Proceedings

VIII

World Symposium of the Organization of the World Heritage Cities

Cusco 2005

19- 23 September

Credits

Photographs by GCI, Soho Design and Dreamstime

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The Getty Conservation Institute

City of Cusco

World Symposium of the Organization of the World Heritage Cities

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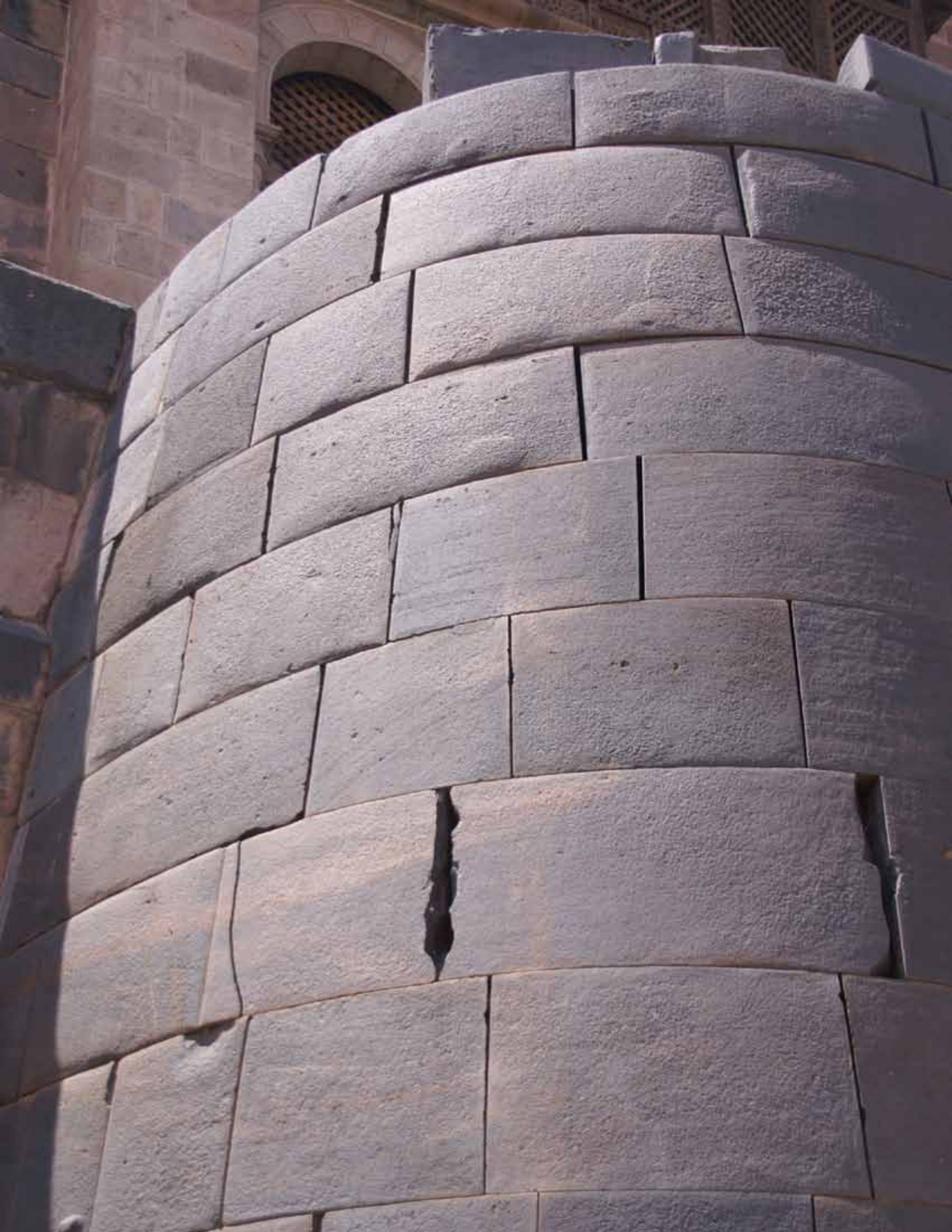


VIII

Introduction to the Congress and Theme

Introductory Note

The Organization of World Heritage Cities is a unique forum which, every two years, brings together politicians and professionals committed to the preservation of historical cities and, in particular, those cities listed under UNESCO's World Heritage Cities.

Since the first Symposium held in 1991, this event has enabled participants to discuss various topics of common interest. Each of these meetings has highlighted the ever-present desire of the Organization's members to share their concerns and experiences and has also underscored the dynamism and open mindedness of this organization.

The general idea proposed by the Mayor of the City of Cusco (Peru), "Heritage of Humankind, An Heritage with Humanity" was adopted at the Organization's General Assembly in Rhodes in September, 2003. This idea is centered on the role of citizens and all the individuals who make a city's heritage come alive in its concept as well as in its celebration and interpretation.

In order to better understand and address the different and often complex aspects of the role and rights of the citizen, three topics were defined: the citizen's participation, success and failures; the identification and recognition of intangible heritage and how to reconcile tourism with the needs of the residents.

The Getty Conservation Institute, invited to contribute toward the scientific section of this Symposium, has taken into consideration the uniqueness of this event, which, brings policy-makers, professionals, citizens from all over the world together, creating a platform for discussion and exchanges among these different actors.

At a meeting in Lima in October, 2004, a Scientific Committee debated on how better address the proposed theme and selected case studies representative of the diversity of cultures, and the human and geographic environment of Heritage Cities.

Three speakers were invited to present an introductory note on each topic in plenary sessions and in the working groups organized following the official languages of the Organization (English, Spanish, and French) two case studies presented by a Mayor and a Heritage Professional respectively.

This publication includes the introductory notes as well as a selection of the most relevant case studies. It also includes, as an introduction, the general theme defined by the Municipality of Cusco as well as the three topics set forth by the Scientific Committee.

Francoise Descamps
Chair of the Scientific Committee
Senior Project Specialist
Getty Conservation Institute

Introduction to the Theme

Heritage of Humankind, a Heritage with Humanity

In the seven previous symposia of the Organization of World Heritage Cities, aspects of the rich cultural heritage of the historical cities were debated, together with the diverse factors that have impacted on these cities in the 20th century. In the 8th Symposium, we consider whether the measures taken to date in our World Heritage Cities have been taken with respect, with due emphasis on justice, equality, liberty and dignity for all humanity. These places where human activities take place exist by and for them. "Heritage with Humanity" reminds us that humanity is an essential part of the philosophy and spirit of world heritage.

All World Heritage Cities are essentially the result of collective design and are spaces where human beings interact. The interaction of humankind in these cities, throughout the ages and in all places, has been the decisive factor for the creative cultural development of societies. What we call today tangible or intangible heritage is the product of such creation.

This means that what humanity has created in the past should be preserved today. However, we cannot forget that nowadays these historic places shelter people with their own dreams, hopes and needs. We should create conditions to find harmony between these values of past and present. If such harmony is achieved, then the conservation of historical cities will become the task of all of us, and not only the task of experts in the field.

Have we been able to preserve this cultural testimony, created by our ancestors in order to improve their quality of life and the quality of life of future generations? If so, how have we responded and how are we today facing this challenge?

Answers need to be found being conscious of the fact that it is not easy to understand human life in cities, either as individuals, social groups or visitors. Nor is it easy to understand how the inhabitants perceive their physical space or environment or if they are aware of their city's cultural values. Only when each person or social group understands the significance of living in a historic city will the city's distinctiveness be brought to light.

We are aware of the dynamics of the society and of its continuous process of change. Nevertheless, for the inhabitants of the World Heritage Cities, this phenomenon should not mean the loss of their identity. If we do not know who we are and where we come from, then we will not be able to face the challenges of our future.

This led us to present, explain and discuss the policies for preservation of tangible and intangibles values, looking within our societies in a globalizing world where traditions and customs are under threat and new ways of living being imposed.

Policies and procedures for urban management, environmental conservation, the struggle against poverty and the support of minorities should be improved through a government based on local participation, respect, dignity and equality for each of the inhabitants of our World Heritage Cities.

Adapted from text by Elizabeth Kuon Arce
Coordinator of the 8th World Symposium of World Heritage Cities
For the Municipality of Cusco

Introduction to the Three Topics

Citizen Participation in the Revitalization of World Heritage Cities: Successes and Failures

The objective of Theme I was to examine the experiences and identify the mechanisms that enable citizen participation in the revitalization of world heritage cities.

The local authority has an important role and responsibility in guiding and managing this revitalization. The reason for citizen participation is to ensure that the local government is aware of, and responds to the views of, both the local community and the broader national/international community.

In this context, at local level, key citizens include residents and consumers, property owners and custodians, as well as investors and entrepreneurs. At the broader level key participants include researchers and educators, experts and technicians, colleagues and collaborators, amongst others.Participation is a two-way process. Listening and responding by all parties will enhance the processes of decision making and the outcomes of decisions taken.

Inherently, each community will respond differently to the way that participation takes place. Therefore, the Theme I session explored the positive and negative experiences from a variety of world heritage cities.

Intangible Heritage in a World Historical City: Identifying and Supporting it

The objective of Theme II is to examine how the intangible heritage of the local population can contribute to the life and vitality of world heritage cities.

UNESCO has defined the intangible cultural heritage as 'the practices, representations, expressions, as well as the knowledge and skills, that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognized as part of their cultural heritage. It is sometimes called living cultural heritage, and is manifested inter alias in the following domains: oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage; performing arts; social practices, rituals and festive events; knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe; traditional craftsmanship'.

Intangible cultural heritage is an evolving concept that has gained wide acceptance over the last ten years. The local authority has a responsibility to facilitate individuals, community groups and tradition bearers to sustain their cultural identity and diversity. Nurturing intangible heritage includes the creation of educational opportunities and the promotion of cultural expressions. It enables the local population to sustain and transmit their traditions and values.

