors behind the vibrancy of the streets and the schools, churches and community centres of the area.

Urban redevelopment in Dublin since the 1980s

Economic growth during the last decades of the 20th century had many major consequences on the built environment, especially in Dublin, where the 'Celtic Tiger' (Kirby 2005; Ni Mhaille Battel, 2003; Kennedy, 1990; MacSharry and White, 2000) economic boom was greater than in other European cities. Different projects and policies were developed in the city at a time when investment opportunities were rising and the authorities were unprepared for the unexpected growth. This was compounded by planning legislation and protection of heritage only introduced in 1995 and their implementation only carried out from as late as 2000.

While during the 1950s and 1960s there had been a series of 'hard'[4] urban renewal processes in Dublin, as in many other European cities, the transformation of the 1980s is considered a 'soft'[5] one by Frank Convery:

'Architects are judged not on the impact and utility of the new monuments they create, but on the extent to which they integrate and enhance existing streetscapes and uses. Planners are judged on the degree to which their plans produce a humane, liveable city, in harmony with its past, and where the pedestrian has rights which in many instances supercede those of the car' (Convery, 1988, p. 155).

This is evidently a biased opinion of the 1980s which, as with many other authors, rejects the model of hard urban

renewal, and as I will elucidate on later, was not the case of the urban development of the docklands in the 1990s. Convery saw the threat of this new 'hard' urban development and recommended to embrace the 'soft' renewal option:

'...because it is an essential pre-requisite to the economic and social revitalization of our city. Dublin's commercial future rests on its comparative advantage as a centre of communications and of services, a cosmopolitan place rich in universities, culture and skills, where the best of the past is cherished, restored and used for the present. Both visitors and the new wave of entrepreneurs in information-based industry favour such locations. The social health of our communities depends on the achievement of commercial success, and on the sharing in that success of the community at large' (Convery, 1988, p. 156).

Even though the discourse seems to defend soft renewal and takes a broader view as to the way these areas have to be approached, while stating that the commercial success is the key to the triumph of urban renewal, there is still one conflictive element, which is community. Commercial success, as that in areas of gentrification, has proved to be a more disruptive than collaborative element for the establishment and conservation of a sense of community.

By the 1980s, some commentators were aware of the need to recognise the failure of new buildings as opposed to the conservation and use of older structures:

'There has been a persistently strong policy bias which has skewed house buyers away from acquiring and restoring old houses, and in favour of buying new houses. At present (March 1988) buyers of a new house receive a £2,000 grant, pay no stamp duty (4-6 per cent of purchase price and will readily secure a mortgage. If they buy an old house to restore it, they will get no grant, pay stamp duty; if the house is perceived to be in a 'dodgy' part of town they'll have trouble getting a mortgage' (Convery, 1988, p. 155).

These types of policy allowed for the development of docklands model development in the end of the 1980s and during the 1990s. In the same year, a local conference in UCD, called 'Revitalizing Dublin: What Works' did little to redress this obvious imbalance in the debate.

'While the conference did note that problems such as displacement can be inherent in some forms of revival, the contributors, served largely to endorse the course taken by Glasgow, Boston and London's Dockland rather than develop an alternative approach for Dublin. Neither does the conference report contain any countervailing critique from the considerable band of urban activists and academics who view this approach to revival as unbalanced and fundamentally flawed' (Dempsey, 1992, p. 75).

In the intellectual climate of the time, gentrification was seen as an opportunity rather than a threat to the development of Dublin: 'there is today, a particularly strong tendency to see private investment as the solution to all economic woes' (Dempsey, 1992, p. 79).

Comments of Jane Jacobs (1961) in the 1960s and later McDonald (1985) and Michael Sorkin (1992) try to prove that this phenomenon of gentrification is rather negative for the city, for it does not maintain the middle class in the city, but rather displaces it to the suburbs. It does not allow the development of vibrant communities in the heart of the city.

To be able to understand the phenomenon of urban redevelopment in Dublin we have to take a closer look at how the docklands were developed, as a crucial enclave steps away from Dublin city centre.

South Dublin Docklands

Unlike the development of Temple Bar in Dublin in the late 1980s, the development of the Docklands took on a much 'harder' approach. In 1986, the northern side of the Liffey was first developed under the Custom House Docks Development Authority (CHDDA). This area was developed as the new International Financial Services Centre (IFSC), with buildings for offices, retail, leisure and luxury apartments. Despite the partial economical success of this area, the development suffered harsh criticism, especially for the lack of attention put on the conservation of community and affordable housing projects.

'The project (Custom House Docks area) has been hailed as a major success story. However, the social, political and to a lesser extent, physical aspects of the scheme received widespread criticism. In the context of growing public concerns about the democratic deficits and exclusionary features of the project, the subsequent 'fight-back' by the 'enfeebled' local authority contributed to the complex conditions in which new urban governance arrangements and alternative models of urban regeneration policies have changed considerably' (Bartley and Treadwell, 2003, p. 151).

This type of criticism led to the creation, in 1997, of the DDDA (Dublin Docklands Development Authority). The aims of this new enterprise were different from those of ten years earlier, and included 'the social and economic regeneration of the Dublin docklands Area on a sustainable basis and to "improve the physical environment"' (DDDA, 1997, p. 2). This time, apart from the hotels, outlets, amenities, offices and tourist attractions, the plan also includes the residents.

As explained by Bartley and Treadwell, there has not yet been consistent criticism of the urban and architectural development of Dublin Docklands, even though recently financial and administrative issues have been disclosed and criticised[6] The urban design and architecture of the area has been hardly ever addressed, while parts of the plan are still underway.

The academics, Niamh Moore (2008) and Brendan Bartley (2003) have been consistent critics of this type of development, from a social and political point of view. Astrid Wonneberger (2008) has given a very enlightening view on the damage done by the Dublin Docklands development to the sense of community, not only of the redeveloped precinct but also of the surrounding areas.

'While some of these effects are welcomed, if they benefit the entire community or parts of it, others are strongly opposed, particularly if the residents see their close-knit and functioning community structure threatened' (Wonneberger, 2008, p. 48). One of the main problems defined by Moore (2008) is the one of segregation, following the model of docklands of other cities. As stated in the following quotation: 'the general trend in Dublin, in common with other ports around the world, has been the separation of these entities and the result has been a progressive eastward development of the port over time creating a gap or 'interstitial' area between the city and the sea' (Moore, 2008, p. 16).

During the 20th century, according to Prunty (1988), the docklands in Dublin returned to their slum conditions of the 19th century. This observation precedes the development of the 1990s, but reflects an idea that would eventually lead to the great scale development and destruction of invaluable industrial heritage.

It is expected that those responsible for the redevelopment of such a large and relevant urban area as the Dublin Docklands will praise the work they have done. In 1995, the publication of the DDDA gave a description of their future work in the Docklands:

'We will develop Dublin Docklands into a world-class city quarter – a paragon of sustainable inner city regeneration – one in which the whole community enjoys the highest standards of access to education, employment, housing and social amenity and which delivers a major contribution to the social and economic prosperity of Dublin and the whole of Ireland' (DDDA, 2005, p. 1).

This ambitious affirmation was extremely difficult to achieve and is characteristic of the 'Celtic Tiger' period, when investment and development were focused on areas that were susceptible to change in a very short term. Most of these objectives have not been achieved. The statement of the DDDA chair in 2005 still advocates for the positive and successful development of the area:

'There is no doubt that the nature of Docklands has changed irrevocably in recent years. The area has always benefited from having a strong and supportive local community, which suffered in the 1980s from unemployment and lack of investment in economic and social infrastructure. Over recent years, however, the area has become a revitalised and dynamic urban hub with huge economic and social regeneration capacity. That development has been mirrored in the growing self confidence and involvement of the local community who have participated in the project with great enthusiasm' (DDDA, 2005, p. 3)

This view of success is limited to one single perspective, where economic success and the illusion of a new image for the city are the main drivers. A great part of the community that they talk about has been displaced and there is a conflict between the concepts of regeneration and community. However, even within the DDDA there has been some criticism to the nature of this development:

'The waterfront and campshires of Dublin Docklands have undergone a dramatic transformation over the last ten years. The old working Docklands area has given way to a place with new urban uses and new aspirations. However, the character of the waterfront that has

emerged is sterile and, as a public amenity, the waterfront is still under utilised' (DDDA, 2007, p. 8).

The problem is enhanced by the social segregation caused by the development:

'Rather than leading to an even rise in the social composition throughout the inner city, this has happened almost exclusively by way of new infill developments. The result is a patchwork of highly disadvantaged and highly affluent neighbourhoods at the micro level and in close proximity' (Trutz Haaze, 2009, p. 29).

The same study of Dublin's inner city reveals the endemic problem of the dockland model development regarding the type of demographic that inhabits these areas:

'The physical constraints of the vast majority of recent developments effectively imposes the perpetuation of an ever transient population, making it impossible for community relationships to develop' (Trutz Haaze, 2009, p. 31). Bartley and Treadwell also analysed the social consequences of the latest economic policies for the built environment: 'while the urban development project (UDP) in Dublin docklands has been acknowledged as an economic success, it has also contributed to social polarization effects' (Bartley and Treadwell, 2003, p. 146).

The process of gentrification of the dockland areas appears according to these commentators to be detrimental to the development of a sense of community in these areas, and also damages the neighbouring areas.

Conclusions

In this paper, I have attempted to relate the ideas of heritage, identity and urban morphology, with the purpose of understanding the significance of resilient urban areas such as Ringsend and Irishtown, considering current urban conservation ideas, while observing the faults of new developments such as the Grand Canal Docks.

The urban design and building type of these new developments basically invites a certain type of population that clashes, and is totally at odds with the existing one, while the sense of authenticity and identity of an urban area is lost. Dempsey is right when he observes that:

'Even within the gentrified enclaves themselves there are serious problems. The residents are almost exclusively young single people from similar socio-economic backgrounds. Additionally, these enclaves appear increasingly identical, with the result that one can move from Chicago to Boston and find virtually the same neighbourhood' (Dempsey, 1992, p. 78).

In a new development, such as the Dublin Docklands, there is absolutely no sign of identification with the city or its history, and no sense of community is created or sustained. However, it is necessary to recognise that this type of development is not all negative. Some of the buildings in the area have architectural value as individual buildings, such as the Alto Vetro building on

Grand Canal Quay by Shay Cleary Architects and very few of the industrial buildings left on the Canal Dock, such as the Boland's Flour Mill which has been preserved, showing some kind of relation to the past. In any case, the value of these buildings is individual, and does not add up to the significance that this area of the city should have. In the case of the few contemporary individual buildings, it serves more to display an international style standard in Dublin, and in the case of the Mill there is conservation only of the carcass with nothing else of it surviving.

Ringsend and Irishtown have had no large-scale development schemes, and have kept their urban form and everyday activities. They have changed, but the small scale in which these transformations have taken place have allowed the inherent characteristics of the neighbourhoods intact.

This leads us to recognise the need to acknowledge all the guidelines proposed by the European Commission for the development of waterfront urban areas:

'1. Resources and identity; 2. Social status; 3. Access and activities; and 4. Waterfront experience' (Science for Environment Policy, 2006, p. 1).

While the docklands might have an active waterfront experience related to leisure activities and accessibility, the first two issues of resources and identity and social status are not preserved. On the other hand, in Ringsend and Irishtown, even though the waterfront experience has been lost, there is still an urban port identity that remains in these neighbourhoods. The point relating to resources and identity is strongly tied to the existing built environment, not only in the buildings themselves but also in the way the urban fabric and those buildings are part of the tight-knit communities that live in them, reflecting a social status and identity that remain.

Notes

1 The fellowship arises from research collaboration between the Office of Public Works and University College Dublin to establish the significance of the built and designed environment with reference to international benchmarks such as World Heritage criteria.

2 The idea of mix use has been used consistently in urban design and town planning since the 1980s. However, mixed use has been present in the urban landscape since cities first existed. Apparently, zoning in urban plans had a negative effect, and more recent plans use mixed used areas to try to revert this mistake.

3 The map is in the National Archive of Ireland and drawn in 1706 by J.A.Cullen. It appears under the file 2011/2/1/25, but the description in the index is mistaken and says A Map of the Strand of Ringsend, Irishtown and Sandymount. Surveyed for the purpose of enclosing and reclaiming the same by John Roe Sept 1806.

4 Hard urban renewal involves comprehensive redevelopment, wherein the existing fabric, communities and traditions were swept away to be replaced by new housing, office blocks and road networks regarded as suitable for the new age.

5 Even though not specifically defined by Convery, soft renewal is the one which uses the urban fabric and provides a livable city in harmony with its past.

6   The Irish broadsheet newspapers have dealt with the subject continuously especially since 1997. The debates in Parliament have also dealt with these issues. Dáil debates, Tuesday, 8 December 2009, http://www.kildarestreet.com/debates/?id=2009-12-08.450.0, viewed May 17, 2010. A journalistic view on the docklands development times can be seen in an article of The Irish Times, Friday, March 26, 2010 The Dublin Docklands story.

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Heritage conservation as urban regeneration policy in globalizing cities: social exclusion and gentrification at the vicinity of the Jongmyo World Heritage site in Seoul, Korea

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Introduction

A widely held belief amongst city officials is that the stronger international competitiveness and reputation the city has, the more investors and visitors come and eventually bring more money and better job opportunities to a city. Today, various efforts for urban regeneration (replaceable with 'rehabilitation' or 'redevelopment') are a global trend, since it is one of the main strategies to cleanse deteriorated neighbourhoods and create new economic and real estate values from the old urban structure. Seoul, as a six hundred-year-old capital city of Korea, is an example of this. In general, capital and government-led place making movements are fairly brisk in the old city centre, while large-scale new town projects are flourishing in the suburbs of Seoul. Since heritage sites are more concentrated in the old downtown area than in the newly urbanized areas, they are becoming increasingly involved with the issue of urban regeneration. This phenomenon, however, gives a cause for concern in relation to how we see and deal with urban regeneration, including heritage.

This paper focuses on one particular question: is cultural heritage a tool for globalization of a city or a means of achieving sustainable urban regeneration? In order to answer this question, the paper uses as a case study the Jongmyo Shrine, one of Korea's ten World Heritage sites, where two redevelopment projects have recently been planned in its vicinity. These are the 'Jongmyo Shrine Sacralisation Project' and the 'Seun Greenway Park Project'. In particular, the research notes what are negative effects of government or capital-led urban regeneration using heritage conservation, driven by the globalization paradigm. Behind visually successful outcomes of those plans, there are some adverse impacts on a given community and its people as well as heritage itself. Social exclusion and gentrification problems are found in Jongmyo Park and the Seun shopping street area although the projects have just started.

The main methods used for this research include literature and documents examination in relation to the project, such as the documents of Seoul City, Korean Cultural Heritage Committee meetings, and various reports. Interviews carried out in Jongmyo Park from 2006 to 2009 have also been analyzed to identify users' recognitions about the place.

Urban regeneration of Seoul in globalization paradigm

As globalization involves political and ideological changes in a society, driven by market forces, nations are forced to act like business firms for economic growth. Most cities are also competing with each other to attract more international investors and visitors than anywhere else. A city is likely to become marketed as a brand to sell itself as a commodity on the global market. Struggling with deteriorated physical environments, decreasing population and industrial restructuring since the 1970s, western cities undergo a makeover to improve their economic opportunities and to promote their images abroad (Hall, 2006). This phenomenon is spreading to other parts of the world like Asia and Latin America. There are several differences of urban regeneration in cities in developed countries and Seoul, as a representative city of developing countries. Obviously, Seoul has not severely suffered from the slums or vacated industrial sites within the old downtown areas compared to the cities of industrialized Europe and North America.

Along with deteriorated urban structures and deprived neighbourhoods in the old downtown, the imbalance and polarization between two districts, Gangnam and Gangbuk, divided by the Han River,[1] have been chronic urban issues in Seoul. The Seoul Metropolitan Government (hereafter referred to as 'SMG') has tried to develop the old town (Gangbuk) as much as the new town (Gangnam).

Therefore, quite a few urban regeneration plans are initiated by SMG in a formerly old downtown, once surrounded with a city fortress (or so-called 'inside of four main gates'). Intentionally, or unintentionally, heritage sites and monuments have been evolved in most of those plans.

These plans using cultural and natural heritage in the old town area are largely aiming at restoring the historic urban structure or the lost natural resources like small streams or greens, which were buried under the driveways during the time of rapid urban modernization between the 1960s and 1970s. However, most of their planning process have been done within a short timeframe and completed fast. The great controversies were escalating as such restoration projects were initiated through a short term planning process by the SMG or local governments on their own authority. The critics point out that authentic restoration should be very careful otherwise it could be another destructive influence. Nevertheless, the plans are forced to proceed under a typical top-down decision-making process with mega funds and colossal investment of private and public developers, expecting visually upgraded urban landscapes to the public and increased property value. Thus, the political struggles occur owing to the right to sustain the identity and sense of ownership in place in the face of the transforming logic of capital investment in property (Pendlebury, et al., 2004).

On the other hand, the restored historic places gain somehow popularity because they bring lost historic sites, reminiscent places, and green spaces back to the public although their authenticity and historicity are at the same time questioned.

The outstanding example is the 'Cheonggyecheon (stream) Restoration Project' that was a flagship project of Seoul Renaissance which restored the old stream Chenggyecheon in the city centre, buried in the late 1950s. After covering the stream, a high level road of 5.65 km was constructed in 1966. The restoration started in April 2003 and was completed on 1 September 2005. Only within these two years, the high level road was pulled down, the archaeological excavation done and the waterway was constructed. The heated controversy was stirred up because the historic bridges and old embankments were removed and the waterway was artificially constructed, not restoring the natural waterway. Tapped water is flowing by a lot of electricity after restoration exactly on the location of original stream. It provides the public with a touristic spectacle and a passenger walkway but its adverse impacts on heritage and anti-ecological consequence are still in dispute (MBC, 2007).[2] In addition to that, as the land price went up the original small business shops and local markets disappeared. Consequently, from field research undertaken in 2006, it emerged that problems such as spatial division, social exclusion and displacement of local community were found in that area (Kriznik, 2009).

Heritage conservation in urban regeneration

As urban areas sought to use cultural policy as a strategy of urban regeneration, the use of quality historic environments as part of place-marketing/city-image initiatives became increasingly evident (Bianchini and Parkinson, 1993, cited in Pendlebury et al., 2004). There are many kinds of urban regeneration program, e.g. urban revitalization, redevelopment and historic preservation. Sutton (2008) categorized the strategies of urban regeneration by its means and ends in terms of 'people' and 'places' in her report on urban regeneration policies in the United States (see Table 1).

		Ends	
		People	Place
Means	People	Social welfare (education, health, better employment, etc)	Home Ownership Schemes Artist role in gentrification
	Place	Revitalization	Redevelopment Historic Preservation

Table 1 Urban regeneration strategies categorized by means and ends. Sutton, 2008.

When 'people' become a means, urban regeneration is focusing on changing human behaviours for specific goals. When a 'place' becomes a means, the deteriorated place can be physically improved. On the other hand, when 'people' become an end of urban regeneration, the urban vitality and quality of life is emphasized. With 'places' as an end, the economic growth is stressed in terms of property values and profitability matter (Sutton, 2008). If putting heritage conservation into the category of 'historic preservation', accordingly it means that the deteriorated architectural

environment is improved physically for the greater economical profitability just as usual redevelopment plans intend to. The principal difference between 'redevelopment' and 'historic preservation' is that heritage is involved as resources. Heritage conservation is regarded as a tool to direct market process in the hopes of restructuring the urban landscape (Pendlebury et al., 2004). However, specifically, such aims at physical and economical development are not directly expressed in most heritage conservation plans because they have a more public-oriented approach as 'restoration of history' or 'recovery of our identity'.

The question is why cultural heritage conservation has become a popular tool for urban regeneration. Firstly, cultural heritage, whether it is a single monument or a place, is often considered as an important resource that differentiates one city from another by giving unique character and identity to it. Restored heritage can also persuasively integrate the community into a common identity (Pendlebury et al., 2004). Secondly, since heritage conservation projects give an impression of improving the urban environmental quality, without mentioning or displaying their intentions for property development, the planners and city decision makers can take advantage of the expectation of people who need quality of life and more cultural environment as residents or as visitors. Finally, heritage conservation can play a role as a police in cleansing public spaces used by tourists, middle class people and visitors. Heritage conservation projects look very sound by endowing the development plan with the politically neutral and plausible title. The idea of consciously conserving cultural built heritage has undoubted elitist origins (Jokilehto, 1999, cited in Pendlebury et al., 2004). In this way, the authorities can have the power of gentrifying low-income neighbourhoods.