Hosting Tourists in World Heritage Cities: How to Reconcile the Needs of the Residents

The objective of Theme III is to examine how the population of world heritage cities can maintain their quality of life in the context of relatively intense tourism activity.

The role of the local authority is to ensure that the population of the city as a whole, and those who live within the historic center, benefit from tourism-related activity, in an equitable manner. Essential to this process is a productive consultation with all relevant stakeholders, and mediation between potentially competing interests.

Mechanisms to enhance local benefits from tourism include balancing the competition for local resources, managing tourism congestion, facilitating education for local employment in tourism-related activities, encouraging investment at the local level and maximizing the revenue from tourism that remains in the local economy.

Tourists in historic city centers are more likely to enjoy and appreciate their visit if they feel accepted by the local population for their contribution to the life and vitality of the city.

Introduction to the three topics prepared by Scientific Committee

Keynote Presentations

European Heritage Days: A Successful Formula for Awareness Raising

By Emile van Brederode

Emil van Brederode was trained in horticulture and landscape architecture. He dealt with nature and landscape protection policy on behalf of the Dutch Touring Club (ANWB) for ten years. In 1980 he became manager director of the National Contact Monuments Foundation, the umbrella organization of private institutions in the field of monument care in the Netherlands. In 1986 he became president of the Open Monument Day Foundation. In 1989 he was invited by the Council of Europe to develop the European Heritage Days. He is also secretary of ICOMOS Netherlands and council member of Europa Nostra.

Citizen Participation in the Revitalization of World Heritage Cities: Successes and Failures

"Dear Gijs, Here in France a Journée Portes Ouvertes is organised. It is going very well. An initiative of Jack Lang, the French minister of culture. We visited in Comps the Eglise de Saint-Pierre. Would this be something for Holland?"

In 1985 these were the opening words of a postcard sent to an employee of the Dutch Ministry of Culture by an old colleague who moved after his retirement to France.

A Short Note, but one with Great Effect

My contribution aims to present 20 years of experience with 'heritage days' in Europe. How did it start? What was the impact on government policy? How could it be such an effective instrument to increase awareness of cultural heritage?

As a consequence of the postcard from France a small working group came together and two years later the first Heritage Day, or Open Monuments Day, as we call it in the Netherlands, was a fact.

Why, in 1984, was France the first country in Europe to initiate a heritage day? Around 1980, the care of monuments in France started to change. Until then the country had been focused on the protection of large prestigious monuments such as cathedrals, castles, palaces and government buildings. However, a new government, with Jack Lang as the Minister of Culture, introduced the aim of protecting more ordinary buildings like houses, shops, cinemas, cemeteries and 20th-century buildings. The public was shocked as they were more accustomed to the care of prestigious monuments. At the same time a government policy of decentralisation or deconcentration came into fashion. This was the climate in which the French Journée Portes Ouvertes (Open Doors Day) was created. The aim was to bring the public into closer contact with historic buildings.

In the Netherlands, there was a similar development in policies for monument care. A new Monument Act was in preparation to decentralise tasks from central government to local authorities. Many people and organisations dedicated to the historic heritage were of the opinion that this might be a risky operation. Would the local city council make the right decisions for the protection of monuments? What about the licences for change and restoration, the priorities for restoration subsidies, and so on?

An important issue is safety. Owners are often afraid of damage to their interiors or that portable objects could be stolen. There is a lot of experience in how to deal with that subject, ranging from collective insurance to volunteer guards, and systems of controlled visiting.

The first Dutch heritage day in 1987 was immediately an enormous success, and based on this success the decision was made that the Open Monument Day should be a yearly event.

Some figures from the first year:

- 300 local committees (42% of the municipalities)
- 2 500 open buildings
- 350 000 visitors (2.4% of the total population)
- 2 000 press articles.

Three heartwarming stories from the early years of the Open Monument Day

The first result of the heritage day took place before opening time on the first day. On the promotional leaflet was a photo of a tile factory with a monumental chimney. The building was a protected monument and the local council had already asked for a subsidy from the state for its maintenance. The council decided to cover the budget themselves for the urgent restoration of the chimney because the building had played an important role in the promotion of the Open Monument Day and such a building had to be in good condition on the day itself.

Another touching story is that of an old farmer in the countryside. He was asked to include his huge farm and garden in the program. He agreed only to open his garden. When the first visitors arrived on the heritage day they looked through the windows to the rich interior of the building. They were so interested that the farmer invited them to have a look inside. At the end of the day he had himself guided more than 400 visitors through his house. Because of their enthusiasm he started to think about the future. He had no children or other relatives. What should happen to his farm, the furniture and the garden? As a result of the heritage day he decided to bequeath his property to a foundation. Some years later he died and the complex is now a museum.

On the first day people were queuing up to see the canal houses in Amsterdam. It was a drizzling day and people went in with wet feet. The organisers were afraid of the reactions of the owners who had to clean their houses afterwards. But at the end of the day some owners came with flowers for the organisers to thank them for allowing them to be included in the program.

The European Heritage Days

After France in 1985 and the Netherlands in 1987, Sweden followed in 1988 and Belgium copied the Dutch approach in 1989. In 1989 there was a discussion with the Council of Europe and a meeting in Amsterdam with representatives from nine countries and the Council of Europe. There the plans for a European Heritage Day were made. I was asked by the Council of Europe to set up and coordinate this project for a couple of years. The aim was to stimulate countries in Europe to participate as much as possible, and to establish a European char-

acter for the project. The official launching of the first European Heritage Day was in 1991 in Gouda, the Netherlands.

In that year eight countries joined the project. That number has rapidly grown to 48. The project is a joint initiative of the Council of Europe and the European Union. After the Netherlands completed their role, the coordination office was taken over by Belgium and Portugal.

What do the European Heritage Days mean?

- Each country organises a heritage day, preferably during the second or third weekend of September.
- There is, every year in a different country, an official European launch.
- There is a common logo and motto: 'Europe, a common heritage'.
- The national coordinators meet every year to exchange experiences and to look for co-operation.

The European dimension of the European Heritage Days became apparent through projects which created opportunities to collaborate with other countries. For a couple of years there was a special award to stimulate good practice. A number of good examples are:

- Trans-frontier activities between neighbouring countries by creating tours along monuments in the border regions
- Using friendship ties with other cities to exchange information about each other's monuments by publications or exhibitions
- Some countries have a different theme every year. Co-operation with another country sharing the same theme to compare each other's monuments could be very interesting. For example, the Netherlands has exchanged exhibitions about parks with Lithuania, and about wind- and watermills with Greece.

Another way of dealing with the international dimension came from Amersfoort, a Dutch city. They made an inventory of different kinds of stone used as a building material for historic buildings. For the heritage day they produced a map connecting the buildings and 20 different locations all over Europe where the building stone came from.

All 48 member countries of the Council of Europe have joined the European Heritage Days program. The way it started in the various countries is different. Sometimes it began only in one city or region and was extended in later years to the whole country. Sometimes the event was initially organised by a private institute and later taken over by the government, or the other way around. However it is interesting to see that the formula seems to work everywhere. Each year, ll over Europe there are more than 20 million visitors on these heritage days.

Sometimes there are unexpected experiences with visitors. Once in Glasgow, UK, a Bible training centre, formerly a church, was open on the heritage day. The manager apologised for the building being so cold, but there were serious problems with the central heating. The whole system had to be replaced, but there was no money. One of the visitors introduced himself as a manager of a big heating technology company. He promised to help to solve the problem and he also knew where to find the funds. The manager of the centre reacted with the words 'you are sent from heaven!'

The experience with the European Heritage Days also stimulated initiatives outside Europe

Some of the French overseas regions were involved from the beginning. The island of Curacao (part of the Dutch kingdom) has its own heritage day. There have also been heritage days in Tunisia and in the city of Fremantle in Australia. In Canada there has already been, for a long period, a similar event.

I myself was involved in setting up a heritage day in Brazil in 1997. In that year a heritage day was organised in the historic centre of Rio de Janeiro by the regional office of the state service (IPHAN). About 23 churches and convents were open on a Sunday to the public. Guides were provided in all the buildings and for each of the buildings a brochure was printed. Most of the churches had not had a leaflet about the history of their building before. There were concerts in a number of churches. The visitors were enthusiastic and there was good media coverage.

Returning to the Open Monument Day in the Netherlands

Here are some figures from last year:

- 3,500 open buildings
- 80% of all the municipalities participating
- 900,000 visitors (5.5% of the total population)
- 78% of the inhabitants know about the Open Monument Day.

Having overseen almost 20 years of Open Monument Days in the Netherlands, I would like to give you some results, describe some of the spin-off effects and draw some conclusions. I think experiences in most

of the other European countries are more or less the same.

Citizens are more aware of their cultural heritage

The heritage days contributed to a broader public interest in historic buildings. That is recognized in government policy. I can hardly think of any governmental report or speech in which the heritage day is not mentioned as proof of growing public interest.

The heritage days are also a place for trying out new techniques or approaches to raising awareness among the public, such as involving children in heritage. In the Netherlands there is a handbook published that can be used by the local committees to make their program more attractive for young people. It is a loose-leaf bundle of pages with yearly extensions. But it is still difficult to attract children to heritage sites. Most visitors are adults. A good trick is to let the children guide visitors around the monuments. An example of this was a School Adopt Monument project in a medieval castle near Amsterdam. The reactions of children, parents and other visitors were very positive.

New alliances were established

In many cities there had been no real co-operation between heritage organisations and the local government or public service. Working together they found out each others' value. They invented other projects related to and inspired by the heritage day, for example a publication, an inventory, an exhibition, the beginning or completion of a restoration project on the next heritage day and so on.

Proud owners

The owners of monuments were surprised by the reactions of the visitors. They realised how proud they could be of their properties. I previously gave you the example of the old Dutch farmer. On the other hand the cities realised how important the owners themselves are for the care of the monuments. In some cities they organise meetings every year with the owners in the framework of the heritage days. They can talk in a relaxed manner about the possibilities of participation, the history of the town and so on. If they arranged such a meeting in another context they would risk the owners talking only of financial support or complaining about licences and regulations.

Tourist products

The heritage days resulted in thousands of publications – brochures, leaflets, books, maps, itineraries – that can also serve tourists during other parts of the year. In many cities co-operation with tourist agencies has grown and improved. The experience of the heritage days makes it easier to ask owners to give access to other events as well. Some of the buildings that opened their doors on a heritage day for the first time are now open on a more regular basis.

Increasing local policies

As I mentioned before, one of the reasons for starting the heritage days was the fear that local authorities were not ready to take on their responsibilities within the new decentralized system. When a mayor or city councillor was persuaded to give a speech on the occasion of the start of the heritage day it was often the first time that they had thought and spoken about this subject. When they saw the broad audience in front of them and later the results of the day, they realised that this subject did interest the public. In democratic countries politicians are always interested in public interest, because they want to be re-elected.

We have seen the increase of the local polices in the field of historic monuments over the last 20 years. In 1987, besides the state-protected monuments, there were only 8,657 monuments listed by local by-laws. Now this number is 36,160. I dare say that without the monument days this increase would have been unthinkable.

Conclusion

Making people more aware of their cultural heritage is a fundamental contribution to its preservation. The formula of the heritage days appears to be an effective instrument in increasing such an awareness. To include a heritage day in their awareness strategy is a challenge for all World Heritage Cities. If cities outside Europe consider doing the same, I would recommend them to look for an experienced partner city in Europe. I would be happy to help you to find one.

World Heritage Cities and Intangible Heritage

By George Abungu

George Abungu, born in Kenya in 1959. Dr Abungu attended Kipasi Primary School at his rural family home of Bondo near Lake Victoria, and attended several secondary schools in the country including Kakamega Boys High School.

He completed his undergraduate studies in Archaeology at the University of Nairobi before proceeding on a scholarship to Cambridge University in the UK to complete his Masters and PhD degrees. Aside from his interest in archaeology, Dr Abungu is also very active in the global effort of conservation of cultural heritage throughout Kenya and in Africa as a whole.

After serving with the National Museums of Kenya for 18 years, Dr Abungu is now working as a freelance Heritage Planning and Management Consultant.

Intangible Heritage in a World Historical City: Identifying and Supporting it

Intangible heritage has recently been in the limelight due to the recognition given by UNESCO through an international convention that not only recognises the importance of such heritage but will now also address its protection. Intangible heritage has been with humanity since the origins of human culture. Intangible heritage is held in many forms and by human actions that include memory, experiences, song and dance, art, performances, oral tradition and history. However, this heritage has been on the peripheries of discussion regarding the definition of heritage.

There has been a tendency to draw a line between tangible and intangible heritage, a line that in many cases hardly exists, since all tangible heritage derives its importance and meanings from the intangible. Even cities with their buildings, roads, pathways, open spaces, museums, theatres, neighbourhoods etc contain great elements of intangible heritage that define social relations and create unity and cohesion in towns.

The intangible heritage is not only found among illiterate societies or in the developing world. Intangible heritage – those beliefs, values, actions, that are engrained in our daily lives but that we take for granted – are found in all humanity and play a major role in the way we understand our environment and relate to other people. This was demonstrated by the Bishop of Hereford, UK, when talking about his cathedral. "Hereford Cathedral's history is much older in human terms than any of the building's fabric, and my first responsibility is to the care of that human community. I need to protect the life of the cathedral organists and masons, singers and librarians, schoolteachers, archivists, and vergers and to emphasise that heritage resides in the pattern of their lives, in their liturgies, in their scholarships, in their singing. All those things have to be understood by the person who is to help develop and manage the change of that heritage". This is applicable to the mayors of the World Heritage Cities as they are also dealing with human beings.

World Heritage Cities demonstrate great achievements of humanity. Often they are assemblages of great works of planning, architecture, and the arts, and frequently reflect interaction between cultures. They are important demonstrations of human creativity over a long historical period. World Heritage Cities are points of human concentration. This brings both opportunities and challenges to their management. Apart from the problems brought about by infrastructure deterioration, population growth and other demands on the physical and social fabric of the cities, there are often also a large number of new inhabitants from different social settings, many of whom have no social attachment to the values of the spaces within these cities. This can lead to non-appreciation of their heritage and a lack of sustainable conservation.

It has been shown in a World Heritage City like Lamu, Kenya, that while the local community tends to take care of their property well, restoring their houses according to traditional technologies and material, those from outside Lamu, especially government employees and civil servants who are temporary residents of the town, tend to treat the dwellings that form part of the World Heritage Cities as functional spaces with no intrinsic cultural or architectural values. Thus while the locals are tied to the buildings in a much more spiritual / social way and make changes in conformity with the traditions, the newcomers tend to look at the houses as places of habitation while on duty. The locals have accumulated societal memory held as intangible heritage and passed this on through successive generations and through social behaviours as determined by the society. Intangible heritage is therefore important for conservation as it is the means of passing on values to the next generation and ensuring the appreciation and continuity of such heritage. In managing World Heritage Cities, this is an element that needs to be taken into consideration and promoted.

Like other urban areas, World Heritage Cities are multicultural urban settlements that are also spaces of coexistence and cooperation between communities. They often reflect harmonious relations between peoples. At times, however, they can be areas of potential conflict. Being multicultural and multiethnic, they attract people from different places and backgrounds who come to either enjoy the heritage or seek opportunities that arise from the city's World Heritage status. These diverse groups of peoples with different values and social backgrounds pose problems of managing diversity. Tourists expect to be able to maintain their own values, and are often unaware of local values and what is expected of visitors. The city managers must understand the "do's" and "don't's" of the local community. These are not held in the physical structures but in people's beliefs, practices and social experiences, all forming a people's intangible heritage. How does one ensure that the benefits accrued from World Heritage status and resultant tourism are enjoyed in harmony by both the local people as well as the visitors, with both groups feeling that they have spaces and that their needs are respected?

On the same level, World Heritage Cities can provide space for conflict resolution, particularly when used to promote respect for diversity and when the city provides space for a common celebration of all identities. World Heritage Cities are often arenas of cultural dialogue as they bring together many people from diverse cultures. Like museums, they are multi-faceted custodian of shared heritage with numerous interest groups that require recognition. At times some of the interests are competitive and require proper management. Cultural heritage encompasses in its various forms people's identity, a sense of belonging and pride. This is even much more pronounced in World Heritage Cities where citizens try to associate themselves with the high cultural achievements of such cities. How then can World Heritage Cities maximise the richness and abundance of their heritage? Expressions of intangible heritage such as song, dances, cuisine, poetry, bull fighting or dhow

racing can be used not only to bring harmony among citizens of World Heritage Cities through community gatherings that foster a sense of equal representation for all, but also to attract international attention and support. Many World Heritage Cities today host major annual cultural events that are used to attract visitors and to create wealth and sustainability.

Lamu in Kenya has a long-standing ceremony with religious origins, which has led to a most important annual gathering, bringing together people from many parts of eastern and southern Africa as well as beyond the boundaries of the continent. The Maulidi, a celebration of the birthday of the Prophet Mohammed, started in Lamu at the end of the 19th century by a holy man called Hussein Swaleh from Comoros in the Indian Ocean. The event has put Lamu on the world map and every year brings together thousands of much-needed visitors who come to not only take part in the celebrations but bring in financial resources and help the local economy.

The Lamu Cultural Festival, a parallel cultural event that has developed to complement the Maulidi, celebrates the rich and diverse heritage of the coast of East Africa. Such ceremonies are a good indicator of the role of World Heritage Cities as reservoirs of heritage and reconcilers of differences through human interaction and cultural celebrations. With their outstanding values, World Heritage Cities offer the most appropriate platforms for such performances by providing dramatic backdrops of their unique physical characteristics.

Many World Heritage Cities are rich in such kinds of heritage. Another East African heritage site, Zanzibar, has demonstrated its cultural importance through its annual dhow heritage celebrations, and also hosts the most important film festival in Africa. Associated with this is the development of a music school that trains people from the island on taarab and other culturally significant musical instruments. The sustainability and promotion of the intangible heritage in the form of music has been ensured more through the position of Zanzibar as a World Heritage City that continues to attract visitors.

Cultural heritage provides identity, pride, and opportunity for economic progress; it is an avenue for human contacts and human relations. As part of this heritage, World Heritage Cities have great opportunities in using both their tangible and intangible heritage. As a result of their privileged position as symbols of identity for peoples and countries, such cities tend to attract attention especially during times of conflict when they become targets of destruction. There are many examples worldwide where World Heritage Cities or elements within them have been destroyed. The destruction may have been due to the need to obliterate a people's identity, a people's culture, a memory, those powerful intangibles associated with such spaces. The reasons behind such destruction are often influenced by the need to erase those markers of tangible and intangible heritage, and particularly the memories that often define a people or mark relations between them. One example is the bridge of the town of Mozar in Bosnia-Herzegovina during the 1999 war which had joined the two communities for centuries. This World Heritage Site was completely destroyed by the actions of both sides, rendering the relations between the communities on both sides of the river non-existent.

Tourism Residents and Historic Cities

By Graham Brooks

Graham Brooks is Director of Graham Brooks and Associates Pty Ltd and Chairman ICOMOS International Committee on Cultural Tourism.