Consequently, such heritage conservation plans with a 'place-based strategy' above are inclined to have little concern about the historical and social contexts of heritage. When they emphasize the better visual image of heritage and its potential to increase the property value of a neighbourhood area, two negative outcomes are inevitable: gentrification and social exclusion.

Gentrification

Gentrification is defined as the process by which working class residential neighbourhoods are developed to cater for middle class residents. Today, it applies for the broader urban changes which bring the middle class back to the central city, as Betancur (2002, p. 108) redefined it, as a 'market process allocating land to its best and most profitable use or a process of replacing lower for higher income group'. In western cities, heritage conservation focuses mainly on architectural heritage of historic buildings and structures. Therefore, heritage conservation in an urban context is almost synonym of urban regeneration in terms of real estate development.

One of the results of gentrification is rent increasing, while affordable housing is decreasing. It leads to a change in which house owners are replaced from lower class to middle class. The streets of deprived neighbourhoods are transformed into retail shops of international brands so as to meet the increasing demand of the new middle class residents. However, the original

residents, mostly social minorities, of the gentrified areas lose their homes owing to the higher rents and more expensive prices in public services as well as daily necessities. When urban regeneration plans (or heritage conservation plans) do not pay careful attention to the particularities of the neighbourhoods, its heritage environment is losing its uniqueness and specific historic fabrics that are crucial for making the site liveable. In this sense, after such heritage conservation is completed, authenticity of heritage is questioned and isolated from the gentrified area just as an open-museum.

Social exclusion

In most cases, heritage and its surroundings in the city centre consist of public parks and green areas. Aside from the historical significance, it is meaningful since those spaces offer leisure places to the public in a dreary urban landscape. Especially, the spaces give shelter to urban minority groups such as older people of the low-income bracket, urban poor and homeless who could not afford to enjoy other forms of leisure life.

Wirth (1945, p. 347), an urban-sociologist, defined 'minority' as: 'a group of people who, because of physical or cultural characteristics, are singled out from the others in the society in which they live for differential and unequal treatment, and who therefore regard themselves as objects of collective discrimination'.

Although every single daily life could be a part of history, most urban regeneration projects concentrate on 'visual, aesthetic value' without considering the context of urban landscape. This approach brings about a result of the exclusion of urban minority groups. Sometimes, the surroundings of a heritage site turned into a 'luxurious' or too clean place for those who have used the place before heritage conservation and urban regeneration starts (Pendlebury et al., 2004). With the effect of external arrangement, the heritage area becomes a kind of tourist-centred place. Consequently, urban minorities have to seek a new place for themselves or be subject to various restrictions and devices which strive to control over their activities and behaviours.

This phenomenon also appears to the existing residents living or working at a given heritage area. Due to the increasing land price and gentrification, they cannot afford to join the new environment. Consequently, it causes their displacement or dislocation from their familiar environment and neighbours to the other poorer or more deprived areas. During the planning process of urban regeneration, the decision-making system needs to reach consensus between various stakeholders. In other words, an 'integrated approach' considering physical, socio-cultural and economic aspects is demanded for securing the sustainable living conditions to original residents and users.

If the plans reinforce the market demands or economic aspect of heritage without considering social mixing, it would be a highly destructive process which makes the community socially exclusive and spatially segregated from society.

Case study: two projects at the vicinity of Jongmyo Shrine in Seoul, Korea

Seoul has been hard-pressed by rapid urban modernization and development since the end of the 19th century of the Japanese colonial times and Korean War between 1950 and 1953. However, there is nothing more powerful than globalization in this century in respect to urban changes. The following 2010 New Year's greetings of Seoul's City Mayor shows what the city wants to look like in the era of globalization (Oh, 2010): [3]

'Our efforts to promote Seoul through urban brand marketing, create landmarks (…) and highlight Seoul's charm through effective urban design are all geared toward the attraction of money, people, and information to Seoul and to the realization of economic growth with employment growth.'

The goal of Seoul City is to obtain global competitiveness through improved urban design and visual effects to the world. Many of the mega-scale urban projects have been initiated after the new Millennium began: the Hangang (river) Renaissance, Namsan Renaissance, 2010 Design Capital City Seoul and Urban Recreation. Specifically, these projects are planned for the old downtown so-called Gangbuk, which is clustered with royal palaces and monuments including two cultural World Heritage sites: Jongmyo Shrine and Changdeokgung Place Complex. The SMG reinforces new growth strategies by making the most of urban resources: historical and cultural heritage, and the natural environment. At the same time, large-scale demolition of the existing urban setting and communities is planned to redevelop them as a huge mixed-use complex of residential and commercial purpose. Wrapped with titles of heritage conservation or public open spaces, the urban regeneration plans take a benefit-maximizing approach for the best land use and property value increase (Kriznik, 2009).

The two projects, the Jongmyo Shrine Sacralization Project and the Seun Greenway Park Project, belong to the 'Urban Recreation Plan' which forms part of a large-scale green network initiative of the Gangbuk area of Seoul. In 2009, as a flagship project of the initiative, the small part of Seun shopping malls was demolished and designed as a park.

The Seun Greenway Park Project

The Seun Shopping Malls (hereafter referred to as 'Seun') were built in 1967 on a site once full of illegal shacks of refugees from North Korea who arrived after the Korean War. In 1966, the redevelopment plan was decided on with significant support of the President at the time. The Seun was composed of very modern style shopping malls, residential apartments and a hotel, which was the first mixed-use complex building in Korea. Its linear shape of several buildings was nearly one kilometre long, starting from the main gate of the Jongmyo Shrine.

In the 1970s, the Seun area enjoyed its heyday as a Mecca of the newest electricity machinery as well as exclusive residents. But its glory did not last long, just in ten years, more luxurious residential areas were developed and a bigger IT complex was built in the southern area of Seoul. The commercial centre was

shifted from 'Ganbuk' to 'Gangnam'. In spite of its sharp decline, there are still 908 households and about 1,500 shops in Seun today, while the vicinity area is also specialized in electricity and lighting.

However, in 2004, Seoul City designated the site as a 'Redevelopment Promotion Area' and decided to create a one-kilometre long linear shaped green park of 70m to 90m in width by 2015, which will consist of four stages before its completion. On the right and left sides of the park high-rise buildings will be built parallel to the greenway after demolishing of around 10,000 small-scale shops, 85.8 per cent of which are over 40 years old (Seoul City Report, 2006) (see Fig. 1 and Fig. 2).

Figure 1 The current Seun Shopping malls and its vicinity area. Seoul City Report, 2006.

Figure 2 The future Seun Greenway Park after the expected project completion in 2015. Seoul Metropolitan Government, 2006.

According to the first part of the master plan, the so called Seun No. 4 District, a 179m by 160m block will comprise eight residential towers with retailers at the lower floors and one office tower. When the plan was designed in 2006, the 402 landowners and 2,130 tenants were supposed to be relocated in late 2008. However, since the conflicts between the government and tenants and the deliberation of the Cultural Heritage Committee are still going on, the completion year is supposed to be postponed later than 2015.

The Jongmyo Shrine Sacralization Project

The Jongmyo Shrine, one of the UNESCO World Heritage sites (WHS) in Korea, was inscribed in 1995 because of its architectural and historical significances as a 600 year old Confucian Shrine for the deceased kings of the Joseon Dynasty (1392-1910). Seoul City launched the 'Jongmyo Shrine Sacralization Project' in 2007, the aims of which are: first, to recover the historic and cultural settings of the Jongmyo Park as a buffer zone just outside of the Jongmyo WHS zone; second, to restore the historic fabrics like King's road, King's well and the Red Gate through archaeological excavations, all of which are outside of the WHS zone; finally, to replace the current asphalt covered floor with 'holy forests'. When the project is completed, the forest and Seun Greenway Park will form part of the green axis of Ganbuk, between the Bukak and Namsan mountains (see Fig. 3).

Figure 3 The future Jongmyo Park. Seoul Metropolitan Government, 2006.

The city authority is going to remove pavilions, which are core places for the elderly, and a soup kitchen from the park in order to recover the 'sacred' atmosphere of the Jongmyo shrine. This part of the park is currently under excavation which will be extended to the entire park area this year.

Jongmyo Shrine and its vicinity as a tool for globalization of Seoul: is it sustainable?

First of all, the Jongmyo Shrine Sacralisation Project, which restores the historic setting and its 'sacred' atmosphere of the Joseon Dynasty, seems rational thanks to the World Heritage status. This project is not directly related to the Jongmyo Shrine World Heritage site, but to Jongmyo Park, which acts as a buffer zone between the urban area and the World Heritage site.

Today, the park is one of the well-known gathering places of the aged and the homeless in Seoul. As over two thousand older men occupy the park every day, it is known as the 'Mecca of old men'. Since Tapgol Park, which used be the foremost gathering place for older men in Seoul, became the target of the 'Jongmyo Sacralisation Project' in 2001 by the local government, older men's recreational opportunities have been restricted and most of the older men have moved to nearby Jongmyo Park. At least by 2007, their activities for recreation such as playing Korean Chess, playing instruments, dancing, singing, dilettante life and political rally could be continued (Han, 2010) (Fig. 4).

Figure 4 The aged people doing their hobbies in the park before the behaviour restriction. S. M. Han, 2006.

According to the result of an interview survey in Jongmyo Park, the reasons why older men gather in the park are: Korean older men prefer outdoor space; they like to get together with people of similar age and situations; and since many of them are low-income class or poor single older men, they cannot afford to enjoy leisure activities in other places. In other words, Jongmyo Park is a Mecca for economically low-income class older men (Han, 2010). However, when the 'Jongmyo Sacralization Project' began in 2007, the essential target was to remove older men's boisterous 'hang out' culture in front of Jongmyo which should be a solemn and quiet atmosphere. Consequently, Seoul City started to get rid of some of the facilities and to restrict older men's recreational behaviours as the first step of project (Fig. 5).

Figure 5 The activity range of the aged is shrinking with men just standing or sitting down after the behaviour restriction. S. M. Han, 2009.

Still, many of the older men are gathering in Jongmyo Park, but Seoul City is planning to restore archaeological sites, remove all of the remaining facilities and finally create a forest in the park as the second step of the project. It means the spaces for older men in the park would shrink and the new design strategy will become a physical device to drive older men out of the park. Authorities such as the SMG say that this project is necessary to keep the WHS status of the Jongmyo Shrine and to avoid it being placed on UNESCO's List of World Heritage Sites in Danger owing to its disordered environment (Han, 2010). But there has not been any specific recommendation or warning on this problem other than protection of the historic environment from development actions. Eventually, older men will be forced

to leave the park to seek for another place. This phenomenon involves a process in which a 'social minority' becomes a 'spatial minority' and finally encounters social exclusion (Han, 2010). As the project proceeds favourably with the urban regeneration project around the area, Jongmyo Park, the unique older men's place rooted in Korean senior male culture, will be changed into a tranquil and neat forest which would be seen as 'purified'. The 'clean and peaceful' atmosphere might attract more young generation visitors and foreign tourists.

However, since the project mainly focuses on physical design improvement, it fails to recognize the implications of social exclusion for poor older men as a social minority group.

A 'place' is formed by physical environment, human activity and its meaning. Therefore, there is a need for serious reconsideration of the meaning of 'sacred precincts'. Furthermore, the fact that the urban heritage site is not just visually sublime but a place where humans enjoy and live in should be stressed. From this point of view, the Jongmyo Shrine Sacralisation Project is likely to become responsible for social exclusion. On the other hand, the Seun Greenway Park Project is not directly involved with the Shrine or the World Heritage site. Obviously, the Seun Greenway Park Project has an eco and heritage-friendly face to the public, since currently the deprived Seun and its vicinity will be turned into a modern and exclusive area for residents and office buildings on both sides of the greenway. A 100m buffer zone from the edge of the Jongmyo World Heritage site boundaries has been designated under Korean heritage laws and legislation. Above all, all buildings within the buffer zone should be lower than the angle of elevation of 23 degrees by the Seoul Municipal Ordinance. The problem is redevelopment on the left and right sides of the Seun Greenways. Ironically, when Jongmyo was inscribed as a World Heritage site, ICOMOS (1995) recommended the following future action for the Jongmyo Shrine:

'The Jongmyo complex is surrounded by an adequate buffer zone, beyond that, however, there is considerable modern urbanization. ICOMOS would like assurances that there will be no authorization of the construction of high-rise buildings in these neighbouring areas that will adversely affect the sight-lines within the proposed World Heritage Site'.

For this reason, in 2006, the SMG was required to call for advice from ICOMOS just after the international competition for the master plan of the Seun No. 4 District. In addition to a visit by two experts in 2006, [4] nearly 20 advisory and review meetings were held between 2007 and 2009. Finally, the SMG applied for development approval to the planning authority in April 2009. When the first plan for the Seun No. 4 District was designed in 2009, the height of the building was 122m of 36 stories. The Cultural Heritage Committee disapproved it seven times between August 2009 and May 2010. One of the reasons for disapproval was the visual impact of such a height, which would destroy the historic environment of Jongmyo. The height has been changed from 122m, 110m, 106m and 99m to 75m of 21 stories according to the opinions of the Committee. That is, the front building facing Jongmyo is the lowest of 55m by the angle

regulation of 23 degrees, while the buildings behind it are getting higher to 75m (Cultural Heritage Administration, 2010).[5]

Many experts such as architects, designers, city officers, cultural heritage policy makers and NGOs met several times to reduce the visual impacts, seen from the main building of Jongmyo. Their interest was mainly how to adjust the height of buildings, while they have not much cared about the historic urban form around its vicinity area. Since 1966, after the Seun buildings were constructed, this area has formed specialized shops and retail stores of two or three-story buildings parallel to the Seun. Their human scale has obviously formed the historic urban landscape of Jongmyo (Fig. 6) apart from the debate on their deteriorated exterior conditions. As seen from Fig. 2, the buildings would be, however, overwhelming with the Jongmyo area just like a great wall forming a narrow corridor to the Shrine.

Figure 6 Small-scale retail shops around the Seun. H. K., Yeo 2010.

Such a regeneration plan may easily fossilize the Shrine in one period as policy makers and planners seek to 'gentrify' the vicinity area. When the Seun Greenway and Sacralisation Project are completed, only two time periods would be remained in that area, that of the Joseon dynasty and 'today'. The aged and the small business shop owners have used the Jongmyo area for their own purposes and formed a particular culture. Such historical traces will be lost. As new middle class residents come to this gentrified area, Jongmyo will be isolated as an island from the neighbourhoods where high-rise buildings are surrounded and from people living or working there who do not have enough time to visit the Shrine.

It is indeed unfortunate that city authorities have not paid much attention to Nishimura's recommendation that: '…Historical analysis of (the) Jongmyo WH (World Heritage) site seems to be relatively weak (compared to) the careful study (of) the visual impact on it… One (would) have to study (the) original layout design concept of Jongmyo, such as axis and design of Jongmyo Park, (the) front courtyard of the WH site, and their transformation/evolution throughout times' (Nishimura, 2006). The project seems to fail to find the potential of the Seun area and to enhance its social diversity and social mixing function through defining what is special about the place around Jongmyo and how its communities should be engaged in shaping future development.

Conclusion

Urban regeneration projects that involve heritage are always sensitive since heritage is not only about the past but also about contemporary living. The needs of local residents must be considered and urban activities should be based on integrated urban contexts involving the heritage sites. Otherwise, the sites lose their vitality and only exist as a stage setting cut off from the time flowing.

There is a need in globalized cities, as discussed in this paper, to grasp the meaning of heritage and its surroundings, characteristics of neighbourhoods and the socio-urban context before the planning of large-scale developments. Place-based strategies of heritage conservation and urban regeneration often tend to lead to spatial division which misses the complexity and social interaction of the existing community. Since elitism of top-down approaches is a powerful force in creating space and can subtly influence the sense of place of minority groups, urban planners and designers must take this into consideration and actively seek to tackle it. Large-scale plans have difficulties in figuring out particularity and historicity of neighbourhoods involving heritage. Therefore, heritage conservation plans should play an active role in bridging between the past and present, users and visitors and preserving historic values and recreating new values.

Globalization is an on-going process involving change for most cities. In this sense, there is a need to re-think regeneration of social values relating to heritage conservation. If heritage conservation is driven by capital and forced by authority, it causes more conflicts and leads to loss of heritage significances. Heritage should involve more socio-political discourse to be socially inclusive and to bring more opportunities to the local community. There is a need for research on how heritage conservation can tackle negative gentrification effects and contribute to the process of social inclusion demanded in local context.

Notes

1   The gap between the district with the most revenue, Gangnam, and that with the least, Gangbuk, has been narrowed from 17 times to 5 times between 2006 and 2009, according to the 2010 New Year's Message of Mayor Oh on 11 Feb., 2010 (http://english.seoul.go.kr/gtk/cg/major.php?pidx=4&bn_idx=8628).

2   The then Mayor Lee Myung Bak was elected as President of Korea in 2008. It is believed that the Chonggyecheon Restoration Project helped increase his public popularity.

3   Partly quoted from '2010 New Year's Message' by Seoul City Mayor Oh, Se-hoon and searched from the website of Seoul in the menu of Mayor's speeches dated on 11 Feb., 2010. (http://english.seoul.go.kr/gtk/cg/major.php?pidx=4&bn_idx=8628)

4   Two ICOMOS experts visited Jongmyo area by invitation of Seoul Metropolitan Government in 2006. Yukio Nishimura, professor of University of Tokyo and former vice-president on 12 Dec., 2006 and Dinu Bumbaru, Secretary General of ICOMOS at that time, current President of ICOMOS Canada on 30 Dec., 2006.

5   The height issue is still debated and the evaluation process is still going on.

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Grosse Île and Boulevard Saint-Laurent

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Introduction

Two national historic sites of Canada, Grosse Île and the Irish Memorial, and Boulevard Saint-Laurent National Historic District, illustrate both the plight of immigrants crossing the Atlantic between 1830 and 1950 and their adaptation to a North-American society. For over a century, Grosse Île, an island in the Saint Lawrence River, served as a quarantine station where immigrants suffering from contagious disease were, during the first years of the station, isolated in order to preserve the local population. With time, sanitary conditions improved and immigrants received proper medical treatment. Boulevard Saint-Laurent is located in Montréal. It begins at the harbour of Montréal and continues north for some eleven kilometres. Until the 1950s, disembarking immigrants would immediately find all they needed on this street: a job in a shop or a factory, cheap accommodation and a sense of community. As their situations gradually improved they would move further up the street, finding better jobs and accommodation until they had acquired enough money to move to the suburbs where they could buy a house. As they progressed northward, they were replaced by new waves of immigrants on a constant basis.

This paper deals with the reception of immigrants and their adaptation to a new environment. It presents the evolution of Grosse Île from a quarantine station to a medical facility and Boulevard Saint-Laurent as a unique place for the foundation and development of cultural communities representing Canadian society as a whole. As Montréal expanded in the 19th century, this street, locally known as 'The Main', became a corridor for all kinds of activity undertaken by the city's numerous immigrant groups. A perpetual blending of cultures and a constant renewal resulted in a street with a unique cosmopolitan character.

Emigration to Canada in the 19th century
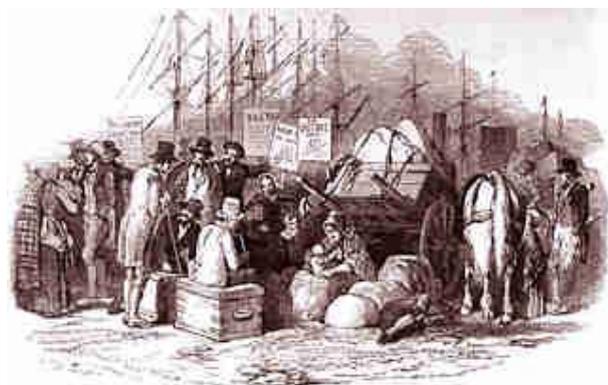
Figure 1 Emigrants preparing to board ships in an Irish port. Illustrated London News.

Between 1760 and 1820, small farmers in Great Britain were expropriated under the land enclosure system, which served to put an end to farming in fields that had been open to everyone until that time. Many expropriated

peasants had to move to cities where they provided cheap labour for the developing industrialisation. Others were able to emigrate to North America where land was available for cultivation. As a British colony, Canada became a major outlet for this emigration flow. Until the end of the 18th century, the exodus of emigrants was relatively small and unorganized. At that time, the demand for labour in Canada exceeded the number of immigrants and all were easily integrated in Canadian society. Conditions would worsen after the Napoleonic Wars (Fig. 1).

Overcrowding and agricultural depressions, caused by industrialisation and the transformation from a war to a peacetime economy, forced a greater number of persons to emigrate (Anik, 1984, p. 80). Canadian authorities welcomed this new influx of immigrants because they could be used as cheap labour in a series of huge public works, notably the construction of a network of canals. Vast hordes of immigrants would dig canals, such as the Rideau Canal, now a World Heritage site, often in dismal working conditions and always for subsistence pay. Without them, the extensive network of canals that connects the Atlantic to the Great Lakes by the St Lawrence River would never have been achieved.

Figure 2 Passengers in steerage area. Illustrated London News.

At first, immigrants originated from the British Islands, but after 1820, many came from Ireland as overpopulation, food shortages, gentrification, and, from 1845, the Great Potato Famine depleted the resources of this island. Things would get worse for Irish emigrants after the American Congress passed a law in 1847 restricting the number of passengers to one for every 14 feet of ship deck instead of one for every 10 feet, as was previously the case (Anik, 1984, p. 84). With this legislation, Canada became the only destination for the poorest Irish emigrants. While 138,000 Irish immigrants were able to land in New York in 1847, in more or less proper conditions, 54,329 left Irish ports to settle in Canada in the same year. Many of these had their passage paid by public charities simply because it was cheaper to ship them to Canada than to take care of them at home. In order to save money, immigrants would cross the Atlantic

in the steerage areas of sail ships (Fig. 2) that were designed to carry goods, not passengers.

Statistics indicate that between 1829 and 1890, 1,732,802 immigrants landed at Québec City, the main port of entry to Canada before the First World War, the yearly average being between 20,000 and 30,000 (Anik, 1984 p. 79). Such figures explain why the demand for ships to transport immigrants came to exceed supply, and why unscrupulous ship owners had no hesitations in putting into service dreadful sail ships, that would come to be known as coffin ships (Fig. 3) because of squalid conditions of overcrowding, inadequate provisions and polluted water. The Inspecting Physician at the Port of Québec described the appalling situation of an immigrant ship that would sail the St Lawrence River in the late 1830s in the following words:

'I am almost at a loss of words to describe the state in which the emigrants frequently arrived; with a few exceptions, the state of the ships was quite abominable; so much so, that the harbourmaster's boatmen had not difficulty, at the distance of gun-shot, either when the wind was favourable or in a dead calm, in distinguishing by the odour alone a crowded emigrant ship' (Anik, 1984, p. 81).

Figure 3 Passengers preparing to board a coffin ship. Illustrated London News.

These conditions were ideal for spreading contagious diseases such as cholera, brought to Europe by British soldiers returning from India during major pandemics, which occurred in 1826-37, 1840-62, 1863-75 and 1883-94; typhus, also known as 'ship's fever', a disease endemic to many European countries; and smallpox. In 1832, the per capita mortality rate from cholera in Québec City was 16 times that of London, with perhaps as many as 3,000 people dying in Québec City and its vicinity (Anik 1984, p. 82). In order to prevent contagion, drastic measures had to be taken. It was decided to open a quarantine station to prevent the spread of diseases carried by immigrants.

The beginnings of a quarantine station

The island known as Grosse Île is located about 50 kilometres downriver from Québec City (Fig. 4). By legislation on 25 February 1832, it was selected for a quarantine station. The location of the island was most convenient, being near the Port of Québec, in the centre of the shipping lanes, and having natural sites for anchoring. Under the recently passed Quarantine Act, all ships coming from infected European ports had to stop at

Grosse Île for mandatory medical inspection and disinfection, should the latter be required. Initially, disinfection meant airing the ship and burning sulphur in the steerage area to eliminate the offensive smells and asking passengers to wash themselves and their belongings in the St Lawrence River. Passengers carrying infectious diseases would be quarantined on the island for a period of time that corresponded with diseases' incubation purposes.

Figure 4 Aerial view of Grosse Île. Parks Canada.

The oldest building standing on Grosse Île was erected in 1847, a year of tragic events which stemmed from the Great Irish Famine, one of the pivotal events in the history of Ireland, as it saw the Irish population decline by over two million. It is reported that one half of these died from starvation, disease or malnutrition, while the other half left their country. In 1847, over 100,000 immigrants came directly from Great Britain and Ireland and landed in Québec City, more than half of which were poor Irish already weakened by malnutrition and starvation. They reached their destination in a deplorable state, many already infected by typhus. In that year, 5,293 people died at sea and 3,452 were buried on Grosse Île (Sévigny, 1998). In order to accommodate this influx of immigrants, twelve wooden lazarettos were hastily assembled on Grosse Île; of these only one remains. Designed as a detention centre for healthy immigrants it was quickly transformed into a hospital. Measuring 62.65 metres by 7.82 metres, its size, multiplied by twelve, indicates the impact of the arrival of so many sick immigrants in a single year. Its conception reveals a lot about medical practice at the time of construction. This building, and the eleven others that accompanied it, was prefabricated in Québec City and assembled in great haste on the island. The only features designed for improving the health of immigrants were a large number of ventilators, for changing the contaminated air, and windows to let the sun in. At that time, treatments consisted mostly of providing patients with food and clean clothes, being practices which had not changed much since the Middle Ages. Between 1832 and 1937, 7,480 deaths and burials were registered at Grosse Île (Parks Canada, 2009a).

The second oldest building on the island was erected in 1848 as a residence for the station officer; it was later used as a presbytery for the Roman Catholic priest based at the quarantine station. A house for the assistant-doctor would follow in 1850 and a public lavatory was erected in 1855-56 (Histoire et Archéologie, 1990). Of these, the public lavatory is the most interesting building because of its direct relationship to

the plight of immigrants in the middle of the 19th century and of the faint attempts at improving their health before medical discoveries could make available more effective treatments, such as vaccination. This wooden structure measures 46.21 metres by 7.83 metres and rests on 24 masonry piers. It has four chimneys and two ventilators (Histoire et Archéologie, 1990). It was constructed as close to the river as possible so that immigrants could easily draw water from it and to let the dirty water return directly to the river. The chimneys are remnants of a period when washing clothes consisted mainly of boiling them in hot water, the most radical treatment for getting rid of body lice at that time. It could be said that the beginnings of the quarantine station were marked by haste and ignorance, compounded by the behaviour of dubious ship captains who wanted to land their passengers in Québec City as quickly as possible by avoiding to land at Grosse Île (Library and Archives Canada, 2010). Breakthroughs in the medical and scientific fields in the second part of the 19th century, particularly those made by the great French scientist Louis Pasteur, would bring a new wave of construction on Grosse Île.

The scientific operations of the quarantine station

After 1870, immigrants to Canada would come from many European countries, particularly from Italy, Germany, France, Belgium, Scandinavia and Eastern Europe, attracted by the immense open lands on the prairies and the financial incentives to commence their cultivation (Histoire et Archéologie, 1990). These incentives were used to finance the construction of a vast railway line that would cross Canada to connect the Atlantic seaboard with the Pacific. Under the Dominion of Canada Lands Act of 1872, which was based on a similar act in the United States, a homesteader who was an immigrant from Europe could buy a parcel of land of 60 hectares, known as a quarter section, or a homestead, for only $10. There were, of course, some conditions to fulfil to qualify for this opportunity of a lifetime. A house, worth $300, had to be built and a specified area of the homestead land had to be cultivated, all within three years. If these conditions were fulfilled, clear title of the land could be obtained. Many immigrants were fascinated to know that a single dollar could buy six hectares of real estate, which in turn, could be converted into a lucrative financial enterprise by growing wheat to feed the growing industrialised masses of Europe and North America.

Best of all, land could be owned free of any feudal charges. By 1920, over 250,000 farms were in operation in Canada West, most of them belonging to immigrants from Europe (de Caraffe, 2009). These new immigrants were more prosperous than those of the previous wave. They also had the luxury of having crossed the Atlantic on steamers that needed about twelve days to do so, while old sail ships could sometimes require more than ten weeks. As of 1878, steamers brought immigrants to Canada in healthy conditions (Histoire et Archéologie, 1990). Most of these steamers belonged to major shipping companies, such as Allan, Dominion, Beaver, Canadian Pacific, and left from major British ports of Liverpool, Londonderry, Glasgow, Bristol and London.

Conditions on these ships were incomparable with the dreaded coffin ships. Disinfection was also improved when a steamer from Grosse Île was equipped to deal with contaminated ships by 'drenching with solution of the mercuric chloride, moist heat by superheated steam, and fumigation with sulphur dioxide' (Anik, 1984, p. 94). Improvements in speed, accommodation, hygiene and food were most beneficial to the immigrants.

As they arrived in Canada in better condition they required less drastic health measures, such as a prolonged general quarantine. Still, precautions had to be taken, as about one hundred immigrants would die from contagious diseases each year on Grosse Île in 1867, 1868 and 1869, respectively (Histoire et Archéologie, 1990).

In addition to serving as a quarantine station, Grosse Île became a vaccination clinic for immigrants. In 1867, the quarantine station had two wharfs, two chapels (one Roman Catholic, one Anglican), two presbyteries, a guardhouse, two stores, twenty hospitals, a farmhouse and twenty staff residences. Other structures would be added or removed in the following years. Among these structures four major buildings require further attention here in order to understand the development of the quarantine station. These are the Disinfection Building and three hotels for first, second and third class passengers.

The Disinfection Building was built in several stages between 1892 and 1927. This two storey wooden structure measures 66.79 metres by 28.59 metres. The building was erected to accommodate examination rooms for immigrants, twelve hot shower stalls and three large sterilizers for their personal belongings and clothing (Histoire et Archéologie, 1990). A dynamo was also installed in it in order to supply the entire complex with electricity. For the thousands of immigrants who landed on Grosse Île, this building was their first point of contact with their new country.

In 2008, during the ICOMOS General Assembly, the International Committee of Vernacular Architecture organised an excursion to Grosse Île for ICOMOS members. It is interesting to note that the exploration of this building brought several discussions about the spirit of the place. Upon seeing the showers and the disinfection apparatus, some visitors had no hesitation to compare this building with Auschwitz. Others, who had seen this infamous concentration camp, or were more familiar with Nazi extermination practices, had a totally different opinion. For them, the Disinfection Building did not mean death at all; it actually meant life. Measures were taken in this building to save lives, in accordance with the scientific discoveries made by Louis Pasteur and Robert Koch on the spread of contamination (Sévigny, 1998).

The Second Class Hotel was erected in 1893 for first class passengers. They would move to a modern establishment in 1914, hence the name of the building. This large two storey wooden building measures 46.33 metres in length and a wing for the kitchen has been added to the rear (Fig. 5).

Figure 5 The Second Class Hotel. Parks Canada.

Figure 6 The New First Class Hotel. Parks Canada.

As this is one of the first buildings that people noticed upon disembarking on the island, a gallery had been constructed on the river front façade in order to give it a domestic appearance. As a matter of fact, the symmetrical openings, the clapboard veneer, the two tall chimneys, the sash windows and the sloping roof, confer to this structure the character of a colonial villa. Inside, passengers were accommodated in 28 bedrooms, measuring 1.8 metres by 2.1 metres. They were able to enjoy a large dining room, a comfortable sitting room and a bar. Quarantine for first class passengers did come with some measures of comfort.

The new First Class Hotel was constructed in 1912, while the Third Class Hotel was erected in 1914. The First Class Hotel is 46.32 metres long, built in concrete, and its central part has three storeys with two storey wings on each part (Fig. 6). It contained 54 bedrooms. The Third Class Hotel accommodated 140 bunks in 52 rooms. This two-storey building, also made of concrete, measures 61 metres by 9.14 metres and looks more like a military barracks than a hotel. These two structures were built in response to an immigration boom, when 3.4 million immigrants landed in Canada between the beginning of the 20th century and the First World War. During this period, 92,000 immigrants would land each year in Québec City (Histoire et Archéologie, 1990).

These were the heydays of the quarantine station on Grosse Île. After the First World War immigration to Canada slowly dwindled, dropping to 1.4 million immigrants between 1920 and 1940, largely due to the economic depression. The quarantine station fell into administrative neglect, as immigrants landed directly in Québec City or Montréal following an Order-in-Council adopted in February 1923. According to this policy, immigration ships would be inspected nearer the River mouth and only the most serious cases involving immigrants suffering from cholera, plague, typhus, yellow fever, anthrax or small pox would be quarantined at Grosse Île while others were to be treated in Québec City. In February 1937, the quarantine station was closed. The island would be used during the Second World War as a germ warfare research station, and in 1965 the island served as an animal quarantine station. As of 1988, it has become a national historic site of Canada under the care of Parks Canada (Histoire et Archéologie, 1990).

The Main, Boulevard Saint-Laurent

Crossing the Atlantic and landing in Canada in more or less good health were just the first challenges that immigrants had to overcome if they wanted to survive the ordeal of expatriation. Once in their new country, they had to make a living: finding a job and a dwelling quickly became top priorities. One street of Montréal, the metropolis of Canada during the first half of the 20th century, would offer both conveniences to all those who landed at the beginning of this street. This street, Boulevard Saint-Laurent, more familiarly known as The Main, was designated a national historic district of Canada in 1996 because of its strong sense of history. Controls seek to keep intrusive elements at a minimum and clearly define its historic character apart from surrounding areas.

The Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada recommended that The Main be a designated district because it is a special place in Canadian history, arising from the emergence and development of cultural communities representative of Canadian society as a whole. Further, according to the commemorative intent for the historic district, its cosmopolitan character and the constant renewal brought about by the merging and mixing of cultures and aesthetics give it a very special sense of place. As well, The Main is the immigrants' corridor; with its textile and clothing factories, its numerous small businesses and the world of the theatre and entertainment, it has evolved in a way of life that has inspired novelists, poets, singers, and filmmakers alike (Historic Sites and Monuments Board or Canada, 1996). Yet, a passing observer would never describe this street as a spectacular thoroughfare. According to author Aline Gubbay, it is more than that: 'There are no great monuments or outstanding buildings to see. What it offers, along with the continuity of its long history, is a parade of city life, human in scale, divers in its background, which, through recurring cycles of change, poverty and prosperity, has retained a sense of neighbourhood, stubbornly rooted in people' (Gubbay, 1989, p. 57).

Opened in 1672, Boulevard Saint-Laurent had become the dividing line between the western and eastern sections of the island of Montréal by 1792. After 1864, with increasing urbanization, the street would reach a total length of 11.25 kilometres. Its allotments had frontages of eight metres each, while buildings, faced with stones or bricks, could reach three or four storey high. In time, the street would also become the diving line

between the wealthy Anglophone population, who decided to occupy the lands on its western side, and the less affluent Francophone population who resided on the eastern side. The street became a demarking zone between these two groups (Fulton and Vermette, 1996).

At the end of the 19th century, immigrants were able to land in the harbour of Montréal, circumventing the city of Québec. They were attracted into the Boulevard Saint-Laurent because it started right at the harbour. Here they found work in various shops and cheap accommodation (Fig. 7).

Figure 7 Back of a fish import store. E. Hillel, 1987.

Immigrants settled on The Main amongst fellow countrymen and where help agencies were staffed by people from their homelands. Boulevard Saint-Laurent became the favoured immigrant gateway into Canada. The Main is recognized as a site associated with the establishment and development of the ethno-cultural communities of Canada, the immigrant corridor. Between 1870 and 1945, immigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe, mostly Jews fleeing persecution in Russia, Poland, Romania, Hungary, Galicia, Estonia and Lithuania, as well as Italian and Chinese workers who had built the railway in Western Canada, made the Boulevard Saint-Laurent their home.

They were joined, after the Second World War, by Greeks and Portuguese. With the abolition of Canadian discriminatory immigration clauses in 1967, immigrants from Asia, the Caribbean Islands, Africa and Latin America joined them in an attempt to improve their living conditions, their security and their financial situation (Fulton and Vermette, 1996). Israël Medresh, a journalist working for the Keneder Odler, a Jewish newspaper based on Boulevard Saint-Laurent, described the attraction that this street had on new immigrants in the following terms: 'On Friday night, the newcomers used to walk past the big stores. They were highly impressed by the merchandise in the windows. As they strolled past a clothing store, they looked with great interest at the suits on display. Even the well-to-do men in the Old World did not wear such elegant suits' (Parks Canada, 2009b, p. 2). A waiter working in a Spanish bar on Boulevard Saint-Laurent best described the attraction that this street could have to all sorts of people by stating: 'You know, here there all kinds of people who speak Spanish. You have Jews from Latin America, Filipinos, Indians from Colombia, British from Argentina, Cubans from Chile, all

kinds. I have one friend: he is a Chinese man who lived most of his time in Bolivia. He speaks Chinese with a Spanish accent, and Spanish with Oriental rhythm' (Hillel, 1987, p. 36).

Immigrants settling on Boulevard Saint-Laurent would try to bond with their fellow countrymen in order to maintain a social network of assistance and companionship (Fig. 8).

Figure 8 Italian brass band in Little Italy. Parks Canada.

As their economic situation improved, they moved further up the street, being replaced by new waves of arrivals with people who would take over their jobs and their dwellings. In turn, these newly arrived would move up the street, pushing the older settlers still north and being replaced by newcomers. By gathering together, immigrants formed cultural communities informally known as Chinatown, little Athens, piccola Italia and little Poland. The Jewish sector was very dynamic. Boulevard Saint-Laurent has been described as a major centre of Yiddish culture: between 1896 and 1940, six theatres on Boulevard Saint-Laurent presented Yiddish plays. At the same time, the Hung Wai Tai Chinese Association presented Cantonese operas in another sector of the same street (Fulton and Vermette, 1996). Author Hugh MacLennan, who arrived in Montréal in 1935, said: 'The Main astonished me, and it still does. I had walked the streets of many famous cities in England, Europe and the United States, but this was something new... It was probably the most creative Jewish area in North America, more so even than New York...' (Hill, 1987, preface). The Jewish presence on The Main was related to the clothing industry (Fig. 9).

Figure 9 Greek textile workers in Montréal. Parks Canada.

It was reported that in 1911 that two thirds of all the clothes fabricated in Canada came from Montréal, mostly

from Boulevard Saint-Laurent (Fulton and Vermette, 1996). The work performed by immigrants in the clothing shops was described in the following way: 'St-Laurent and the area around it, still has some clothing manufacturers. Portuguese, Latin American and Vietnamese workers have replaced the Jews, French Canadians and others who worked in the unventilated factories, then justly called 'sweat shops'. Working conditions are better today, but it's still poorly-paid hard work dependent upon immigration labour' (Lazar and Douglas, 1993, p. 306).

By working in the many ethnic food shops on Boulevard Saint-Laurent, immigrants could find another important type of work. This resulted in a multitude of exotic small retail shops, as well as Chinese and Greek restaurants. One could find restaurants, crafts people, skilled trades, financial institutions, factories and large and small whole and retail businesses. As they progressed along Boulevard Saint-Laurent, immigrants were able to improve their economic situation. The most important sign of their success was being able to move to suburbia where they could buy their own house, either a bungalow or a duplex. However, these new suburbanites have discovered that it is very difficult to maintain social cohesion in a street of bungalows. This is why immigrants continue to return to The Main, either to celebrate the Chinese New Year or just to watch the Squadra Azzura at the Caffe Italia during the World Cup (de Caraffe, 1982). The Main may be related to their humble beginnings in the new world. It is still a street full of personality and a sense of belonging to a community, something that cannot be found in any suburb.

Conclusion

As a North American, I am myself the result of an immigration process. A few centuries ago, an ancestor of mine decided to leave behind the charms of France in order to emigrate to Canada. There, he is reported to have sold jewellery to Natives in exchange for furs. When American historians started to study immigration, they discovered, to their great dismay, that those who left their countries of origin were not necessarily those who had the best situations or the largest revenues. As a matter of fact, emigrants were often those who belonged to the lowest economic classes. If you had made it good in your own country, why would you want to take a chance in a new and unknown land? This revelation came as a shock to many historians: descendants were not related to European élites, but to the lowest classes. American historian Frederick Jackson Turner proposed the Frontier Thesis in reaction to this revelation. According to this thesis, as immigrants moved west, the frontier, with its hardship and its requirements for self-reliance, forced them to improve themselves and become more independent.