Earning his Bachelor of Architecture (Hons), Sydney University, 1972 and Master of the Built Environment (B Cons) UNSW 1984; Graham has worked in the field of Heritage Conservation for over 30 years, in Australia, the United Kingdom and more recently in Asia. He has lectured widely to business, heritage, professional and student groups on conservation practice, preparing heritage sites for cultural tourism and the methodology of heritage asset management. Graham has numerous professional associations and is a member of international expert advisory panels for UNESCO in the Asia Pacific Region and for assessing architectural conservation project applications to the Getty Grant Program, based in Los Angeles.

Hosting Tourists in World Heritage Cities: How to Reconcile the Needs of the Residents?

My purpose is to challenge each and every one of you to consider the circumstances in your own cities in relation to the subject, not as representatives of any particular city, but as individual community leaders.

Introduction

There is no doubt that the inscription of an historic town or city on the World Heritage List will generate tourism, often in very high numbers. Most of the member cities in the Organisation of World Heritage Cities have experienced increases in international interest and tourism since they were inscribed. In many cities this increase and its associated development have brought benefits to the local population as a whole. Alternatively, in a few cities, the benefits have been enjoyed by only a limited number of local residents.

Those cities that experience relatively high levels of tourism also recognise the social and economic tensions that can be generated for local residents, leading to discontent or even resentment. Tourists will always be attracted to places where the local residents take pride in their place and are ready to welcome visitors. Action by the local authorities to protect the quality of life for local residents is vital for any historic city to sustain tourism in the longer term.

The challenge presented to each of you in Theme 3 of this symposium is to identify the pressures and benefits of tourism in your city and to discuss ideas with your colleagues that can protect and enhance the quality of life of your citizens.

There is also no doubt about the dynamic relationship between an historic city and tourism. Some cities experience relatively little tourism and are keen to attract more. Others have achieved what they consider to be a sustainable and comfortable level of tourism, while many historic cities suffer tourist congestion, especially during peak seasons.

In each case the local people will interact with tourists in different ways. They may support efforts to increase tourism and strengthen the local economy. They may feel totally at ease with the number of visitors with whom they mix in the streets and squares. Alternatively, they may resent the fact that they can no longer enjoy their city and are always competing with tourists for space, local services and opportunities to enjoy or improve their quality of life.

It is essential for each of you to understand the position of your city in relation to what might be called the "life cycle of tourism". Managing this "life cycle" is a vital component in the protection of the quality of life of your residents.

Over the last 30 years it has been my privilege and pleasure to visit 86 of your member cities, some on a number of occasions. I am fully aware of the enormous variety of characteristics that are represented within your membership. Your cities vary in terms of age, historical development, location, ease of access, size, population, economic development and urban complexity. The length of time that you have been inscribed also varies, giving a wide divergence in your tourism experiences.

This variety is too great for me to discuss individual case studies. My preference is that as individual civic leaders you examine your own circumstances, and discuss these with your colleagues during the break-out sessions.

Who are the real clients of government tourism policy?

To address this question I will concentrate on two major themes:

- Mediation between local residents and tourism interests in the competition for local resources and for local opportunities.
- "Life cycles" in the dynamic relationship between tourism and the historic city.

There is one critical axiom that, in my experience, supports the need to protect the lifestyles of your local residents from tourism pressures.

The real clients for any local government tourism policy initiatives are all those who live and work in your cities. Tourists and the tourism industry are simply the "actors" in the pageant of tourism. Local residents are the "directors", the "theatre owners" and to some extent, the "audience". They sustain the pageant and provide continuing support for the tourism actors.

There is no doubt that local residents are the major stakeholders in any tourism initiatives taken by local government. They are the people who live and work in the historic city, who provide local services, supply local produce, develop locally designed merchandise based on local themes or traditions, and who care for the historic places that form the tourist attraction. They are the people who will be impacted, either positively or negatively, by increased levels of tourism.

The tourism industry has been very good at spreading a mantra that tourism will automatically bring major economic benefits. But how often do those benefits flow back to the travel company, the hotel chain or the tourism operator, who might be based overseas or elsewhere in the country? What good to the local economy

are thousands, even millions, of tourists if most of what they spend does not stay in the region?

Tourism is largely a private-sector activity that uses public assets for private gain. The host city provides and maintains airports, ports, roads, transportation and public utilities, sustains natural and cultural heritage sites, and provides water and sewerage infrastructure for the increased traffic. By comparison, with the exception of local wages, the tourism industry takes the major share of any profit.

This situation cannot be sustained in the long term. While it must facilitate tourism activity, the role of the public sector should be to protect, enhance and promote local identity. Its role should not be to build infrastructure that is primarily aimed at increasing tourist numbers. Investment in public infrastructure and protection of heritage assets should primarily benefit the local community and enhance local economic activity. A new art gallery, museum or cultural centre should primarily boost local pride and a community's sense of its own identity. Increased tourism and enhanced cultural amenities for the region will be an extra bonus from such ventures.

Tourists usually spend heavily on interesting local merchandise, regional crafts and products, good local or regional cuisine and accommodation. This brings the tourist income that can stay in the local economy, boosting local employment and encouraging other forms of local investment.

It is essential therefore that tourism policy-making for World Heritage listed Cities concentrates on enhancing the quality of life of the local people, in the context of stimulating and facilitating tourism opportunities.

In promoting this policy, I have drawn on a great deal of work that has been undertaken internationally over recent years, including:

- the ICOMOS *International Cultural Tourism Charter*
- the *Lijiang Models for Cooperation among Stakeholders*, developed by UNESCO Bangkok in conjunction with the Nordic World Heritage Office
- *Indicators for Sustainable Development for Tourism Destinations* and the *Guidebook for Tourism Congestion Management at Natural and Cultural Sites*, both published in 2005 by the World Tourism Organisation in Madrid
- the PICTURE Project, which is currently examining the impact of cultural tourism on small- to medium-sized historic cities across Europe.

Mediation between Tourism and Residents regarding Competition for Local Resources and Opportunities

The challenge for each mayor and city manager is to mediate between tourism interests and local residents in the use and allocation of local resources and the exploitation of local opportunities that are generated by tourism activity. The political processes involved in such mediation must be equitable, transparent and inclusive for the stakeholders.

Competition for local resources

Difficulties arise when, as a result of high levels of tourism activity, local residents cannot gain access to the range of resources that they traditionally enjoyed within their city. Conversely, resentment can arise when the benefits of tourism are confined to a relatively small area of the city and to those who are actively engaged in providing services to visitors.

As will be discussed later, problems also occur when thresholds are reached and local people begin to feel overwhelmed by the numbers and pressures of visitors in the city. Local government must not wait until thresholds are passed before taking action. Solutions will be much more difficult to implement if they are unnecessarily delayed, or not anticipated earlier.

Depending on the specific nature of the historic city, the local resources that can be impacted upon may include the following.

Public spaces within the city

These can include squares, plazas, piazzas, parks and gardens, market places, shopping areas, main streets crowded with retail activity, and the quiet streets where children play and residents gather to talk and discuss their daily lives. They can include places of worship, civic and community places, libraries, meeting rooms, cultural centres and galleries, sporting facilities and those special places that define the very character or identity of the city.

Good local management and civic improvement programs can benefit from tourism-generated income. However, it is the public spaces of a city where the highest negative impacts from tourism are usually experienced. Congestion from crowds of visitors, increased levels of traffic and parking congestion from tourist buses and motor vehicles, and the resulting disruption to normal daily life, can be a major source of irritation

and frustration for local residents. They can feel excluded from their own special places by large crowds, long queues or thoughtless behaviour by visitors who do not understand the local culture or cultural practices, or by inequitable entry prices.

Tourists often arrive in large groups or at peak periods, heavily impacting the capacity of public spaces that may have traditionally served a relatively small population. Day-trip visitors from cruise ships or nearby recreational destinations often place extraordinary pressures on local resources.

As tourists explore the quieter streets and spaces, local people can feel as though they have been reduced to objects of curiosity, with their privacy invaded, almost like animals in a zoo. Late night noise and other inappropriate behaviour can arise when large numbers of tourists congregate in relatively restricted sections of the city. Active tourism management by the local authorities is essential to protect the quality of life for the residents.

Local retailing and services

One of the more subtle impacts is the loss of diversity in local retailing that can occur when shops or markets in sections of the city are converted to serve the interests and needs of visitors. Local people find it increasingly difficult to purchase their traditional range of merchandise and services or are required to travel further for shopping. The higher rents that can be earned from the tourist trade often force out traditional retailers and small-scale workshops. Rising housing costs and property values can also displace traditional residential occupants in favour of tourism related uses.

Local transportation

Many historic towns and cities have used tourism revenue to subsidise local transportation, especially in off-season periods. High or fluctuating levels of tourism can have an adverse impact on local transportation services, especially if schedules are disrupted or access to the city centre becomes difficult. Local residents will become discontented if they see local resources being allocated to the construction of roads and transportation systems that will primarily benefit tourists. New roads, improved street lighting, new buses or trains, special transportation schedules, and other services that only provide enhanced access or amenity at tourist sites may provide little real benefit to local residents.

Local infrastructure

Visitors to historic places may demand a higher level of services and infrastructure than that available for local residents. In these circumstances it has been common for some tourism destinations to provide much higher levels of water supply, sewerage, waste disposal, electricity, telecommunications and other local services such as police, health, traffic management and security for tourist facilities than for the majority of the local population. While tourists appreciate these services, the local people can feel alienated or disadvantaged if there is no apparent improvement in the level of their services.

Competition for local opportunities

One of the most important reasons for living in a city is to gain access to opportunities that can improve the quality of life. These opportunities include employment, education and training, recreation, small business development and opportunities, wealth generation and property ownership. Cities become a magnet for rural people who want to improve their condition.

For developing economies, tourism is regarded as providing a significant boost to the local economy, reversing periods of post-industrial decline or expanding the capacity of the city to absorb high levels of rural migration. Those fortunate to live in more developed economies take for granted their right to gain access to the opportunities provided by the city. If excessively high levels of tourism activity or the competition from the tourism industry prevent this access, discontent and resentment will arise.