Upon looking at the history of immigration in Canada, I cannot but admire the courage and determination of immigrants. Forced, for whatever reasons, to leave behind loved ones and a familiar situation, they landed in a new country having overcome many dangers. On arrival, deprived of their social network, they started to build new ones. They began a new life and tried as hard as they could to improve their situation. Immigrants also imported their traditions and cultures, while adapting to mainstream society. In a sense, this is the situation that present day immigrants continue to face. They too must be admired for their courage and for the hardship that they are willing to endure in order to improve their situation.

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Rural agricultural heritage and landscape in country-city migrations: the utopia of 'development'.

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Introduction

In Latin American countries, country-city migration has been very strong since the 1940s, especially towards the big capital cities where a certain level of industrialisation developed. Simultaneously, rural products began to be standardised creating a strong competition with large estates. These trends were causing social problems by the beginning of the 20th century, which explains the demanding agrarian reform of the Industrial Revolution in many countries. Consequently, social problems were compounded by demographics which reached critical proportions in the 1980s.

Peru is a clear example of this when, in the 1980s, the Lima-Callao conurbation grew to nine million inhabitants, or 31 per cent of the total Peruvian population. Migrants begin a process of cultural change as soon as they arrive in the capital. They absorb the city culture by socialising with townspeople who arrived before them and with Lima natives. This process encourages emigrants to lose their own culture and when returning to their original territories for visits they transfer their acquired 'new values' in an endemic and permanent process of alienation. However, it is a process that can be reversed. Loss of cultural identity is not only a damaging process for the city itself, but for the agricultural areas which slowly become abandoned. A paradox arises where a larger urban population requires food in massive amounts while a small rural population produces less and less. In some countries where the human workforce is replaced by machines this paradox may perhaps not be a major one. However, Peru's geography makes this impossible, especially in the Andes Mountains. A tractor is utterly inefficient on a steep slope at over 3,000 meters above sea level, or with the traditional structures of the Andes cultural landscape.

City migration not only brings expectations of a better quality of life, it is also boosted by the expansion of the large agricultural estates. These exploited the rural workforce until the Agrarian Reform in Peru which commenced in 1969, but due to irrational implementation the reform failed spectacularly around the end of the military dictatorship in 1980. This failure contributed to the appearance of Sendero Luminoso ('The Shining Path') and during their twelve years of terrorist activities, this illegal organisation accelerated migration further as refugees fled to the cities, especially Lima.

The permanence in Lima and the abandonment of traditional cultures, coupled with the derision and mockery by city dwellers towards peasants, and especially those of Andean origin, caused some traditional diet products to simply disappear. Many of these are more nutritious than products available in the capital, coastal cities and even in the main Andean cities, where consumption is increasingly of low nutritional foods, often high in saturated fats. Ironically, a culinary boom has recently led to re-evaluation of aboriginal products. Some traditional diet products can be bought for gourmet purposes in the cities but at a high cost, thus perversely making it impossible to be bought by rural migrants who are generally poor and frequently inhabit different suburbs.

The concept of 'development' thus becomes a utopia, a total entelechy, yet inaccessible for the rural migrants. The belief in development only as a form of consumerism also brings about environmental destruction, ultimately for everyone. This paper is concerned with cultural traditions that are on the verge of being lost, arguing that every action oriented towards solving the migratory problem would also work to solve the demographic, economic and cultural preservation problems. The agricultural technology traditions, the associated structures and the system of life are all aspects which contribute to identity. There is also an environmental dimension as these cultural traditions use a system of food production that does not involve fossil fuels or impact on climate change. These traditions use other resources of lower cost with little to no contaminating effects. We suggest the utilising of these forgotten traditions and structures can result in a triple win by: returning identity to the people; preventing big demographic changes brought about by migration; and, contributing to diminishing of the impact of environmental problems in a world which increasingly lacks resilience.

Peruvian geography

Peruvian territory is very particular with 87 per cent of all climatic systems or zones of Earth represented (e.g. Wladimir Köppen's classification in Ritter, 2006; and Holdridge, 1987; INRENA, 1994; ONERN, 1976; SENAMHI, 2002). From this is derived an enormous diversity of ecological systems. Within a three-hour drive is a change from tropical rainforest to Andes Mountains, or from sea level up to 5,200 metres in four hours. Since before Columbian times, this geography has forced its inhabitants to develop creative solutions to maximise the advantage of each of the climatic systems.

Some locations unsuitable for human habitation were utilised for other purposes. An example was the discovery of the 'Lady of Ampato' in 1994, the body of a fourteen-year old girl sacrificed in c. 1466 and reposed on a 14 square metre altar along with her most valuable possessions. This was a place where she would last forever being at over 6,310 meters and close to the Ampato volcanic crater. This may be an extreme ritualistic case, but it is not the only one. It indicates the altitude which the ancient Peruvian inhabitants reached to take advantage of the extreme and permanent cold to preserve a body.

To preserve something, it is necessary to have a measure of respect towards what is to be preserved, and the only way to construct that respect is through knowledge about it. If something is not well known about, its values and contributions remain unidentified and respect and appreciation are impossible. Some of the unique cultural techniques of the Andes agricultural landscapes are explained below, including the principal values, cultural implications and the social and demographic benefits that may lead to their conservation and rescue.

Cultural agricultural techniques of the Andes

Colcas (Qolqas)

'Colcas' are buildings used for food storage often found in Inca territory, but in existence since before the Wari culture. The Inca economy and its demographic and territorial management were based upon this system. Storage management enabled all kinds of product to be accessible and thus enabled the expansion and maintenance of the population and the army. Stored products were located according to their particular characteristics, be it clothing, tools or food.

As with the 'Lady of Ampato', items were usually stored in places above 5,000 metres using the cold as a preservation technique. This is despite the Incas knowing of other preservation methods: using salt, familiarity with certain types of preserving herbs and to prevent insect attack, such as by weevils using coca leaves, or using dehydration techniques. For clothing or weaponry the coldness stopped termite attack. In these ways natural processes were used without needing modern refrigerants or chlorofluorocarbon gases.
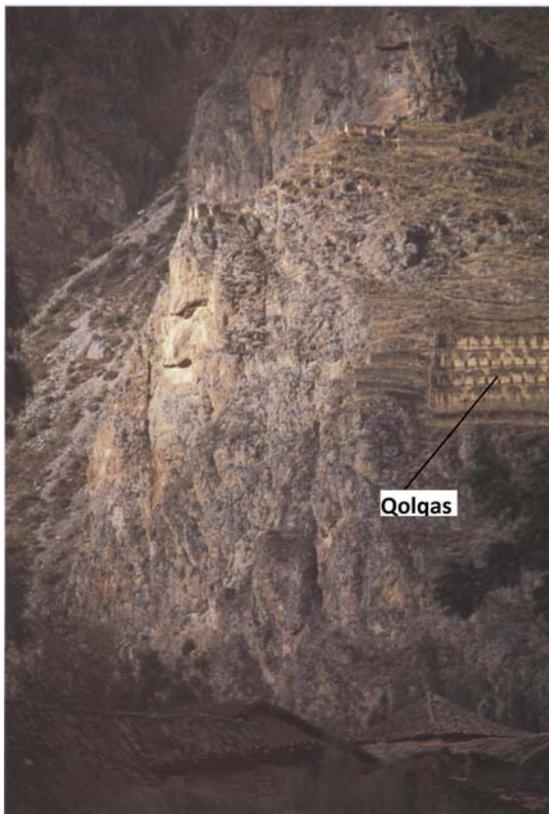
Figure 1 Qolqas of Tunupa. Ollantaytambo. E. Elorrieta-Salazar and F. Elorrieta-Salazar, n.d.

Depending of their end use, the colcas were built in protected places, or in new or existing caves, especially in the so-called sacred mountains. The avoidance of humidity was paramount, as was ensuring an appropriate ventilation system (Fig. 1). These storage systems continued in use after the Hispanic conquest until progressive westernisation slowly caused loss of the tradition. Today, such structures are not used at all, not even for elite cultural tourism. In a modern Western world paradox, caves near the North Pole are used for seed studies and conservation purposes. The ancient system of colcas traditionally used throughout Peru could help with food storage in our day like the caves in the North Pole for seeds.

Amunas

The success of any agricultural system would have limited efficiency without the existence of appropriate storage and indispensable structures such as the 'amunas'. Amunas are water-collecting systems used since pre-Hispanic times in Peruvian agriculture (Apaza, Alencastre and Arroyo, 2006). It is not an exclusive system as filtering gullies were also used in certain terrains dependant on specific soil types and where water or rain was unavailable, as occurs during winter.
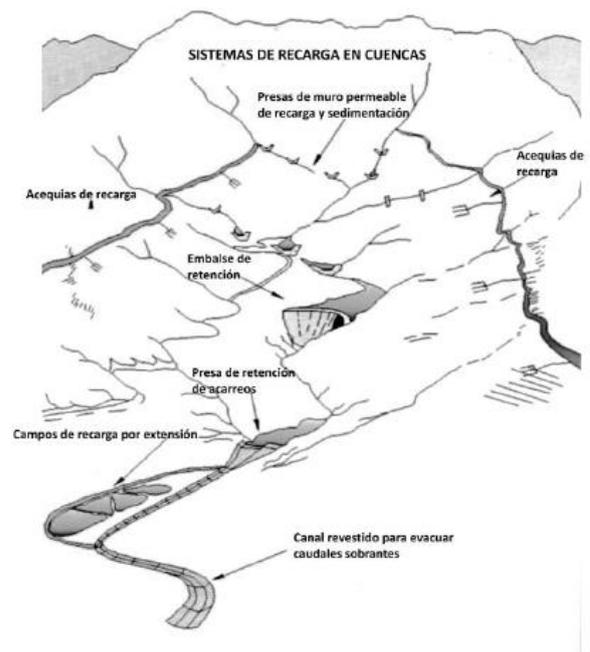
Figure 2 'Sistema Amunero' in Huarochirí, Lima. GSAAC, 2006.

Water is collected via irrigation ditches to direct rain, small watercourses or even rivers to the high Andean plains, where it is contained in terraced dams. The containment walls were made of permeable soil enabling percolation into a lower topographical level, in the form of artificial springs, or 'water eyes', and into small rivers. This is possible due to the type of geological strata, being mostly rocky zones with fractures that lead to the water table, surfacing downhill or into small ditches that transport the water to cultivation areas or for domestic use (Fig. 2). Assisting the system are plantings of arboreal species or high bushes whose roots retained the water from the subsoil, maintaining a steady supply of

water where is needed from summer (time of rains) to winter (drought time).

Since colonial time the technology was almost entirely forgotten. Only very few communities continuing its use, mainly by operating collectively in an ancient work tradition based around social collaboration or a reciprocal arrangement generally organised within the social boundaries of a clan affiliated territory (Kendall, oral comm., 2010).

Andenes

The water from amunas is used in artificial agricultural terraces or 'andenes'. The Andean Peruvian territory has many good examples of agricultural terraces, all of pre-Hispanic origin. Some remain in use while others are abandoned. In tourist areas some are empty of real agricultural content, maintained only for show by growing ornamental grasses (Fig. 3). The oldest documented of such terraced platforms are from the Wari period, before the Inca Empire, although the Inca examples are technically better. It is possible that terraces existed before the Wari period but no record or remains exist (Kendall, 2008; Kendall, 2010; Kendall and Rodríguez, 2009). Although agricultural terraces are used in many countries, the way they were applied in Ancient Peru has very special characteristics due to the hostile topography. All terraces were used for sowing but also had the purpose to control the hill slides, avalanches and floods that occur frequently in the mountains from January to March. Thus, control gullies are efficient provided they are given proper maintenance.

Some terraces also had other uses. Some were used to the study of acclimatisation of species, such as in Moray in the district of Maras in Cusco; others were for ritual purposes, as in Ollantaytambo, which form a condor shape under which altars appear to 'eat' the offerings with its beak in its shadow. Due to the difficult and high Andres terrain, multiple crops were cultivated together in a single terrace platform, such as maize and potatoes. In some cases, different potato varieties were planted at different altitude levels, depending on winds and temperature impacts.

Andenes were built with retaining walls of stone 'rig' (blocks made of rough stone with dry joints). Width and variable shape suited the hill slope on which they were located, generally not exceeding 2 metres. Along the wall base are gargoyles which expel excess irrigation water to flow down to successively lower levels. For proper drainage, as well as to relieve the pressure against the retaining wall, large rocks are placed along the bottom, and on these medium-sized rocks, above smaller stones, coarse sand, sandy soil and finally the soil suitable for cultivation. So even if the rains were very abundant, the water drained to lower levels, reaching a bottom collector ditch that brought water to other crops. The use of terraced platforms went hand-in-hand with the use of springs and amunas storages.

Figure 3 Andenes in Muscaypuquio. E. Elorrieta-Salazar and F. Elorrieta-Salazar, n.d.

Putucos

The 'putucos', misnamed 'chullpas', are mud structures with rooms and foundations based on overlapping rectangular blocks, called 'champas', of sod, turf or adobe. Those built of adobe are less lasting than other champas which may survive for more than 80 years. The roots of grass and soil not only contribute to the soundness of the roof, but they both work together to delay the thermal transmission and control shrinkage after rains (Sánchez-Hernani, 2009).

The form, technique and dimensions of these structures date from prehistoric times but are beginning to disappear. Putucos are almond-shaped in section, based on circular plan and built by stacking the blocks inwards to gradually enclose a space in a vault ending in a point. The built form helps to control heat loss. The interior diameter is at maximum 3 metres and heights can reach 5 metres (Fig. 4). Usually there are no windows due to the cold and high altitude over 4,000 metres. Although the openings are small, excellent ventilation is achieved by their orientation and being in a high altitude where there is excellent light and sky clarity.

Whist employing a system originating on the Puna Plateau, putucos can be exported to any environment and are thus plentiful in Peru, but mostly found on the Collao Plateau where they are very effective against the cold. Sustainable and vernacular, these structures achieve a good quality of life for rural workers. They are environmentally sound, particularly since their construction does not require products involving non-renewable energy. These structures are not 'homes' as normally understood, but a housing complex that adjusts to a required function. Thus, rooms may be dedicated to

domestic activities, others used to store objects, foodstuffs and even to shelter animals (Marussi, 1999). The use of putucos, or the Peruvian-Bolivian 'altiplano', is associated with the agricultural use of the 'waru waru', or ridges, and the so-called 'qochas', or culture ponds.

Figure 4 Putucos. W. Kenning, 2008.

Waru waru

Among the cropping systems, waru waru and qochas are considered the most efficient solutions for the conditions in which they are used. These are also pre-Hispanic technology (840 BC), developed in the Peruvian-Bolivian high altitudes where the cold temperatures, winds and ice storms are intense. A waru waru is a series of generally rectangular raised ridges, each of similar area and shape. Usually the width ranges from 4 to 10 metres, and length from 10 to as much as 120 metres (De Vries, 1986). Ridge distribution is variable to follow the topography of the land on which they are built. They are used in some remote areas, such as around Lake Titicaca, either side of the Peruvian-Bolivian border and in zones where lakes do not heat up (Fig. 5 and Fig. 6).
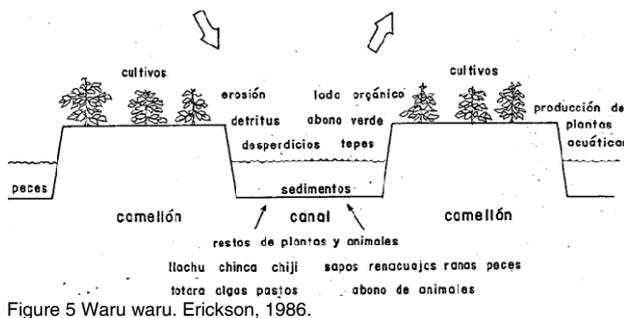
Figure 5 Waru waru. Erickson, 1986.

Figure 6 Waru waru in use. E. Mujica, 2002.

The intervening flooded depressions are intended to retain water without draining and to minimise evaporation in dry climate. The calm water has allowed for a special ecosystem to develop based on heat transfer. During the day water is heated in the sun and when the heat is released at night it is transmitted to the plants. For this reason, the ridges cannot be too wide to ensure that the net benefits arrive evenly to the plants (Earls, 1986).

Fish are kept in the water to control and feed on insect larvae and plant seeds. Nutrients accumulated in the bottom are used during cleaning in warmer weather as a fertilizer. The pond water is also used to soak potato varieties then preserve them by a simple dehydration process (Erickson, 1986) based on day-night sun-frost inversion and use of herbs, then kept for many years in colcas food stores.

Waru waru was used to grow products, such as potatoes tuber varieties and quinoa (Chenopodium quinoa), kañiwa (Chenopodium pallidicaule) or tarwi (Lupinus mutabilis). These are part of the Andean diet having a high nutritional value and high vegetable protein content providing lots of energy. To rest and improve the soil legumes were planted.

Cochas (qochas)

Cochas are also called flat sunken culture gaps, although this name also includes similar coastal systems. This is the most extreme culture system that may derive from the pre-Hispanic period. They were designed to be built further away from the lake than waru waru and at higher altitudes from 3,900 to 4,300 metres above sea level.

In the highlands, the Collagua people created a system of agriculture in 'qochas'. These were artificial depressions in the ground, usually in a zone slightly elevated of variable area. All depended on the rain being gathered in a channel around the external perimeter which then distributes the water to secondary canals by gravity to lower zones on a very gentle inward slope. The almost imperceptible inclination was controlled by zigzags, watering different radial plots around a centre. Each plot contained grooves and the waters were collected by side channels around a lower collector which could be kept for months. Sometimes the centre channel was opened to cope with excess rainfall or when the water was diverted to other sunken complexes (Fig. 7).

As the water flowed very smoothly, the first westerners thought that they were natural formations (Rozas, 1986); others thought the whole thing a mistake of the 'Indian savages'. The reason for this slow movement is the same as in the case of the bottom of a lagoon: bioclimatic criteria conserve the heat gained from the sun during the day and releases it at night, thereby protecting ecosystems from deadly frosts common in high altitudes.

Their construction involved a movement of land of colossal dimensions. Some are 200 metres in diameter and 1.60 metres deep. Normally, this would result in a channel slope of 0.8 per cent, but due to the zigzag, the slope drops even further so the water is almost stagnant. Only the centre channel had a slope of greater order to remove water after excessive rainfall. The bottom of the artificial pond-bred fish, an important part of highland diet, and deposits became highly composted and which

were extracted into the grooves. As in the waru waru, crop rotation is indispensable in order to let the land rest and to secure its continued productivity (Rozas, 1986). Some ridges were planted. The preferred crop was a highly nutritious but bitter potato often used in soups (Flores-Ochoa and Paz-Flores, 1986).

Production in both the waru waru and qocha were vastly superior to that produced with conventional Western systems in this region of Peru, both as measured by tonnage and gross output, and as with waru waru despite being impossible to use a tractor or ox and plough. Ancient tools still in use today are a kind of shovel, the chaquitaclla, commonly made of wood, and a crowbar that is used as a plough to till the soil and for harvesting, now more commonly made of iron.
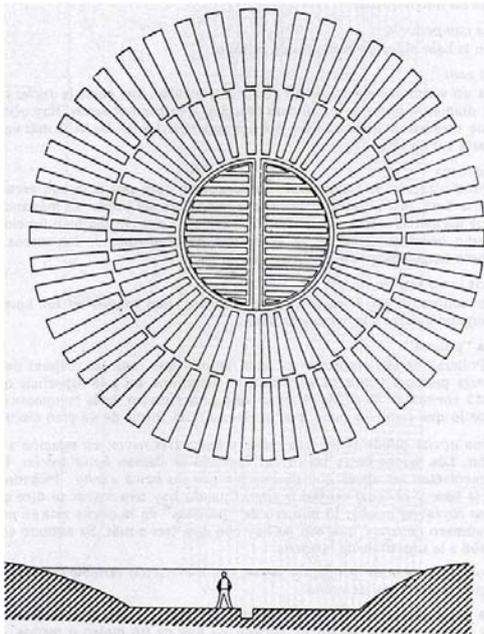
Figure 7 Qocha. Flores-Ochoa and Paz-Flores, 1986.

Lomas

The word culture is related to cultivation of the land. Therefore, it is important to preserve and restore the culture generated from farming, as it is the most profound relationship that people can have with their environment. 'Lomas' are condensation clouds. They were for long an unknown technology because of lack of associated structures due to their being based on traditional practice and observational knowledge. In Peru, the use of a double solar and lunar calendar, with precise knowledge of the movement of both bodies, combined with specialised people holding traditional knowledge, enabled the capture periodic fog and haze of low clouds and rising seawater evaporation. This is another way to 'harvest' moisture on the Peruvian coast, which is usually dry.

Using the tops of some coastal Andean foothills tree species such as the Tara to condense moisture drops to the ground is a way of improving the soil, while ground succulents bind it and provide species habitats (De Orellana, 2008) (Fig. 8). 'Harvested water' is received through channels similar to those amuneras that allow the water to percolate into the ground and be exploited at lower altitude levels. This creates artificial hills that are spontaneously colonised by vegetation, which supports

grazing by annual livestock transhumance between the rains and when the fields are depleted. As the Peruvian coast is a desert interrupted by seasonal rivers, the separation between rivers did not allow adequate longitudinal displacement. Thus, when the hot season began, these hills were important to the territorial arrangement.

It is incredible that monetary interests, precisely at a time of shortage of water, encourage the cutting of Tara trees (Caesalpinia spp.) endemic to these lands for use as firewood. The desertification is a move backwards, considering the effort of the ancient way of culture in these hills, and in addition drying the water table created for the cultivation of the lower parts.

Figure 8 Lomas de Atiquipa. UNALM, 2009.

Water galleries and the 'eyes of water' (ñahuinpuquios)

The seepage from the hills, and from some mountains enabling condensation clouds to form, was collected in a second harvest by covered canals through to agricultural or domestic use. These underground canals were built by the Nasca culture, mostly with cobbles, together with a special mortar resistant to moisture (Rodríguez, 2006). Each section had some access, which was made as a spiral ramp down an inverted conical hole to extract water for cleaning and enable regular dredging. The subway system ensured water would not evaporate, or be exposed to the desert sun or land salinity. The system has proved so efficient that even now it is still in use. However, many of them are endangered by deforestation which prevents the condensation collection of low coastal fog (Fig. 9 and Fig. 10).

Figure 9 Galería filtrante. Nasca. Mintur (Ministerio de Industria, Turismo y Comercio Exterior del Peru), 2009.

Figure 10 Ojo de Agua (Ñahuinpuquio). Nasca. Mintur (Ministerio de Industria, Turismo y Comercio Exterior del Peru), 2009.

Llanchas or 'sunken plots'

'Llanchas' or 'sunken plots' are a system that uses capillary action to enable cultivation by delivery of water to the crop roots. Crops were those for food or use in construction or clothing such as native cotton, sweet potato, beans and lima. In the coastal dry desert, forms of cultivation were different from those in the mountains noted above. With the exception of the northern coast of Piura and Tumbes, there is an absolute lack of rain along the narrow coastal strip. However, as explained in the case of the 'hills', the tropical sun causes much evaporation of sea water, which forms into fog or clouds which hit the mountains. High clouds sometimes produce snow. The moisture thus caught by the mountain barrier eventually makes its way into the groundwater table. The resultant coastal capillary systems depended on the level of the groundwater. If it was high it was filtered and 'huachaques' were formed (these structures are not dealt with in this paper). If the water table was a little lower, llanchas were produced. In the Chilca area south of Lima, this system was used to grow salt-tolerant species typical of the area, a type of thatch which also sets the salt (Fig. 11).

Ground water changes and water harvesting techniques were known prior to the Inca state, but were refined by them. Assisted by the lunar phases and solar cycles, they found the correct solutions for how to improve soil composition, how to rotate crops, when to rest the land and what fertilizer or compost to use to carefully practice a highly bio-diverse form of mixed farming (policultivo). Fallow lands, for example, were used to grow the fabaceae that could double as food for the livestock, which in turn fertilized the land with their manure.

The Andean peoples believed - and still do - that the moon influences the growth and fertility of plants according to their time of planting and the quality of the harvest. The sun and other factors, like weather, were crucial in deciding what to plant. These variables were assessed by clan scholars who kept the population informed about changes of time and cultures. Just as the opening of colcas in times of shortage. While the knowledge of consulting quipus and relating the information to subsequent sukankas and ceques existed prior to the Inca state, the Incas developed it further.

Many of these management techniques are not acknowledged today nor do they fit within a scientific explanation based on a Western epistemic rationality.

The studies done so far are mostly made by anthropologists, sociologists and agricultural restorers. What is needed is to form teams of people willing to break old paradigms and especially to work in multi- and inter-disciplinary teams in which each scientist must master more than one science.

Figure 11 Sunken plots on the coast of Peru. Morón, Bernales, Ica. UNIFÉ (Universidad Femenina del Sagrado Corazón), 2008.

Conclusion

This paper sought to bring attention to traditional agricultural practices that successfully suit the complex and difficult environment of Peru. The topography causes soil erosion; the high altitudes imply extreme temperatures and a low oxygen level; and, along the high plateau drought is the norm, Pisco being one of the driest areas on the planet and the soil is usually salty. A normal system of water management or irrigation would only further deplete the land.

The work presents evidence of the precise knowledge held by the ancient Peruvians about their territories, the use of available land for agricultural purposes and how they dealt with such difficult terrain. There was a proper selection and domestication of species for each area. Using the solar and lunar calendars they managed an agricultural frontier capable of feeding the population even in times of drought. Due to the variety of climates it was important to maintain the variety of agricultural products, contrary to today's agricultural monocultures.

Agriculture generated all cultures in Peru and the two are inseparable from each other. Not only are there different ways of growing plants, but different ways of living, storing goods, etc. With the Hispanic conquest and westernisation most of these techniques were lost. The recovery of these techniques and wisdoms is not only an act of cultural respect, but may serve to recover the identity of native peoples, enable extension of the current agricultural frontier, support a repopulation of the countryside - and consequently depopulation of cities such as Lima - and improve the quality of life of farmers.

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Conserving the rock-hewn churches of Lalibela as a World Heritage site: a case for international support and local participation

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Introduction

The rock-hewn churches of Lalibela in Ethiopia were one of the first twelve sites to be inscribed by UNESCO on the World Heritage List in 1978 (UNESCO, 1978).[1] It was also one of the first restoration projects to be sponsored by the World Monuments Fund in the 1960s. Since then, conservation of the site has continued to be a focus for international support in the context of evolving heritage disciplines and practices. The World Heritage status of the site has contributed to a sense of shared global responsibility for its conservation and to socio-economic development through the use of heritage as a tourism asset. This development needs to be balanced to prevent irreversible damage and loss of tremendous heritage resources.

Lalibela is a living heritage. The churches, the ecclesiastical objects and the religious practices constitute an important part of the local community and traditional way of life. The conservation challenge is to safeguard tangible and intangible values of the site holistically in the context of development and town expansion. The recent establishment of a management plan process has become a forum for future conservation through participatory means in order to achieve sustainable development.

With increasing globalisation of heritage 'World Heritage Management' has emerged as an interdisciplinary field of study with the potential to create new opportunities for multidisciplinary research and dialogue both globally and locally. This paper discusses these issues in the context of heritage and social change.

World Heritage nomination and international assistance

In its first evaluation of World Heritage nominations, ICOMOS recommended the eleven rock-hewn churches of Lalibela as one of seven cultural sites which corresponded both to the requirements for the criteria for cultural properties and the necessary minimum standards of documentation (ICOMOS, 1978a). In its recommendation, ICOMOS proposed that the site should be inscribed under criteria (i), (ii) and (iii), having identified three distinguishing types of church: built-up cave churches, rock-hewn cave churches and rock-hewn monolithic churches (ICOMOS, 1978b). Under the first criterion, the eleven churches represented as an ensemble 'a unique artistic achievement' due to their scale, variety and audacity in form. Under the second criterion, it was recognised that the building of the churches by King Lalibela as a New Jerusalem and a substitute destination of pilgrimage for his people had a 'considerable influence' on the development of Ethiopian Christianity. Under criterion three, the church ensemble was identified as a 'unique testimony' to Ethiopian civilisation during the medieval and post-medieval periods. Under this last criterion, the remains of the traditional historic houses, built in two storeys and circular form, were recognised as equally important for preservation as the rock-hewn churches.

The principal aims of the World Heritage Convention are to ensure the identification, protection, conservation, presentation and transmission to future generations of cultural and natural heritage of outstanding universal value (OUV). While this responsibility rests mainly with the States Parties, the Convention stipulates that in some cases international assistance and co-operation, particularly financial, artistic and technical, will be necessary (UNESCO, 1972, article 4). The need for international assistance to protect heritage of outstanding universal significance formed a fundamental part of the conceptual development of World Heritage. In 1965, a White House Conference in Washington on International Co-operation called for a 'World Heritage Trust' to stimulate international co-operation to protect 'the world's superb natural and scenic areas and historic sites for the present and the future benefit of the entire world citizenry' (Train, 2003, p. 36).

This is often cited as one of the key developments having led to the establishment of the World Heritage Convention in 1972, together with UNESCO-led international safeguarding campaigns to rescue the Abu Simbel temples in Egypt in 1959 and Venice in 1966, both from flooding.

The World Monuments Fund (initially named the International Fund for Monuments) was established in 1965 as a private non-profit organisation working to assist in the safeguarding of endangered cultural heritage (WMF, 2005). In the words of its former Chairman Mr Charles M. Grace, it was formed by a group of individuals who 'recognized the need, long expressed by UNESCO, for an organization to assist in the costs of preserving monuments in those countries which lack the financial means of doing so alone'. Furthermore, he stated: 'the project in Lalibela is a splendid example of this arrangement. It is a joint effort involving close collaboration with the Imperial Ethiopian Government on a fund-matching basis' (IFM, 1967, p. 6). The rock-hewn churches of Lalibela thus became one of the first restoration projects to receive sponsorship from the organisation. The project involved assistance by a team of Italian conservators including documentation, stabilisation efforts and an initiative to remove a bituminous coating to the external surface, preventing the natural breathing of the rock, thereby causing deterioration.

More recently, the World Monuments Fund has partnered with UNESCO and Ethiopian institutions to address conservation of the rock-hewn churches, site management, presentation and training of local personnel in order to achieve sustainable conservation practices. Other international assistance of major

significance included the EU-funded and UNESCO-led project 'Temporary Shelters Over Five Churches in Lalibela'. It involved the building of temporary shelters to protect the rock-hewn churches from rainfall and erosion before and during restoration, as well as new cultural and visitor centres (UNESCO, 2006) (Fig. 1).
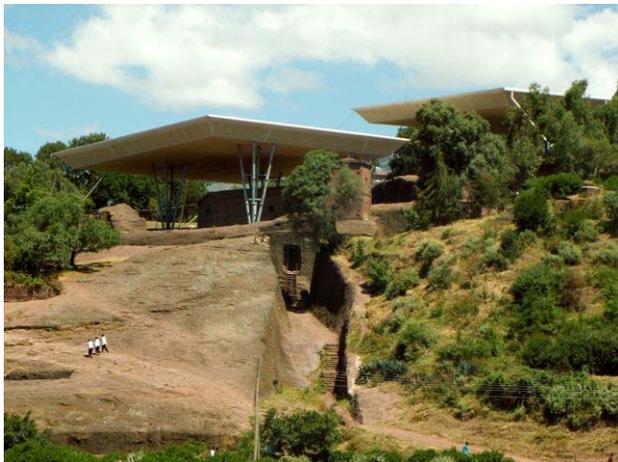
Figure 1 Temporary shelters to protect the churches from rainfall and erosion. E. Negussie, 2009.

Conserving the cultural significance of Lalibela as living heritage

Lalibela is a small mountain town located in the northern part of Ethiopia. It is situated on the side of a mountain in a scenic landscape characterised by a rugged topography at an altitude of over 2,500 meters. Located in the centre of the town, the eleven rock-hewn churches are surrounded by densely built residential areas. As a living heritage, the cultural significance of Lalibela consists of a range of values to be preserved, including the rock-hewn churches, the sacred ecclesiastical objects and the spiritual practices to the vernacular buildings, the town, the topographic impact on settlements, the cultural landscape and the spirit of the place.

The Québec Declaration on the Preservation of the Spirit of Place, adopted by ICOMOS in 2008, recognised the interdependency of the tangible and intangible dimensions of heritage stating that: 'the spirit of place is made up of tangible (sites, buildings, landscapes, routes, objects) as well as intangible elements (memories, narratives, written documents, festivals, commemorations, rituals, traditional knowledge, values, textures, colors, odors, etc.), which all significantly contribute to making place and to giving it spirit' (ICOMOS, 2008, para. 1). The Declaration also recognised the challenge of conserving intangible components of heritage in particular and called for training programmes, legal policies and effective communication strategies to safeguard the spirit of a place. This can be particularly challenging in the context of pressing needs for economic development and processes of modernisation unless heritage values are identified and safeguarded.

Historical significance of the rock-hewn churches

Historians frequently cite Francisco Álvares, an early 16th century Portuguese missionary and explorer, as the first foreign observer to have recorded his descriptions of the churches of Lalibela. His writings illustrate the strong impression of early visitors: 'I am weary of writing more about these buildings, because it seems to me that I shall not be believed if I write more, and because regarding what I have already written they may blame me for untruth, therefore, I swear by God, in Whose power I am, that all that is written is the truth, and there is much more than what I have written, and I have left it that they may not tax me with its being falsehood' (cited in Pankhurst, 2005, p. 49). Except for the churches themselves, perhaps what strikes today's visitors the most is the sense of a living heritage and uninterrupted use of the churches by the Ethiopian Orthodox Church as sacred places of worship and traditional way of life.

The building of the churches is still somewhat shrouded in mystery and there are different perspectives on when they were constructed. According to traditional account the churches were built during the reign of King Lalibela, founder of the town of Lalibela (originally called Roha but later re-named after the King in his honour) during the time of the Zagwe dynasty, which ruled over Ethiopia from the 11th to the mid-13th centuries, following the shift of power southward after the decline of the Aksumite Empire. The Gedle, or Acts of Lalibela, states that the king built the churches in the likeness of what he had seen in Heaven through a vision, with the help of both men and angels (Pankhurst, 2005).

Archaeologists have suggested that internal evidence 'shows that they originated from a common but diverse tradition over substantial period of time' (Philipson, 2009, p. 179). This view was similarly maintained in the original ICOMOS evaluation report, which stated that: 'toutes ces églises ne sont pas contemporaines du saint roi Lalibela (XIIIe siècle) dont la Vie légendaire affirme que' (ICOMOS, 1978b). A recent archaeological chronology suggests that the Lalibela churches developed over five stages stretching from the 8th century to the early 13th century, and that 'persistent traditions attributing all the churches to King Lalibela's reign should thus be interpreted as indicating the time when the most recent hypogea were added, and when the complex as a whole received its present form and symbolism' (Philipson, 2009, p. 180). Furthermore, the original function of some of the churches may initially have been non-ecclesiastical, e.g. Merkurios and Gabriel-Rafa'el. This was also maintained in the initial World Heritage evaluation which stated that: 'certaines salles souterraines, antérieures, paraissent n'avoir été affectées au culte chrétien qu'après avoir connu une destination profane: ainisi Biet Mercoreos et Biet Gabriel Rafael qui sont peut-être d'anciennes résidences royales' (ICOMOS, 1978b).

The churches were carved out of red volcanic tuff, varying in hardness and composition, several interconnected through trenches and underground passages. The first group consists of six churches to the northwest of the Jordan River, including Medhane Alem, Maryam, Mika'el, Golgotha, Danagel and Masqal. The second group to the southeast of the river includes four churches: Gabriel-Rafa'el, Merkurios, Emmanuel and Abba Libanos. The third group consists of an isolated single monolithic church with a Greek cross plan: Giorgis (see Fig. 2).

Figure 2 Church of Saint Giorgis. E. Negussie, 2010.

A number of factors have contributed to deterioration of the churches. Erosion and water infiltration due to heavy rainfalls, in combination with cracks from inherent faults in the stone and stresses from carving, and chemical phenomena such as the presence of salts as efflorescence on the surface and as concretions under the surface, have had negative impact on the rock churches causing disintegration. Biological phenomena such as microbiological attack and human factors have also contributed to the deterioration process.
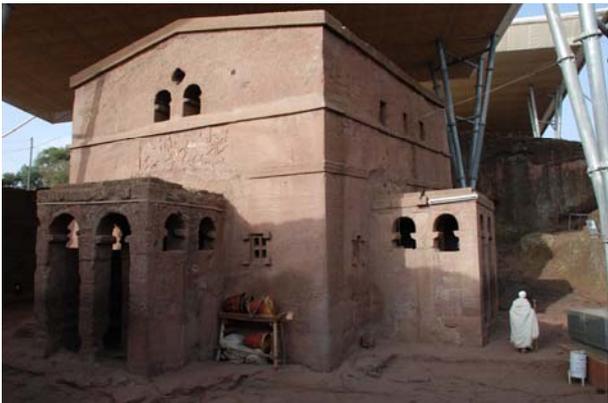
Figure 3 Church of Maryam from the southwest. E. Negussie, 2010.

Figure 4 Church of Gabriel-Rafa'el. E. Negussie, 2009.

Several attempts have been made to protect and restore the churches in the past, although some of the early interventions are considered to have damaged the structures, such as the above-mentioned bituminous coating to the external surfaces. Figure 3 shows Church of Maryam from the southwest with porches significantly rebuilt in 1919 and further repair works made in 1966-1967. Figure 4 depicts Gabriel-Rafa'el where conservation works are necessary to address water infiltration and structural instability caused by cracks.

Ecclesiastical objects

A wealth of ecclesiastical objects forms an intrinsic part of the churches and the religious practices, ranging from processional crosses, bells, chandeliers of gold and sliver, priestly vestment and robes, to church paintings, icons, scrolls and manuscripts. Many date to the building period of the churches, such as King Lalibela's hand cross and prayer stick. In 1997, the richly decorated golden healing handcross of Lalibela around 800 years old was stolen from the Medhane Alem Church, despite security measures. It was smuggled to an antique dealer who sold it to a Belgian collector for USD 25,000, but eventually returned to Ethiopia in 2001 (European Commission, 2003). Various inventories have been undertaken, but theft and illicit trade in cultural objects remain a critical problem.

Religious rites and pilgrimage

The rock-hewn churches are places of worship and amongst the most significant places of pilgrimage for believers of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. The Ethiopian Christmas (Genna) and the Epiphany (Timkat) constitute the most important festivals of the place and these attract large numbers of people each year. These intangible dimensions of the heritage contribute to the significance of the churches as a sacred site. However, the church has suggested that the spiritual value associated with the site is being threatened due to a shift towards a more materialistic and foreign influenced type of culture (Assefa-Wondimu, 2007). This may have an adverse impact on the traditional values of the site in the future, particularly with growing emphasis on tourism, economic development and processes of modernisation.

Vernacular heritage

A distinctive feature of Lalibela is the existence of traditional historic houses (tukuls) in the vicinity of the churches and in the neighbouring residential areas. These are usually round two-storey structures with a solid outside staircase leading to the upper floor, built of irregular rubble bedded in clay mortar with conical and traditionally thatched roofs. Despite their cultural significance many of them are poorly protected and preserved. As recognised in the ICOMOS evaluation, although unspecified in number and extent, they form an integral part of the World Heritage site: 'à côté des onze églises énumérées dans la proposition, des vestiges étendus d'habitat traditionnel – des maisons circulaires à deux niveaux avec escalier intérieur et couverture de chaume – qu'il est indispensable de protéger et de conserver au même titre que les éléments rupestres d'architecture religieuse' (ICOMOS, 1978b).

The question is how best to protect, preserve and re-use these houses without compromising their integrity and unexcavated surroundings and at the same time allowing for adaptation (Fig. 5). A series of twenty-one tukuls in the vicinity of the churches recently became a focus for conservation efforts as part of a World Bank sponsored

project. Once restored the aim is to re-use these as centres of handicrafts and for display of monastic life. However, it is important that a sensitive balance is achieved in order to avoid staged authenticity and uses that are exclusively for tourists since this would compromise authenticity of the site.