Opportunities for employment and education are often linked. If the local people do not have the right skills, potential employers, especially in the tourism industry, will bring workers in from other places. Education programs for local people should include training not only in the service and modern technological industries, but in the many trades and practices that ensure the city can maintain and enhance its physical attractions and heritage resources. Employment programs in the tourism industry should aim to involve a broad range of local people.

It is essential that as many people as possible in the city have access to the enhanced economic activity arising from tourism. Small business operators, local service and produce suppliers, local transportation providers, crafts and trades people, can all benefit from tourism if they have a reasonable opportunity for access. The international resources of the tourism industry can overwhelm local investors, suppliers and business operators, shutting them out of the opportunities they have a right to exploit. Tourism traffic is often concentrated within limited sections of the city, creating an imbalance

in the opportunities for local business operators to gain access to the enhanced activity.

It is also essential that the economic, social and cultural benefits generated from tourism are equitably spread across as many sections of the local population as possible. It may be necessary for local government and its agencies to actively ensure that market forces do not result in inequities and unrest among less fortunate residents of the city.

Equity of access to local mediation processes

It is essential that all relevant stakeholders have access to the local political processes that mediate between the competing interests of tourists and local residents. This key aspect of the quality of life for local residents represents a great challenge for civic and political leaders and administrators. Each of you at this symposium must think long and hard to ensure that the residents of your city are given a chance to have their voices heard.

Unfortunately, it is often the case that important projects developed to capture tourism benefits for the national or local economy ignore or override the interests of local residents. More typically, the longer-term outcomes of planning and resource allocation decisions are not considered until resource competition thresholds are reached and local residents feel resentment and discontent. If the local population is actively engaged in the mediation processes, they are more likely to accept the decisions taken and the outcomes in terms of tourism impacts and the distribution of benefits.

The mediation processes required in historic cities to resolve competing expectations can be between local stakeholders and external tourism-related business interests, or between small stakeholders and large tourism-related business interests. As discussed above, local stakeholders include residents, working people, retailers, tradespeople, academics, business operators, suppliers, service providers, property owners, custodians of civic or religious places, the media, young people, the elderly, the unemployed and the wealthy.

Local stakeholders are not just those who live or work in the popular tourist areas of the city, but the entire city population. All of these people have a right to take part in the political processes that determine priorities and directions for the allocation of resources across the city and how tourism activities are managed and integrated into the life of that city.

The World Tourism Organisation, on behalf of the national and international tourism industry, has long recognised the need for balance and mediation, for stakeholder involvement and for rigorous management in the relationship between tourism and local destinations. Current and recently completed projects initiated by UNESCO, the Nordic World Heritage Office and the European Commission, among others, have recognised the same need.

While local government must also mediate between the often conflicting interests of national, regional and local policies in terms of tourism, cultural heritage management, environmental, economic and social development, the duties and opportunities before all of the delegates to this symposium are clear and widely accepted.

Life Cycles in the Tourism Experience of Historic Cities

The relationship between tourism and World Heritage Cities is dynamic. While inscription on the World Heritage List virtually guarantees a high level of tourism interest, the realities of international travel, ease of access, tourism promotion in source markets, competition from other destinations, political, social and cultural developments in the world economies, all impact the fluctuations in tourism arrivals at any particular historic city.

In general there are three stages in the "Life Cycle" of the tourism experience for an historic city. The role of local government is to recognise where their city lies in the cycles and to ensure that the final cycle, that of decline, is avoided. The three cycles are:

- initial tourism growth and development
- tolerance and acceptance
- resentment, opposition and decline

It is essential for you, as political and civic leaders, to understand where your city sits within this tourism life cycle. Only then will you be able to anticipate future tourism and development trends and secure the benefits for your residents.

Initial tourism growth and development stage

This stage reflects a relatively low level of tourism activity in the city and the local economy. It can follow the initial international recognition arising from inscription on the World Heritage List, or can be generated by aggressive local policies, planning and tourism promotion.

Initially, tourism provides a welcome increase in economic activity, with higher sales and income generated

for those local businesses that are in direct contact with the visitors and the tour operators. Local suppliers and service providers quickly respond to the increased business opportunities. Local people feel a sense of pride and increased cultural identity arising from the obvious interest and enquiry of newly arrived people in their midst. They usually benefit from a progressive increase in the level of services provided, or infrastructure installed to meet the overall economic demand. There is a curiosity and novelty in the experience.

Typically in this phase the level of tourism activity fits well within the capacity of the city and its residents to absorb it. There is little congestion in the public spaces or sense of a loss of privacy and competition for those aspects of the city treasured by the local residents. Local government should experience an increase in taxation revenue and respond to the challenges for upgrading local infrastructure and the quality of public spaces and facilities.

This phase of the tourism life cycle generally receives popular support as it tends to provide a range of benefits across a relatively wide section of the local society without excessive pressures or tensions. Many historic cities will enjoy this phase of the life cycle for many years or even decades. Some will never progress beyond this phase and never need to respond to the pressures of saturation. This condition may characterise most of the year, with high levels of tourism pressure during only relatively short seasonal periods.

Tolerance and acceptance

This stage in the tourism life cycle is reached when the character of the city has changed and reflects its nature as a mature tourism destination. High levels of tourism activity can be experienced throughout the year or settle into a regular pattern of seasonal fluctuations.

In this phase, the local authorities have responded with appropriate traffic management and local transportation, upgraded infrastructure, public spaces and facilities. A wide range of local businesses enjoy higher levels of turnover and provide enhanced employment opportunities for local people, even if on a seasonal basis. Local crafts and trades people continue and develop local traditions or handicrafts for sale to visitors, or enjoy access to modern international standards of living. Local taxation revenue has improved cultural and recreational facilities, educational and health services and other needs of local residents. Tourism management has been well organised in conjunction with tour operators, and visitors are not regarded as generating an unwelcome burden on local residents.

This is the ideal phase within the tourism life cycle. The residential population of the city accepts that tourism is making a valid and valuable contribution to their economic, cultural and social well-being. Accordingly, they are prepared to provide a welcoming atmosphere and response to those visitors with whom they come into contact. This phase can also last for many years or decades. It is easier for the larger and more economically developed cities than it is for smaller or less economically developed places. The larger cities usually have more capacity to absorb tourism and to spread the benefits into the local population.

This phase is also potentially the most dangerous. There is a natural temptation for the city or the tourism industry to exploit the success and increase tourism promotion without understanding its dynamics or properly planning for its consequences. Saturation can occur quite quickly, degrading both the quality of life for the residents and the overall tourism experience for the visitor. Once the reputation of an historic city as a tourism destination declines, it can be very difficult to recapture its place in the international marketplace.

Resentment and opposition

Tourism saturation can occur unexpectedly and in different ways. A simple improvement in regional transportation or the introduction of cheap international airfares can generate huge increases in tourism arrivals. Political, environmental or economic troubles in competing destinations or growing wealth in source markets can redistribute tourism patterns at short notice. If the local government does not monitor the relationship between the historic city and tourism, these changes can overwhelm the ability to respond or cause unnecessary outcomes arising from delayed remediation activities.

Tourism saturation may not overwhelm an entire historic city. It may concentrate on a certain aspect or a particular location within the city. If action is not taken quickly, the impacts may spread to other sectors or other groups in the population and create unnecessary problems for the city as a whole.

If there is undue congestion in their public spaces residents begin to resent tourism activity. Access to the historic centre is more difficult, residential areas are replaced too rapidly with tourism-related uses, there is a loss of diversity in local produce and services, there is an unacceptable feeling of being in a tourism zoo, or the city is turned into a standardised tourism product.

Some sections of society may become alienated if they perceive an undue distribution of resources or benefits

arising from tourism. Further discontent can arise from a loss of traditional cultural identity, from the excessive introduction of national or international retail and food outlets, from too many introduced workers, or too great an impact from seasonal fluctuations in tourism activity.

In these cases, the local people are likely to resent the impact of excessive tourism on their quality of life. They may be inclined to withhold their cooperation, reduce the level of welcome that they extend to visitors, or take unfair advantage of them through excessive charging or poor service. If it impacts their customers' satisfaction and business results, the tourism industry will quickly identify these forms of resentment or exploitation. Tourists and tour operators will soon give preference to other destinations when they perceive that a particular place has deteriorated.

The reverse side of this phase in the tourism life cycle is that tourism suddenly declines due to external factors outside the control of the tourism industry. Security threats and terrorism can also ruin the reputation of a city as a safe tourism destination, at least in the short term. The tourism industry is notoriously fickle in its preferences and its constant search for new attractions.

In this situation the local population may suffer due to the reduced level of economic activity and employment opportunities. Special-purpose tourism infrastructure may soon become redundant and contribute little to the local economy. Alternatively, if the reduction in tourism arrivals adjusts the pressures on local resources to a more acceptable level, there may be an improvement in the local quality of life.

The challenge for the local authorities is to recognise the trends in the relationship and to respond as quickly as possible. The city will have an enhanced ability to respond in a manner that ensures the best outcome in terms of the quality of life of its citizens. This stage in the cycle can provide a platform for a new beginning, drawing on lessons learned from the earlier experience.

Conclusion

The challenge is clear for all of you as delegates at this symposium. You must ensure that you protect the quality of life of your local population in the face of high or fluctuating levels of tourism in your historic city.

To do this you must identify where your city lies in the tourism life cycle, what needs to be done to plan for the future and who needs to be included in the competition mediation processes between tourism and residents.

Not only does this make good political sense, but it will ensure that the city remains a sustainable and attractive component within the international membership of the Organisation of World Heritage Cities.