Figure 5 Vernacular historic houses on the Church compound. E. Negussie, 2009.

Cultural landscape

Like in many other places there is a shifting focus towards understanding the rock-hewn churches of Lalibela as an integral part of a wider cultural landscape (Fig. 6). A number of questions remain unexplored in terms of the historical significance of the surrounding landscape of the churches and their construction. There is an urgent need to identify and protect the cultural landscape and to provide a strategy for its use with continuous town expansion and risk of encroachment on the World Heritage site, particularly in the form of new hotel developments.

These issues are under consideration in the work towards a site management plan. The challenge and opportunity for conservation is to find multiple solutions to conservation of the built structures, their settings and the intangible dimensions which contribute to Lalibela as a living heritage in the context of economic development and tourism growth.

Figure 6 View of the sheltered churches and landscape from hill. E. Negussie, 2009.

Heritage as a tool for development

Cultural heritage and World Heritage sites in particular are increasingly promoted as a focus for international development. The World Bank and UN agencies have included in their agendas the idea of heritage as a cultural resource for achieving socio-economic development. National trust funds have been established by governments within donor and lending agencies incorporating culture as a tool for development. For example, the UNDP/Spain Millennium Development Goals Achievement Fund was established in 2007 for transfer of 528 million euros towards key Millennium Development Goals (MDG) over a period of four years. The Fund seeks to address key development challenges central to the achievement of the MDGs, stipulated in the UN Millennium Declaration of 2000 as a means to reduce world poverty, and related development goals including the integration of culture and development (see Negussie and Assefa-Wondimu, forthcoming). As noted by Bono (2010), the Declaration 'wasn't a promise of rich nations to poor ones; it was a pact, a partnership, in which each side would meet obligations to its own citizens and to one another'.

National governments have also sponsored cultural heritage as part of bi-lateral development projects for poverty alleviation and re-construction in post-conflict societies. For example, the Swedish International Development Agency has worked in partnership with heritage organisations in order to integrate preservation with development assistance, such as renovations of the Stone Town in Zanzibar in Tanzania and the Old Royal Palace of Luang Prabang in Laos. It also sponsored Cultural Heritage without Boarders, a Swedish relief organisation founded in 1995 and working in the spirit of the Hague Convention by preserving cultural heritage endangered by war, natural disasters, neglect, poverty or political and social conflict.

UNESCO has become an important actor in capacity-building efforts through its Programme for Culture and Development and promotion of World Heritage sites. This is in addition to the World Heritage Fund, which provides international assistance towards World Heritage sites on request by any of the States Parties to the World Heritage Convention (e.g. for technical co-operation, training and emergency assistance). ICCROM has also undertaken capacity-building partnership projects such as Africa 2009, a training strategy for heritage expertise in African countries.

This growing emphasis on culture in strategies for international development is based on the idea that investment in infrastructure and human capital is key to sustainable development and long-term reduction of poverty, combined with the view that cultural heritage resources can be commercialised and sold as products for consumption as part of the tourism industry. While the link between culture, tourism and development is crucial in economic strategies for local community development, it is necessary to recognise the potential conflict between uses of heritage as cultural and economic resources. Commercialisation of heritage results in a commodification process in which heritage products and experiences become modified into products for the tourism industry (Graham et al., 2000). This may threaten the cultural value of heritage as an authentic resource of

knowledge, history and culture. A key issue to consider is how to reconcile tourism growth with sustainable heritage conservation and local community empowerment. This is imperative in countries with urgent need for economic development as they are particularly vulnerable to the adverse impact of tourism on heritage sites.

The establishment of a management plan is a compulsory requirement for World Heritage sites under the World Heritage Convention. The Operational Guidelines for its implementation stipulate that 'each nominated property should have an appropriate management plan or other documented management system which should specify how the outstanding universal value of a property should be preserved, preferably through participatory means' (UNESCO, 2008, para. 108). The management plan constitutes an opportunity for the negotiation of the above-mentioned challenge and for achieving sustainable development.

While Ethiopia is in economic terms one of the poorest countries in the world, it has a wealth of cultural and natural resources, including archaeological sites, ancient churches and monasteries, medieval castles, historic towns and traditional festivals. It currently has nine World Heritage sites and one proposed site on the Tentative List. Although the majority of these were inscribed in the first implementation phase of the World Heritage Convention, until recently they have lacked management plans. However, these are now being established and have become a tool for capacity-building efforts.

A study undertaken to examine sustainable heritage tourism at the Lalibela World Heritage site from the perspectives of site conservation, local community benefit and tourist satisfaction, found that while the local community is benefiting from tourism, mainly through infrastructural developments and job creation, there is a need to diversify the economy and the benefits further. It also highlighted actual and potential threats to the monuments, objects and intangible aspects of heritage, including uncontrolled development and environmental degradation (Assefa-Wondimu, 2007). It has been suggested elsewhere that 'it is from the inexorable growth of tourism and the lack - so far - of effective visitor management that Lalibela's religious eminence is most seriously threatened' (Philipson, 2009, p. 181).

Towards a management plan for Lalibela

The urgent need to establish a management plan for the rock-hewn churches of Lalibela has led to a series of partnership projects and workshops led by the Ethiopian Authority for Research on Conservation of Cultural Heritages (ARCCH), the state body in charge of national and World Heritage sites, supported by international agencies and bi-lateral collaborations. In 2009, the author undertook a small-scale partnership project entitled 'Establishing a Management Plan Process for the World Heritage Site of Lalibela' through the World Heritage Management Programme at University College Dublin in collaboration with colleagues in the ARCCH based on previous research exchange, jointly funded by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism in Ethiopia and the Department of Environment, Heritage and Local Government in Ireland.

The project involved the implementation of a workshop in Lalibela for the establishment of a participatory stakeholder management plan process covering issues relating to site protection, tourism and community development. It brought together over fifty participants who discussed topics as introduced by speakers, including representatives from Ethiopian federal, regional and local authorities, professionals working in the culture and tourism sectors, and representatives from the church, the community, the guides association, the hotels, as well as youth and women's associations. The broad representation of local interests provided a wide scope of input towards the discussions and the field visits. This can be seen as a complement to capacity-building projects by international organisations such as UNESCO and the World Bank, building bridges for co-operation and exchange between heritage and research institutions globally and locally.

The management plan needs to identify objectives and a long-term vision for the World Heritage site based on broad stakeholder participation and interdisciplinary collaboration. Furthermore, it needs to strike a balance between conservation, access, local community interests and sustainable economic use, while ensuring preservation of a site's outstanding universal value, authenticity and integrity as the primary objective.

This is supported by the current five strategic objectives of the World Heritage Convention which are to: 'strengthen the Credibility of the World Heritage List'; 'ensure the effective Conservation of World Heritage Properties'; 'promote the development of effective Capacity-building in States Parties'; 'increase public awareness, involvement and support for World Heritage through Communication'; and to 'enhance the role of Communities in the implementation of the World Heritage Convention' (UNESCO, 2008, para. 26).
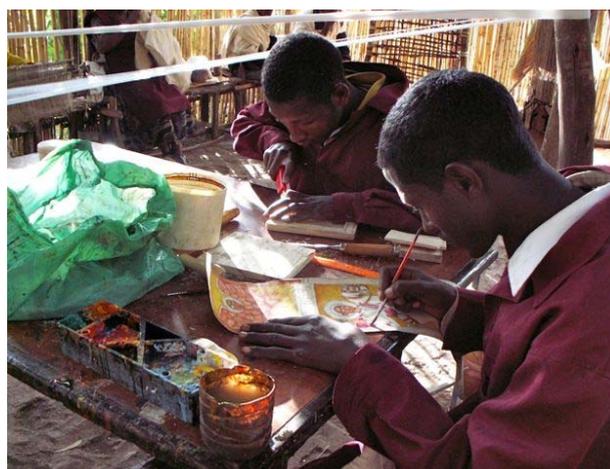

Figure 7 Crafts studio at the St Lalibela Artisan Association. E. Negussie, 2009.

Different framework plans are required to ensure sustainable development in Lalibela. A sustainable heritage framework will cover conservation actions relating to the rock-hewn churches, the historic traditional houses, movable objects, policies to safeguard intangible heritage and the landscape setting. A sustainable tourism and visitor framework is required to control visitor flows, traffic and congestion, finding new methods of financing heritage and ensuring high quality authentic experiences. An environmental framework plan is necessary to come

to terms with environmental degradation, waste management, water policy and carbon emissions. Finally, a local community framework plan must ensure local participation in decisions concerning the World Heritage site and in the benefits of tourism. The development of traditional handicrafts activities has proved a particularly important resource for cultural and economic development, as demonstrated by the forming of the St Lalibela Artisan Association as an innovative crafts centre in a renovated town house supported by UNESCO (see Dubois, 2008) (Fig. 7). It provided a model for training of artisans and enhancement of traditional craftsmanship.

Conclusion

This paper highlighted the significance of World Heritage listing in the context of traditional society, evolving communities and living heritage at the rock-hewn churches of Lalibela. It also explored shifts towards the use of heritage as a tool for sustainable socio-economic development, noting that tourism-based development may both contribute to and comprise heritage sites. It stressed the need for an integrated site management plan with a clear vision based on high standards for future protection of the site, including tangible and intangible dimensions, with reconciliation of tourism interests and development pressures in a way that ensures long-term conservation, benefits for the local community and consideration for religious practices and use of the rock-hewn churches as a sacred site. This challenge requires continued commitment from local and national stakeholders, as well as support from the international community.

Notes

1   The twelve sites included: L'Anse aux Meadows National Historic Park (Canada); Nahanni National Park (Canada); Galápagos Islands (Ecuador); City of Quito (Ecuador); Simien National Park (Ethiopia); Rock Hewn Churches, Lalibela (Ethiopia); Aachen Cathedral (Federal Republic of Germany); Cracow's Historic Centre (Poland); Wieliczka – salt mine (Poland); Island of Gorée (Senegal); Mesa Verde (US); and Yellowstone (US).

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Heritage and social change: anticipating future trends

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Introduction

While its intellectual roots go back for centuries, heritage conservation came of age as an organisational field in the second half of the 20th century. As the typical conservationist went from being an amateur interested in art, architecture, or archaeology, to a professional with a scientific, rational bent, the field became more bureaucratized and specialized (Lee, 2002; Koshar, 2004). The field also gained strength from UNESCO's definition of cultural heritage as a human right and the passage of a series of path-breaking conventions. With the world economy undergoing dramatic expansion for much of the period, heritage conservation appeared a growth industry, aided by the changing definition of heritage. From being focused on isolated monuments, the definition expanded to include whole landscapes, and also intangible cultural patterns and practices.

However, ideas and values that serve as powerful generators of social action in one period may lose their potency or assume a quite different significance in another. In their classic text, The Dialectic of Enlightenment, Horkheimer and Adorno ([1944]; 1982) demonstrated how science played a liberating role in early modern Europe, helping break the control of tradition over people's lives and providing emancipatory potential through the possibility of social action based on rational thought. But in the latter 19th and early 20th century, science became both a means and an end. Despite its many achievements, science came to be seen as also having the power to oppress by locking people into over-rationalised, bureaucratic structures serving goals that had become disconnected from much that we associate with humanity.

Drawing on this classic analysis, I propose that the two central concepts that have served to legitimate heritage conservation in the second half of the 20th century, namely science and human rights, must be viewed dialectically. While these two concepts did much to guide heritage conservation as it developed into an organisational field (Bourdieu, 1993), contradictions emerged that reveal the limitations embedded in these values and the necessity of developing additional strategies to address the distinctive problems of the global age. To the extent to which the cultural heritage field does not demonstrate this organisational creativity, it may well be seen as 'still fighting the last war', i.e. still relying on strategies that look backward rather than forward.

The argument presented will itself assume dialectical structure of thesis, antithesis and synthesis. First, I will provide evidence as to how the values of science and human rights served to advance the cause of heritage conservation in the post-war period. Then, I shall consider the problems inherent in these values that produce social strains or inadequacies of organisational response. Finally, I shall propose a synthesis: how by combining thesis and antithesis, cultural heritage can more fully respond to the challenges of the global age.

Thesis: how have the values of science and human rights served the cause of cultural heritage conservation?

Krishan Kumar (1987) has proposed that science and socialism have been the two dominant utopias of the modern age. I would argue, however, that the human rights discourse acquired its own utopian thrust in the second half of the 20th century. The argument that we have a right to culture was part and parcel of the broader discourse that developed in the aftermath of World War II as worldwide revulsion against the Holocaust led to the passage in 1948 by the United Nations of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The cultural losses in World War II demonstrated that the safeguarding of cultural sites and artefacts required mechanisms that transcended the level of the national state but that relied upon nation-states for their operation.

Human rights thus provided the legitimating discourse and the United Nations provided the organisational structure for this concerted action among nation-states. An impressive list of conventions and declarations followed, beginning with the 1954 Hague Convention (The Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict), continuing through the 1970 Convention on the Means of Protecting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export, and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property and the 1972 Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. Other conventions followed, notably the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Heritage and the 2005 Convention on the Protection and the Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions.

Along with the related body of declarations and proclamations, these conventions have provided an important framework for a range of actions. When the Hague Convention's lack of enforcement powers became obvious during the wars in former Yugoslavia in the 1990s, additional protocols were approved that had the effect of allowing the international war crimes tribunal to prosecute people accused of despoiling the monuments of other religious and ethnic groups. The 1970 Convention has provided justification for the actions of Italy and Greece, among other nations, to try to recover important archaeological pieces that were illegally exported. And, of course, the 1972 Convention on World Heritage greatly facilitated the identification and protection of outstanding natural and cultural sites globally.

In all these efforts, the principle of universalism has allowed the United Nations and participating international non-governmental organisations (INGOs) and national

non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to claim that cultural products that lie within a national territory nonetheless have a significance that transcends parochial interests and powers. The Human Rights regime shares this principle of universalism with the other powerful utopia of modern society, namely science.

This universalism is first of all evident in the basic fact that scientific findings are meant to be valid for all people, holding all conditions equal. Thus, water is supposed to boil at 100 degrees Celsius at sea level, whether one is in Greenwich or Phuket. There is not supposed to be an Irish science or a Peruvian science: the very thought of nationalistic science recalls Nazi experiments and other misguided efforts to pervert the scientific enterprise to serve political ends.

The extent to which the universalism was embedded within both the human rights discourse and associated with science was particularly attractive to people working in the field of cultural heritage. Much of cultural heritage had, by definition, been the affair of nation-states, and not just nation-states, but particular political regimes, not all of which had used cultural heritage for humanitarian ends. Alfredo Conti (2009) has detailed how nationalist discourse influenced the development of historic preservation in Argentina, where an intellectual elite effectively 'invented' historic heritage in order to integrate a cosmopolitan immigrant population and to insure its subservience to the existing power structure. Beate Störtkuhl's (2006) edited volume Architekturgeschichte und Kulturelles Erbe: Aspekte der Baudenkmalplege in Ostmitteleuropa ('Architectural History and Cultural History: Aspects of Historic Preservation in East Central Europe') presents numerous examples from that region of the tension between science and scholarship on the one hand and nationalist agendas on the other.

Science is also attractive to heritage professionals in so far as it provides an alternative image to the previously dominant image of heritage as dominated by elites who were pursuing their own particular artistic interests and indulging their own particular cultural tastes. Besides the evident class and status tensions implicit in such a stereotype, the major ontological problem was that, in short, 'there's no accounting for tastes'. Without scientific criteria, whatever heritage sites were included on the prestigious World Heritage List would be there simply because of the cultural tastes and biases of the particular individuals involved in the process, rather than because of their intrinsic merit. Hence, it was necessary from the very beginning of this convention to elaborate a set of scientific criteria that serves to guide the selection process if not necessarily to eliminate all matters of national or personal bias.

The six scientific criteria for cultural heritage were not, however, sufficient to the task of selection. As the list grew through the 1980s and early 1990s, it became increasingly evident that it was heavily weighted toward specific types of sites, namely sites of art and architectural merit such as castles, churches and cathedrals, and toward a specific region, namely Europe. For this reason, in 1994 the World Heritage Committee adopted its Global Strategy for a Representative, Balanced and Credible World Heritage List. Based on the scientific principles of classification and categorisation, the Global Strategy is essentially a quota sampling

mechanism meant to guarantee that effort is made to identify under-represented examples of the full range of possible sites. Thus, preference should be given to under-represented regions such as Africa and Asia, and to under-represented forms such as industrial, scientific, or underwater heritage.

Finally, the cultural heritage field has embraced the principle of science in its everyday operation. Papers submitted to heritage conferences are routinely evaluated by scientific review committees and much of the important work of organisations such as ICOMOS is done by standing Scientific Committees.

The choice of science as model for the organisational field has been all the more important as heritage conservation has assumed a truly global dimension. Science is at the heart of what sociologist John W. Meyer and his colleagues see as a world polity of shared norms and values (Meyer, Boli, Thomas and Ramirez, 1997). Rather than undermining the sovereignty of nation-states, this world polity works in and through nation-states. In addition, an important role is played by NGOs, which self-authorise actions designed to help realise these shared values.

Overall, the scientific approach has served to increase the prestige of heritage professionals and of cultural heritage as an organisational field. Nonetheless, contradictions have arisen over the course of the years regarding the use of science and human rights as sources of legitimacy and inspiration for heritage conservation.

Antithesis: what is a human right and when is science relevant?

The most significant opposition to viewing heritage as a human right comes from within the community of human rights scholars. These scholars form one side of a debate concerning whether the definition of human rights should be expansive or restrictive. Those who argue for a restrictive definition believe it should include only the limited number of rights that appear 'self-evident' to people across cultures (Etzioni, 2010) or that have some sort of ontological grounding, such as in the vulnerability of the human body to physical pain (Turner, 2006). Such scholars see the proliferation of claims to the status of human rights, such as the World Tourism Organization's claim that we have a human right to tourism, as weakening the argument they are trying to make concerning, for example, the right to freedom from torture (Ignatieff, 2001).

As Kwame Anthony Appiah (2005) has pointed out, if heritage is a human right, then it is a curious one. The Enlightenment philosophers who propounded the idea of a social contract that gave people universal rights saw such rights as weapons against the arbitrary claims of particularistic cultures. In the mind of 18th century thinkers such as Voltaire, cultural traditions, especially religious traditions, were irrational constructions that required unquestioning obedience and that fostered intolerance of cultural differences. An important part of these philosophers' goals was to limit the authority of culture, rather than to glorify it, through using rational thought rather than tradition to guide social action (Béji, 2004). Indeed, particularistic cultures have continued to

be a problem for the development and spread of what have been called human rights regimes, with regimes defined as 'the principles, norms, rules and decision-making procedures around which actor expectations converge in a given issue area' (Kramer 1982, p. 185). For example, a complex discourse pertains to what has been called the 'Asian values debate', which has involved both Asian governments and Asian area scholars in questions pertaining to the limits of universalism and the claims of cultural relativism in this important world region (Bell, Nathan and Peleg, 2001).

As already mentioned, claims to cultural heritage as a human right emerged as part of the broader Post-World War II discourse on human rights. Yet the forces behind the passage of the key United Nations conventions concerning culture differ in marked ways from those that gave rise to other human rights conventions. First, instead of the allied victors stigmatising their defeated enemies, both parties to the conflict were seen as having committed wanton acts of cultural destruction: for example, the bombing of Coventry Cathedral by the Germans and the destruction of Dresden by the Allied forces. Second, it was not disadvantaged groups that were making claims against the state: rather, members of privileged status groups, notably drawn from the professional classes, were at the forefront of this effort. And, third, while the conventions dedicated to protecting culture that were eventually agreed did provide means for states to intervene in the affairs of other states, as was typical for other rights regimes, intervention designed to defend the right to culture has often been indirect and less than effective (Waters, 1996).

As for the claims of cultural heritage to the status of science, two problems quickly emerge. The first is that, while science is evident in heritage professions based on expertise in material science or chemistry, it is less obvious to some people that specialties traditionally considered part of the humanities such as art and architectural history can also be guided by a scientific approach. The second problem is that claims to science resonate more positively in some quarters than in others. As Françoise Choay (1996, p. 183) has written, 'the Parthenon, Saint Sophia, Borobudur, and Chartres recall the enchantment of a quest that, in our disenchanted world, is proposed by neither science nor critical analysis'.

Empirical evidence for Choay's assertion can be found in a social survey conducted on a sample of affluent New York State residents who were highly supportive of World Heritage in principle (Barthel-Bouchier and Hui, 2007). Among other questions, survey respondents were asked to evaluate a list of twelve heritage sites, with the official UNESCO description provided, and to judge whether the site in question was of national, world-regional (Africa, Europe, Asia) or universal significance. While there was near-unanimity on the universal status of the Taj Mahal and the Great Wall of China, there was minuscule support for examples chosen to reflect the scientifically-oriented Global Strategy's efforts to include more industrial sites and more 20th-century sites, among other under-represented categories. Thus, only twelve of the 130 survey respondents believed Sweden's Varberg Radio Station to be of universal merit, the same number as felt that the modernist home and studio of Mexican architect Luis Barragan belonged on the World Heritage

List. Thus, while the Global Strategy may appear to organisational insiders as an ideal scientific method for eliminating bias by region and by type of site, it carries with it the risk of alienating public support for the underlying principle of World Heritage, a principle that, as Choay rightly perceived, conveys a sense of awe and wonder to those who support it.

In addition to the principle of scientific sampling as a basis for World Heritage inclusion, the public also frequently appears unimpressed with scientific expertise when it is applied in their own communities. As David Lowenthal (1999, p. 7) has written, the professionalization of conservation has served more to increase public distrust rather than trust: 'with it goes resentment that heritage concerns are dominated by elites and special interest groups, and suspicions of self-interest undermine appreciation of heritage as a public commodity'. And, as the delisting of Dresden has demonstrated, people are perfectly willing to reject expert advice when other issues, such as traffic flow, are at stake.

Overall, the public appears reluctant to view science as holding the key to the future. Indeed, Kumar demonstrates how utopian visions of a future based on the popular image of science were accompanied by dystopic visions of a future world dominated by science and deprived of human values. These dystopic visions reflect the fact that specific scientific approaches often appear ill-suited to the task of resolving problems of social policy, especially those problems that require some measure of prediction of future trends and outcomes (see Rittel and Webber, 1973).

Heritage professionals like to claim that heritage conservation is more about people than about places, more about looking toward the future than preserving the past. Yet the act of claiming the status of science and/or human right by itself alone does not appear to be a future-oriented strategy for dealing with the challenges that lie ahead, challenges relating to ecological crisis and economic reversals. Having gained a place at the table of experts and been accepted as a partner by powerful corporations as well as by governmental and intergovernmental entities, how can heritage conservation gain a similar place of honour among the relatively less powerful in the new global age, that is, among the public at large?

Synthesis: on social status and social action

Dialectical reasoning does not imply the rejection of the starting point or thesis, and this paper is not arguing for the rejection of either science or human rights. Rather, this form of argumentation takes elements from both the thesis and the antithesis and forges them into a more comprehensive argument. A good starting place for this synthetic analysis can be found in Andrew Abbott's (1981) analysis of the sources of professional status. For Abbott, determinants of status differ depending on whether one is a member of a particular profession or of the public it is meant to serve. Within a profession, the further one's activities are separated from actual contact with the public the higher the status one is accorded by one's colleagues. Thus, the purely conceptual architect, or the architect who designs only a few highly-emblematic structures, has higher status than the one

who works on primary school additions, the university professor who teaches few students has higher status than the one who teaches classes with large enrolments, the scientist engaged in pure research has higher status than the one working on a problem in applied research. Direct and open contact with the public is seen within professions as potentially polluting and even dangerous, and high status practitioners are often separated from unsolicited contact with the public by layers of administrative support. While professions can and do occasionally reward those members whose work reminds them of their essential public service role, on a day-to-day basis status tends to follow separation from public contact rather than immersion in it.

By contrast, the public tends to be most impressed by professionals who display a willingness to engage on a personal level with relevant issues. Examples would include physicians who appear on television talk shows, or lawyers who write advice columns in popular magazines. It would also include professionals who dedicate their talents to solving real-life problems in real-life communities and who commit for a substantial period of time, rather than just flying in to make guest appearances. In the same way, members of the public appear less concerned with whether or not heritage is a science or a human right; they are more concerned with whether heritage conservation adds appreciably to the quality of their lives and that of their communities.

Fortunately, there is much good work going on in heritage conservation by people who are, in Abbott's terms, not afraid to get dirty through direct contact. In Sweden, Christer Gustafsson (2006) of the Halland County Administrative Board obtained the co-operation of the County Labour Board to hire unemployed construction workers and to train them in traditional building techniques by having them work to restore culturally and historically valuable buildings, some of which then became community centres. Thus, a triple social benefit was created, and people saw the value in heritage conservation. In the Arctic Circle, Ph.D. student Brendan Griebel (2009) is working on educational programs with Inuits. Striving to achieve 'multivocality', he weaves together his own scientific expertise with the oral histories and narratives of the local residents.

When Griebel presented his work to a distinguished audience of heritage specialists at a conference, it met with a warm reception. One heritage researcher commented: 'I was particularly impressed that you referred to the local people by their proper names'. The ability to create meaningful social ties is indeed one important difference between direct public contact and the 'public outreach' programs conducted at a distance. Heritage organisations speak with pride of all the public information available on their websites, but such sites also serve to keep the public at a distance. The sites rarely provide means for someone to contact specific individuals within the organisations, and answering individual public inquiries is often resented as time-consuming, since other activities have a higher priority. As one heritage professional commented, 'it's often a case of choosing between doing the work and talking about it'.

In the coming global age of ecological crisis, economic cutbacks and predicted social dislocations, heritage conservation will need a higher public profile and a higher degree of public support. It can achieve this not by disavowing the science ingrained in much of its work or the claims to human right status that have inspired many worthy actions. It must do this by finding new visions more in line with public concerns: visions that can be communicated by a range of media, not just organisational websites. In working toward the goal of achieving more visible and effective outreach, heritage conservation should move beyond science to draw more heavily on social science and its findings on such fundamental topics as how to build trust between experts and publics and how to motivate people to make difficult personal choices and to work toward social change. Only then will cultural heritage have not simply a 'place at the table' with other decision-makers, but a clear voice and an inescapable presence in the new global age.

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Concluding synthesis

Summaries of breakout sessions and recommendations

Pamela Jerome, Scientific Council Officer, ICOMOS
Neil Silberman, Symposium Chair, ICOMOS

Following the format established at the Pretoria and Valletta symposia, the afternoon session of the Dublin symposium was designed to expand upon and focus the issues brought up in the plenary presentations through the active participation of ICOMOS International Scientific Committee (ISC) members. Four breakout sessions were organized and attendees were invited to choose one of them, with the goal of formulating concrete recommendations and possible ISC initiatives in the coming years.

At the conclusion of the time allotted to the breakout sessions, the ISC members re-assembled for a plenary session at which the deliberations of each breakout session were presented and discussed. What follows is a summary of the breakout session reports, based on the notes of the facilitators and rapporteurs.

Heritage and changing communities (session 1)
Moderated by Andrew Hall, ICOMOS South Africa, and reported by Marilyn Truscott, ICOMOS Australia

The participants in this breakout session noted that the sheer mass and scale of the transformations currently underway are among the most important issues to be confronted in dealing with heritage and community change. Moreover, these are often caused by outside influences such as global and multi-national economic forces, which result in sweeping social discontinuities. The movement of people from rural areas into cities and rapid industrial and urban development often result in a disruption of intangible traditions and the loss of significant tangible heritage, often without adequate recording before the physical destruction or damage occurs.

The papers given at the plenary session highlighted some possible reactions to situations of this type, which most often depend on community (in addition to official) responses and the importance of a public dedication to the preservation of community memory. Whether local, indigenous, or diasporic, the communities must take an active role in keeping a sense of continuity alive, despite changed circumstances and, in some cases, demographic change.

How can ICOMOS respond? The group's discussion centered on the potential tensions between top-down and bottom-up heritage approaches, i.e. experts telling the community what heritage elements are significant and should be conserved vs listening to the community about what elements of its heritage are deemed most important by the community members themselves. This raises the question of the acceptable level of influence heritage experts can or should exert over a community's heritage perceptions. More appropriate may be facilitating a

sharing of knowledge about heritage between professionals and the general public, in which heritage discussions about place, space, object, memory and tradition are seen not as leading to permanent decisions, but as part of an ongoing activity.

In the discussion participants also noted that it is important to identify and understand some of the specific types of change that can occur within a community. These included:

- Redundant lifestyles caused by 'modernization' and out-migration, resulting in the depopulation of rural spaces and the loss of traditions that were connected with the old ways of life;
- Layering of new groups appropriating areas, such as immigrants or new residents brought by gentrification. This is characteristic of urban spaces;
- Appropriation of tangible heritage (buildings, landscapes, places of worship) by new communities. It is important to understand how this occurs and which values are altered in the process; and
- Abandoned heritage (e.g. 'orphan country' in Australian Indigenous terms) and determining the conditions by which someone else may eventually adopt or link with it.

Noting that the Venice Charter states monuments imbued with memory, the group participants suggested that ICOMOS should:

- Assemble or list the techniques and practices currently available to deal with 'change' contexts (i.e. identify the ICOMOS 'toolbox');
- Compile guidelines;
- Study and refine processes;
- Disseminate exemplar case studies of best practice that include community participation, recuperation, revitalisation (including rural areas) in regions with similar, relevant activities and industries, providing a continuity with change;
- Identify gaps in ICOMOS and necessary tools; and
- Develop new tools where necessary (adapt from others relevant where available).

No less important is the integration of a wide range of stakeholders and specialists in the processes for 'heritage, change and community continuity.' These include, of course, members of the relevant or affected communities, but also experts in disciplines that have not been traditionally consulted in conservation planning and practice, such as sociologists and social anthropologists. The ultimate goal is to encourage a process of participatory decision-making, in which heritage experts play the role of facilitators and community collaborators rather than exclusive decision makers.

Immigration, diasporic/indigenous heritage and social change (session 2)

Facilitated by Sheridan Burke, ICOMOS Australia, and reported by Andrew B. Anderson, ICOMOS Canada

The thirteen participants of this breakout session, representing Europe, North America, and Central America, though recognizing that the group did not include global representation, focused their discussion on the complex global issues related to immigration and diasporic communities. Indigenous heritage and social change was not discussed, nor were the larger issues of forced migration. The complexity of the issue and the ongoing cyclical nature of immigration/emigration were examined, and it was acknowledged that migration occurs at many scales, both within countries and across international and cultural borders.

A wide range of issues relating to the heritage of immigration/emigration/diaspora was raised during the breakout session. These included the following points:

- The 19-century immigration process is re-occurring in an even larger wave: history is repeating itself with massive population shifts (e.g. China; rural-urban; post-conflict; post-disaster). Some of the central heritage questions are how to recognize and identify the communities of the new arrivals - and to document the tangible and intangible impacts of leaving one's original country/culture, such as the transmission or re-creation of elements of built heritage and intangible heritage.
- Is one of the challenges of immigration heritage to make society more tolerant of immigrants? Is it to understand better the immigration process itself? Does an idealization of the place of origin lead to creative changes; does it impact the loss or transmission of certain traditional knowledge and skills?
- What are the forms in which immigration can or should be commemorated? Monuments of departure and new settlement? Celebration of localism within larger migrant communities? Can immigrant heritage be a source of community and local regeneration (i.e. Capel Street as Dublin's Chinatown)? How do churches and other places of worship that are used for the different denominations of successive waves of immigrants be conserved and interpreted to reflect their entire histories?
- Is immigration necessarily international? Should domestic immigration, from rural to urban environments (and vice versa), be documented in the historic environment and landscape?
- Do local by-laws/legislation help or hinder the continued existence of multicultural communities and their heritage? What can be done to foster the appreciation of local heritage in new immigrant communities?
- What can ICOMOS do to conserve and interpret immigrant heritage? Perhaps it lies in the recognition of validity of change and cultural flexibility/adaptability, and, no less important, the assessment of significance from the distinct perspectives of immigrants and receiving communities. Museums should be a starting point for people to explore the role of immigration in their own heritage and lead to the conservation of layers of heritage that combines that of newcomers with local traditions and vernacular architecture left behind by successive waves of immigrants.

As a result of the discussion, the following series of recommended action items for ICOMOS were identified:

1 Promote the recognition and documentation of immigrant places of origin and destination so that they are interpreted and conserved. Since immigration impacts are sometimes transitory and ephemeral, the timing of documentation is important.
2 Recognize the importance of interpreting and presenting the many stories of immigration. They may be conflicting and diverse amongst generations and cultures; they may include the perspectives of both incoming and receiving communities' experiences.
3 Collect and disseminate instructive case studies of immigration heritage to the proposed ICOMOS toolkit, which may include examples such as:

   - Conservation by-listing, laws and legislation (e.g. the Kaiping Dialou, China, recently World Heritage listed);
   - Australian projects on migrant heritage which led to statutory protection of places;
   - Interpretation (e.g. Boulevard St Laurent a.k.a. 'The Main' in Montreal, Canada);
   - Events for diasporas to recognize heritage of places of origin (e.g. the 'Homecomings' held in Scotland for people of Scottish heritage);
   - Maintaining continuity of use (e.g. Boulevard St Laurent, a.k.a. 'The Main' in Montreal, Canada);
   - Multi-generational projects recognising the range of experiences of children, parents, senior generations in the immigration process; and
   - Project examples such as the NSW Migration Heritage in Australia.

4 Recognize the need for multi-disciplinary collaboration related to the identification and management of the heritage of immigration/emigration/diaspora, which involves experts and colleagues in a variety of fields including, but not limited to, sociology, social anthropology, museum studies, etc. Involvement of immigrants/diaspora themselves is also critical.
5 Carefully assess the significance of immigrant places, including intangible aspects of heritage to determine best management techniques that are flexible, recognizing that heritage is often the 'cement' for new communities.
6 Recognize the diverse nature of immigration/ emigration: diverse experiences; diverse impacts (scale, culture); diverse outcomes (including students as immigrants); diverse activities (heritage alerts).
7 Identify the values and opportunities of the web and social media (related to immigration) as a tool for research and ongoing learning, exchange of information, and the establishment and maintenance of social connections; support linkages via ICOMOS activities (e.g. best examples, case studies, heritage toolkit).

Religious heritage (session 3)

Moderated and reported by Dinu Bumbaru, ICOMOS Canada

The participants in this breakout session recognized that religious heritage is a relevant theme for the mission and work of ICOMOS. Indeed, the theme of 'Religious Heritage' has been the object of a number of resolutions from the General Assembly of ICOMOS since 1993 and the 14th (Extraordinary) General Assembly in Victoria Falls, Zimbabwe. Also, 'Religious Heritage and Sacred Places' was chosen and promoted by ICOMOS as the theme for the International Day on Monuments and Sites in 2008.

The theme of the religious or the sacred is universally present through a great diversity of expressions. It is also very sensitive, both in terms of its intrinsic nature and significance, and for the tensions and conflicts that may arise in its name or affecting it.

In terms of heritage, religious heritage is a fundamental theme, one where communities, human societies, and entire civilizations have vested significant resources and attention. It establishes powerful connections between people - be they worshippers or observers - beliefs and places. It is also characterized by a strong sense of timelessness and continuity.

The heritage manifestations of these belief systems are personal or collective, modest or grand, and often elements connecting people and their particular culture. They include:

- Sites of religious or sacred significance, groves and gardens, burial grounds;
- Buildings, monuments and structures;
- Objects, collections, books and archives;
- Landscapes and cultural routes, toponymy, geomancy; and
- Intangible cultural heritage such as rituals, traditional knowledge, practices and music.

The participants of the breakout group identified a number of issues and trends affecting the conservation needs and objectives for those religious sites or buildings of heritage significance:

- Increased secularisation modifies the relation between the tangible and intangible heritage of these sites and social perspective on their conservation.
- Conflicts and tensions between: active worshippers and observers or visitors; values and meanings exposed to social change; traditional use and modern regulations; eternity and short term.
- Ownership of religious heritage sites or structures and its impact on the assignation of public funds for their conservation.
- Redundancy of many religious facilities of heritage significance as a result of changing worshiping and religious practice.
- Demographics and human migrations worldwide affect the maintenance and distribution of sites of religious heritage; and
- Special considerations for: religious heritage and sacred sites of indigenous people; role of religious heritage and sacred sites in post-disaster recovery;

place of religious heritage and sacred sites in World Heritage process.

As a result of the group discussion, the following series of recommended action items for ICOMOS were identified:

1 Gather, compare, and analyse case studies on how challenges associated with the conservation of religious heritage sites, buildings or areas are addressed in a diversity of cultural, legal and economic contexts;
2 Prepare an ICOMOS report on issues of active or passive sacredness in relation to the nomination, evaluation and conservation requirements for World Heritage (outstanding universal value, authenticity/integrity, management);
3 Formulate ICOMOS «advices» or «principles» on the care of religious heritage sites, buildings, or areas, and communicate them to ICOMOS members, committees and partners as well as the religious institutions sector.

GCC and social change (session 4)

Facilitated and reported by Susan Barr, ICOMOS Norway

The participants in this breakout session, following upon earlier discussions, recognized that extreme weather events, weather variability and climate change - all occurring in different timescales - required a continuous addition to the traditional body of heritage skills.

This is of course not merely a matter of heritage conservation; we are witnessing a period of far-reaching economic and cultural impacts. Indigenous communities and other communities dependent on the sea can no longer rely on the measures that they traditionally used to manage their environment. Indeed, since we are posing the question in a scientific way, it is essential that approaches be identified that can motivate people in communities without (western) scientific expertise - or who may be suspicious or hostile to scientific intervention in their traditional ways of life. If heritage is a driving force of sustainable society, and if heritage is what people think about their identities and place in the world, it is essential to use heritage in a broader way to assist in the adaptation to global climate change.

The discussion underlined the need to reach out to other disciplines and share technical knowledge, for climatic change's effect on the society is to make people feel threatened, to overtax natural resources, and to cause financial crises. Risk preparedness may give support to those in a sudden survival mode. Techniques for adaptation may help communities recognize the new set of threats towards heritage - and indeed the lessons to be learned from the long heritage of human adaptation through the millennia might help encourage sensible strategies of adaptation today.

Techniques of mitigation of GCC impacts encourage a wise and more frugal use of resources; they must help establish strategic programs at a local level, which respond to wider national policies.

Subtle climatic changes can create dramatic impacts on heritage, yet the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) has indicated that improved building

practices, more efficient transportation systems, and other measures will do a huge amount to mitigate the effects of GCC. In the heritage field, appropriate goals will be to sponsor and disseminate research on the reuse of buildings. There needs to be a practical heritage contribution to the wider socio-economic impacts. It was further suggested that presenting ourselves as the saviours of heritage from the disaster that is overcoming the world is not a good position to be in when others are having conflict over basic resources.

It is perhaps possible to learn how to adapt to climate through building and conservation techniques. A hundred years ago, there were four main construction materials, and today, the available construction materials number in the tens of thousands. These are tools for the protection of tangible heritage. The Nordic project on cultural heritage and GCC has shown that heritage is not just a liability in a time of climate change, but an element in adapting to its effects. In many cases, the most sustainable buildings are existing buildings and their adaptive, environmentally sensitive use is not merely a solution for heritage conservation, but perhaps a solution for a better society as well.

Cultural identity is also being impacted by GCC. The role of heritage professionals may be to help understand the loss of intangible traditions, agricultural practices and skills through migrations away from landscapes that are no longer livable. Demographic displacement will potentially affect hundreds of millions of people in the coming years and the challenge may not only be attending to the heritage landscapes that are abandoned by the cultural transformations experienced by the immigrants.

Our role is not to tell people what to do, but to research, observe and document, to facilitate resilient responses by communities. The threat of loss may help communities identify what is important to them. We must see ourselves more as partners with the community, not external experts that have the answers that communities lack. Indeed, as the other symposium themes made clear, cultures are changing even without climate change.

Swedish policy, for example, is that heritage is a driving force in a sustainable society. Its task is to establish values and be prepared to listen to a wide range of stakeholders. To have such a values-led approach entails recognition of the different ways that people perceive their reality in order to create shared statements of significance. These are obviously skills that are useful beyond heritage in wider civic life. It was suggested that the job of politicians is to make decisions in the face of uncertainty, modelling plausible futures, and heritage professionals need to do this too, putting the skills we are familiar with to use in the wider social environment.