Case Studies

Community Participation in the Revitalization of World Heritage Cities

By Amita Baig

Amita Baig is a Heritage Management Consultant with experience in managing heritage conservation projects and working towards developing paradigms for the management of historic sites in India and the Asia Region. Currently, she is the India Projects Consultant to The World Monuments Fund New York, advisor to the Namgyal Institute for Research on Ladakhi Art and Culture in Ladakh and the Jaipur Virasat Foundation as well as a founder Trustee of the Jaisalmer Heritage Trust in Rajasthan. She is also a consultant to the Indian Hotels Company for the conservation and restoration of the Taj Mahal. She joined the Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage in 1984 and was Director General of the Architectural Heritage Division from 1993 to 1999. She has also worked as consultant to the Gulbenkian Foundation in Portugal and for UNESCO.

Case study presented under:

Citizen Participation in the Revitalization of World Heritage Cities:
Successes and Failures

Something is evident from the structure of this symposium: the paradigm for the preservation of historic cities has evolved substantially and is increasingly focused on the holistic protection of cultural resources rather than just monumental or architectural splendor, which was the trend that defined the post-war conservation movement.

Sustainable heritage conservation depends substantially on the involvement of local communities. Denis Byrne aptly says that *the assumption is the community must learn about conservation and not that conservationists must learn from the community about the social value and context of places*. Our responsibility therefore as conservation professionals requires us to incorporate this.

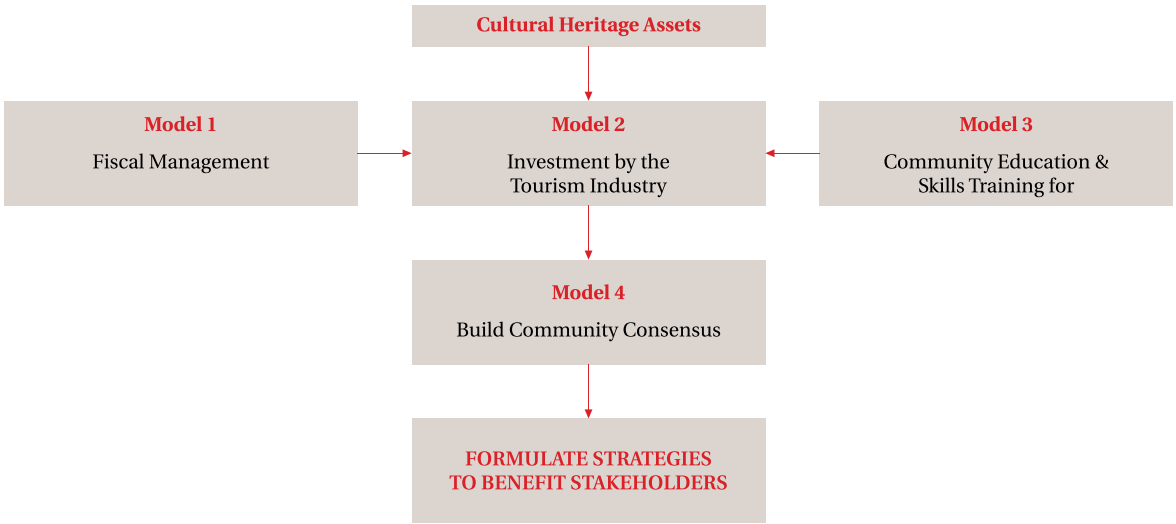
Historic cities and sites, those World Heritage sites, are governed by rules, regulations and management tools, and seem increasingly to disconnect people from their heritage. As we prepare charters, plans, guide books and documentation that define boundaries to preserve the past, we must remind ourselves that we function in a society that is vibrant and kinetic, whose survival is dependent not on the past, but on coping with the present. We have many complexities to contend with: spiraling population, urban decay, and developmental challenges.

We must also acknowledge that communities are not always supportive of preservation initiatives. For them, their homes and cherished familiar spaces have suddenly gained *universal value*. The custodians of World Heritage become the "host community", and in my country they are largely unable to grasp the consequences, as their familiar surroundings become the public domain. They are romanced with concepts like *cultural significance* while the enticement of tourist-related wealth confuses the expectation.

In the Asian region we need to remember that World Heritage status has not brought great wealth or prosperity to its communities. All too often in developing nations it is the large investor who benefits, while the local resident becomes a mute spectator. As we valorize the heritage, there is less and less scope for the community to determine its future.

In response UNESCO's initiative "Integrated Development and Cultural Heritage Preservation in Asia and the Pacific through Local Effort" (LEAP), sought to encourage local entrepreneurship through creative local enterprise, and secure a much wider constituency of beneficiaries in historic cities. One of its main programs "Cultural Heritage Management: Models for Cooperation Among Stakeholders" developed over a period of five years, engaging with elected representatives, World Heritage Site managers and stakeholders from eight historic sites across Asia. These were Hoi An, Vietnam; Lijiang, China; Bhaktapur, Nepal; Kandy, Sri Lanka; Vigan, Philippines; Melaka, Malaysia; Ha Hoe, Republic of Korea; Levuka, Fiji Islands; and Luang Prabhang, Lao PDR. Together we assessed the sites, evaluated the communities' needs, developing a range of programs to directly involve and benefit the stakeholders. Workshops held over this period focused on different aspects, from restoration and reuse, to heritage management and tourism. The workshops proposed structuring links between local government/ elected representatives and stakeholders to ensure the sustainability of the programs.

Today these are known as the Lijiang models and are based on a simple structure:



These models were based on an in-depth study on the impact of tourism on heritage preservation, a fuller understanding of the economic opportunities of each site and the implications for conservation, management and development. Critically, each site made their own needs assessment and the models were tested with the objective of forming mutually beneficial alliances, economically and culturally. Fiscal models were linked with education and training, tourism investment and employment opportunities were all developed within the framework of building community consensus. The opportunity before us today is to optimize often unstated and undervalued wealth that exists in our communities, and build systems to secure their stake in the historic cities preservation initiative. The purpose of these initiatives is not to return to a nostalgic past but to work towards a dynamic future, contemporary, but firmly rooted in its cultural values.

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Patrimonio Tangible e Intangible: Dos Ópticas, Un Mismo Reto

By Eusebio Leal Spengler

Eusebio Leal Spengler has a PhD in historical sciences, and other postgraduate attainments in Latin American studies, Cuba and the Caribbean. He is the Director of Museo de la Ciudad and a well-known architectural historian. He is a member of the Cuban Heritage Commission and President of the Regional Heritage Commission. He is a Goodwill Ambassador for the United Nations.

Dr Leal Spengler has published extensively and has received several international and national awards. He is a frequent lecturer at several American and Asian universities.

Case study presented under:

Intangible Heritage in a World Historical City: Identifying and Supporting it

El patrimonio inmaterial o intangible habita el universo de las personas, el universo de sus memorias individuales y colectivas. Las personas a su vez habitan el mundo que han ido construyendo y ordenando según la experiencia que han recibido y la que son capaces de crear, y lo pueblan de tradiciones; es decir, los seres humanos van creando su propio mundo, a imagen y semejanza de sus propios deseos, recuerdos y costumbres, en una sabia adaptación al medio natural.

En tal sentido, y dado el complejo proceso de producción del patrimonio cultural, se puede afirmar que lo intangible es tan inseparable de lo monumental y de lo real como el alma del cuerpo; la llamemos como la llamemos: intangibilidad, espiritualidad, inmaterialidad… resulta una categoría indisolublemente ligada a la espacialidad, a las expresiones palpables de la realidad y al propio ambiente natural o urbano.

De esa misma manera, las estructuras físicas y expresiones materiales pierden su sentido de autenticidad si se las vacía de contenido; patrimonio tangible e intangible conforman entonces un binomio indeleble que caracteriza los rasgos peculiares de la diversidad cultural.

Resulta necesario comprender que el concepto de patrimonio cultural es atemporal y va más allá de los valores construidos y erigidos en otras épocas. Hay una zona tangible que es la evidencia más clara y el rostro más palpable de la identidad patria, con sus expresiones físicas; pero también se presenta ante nosotros ese otro espacio mas sutil, el humano e intangible, conformado por las tradiciones, costumbres, modos de hacer y actuar, y por el ejercicio del pensamiento y las más diversas prácticas culturales. Es por ello que, sin el hombre como protagonista, toda preocupación de carácter científico, profesional o cultural, carecería de sentido.

Hace unas décadas, el interés general en el ámbito del patrimonio recaía de manera fundamental sobre los edificios emblemáticos, hitos a los que se asociaban grandes valores simbólicos. Más adelante se comprendió el valor del conjunto urbano e interesaron también los exponentes más modestos que conformaban el ambiente urbano; pero más recientemente, y en una visión evidentemente más cabal e integradora, se ha incluido la compleja temática de la sociedad que habita y puebla de sus propios valores aquellos espacios antes sacralizados y comprendidos como monumentales. Y sólo en esta nueva dimensión, donde se trata de rehabilitar el continente y lo contenido, es que se puede hablar de una recuperación responsable del patrimonio cultural en su integridad, es decir, tanto en su dimensión físico-espacial como en su dimensión humana.

Cualquier acción recuperadora deberá tener como protagonista principal al ser humano, entendido éste como el productor, transmisor y portador de patrones culturales identitarios. En la medida en que se garantice el desarrollo humano de una localidad o de una nación, se estará asegurando la perdurabilidad de su patrimonio en el concepto más abarcador.

En Cuba tenemos una cultura extrovertida, como buenos insulares, donde la calle y el espacio público y de reunión social adquieren un papel fundamental en el desarrollo de una identidad colectiva; también tenemos una cultura del zaguán, una cultura del patio, y del pequeño jardín interior, que llaman al susurro, a la tranquilidad de las siestas, en contraste con los rasgos del carácter vital y explosivo que puede explicarse en la intensidad de la luz que el vitral colorido y estridente rompe en mil destellos, en las rejas de complicados arabescos, o en las decoradas fachadas con detalles que vibran en el violento contraste del sol y la sombra.