As a result of the group discussion, the following series of recommended action items for ICOMOS were identified:

1 Help the wider public to acknowledge that loss and change will occur as a result of global climate change and facilitate planning for it, communicating it, and documenting it in order to show how heritage can help sustainability.

2 Encourage collaboration of heritage professionals with specialists in other disciplines in dealing with the effects of GCC.

3 Accept that there will be a massive displacement of people, necessitating heritage focus on abandoned landscapes and neglected traditions and skills.

4 Utilize conservation skills for risk prevention, impact mitigation and development.

5 Focus on values to help communities define which elements of tangible and intangible heritage are important to them.

6 Help the development of practical toolkits that can be used at the local level.

Contributed poster presentations

Heritage of Dubrovnik as living practices versus the representational image of place
Sandra Uskokovic, University of Dubrovnik, Croatia

The transition of the motive for conservation by members of the 'non-profit organization the Japanese association for MACHI-NAMI conservation and regeneration'

Yasue Muramatsu, Chiba University, Japan
Makoto Akasaka, Chiba University, Japan

The transition of the motive for conservation by members of the "Non Profit Organization The Japanese Association for MACHI-NAMI Conservation and Regeneration*"

*"NPO MACHI-NAMI"

【Sub-theme:The Heritage of Changing/ Evolving Communities】

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Abstract

MACHI-NAMI Conservation is the conservation and regeneration of the historic resources of the regions in JAPAN.

This study aims to clarify the changes of the developing MACHI-NAMI conservation approach by
1. The organisation of regional bodies which affiliate with "*Non-Profit Organization the Japanese Association for MACHI-NAMI Conservation and Regeneration*"(**NPO MACHI-NAMI**).

2. The object and motive what does this mean?

3. Social change including research of laws.

The method used was through questionaires from December 2007 to January 2008, involving interviews and reviewing documentations of 61 of the 120 member bodies, i.e. 51% participation. The MACHI-NAMI conservation of "Tsumago-juku" started by organising "Tsumago-wo-aisurukai" in 1968. The object was to involve the whole of former Tsumago village that had thrived until the Meiji era. It declines coincided with the building of new roads and railways in 1892-1927 which bypassed the village and saved it from development. Historic resources in order regions have been destroyed by rapid economic growth since the 1960s, and this led some MACHI-NAMI bodies to organise conservation actions. About the same time, the Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties was revised, the system of "Preservation District for Groups of Historic Buildings" established in 1975, and the Encycolopaedia "Rekishiteki MACHI-NAMI jiten" published in 1981. How has the idea of MACHI-NAMI conservation changed? The idea of MACHI-NAMI nowadays includes not only architecture but also other objects, especially landscapes.

fig1. The developing process of MACHI-NAMI Conservation

Conclusion

The initial motive for conservation at Tsumago-juku at the beginning of MACHI-NAMI project arose because the people wanted to maintain and look-after their own community despite the decline of the town. The inhabitants formed their own organisation called "Tsumago-wo-aisurukai" to undertake the conservation. In this case a huge grant for the Meiji Centenary encouraged the conservation of a group of buildings as historic resources. Similar conservation movements occurred in other regions of Japan. These came together to form the "Federation MACHI-NAMI" about the same time as the system of "Preservation District for Groups of Historic Buildings" under the law for the Protection of Cultural Properties was established nation-wide, and experts published the "Rekisiteki MACHI-NAMI jiten". For 20 years, the idea of MACHI-NAMI conservation spread throughout the entire nation. The MACHI-NAMI conservation approach brought possibilities for sustainable development especially in traditional industrial towns, farms mountain landscapes and fishing villages that contain many historic buildings. The main motive for MACHI-NAMI conservation suggests directions for town regeneration and cultural tourism.

Our challenge reinventing the locus
Fernando Brittos di Climente, ICOMOS Uruguay, ISCCL

Changing World, Changing Views of Heritage: The Impact of Global Change on Cultural Heritage
2010 theme: HERITAGE and SOCIAL CHANGE

OUR CHALLENGE
REINVENTING
THE *LOCUS*

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1. At the beginning was the Landscape...

Landscape is a process. Landscape has a dynamic status of continuous mutation that flows in a combination of times and cycles. A magnificent and diverse geography, encompassing multiple scenes for human activities, in a complex system of ecological relations that characterized a "new" continent.

"...you could observe, as far as you could see (...) as flat as the palm of your hand and many water courses lined by trees"
Antoine Joseph Dom Pernetty (Bouganville Expedition), 1763.

Montevideo Bay, drawing of Domingo Petrarca, 1719.

2. The new social order

Since the mid 16th century, the Laws of the Indies proposed the reassertion of a basic and comprehensive urban design, creating a permanent order and rationality in organizing the local landscape: plazas and streets are "new" public spaces for the development of social exchange.

New public space for social exchange

Plan of the ville of Montevideo, Antoine Joseph Dom Pernetty (Bouganville Expedition), 1763.

3. The visible Landscape: Inventing the *locus*

Creating a "new" visible landscape, replacing conquered iconography and creating new habitat conditions were all aspirations of the colonial state. New socio-cultural processes that shape a "new" identity.
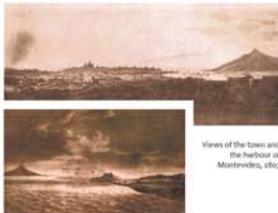
Views of the town and the harbour of Montevideo, 1807

To overcome time: an *orderly* social space

4. Landscape consumption

Today, the urban landscape has become massive and dominant, wherein "new" public spaces must be enriched through their environmental and social features. Managing a living landscape as a place of social and environmental harmony is the new aspiration.

Can a Landscape be transformed without destroying it?

The Rambla, the coastal promenade of Montevideo (capital of Uruguay), a sunny Sunday with a south-easterly wind blowing.

5. The "new" public space

Today, local subcultures appear to be opposite to the global values of the prevailing culture. Taking into account the dynamics and future of the landscape heritage, this challenge is to be taken on, so as to manage a way of living, reinterpreting and appropriating social places of the city.

The culture of public space forgotten.

The wall of graffitis, Park General Liber Seregni in Montevideo (capital city of Uruguay), 2010.

6. Reinstating the Landscape: reinvent the *locus*

Today, the challenge is to reinvent the locus, reinstating the landscape as a cultural construction and as a place for and as a place for life experiences, whilst considering that the future of its evolutionary, transitory, deteriorated equipment and empty infrastructure provide an opportunity to humanize the city. Such rehabilitation of public spaces and for today's citizens need not forget earlier histories in their interpretation.

"Welcome to this new public space ... in Montevideo, Welcome to Park General Liber Seregni" said the Mayor of Montevideo at the opening of the park on 16 November, 2009.

Views of Park General Liber Seregni in Montevideo (capital city of Uruguay). In 2007, an empty industrial infrastructure is demolished to create a park

Thursday, 30 October 2010 - Dublin / IRELAND

Cultural flows and the heritage of changing world heritage old town of Lijiang in global tourism

Yujie Zhu, Heidelberg University, Germany

The local-global nexus in world heritage: space for community development
Naomi Deegan, M.A. World Heritage Studies, BTU Cottbus, Germany

The local-global nexus in World Heritage: space for community development.

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Research objective

With 'community' moving centre stage in the World Heritage debate, and the increased emphasis on heritage as a socio-economic driver, the study examines whether World Heritage can be used a vehicle of community development.

In this era of globalisation, there must be a link between local and global values for World Heritage to have a sustainable future. Communities are seen as providing these links. (Sassen 1991)

Context

The recognition of the **multivocality** of heritage, and of the **social and economic benefits** which its protection can entail, requires the democratisation of heritage discourses and processes.

Addition of fifth 'C': calls for the enhanced role of **Community** in the implementation of the *World Heritage Convention*
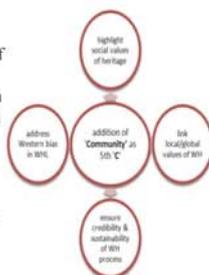
Community development

•A process of 'building-up' of communities to enable empowerment and socio-economic development, with participation as its basis.
•Sustainable development at the local level.
•Calls for control over development projects to remain at community level; "bottom-up" approach.
•Has both local and global dimensions. "Local action is the basis for global action" (Ledwith 2005).

Community development: A model of process. (Ledwith 2005)

Local/global dimensions of World Heritage

•World Heritage is not only global in scale, it is globalising in its approach (Turtinen 2000).
•It makes use of a 'global grammar': i.e.: a particular framework for assessing, nominating and managing sites
•This is often interpreted to require top-down management planning which can lead to the exclusion of local communities: unsustainable in the long-term.
•Use of 'local-global nexus' to conceptualise links between local and global level; how do interactions between these levels shape the implementation of the *World Heritage Convention*
•Universalistic framework of World Heritage can be interpreted in different ways and adapted to fit the particularised context, taking local values & knowledge into account, i.e.: Glocalized
•Recognition of local values of World Heritage sites can form a counter point to globalisation.

Local-global nexus

Local and global dimensions are not in tension with each other, but are interconnected and interpenetrating.

'Glocalize' indicates the meeting of an exogenous force with a local one and its adaption to local conditions (Robertson 1992)

The local –global nexus in World Heritage. (Adapted from Milne and Ateljevic 2001)

African World Heritage Fund (www.awhf.net)
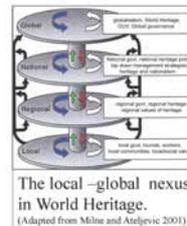
African World Heritage Fund

•First regional funding initiative within framework of *World Heritage Convention*
•A glocalized approach: Global ideas applied to regional context.
•Collaboration will allow the sharing of ideas and capacity building between African states.
•Goal: poverty alleviation & empowerment of African communities through their participation in World Heritage management.

Conclusion

•African World Heritage Fund highlights potential within the local-global nexus for community development programmes
•Address level of community involvement and decision-making, as well as "ownership" of the heritage and right to gain economic return
•Need for capacity building: right to participate does not equal ability to participate

However: community development ideology calls for the control of projects to remain in hands of the community
•Unlikely due to political nature of World Heritage and State Party responsibility for World Heritage sites under the *World Heritage Convention*
•Communities as amorphous entities: who decides on values and policy?

Recommendations

•A partnership between government and community groups, incorporating an integration of 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' management approaches: heritage best protected with strong laws and through a widely shared understanding of heritage values and their importance in community development (Stovel 2004)
•Local context must be taken into account before implementing a community development programme. Community involvement is primarily a developed world concept that often encounters problems when translated to developing world.
•Monitoring and evaluation of community development projects needed, to give focus and as a means of learning from successes.
•Need for more research: key in empowering communities
•Majority of research on tourism as a socio-economic driver: tourism not necessarily good from a community development perspective
•Promote sustainable tourism development to manage the balance between tourism, conservation and community development.

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Climate Change, Heritage and Tourism:
Implications for Ireland's Coast and Inland Waterways

INTRODUCTION

In 2007 the Heritage Council and Failte Ireland (Ireland's state tourism body) commissioned a review of the potential impacts of climate change on the heritage and tourism of Ireland's coasts and inland waterways by 2080s. The purpose of the review was to inform the two organisations in the areas of policy development, research and grant support.

NATURAL HERITAGE

- Nutrient enrichment of our inland and coastal waters is the most significant impact of human activity on our waters and will be worsened by rising air and water temperatures. The adverse effects will be exacerbated by increasing demands on water supplies during low flow periods.
- Changes to invertebrate communities and plankton regimes will alter dramatically food webs in the marine and freshwater environments which will affect the fish and bird life in our rivers, lakes and seas, as well as larger mammals like cetaceans and seals.
- Sea birds populations in the North Sea such as razorbills, puffins and guillemots are already declining due to the reduction in their main food source, sand eels, during the breeding season.
- Studies have show that the Atlantic salmon is likely to be greatly affected by warmer waters. Increased summer temperatures and reduced flows can inhibit their growth as feeding conditions, as well as potentially delaying adult migration.

CULTURAL HERITAGE

- Historic structures and archaeological sites along the coast will be at risk from increased rates of erosion, and inundation such as castles, Martello Towers, historic harbours and promontory forts. This will change our coastal landscape greatly.
- Sites in the intertidal area are at particular risk from sea level rises and storm activity.
- Underwater sites along the coast and inland waterways will be affected by changes in sedimentation patterns. Exposed wrecks will be vulnerable to damage from waves and curious humans..
- Increased water and air pollution may speed up stone decay of historic structures along the coast and inland waterways.
- Historic structures along inland waterways such as bridge and locks are likely to be affected by erosion caused by flooding and the build up of flotsam, and bank erosion.
- Archaeological sites along waterways may dry out due to changes in water table caused by drought, or may suffer from flooding due to extreme weather events.
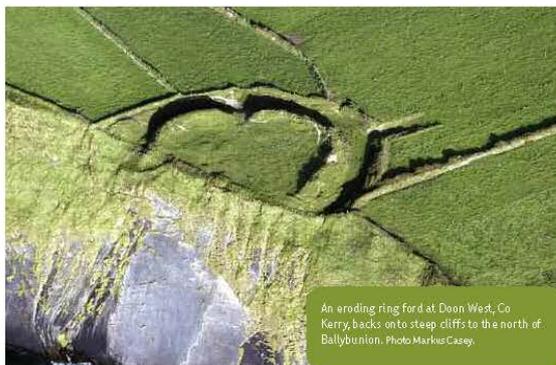
An eroding ring ford at Doon West, Co Kerry, backs onto steep cliffs to the north of Ballybunion. Photo Markus Casey.

CLIMATE IMPACTS

Rising sea levels, increased storm strength and frequency are serious and imminent threats, causing increased coastal flooding and erosion. Inland waterways will also be affected by changes in precipitation patterns, flooding, increased water pollution, and extreme weather events.

COASTAL HABITATS

The loss of coastal habitats is also a concern, such as estuaries, saltmarshes, dunes, and mud flats. These habitats provide us with vital free services like coastal protection and water filtering as well as providing fish spawning and bird feeding grounds. They are also the location for many historic and archaeological sites, some dating back as far as the Mesolithic (7000BCE), as well as of many cities and ports e.g. Dublin, Wexford, Cork, Limerick.

Photo © Fáilte Ireland.

TOURISM

Warmer, drier summer weather will increase the appeal of many Irish coastal resorts and of water based and other outdoor activities. However there may be adverse impacts associated with this and it will be necessary to prepare for these.

- Traditional angling will change as some fish species find it harder to live with higher water temperatures e.g., salmon and trout.
- Poor water quality will also render swimming, kayaking, and sailing less attractive too. Increased growth of algae may impede navigation in places.
- Many popular beaches may be eroded, submerged or remain wet all day due to rising sea levels and increased storms. This will have a significant effect on the towns and businesses that depend on them.
- Warmer weather will make golf more attractive but erosion of links courses may pose additional problems. As hard protection of dunes is not a sustainable solution, it may be necessary in some cases to follow the dunes inland.
- Coastal paths are already vulnerable to erosion, and their maintenance costs are subsequently very high. The problems of erosion will increase so any future coastal walkways must be planned to avoid vulnerable areas.

Fáilte Ireland

An Chomhairle Oidhreachta
The Heritage Council

Climate Change, Heritage and Tourism:
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Key issues arising from the report

INTEGRATION OF HERITAGE AND TOURISM WITH NATIONAL CLIMATE CHANGE POLICIES

- Greater integration of heritage and tourism issues into mainstream plans for climate change adaptation.

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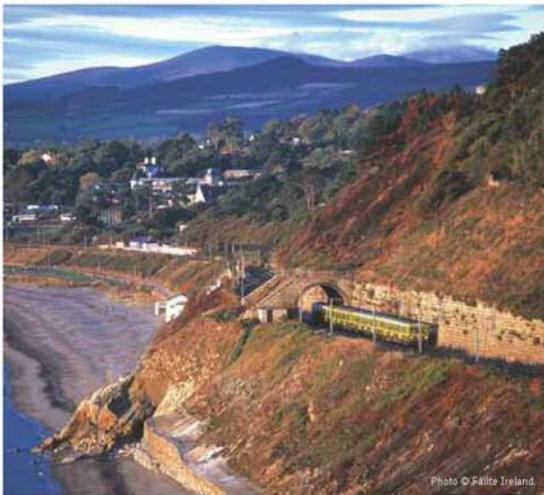
ADAPTATION STEPS REQUIRED

- To reduce existing stresses on our habitats and wildlife which are likely to exacerbate the effects of climate change e.g., water enrichment.

- Landscape permeability and the connection of habitats must be encouraged.

- Sea level rise demands a co-ordinated national response and the use of Integrated Coastal Zone Management.

- Built and material heritage require more detailed levels of inspection, monitoring and maintenance.

- Emergency planning, including flood warning systems, to cope with damage caused by extreme events such as storms or flooding are also needed .

- We must decide how to manage losses to coastal cultural heritage by prioritising sites to be preserved by record, or possibly by relocation from a threatened location.

- Climate proofing of tourist / recreation related infrastructure is needed.

- Product diversification and innovation should be promoted and developed within the tourism industry.

DRAWING UP A RESEARCH AGENDA

- We need to improve our baseline knowledge of many aspects of cultural and natural heritage. This will inform monitoring programmes and prioritisation policies.

- Sites and species of particular vulnerability should be identified. which may require special attention to ensure some form of survival in the face of the climate challenge. Vulnerability mapping should be used as a tool.

- Knowledge on heritage will also inform the tourism industry of opportunities for the development of new tourism offerings in the future.

- Research is also needed on public attitudes to the interactions of climate change, heritage and tourism, to inform general awareness campaigns or information provided at specific sites.

Coastal castles, towers, historic harbours and promontory forts are particularly vulnerable to rising sea levels associated with climate change.
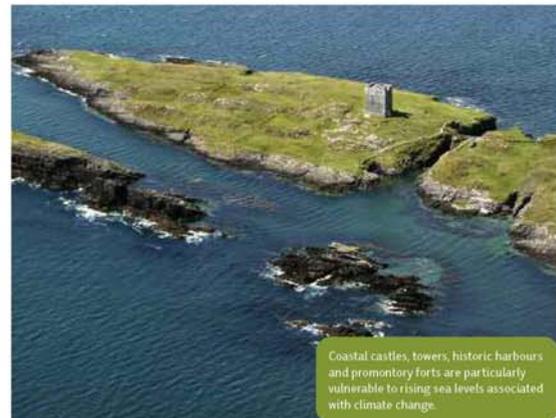
RAISING AWARENESS

- Higher levels of awareness and understanding of the potential impacts of climate change are required among the general public and political decision makers.

- Better understanding of coastal processes is needed to avoid demands for unsustainable coastal defences.

- Heritage professionals should be informed of the potential impacts on heritage to inform their future plans and the general debate.

- Tourism providers and policy makers also need to be aware of the potential implications for their industry and of the potential vulnerabilities of heritage as a result of additional tourism pressure.

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COMPETITION BETWEEN NATURAL AND CULTURAL HERITAGE ON THE COAST

Adaptations to climate change can lead to potential incompatibilities between aspects of cultural and natural heritage, e.g., managed alignment where the coastline is allowed to erode or is opened to coastal flooding and inundation by the sea. This benefits coastal habitats however, it may cause the destruction of cultural sites. In such cases good information will be needed to evaluate the importance the heritage alongside the natural processes occurring at the site in question.

COMPETITION BETWEEN TOURISM AND HERITAGE ON THE COAST

Incompatibilities between the heritage and the tourism industry over adaptation strategies may also arise. For example, hard engineering works to protect coastal tourism assets or infrastructure must considered in light of natural coastal processes and the potential long-term impacts on the heritage value of the area.. These situations will need to be assessed on a case by case basis and more information is required on the scenarios that are likely to arise.

Photo © Fáilte Ireland.

TRAINING

- Required for those involved in heritage (policy and site specific) to manage the changes including the identification of appropriate adaptation measures and emergency preparedness.
- Tourism providers and promoters require training in climate proofing projects, and ensuring that the impacts of their business are compatible with heritage needs.

RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

- Costs of mitigation or adaptation measures to tackle impacts on heritage and tourism should be part of all future Government investment strategies.
- The costs, financial and otherwise, of protecting our heritage and tourism resources need to be placed against our ability to carry this out. Priorities will have to be identified and trade offs made on what to protect and conserve, and what to let go. These should be based on high quality information on the significance of the heritage resource, alongside the values that each holds for the community.

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