Pero también es el discurso del diálogo de ventana a ventana, de tan cerca que muchas veces se construían las casas, para garantizar la sombra en las calles… el hablar con las manos, con los ojos, con los gestos, en esa soltura corporal que han ido modelando el clima y la mezcla de los diversos orígenes que han conformado nuestro pueblo.

De esa manera, paisaje urbano y paisaje humano se van entremezclando en ese complejo ser multirracial y pluriétnico en que la historia ha ido conformando a una gran cantidad de pueblos, sea por razones de invasiones, conquistas o migraciones, pasadas o recientes, pacíficas o violentas. Y es así como se explica una de las cuestiones principales de nuestro tiempo, que es el drama de la interculturalidad, entendida como el espacio de la coexistencia armoniosa de las aportaciones que han hecho cada uno de los sujetos de la historia de un pueblo, o como el reducto de la exclusión, la segregación o el racismo.

Por eso entendemos que para plantearse el tema como espacio de coexistencia, hay que partir de comprender que el mestizaje no viene sólo de la sangre, sino que viene más bien de la cultura, porque la sangre llama, pero es la cultura la que determina. En Cuba hay quien no tiene una sola gota de sangre negra y sin embargo en su cultura, en su comportamiento, hay un sentido del ritmo, de la musicalidad, un sentido de las relaciones, que evoca sentimientos de pertenencia muy particulares.

Existe otro elemento fundamental en el discurso de la interculturalidad que va conformando el patrimonio intangible, es decir los rasgos identitarios de una socie-

dad mestiza, y que debe ir mas allá del discurso de la tolerancia, el cual es limitado; nos referimos al discurso de la aceptación plena del otro, como única garantía para generar espacios de confluencia y de convivencia armónica que deben tener su expresión en el tejido de la ciudad.

En la Habana Vieja conviven las 42 sociedades españolas de distinta procedencia, junto a todas las hermandades africanas de raíz yoruba en el entorno del puerto y que forman una cuadrícula sacra a partir de la Plaza Vieja y hacia el sur. Son territorios de Yemayá, de Orula, de Shangó, de Obbatalá… pero también esa zona es el lugar de la Sinagoga y del mundo hebreo, muy cerca del templo protestante más antiguo perteneciente a la comunidad presbiteriana y bautista, frente al teatro Martí. La rehabilitación del centro histórico ha devuelto un espacio para la iglesia Ortodoxa Griega y prepara el espacio para la rusa. También está enclavada la sede principal de la propia Iglesia Católica romana, expresada en la propia Catedral y en la residencia del Cardenal en sus inmediaciones. Y esto es así: hemos creado con la restauración un espacio de paz y concordia entre todos los que quieren construir, trabajar y edificar un patrimonio común un espacio donde cada cual tenga la libertad de practicar su culto, su credo, sus festividades y celebraciones.

Entonces se trata de luchar por la conservación de las tradiciones populares y, en general, por todo tipo de tradición. Es luchar por una cultura del comportamiento, de la cortesía; es luchar por ciertas manifestaciones propias e irrepetibles, inherentes a un tipo de sociedad y que no pueden ser repetidas miméticamente, y que además evolucionan naturalmente en su transmisión intergeneracional y en su adaptación a la vida contemporánea. Son cosas propias del sitio, de la familia, de la comunidad, que hay que preservar del riesgo ante ciertas formas de homologación. Resulta absolutamente fundamental crear oportunidades precisas para que las personas puedan preservar su identidad. Y para ello se requiere de voluntad política, de autoridad y de prestigio, para sentar una estrategia de transformación, de cambios y, sobre todo, de creación.

Los centros históricos de las ciudades constituyen uno de los espacios más atractivos de la urbe. Su propia condición de antigüedad, con su carga histórica y simbólica, el hecho de haber sido la ciudad toda durante siglos y su propio carácter de centralidad, le confieren un rasgo distintivo. Pero también contiene uno de los contrastes mas significativos de la ciudad contemporánea, constituido por los altos valores culturales en convivencia con una alta degradación social, conflicto que pone sobre el tapete uno de los dilemas más importantes y definitorios que caracterizan la política cultural de una nación en cuanto a la preservación de los valores patrimoniales, pues supone el planteamiento de una encrucijada: o se opta por una estrategia integradora de los aspectos socioeconómicos, o se seguirá un camino segregacionista y elitista.

El énfasis en lo social es absolutamente indispensable, fundamentalmente en los países en vías de desarrollo. En Latinoamérica, asistimos con dolor a la pérdida de grandes valores patrimoniales sustituidos por la feria de modernidad que borra casi de un plumazo la memoria de los pueblos. Y la conservación de los centros históricos es generalmente el fruto de esfuerzos aislados, de personas o municipalidades conscientes, pero casi siempre son sitios a los cuales debió renunciar la población autóctona, en su mayoría pobre o que permanece bajo condiciones de precariedad y sobrevivencia.

Es en este panorama donde hace irrupción la llamada "industria sin chimeneas": el turismo, que deviene en una necesaria fuente generadora de recursos para los países subdesarrollados, no exenta de riesgos. Para poder resolver este encuentro entre desiguales, resulta imprescindible desarrollar políticas muy específicas que garanticen la integridad y la salvaguarda de los bienes patrimoniales, ya sean naturales o debidos al producidos por el ingenio humano; ya sean tangibles o intangibles, que son los más frágiles.

El arribo masivo de turistas a un medio natural o culturalmente diverso y virgen constituye una amenaza al medio; las especies emigran inevitablemente, las ciudades corren el riesgo de convertirse en "Disney Worlds" especialmente preparadas para el consumo de un turista promedio, ávido de folklore a bajo costo. Se requiere entonces de buscar y encontrar un justo equilibrio que debe empezar por el reconocimiento de los valores propios.

El incremento del turismo forma parte también del fenómeno de la globalización en varias dimensiones. El movimiento de grandes volúmenes de personas por el mundo complica sustancialmente las cuestiones aduanales. El tráfico ilícito de obras patrimoniales y de especies autóctonas, en una nueva modalidad de saqueo, la propagación de enfermedades y plagas, el tráfico de drogas, encuentran en esta facilidad de movimiento un medio propicio para el desarrollo.

El turismo puede insertarse como un motor impulsor del progreso, pero teniendo en cuenta que todo desarrollo al margen de la cultura genera decadencia. El binomio cultura – turismo resultará siempre una buena fórmula en la medida en que se desarrollen estrategias de explotación del recurso cultural en estrecha relación

con el desarrollo de la sociedad. En este sentido, se trata de potenciar una industria turística bajo nuevas ópticas, obligándola a actuar sobre programas sociales a manera de evitar la segregación.

El caso del centro histórico de La Habana goza de un privilegio; el Estado cubano, ante una situación de grave crisis económica a principios de la década de los 90, adoptó una sabia postura: apoyó con un fuero legal especial a la Oficina del Historiador de la Ciudad, una institución pionera en los avatares de la protección patrimonial, con casi setenta años de experiencia, responsabilizándola de la rehabilitación integral del centro histórico de forma autofinanciada.

Le reconoció personalidad jurídica, le dio la posibilidad de cobrar impuestos para la rehabilitación y creó una compañía para la explotación del turismo en lo que se refiere a la red hotelera, extrahotelera y comercial. De esta manera el turismo comienza a financiar una obra de alto contenido sociocultural. Las ganancias obtenidas a partir de la explotación de hostales, cafés, restaurantes y comercios rehabilitados, que pertenecen a la Oficina, ingresan a una caja central, y son reinvertidas en el territorio en planes anuales de inversión, lo que ha permitido multiplicar los recursos con gran agilidad.

Estos planes de inversión se basan en las políticas dictadas por el Plan Maestro. Son principios irrenunciables que basan sus estrategias en el desarrollo humano en su más amplia concepción, y en las demandas de la población residente, a través de la participación del Gobierno Municipal en la preparación de los mismos. Son combinados así, de manera armónica, los servicios destinados a los turistas con los que requiere la comunidad. Esta fórmula ha generado mas de 11.000 puestos de trabajo, ocupados en gran medida por residentes del centro histórico, y una reactivación de la economía local que ha permitido incrementar, en un período de diez años, más de cinco veces lo que se había realizado en materia de rehabilitación en los tres lustros precedentes.

Sólo bajo un clima de dignidad, confianza y garantías de empleo y educación se puede hablar de la sostenibilidad y transmisión de tradiciones y valores. En el caso de la Habana Vieja se trabaja en la recuperación de viejos oficios de la restauración, con la formación de jóvenes en la Escuela Taller, y luego se les garantiza empleo en las empresas constructoras del centro histórico. También se recuperan tradiciones de producción artesanal, en una modalidad de gremios, hermandades y fraternidades, que incluyen entre sus labores la enseñanza a niños, jóvenes y adultos mayores; se ha aplicado una nueva experiencia docente, nacida del propio proceso de rehabilitación, llamada el “aula en el museo”, en la que los escolares transitan por aulas creadas en el interior de los museos, mientras se rehabilitan sus escuelas, o como un sistema de estímulo: los niños, además de sus clases habituales, reciben enseñanzas de patrimonio cultural; de esta manera ocurre un doble enriquecimiento de la institución cultural y de la población infantil.

El centro histórico es el espacio de nuevas manifestaciones artísticas de teatro y danza callejera, de música clásica, coral y antigua; es sede también de festivales de habaneras, boleros y otros géneros musicales populares. Se puede afirmar que la Habana Vieja se va transformando en el espacio público de las más variadas manifestaciones culturales, y la ciudadanía va incorporándola a su cotidianidad. Se ha desarrollado un proceso de apropiación que tiene uno de sus mayores exponentes en la experiencia de “rutas y andares”, donde la familia cubana, durante sus vacaciones de verano, hace un reconocimiento profundo de las interioridades del centro histórico, sus valores y su recuperación, en recorridos temáticos guiados por prestigiosos especialistas.

En nuestros países, aquejados por graves crisis económicas, la única vía posible para una rehabilitación consiente del patrimonio cultural será aquella que incorpore plenamente a la ciudadanía en el propio proceso revitalizador. Si el desarrollo del turismo, o de cualquier otro mecanismo reactivador de la economía, no se embrida con claras políticas sociales que incorporen ampliamente a los residentes, que generen empleo y beneficios para los pobladores, y que afiancen las tradiciones y los aspectos identitarios esenciales, los resultados serían dramáticos. Ya hay experiencias infortunadas en ese sentido: centros históricos bellamente restaurados que sólo tienen una vida diurna y que en las noches devienen sitios solitarios y peligrosos y donde la población ha sido segregada, generándose nuevos conflictos de difícil resolución.

La rehabilitación de los centros históricos no debe ser una losa pesada sobre las espaldas de algunos de nuestros estados, enfrascados en resolver otros problemas de mayor urgencia; tampoco privatizarlos o venderlos al mejor postor, como ha ocurrido en otros casos. Poner precio a la identidad es un crimen de lesa cultura que condenaremos vehementemente en todas las tribunas porque creemos que políticas de este tipo acaban con la espiritualidad de los pueblos, el último reducto para la defensa de la dignidad nacional.

L'Équilibre entre le Tourisme et la Vie de la communauté: l'Exemple de la Restauration de la Muraille Ayyoubide au Caire

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Case study presented under:

Hosting Tourists in World Heritage Cities: How to Reconcile the Needs of the Residents

Les activités de l'AKTC (The Aga Khan Trust for Culture) en Égypte ont commencé en 1984 lorsque l'Aga Khan a annoncé sa décision de léguer un parc aux habitants du Caire. Le site de El-Darassa, d'une superficie de 30 hectares, a été sélectionné peu après, en raison de son rôle potentiel considérable de « poumon » au cœur même du quartier islamique historique du Caire. Les travaux de construction, entamés en 1997, se sont achevés sept ans plus tard en 2004. Le parc Azhar a officiellement ouvert ses grilles au public en mars 2005, et il est aussitôt devenu un pôle d'attraction pour la population. Le parc se trouve littéralement entouré par les quartiers historiques les plus importants du Caire, chacun une destination de prédilection des visiteurs de la ville. La topographie de collines du site, formées par l'accumulation de débris sur plusieurs siècles, offre de nos jours une vue panoramique spectaculaire de la vieille ville du Caire et de l'ensemble de la cité.

À compter de 1999, le projet du Caire, limité à l'origine à la création du parc, s'est peu à peu élargi pour incorporer la restauration de la Muraille ayyoubide le long de l'extrémité ouest du parc, et la remise en état d'une série de bâtiments en bordure du quartier historique voisin de Darb el-Ahmar. Ici, les activités de l'AKTC incluent notamment la restauration de plusieurs monuments essentiels et de maisons adjacentes à la muraille historique, et la mise en application de diverses initiatives de promotion du développement économique et social dans l'un des quartiers les plus pauvres du Caire, le quartier de Darb el-Ahmar. La construction du parc est ainsi devenue le catalyseur de toute une gamme de projets de préservation, tout en stimulant le tourisme international et le tourisme local pour les résidents d'autres quartiers du Caire. Ce projet représente une excellente étude des interactions complexes entre le tourisme et la conservation et le besoin impératif de réconcilier les exigences parfois contradictoires de la préservation de l'essence originelle d'un site et du développement commercial qui accompagne le tourisme. Le présent exposé examinera notamment comment ces défis et ces contradictions ont été résolus dans le contexte du projet de restauration de la Muraille ayyoubide, qui sépare physiquement le quartier historique pauvre de Darb el-Ahmar du nouveau parc et de ces attractions touristiques.

La Muraille Ayyoubide

La muraille historique qui se trouve au pied des collines de Darassa constituait la section sud-est des remparts ayyoubides de la ville du Caire, partiellement remise au jour lors des travaux de construction du nouveau parc Azhar par l'AKTC. Cette muraille mesure plus de 1.300 mètres de long, avec une orientation vers le nord, de Bab el-Wazir à el-Azhar Street, et marque la limite entre le quartier de Darb el-Ahmar dans la partie islamique du Caire et le nouveau parc.

Construite dans le cadre de travaux de fortifications de la ville aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles par Salah al-Din et son successeur, cette portion de la muraille a représenté pendant plusieurs siècles la limite orientale du Caire. Le rôle de la muraille a évolué au fil du temps : tout en demeurant l'un des grands monuments de la ville, il a cessé il y a bien longtemps de servir de structure de défense. Ce changement de fonction s'est traduit par une urbanisation jusqu'au pied même du mur, suivant un processus d'accrétion fréquemment rencontré dans les villes historiques du monde entier. À partir du XVe siècle, la zone se trouvant juste à l'extérieur de la muraille a commence à être utilisée comme décharge et la muraille s'est eu à peu trouvé enterré sous les débris, ce qui l'a protégé des ravages du temps et du climat. Aujourd'hui, dans le sillage des interventions ayant mené à l'établissement du parc, la façade extérieure de cette muraille historique est à nouveau exposée aux visiteurs et aux éléments, alors que vers l'intérieur de la ville, les pressions exercées par les promoteurs privés et les impératifs institutionnels soulèvent des questions de développement urbain préoccupantes. Les interventions en cours doivent non seulement prendre en considération la préservation de la muraille, mais aussi déterminer comment opérer dans ce contexte urbain complexe. Conjointement, la conservation de la structure de la muraille originelle et la préservation du tissu urbain moderne dans le monument et à l'entour représentent les meilleures antidotes contre toute détérioration ultérieure ainsi que la commercialisation souvent destructive qui accompagne le passage de quantités excessives de visiteurs et un tourisme effréné.

Depuis l'ouverture du parc en 2004, il est possible de projeter certains risques pour la muraille historique et le quartier de el-Darb el-Ahmar. Trop souvent les ressources culturelles du monde se sont transformées en simples produits commerciaux offerts à la consommation d'un tourisme de masse. Par suite, des sites historiques authentiques se trouvent menacés et vidés de leur sens, et les résidents locaux deviennent par trop dépendants des vicissitudes d'une économie de service fondée sur le tourisme.

Contrairement au scénario décrit ci-dessus, l'approche retenue par l'AKTC présentait la muraille comme une ressource et une opportunité de permettre au grand public de mieux apprécier et de mieux comprendre le patrimoine culturel de la ville et son tissu social tradi-

tionnel, renforçant ainsi ses qualités et son rôle spécifiques dans le nouveau contexte créé par l'établissement du parc. La mise à exécution de cette approche exige la résolution de différentes questions importantes pour déterminer quel sera le nouveau rôle de ce monument important : comment réintroduire un monument oublié et longtemps enseveli dans un nouveau contexte en pleine mouvance sans qu'il perde de son sens ? Comment le réintégrer pleinement dans le contexte moderne de la ville historique du Caire ? Et, de manière plus générale, comment réconcilier le tourisme suscité par le parc Azhar et la vie traditionnelle de la communauté de Darb el-Ahmar ?

La Muraille –une Ressource Culturelle et une Destination Touristique

La réponse à ces questions, loin de constituer un simple exercice théorique, doit s'inscrire dans la recherche pragmatique de nouvelles significations, de nouvelles fonctions et de nouvelles activités sur la muraille et à proximité. Les mesures ultérieures ayant pour objet de préserver la signification originelle de la muraille et sa réinsertion correcte dans le contexte contemporain doivent se fonder sur les quatre concepts qui ont servi de lignes directrices aux interventions de l'AKTC :

1. *Conception d'un accès et d'une circulation pour les piétons le long de la limite ouest du parc pour renforcer la perception de la muraille historique comme un point de rencontre dynamique plutôt qu'une barrière entre la communauté et le parc. L'accès et le système de circulation proposés* identifient les emplacements des anciennes portes de la ville comme les connexions historiques et naturelles entre le parc et le quartier de el-Darb el-Ahmar. Trois portes sont remises en fonction : Bab el-Barqiyya, près de l'artère animée de Azhar Road, servira d'accès principal en provenance de la limite nord-ouest du parc ; Bab el-Mahruq, la porte disparue qui fait l'objet à l'heure actuelle de fouilles archéologiques, sera le point d'accès à mi-parcours ; et Bab el-Wazir à l'angle sud-ouest du parc, sera l'accès à proximité de tous les principaux sites religieux et monuments historiques, au sud, le long de Darb el-Ahmar Street. Deux autres points d'accès sont proposés en conjonction avec les expositions et les circuits touristiques de Darb Shoughlan et de Burg el-Mahruq. Tous ces liens sont conçus pour encourager les interactions entre les communautés locales et les visiteurs et préserver des sites judicieusement organisés au cœur de la vie quotidienne de Darb el-Ahmar.

2. *Élaboration de programmes et d'expériences didactiques intensifiant l'appréciation de la muraille en tant que monument et comme jalon important du quartier islamique du Caire, pour expliquer son nouveau rôle pour le développement de la ville et présenter aux visiteurs le mode d'existence de la communauté qui vit dans le quartier avoisinant.* Au nombre des initiatives prévues figurent l'organisation de circuits et d'expositions touristique dans l'école de Darb Shoughlan et le long des remparts et des galeries intérieures entre les tours 4 et 5, et à Burg el-Mahruq, avec une présentation des aspects archéologiques, historiques, militaires, culturels et sociaux liés aux utilisations passées et présentes de la muraille. Par ailleurs, il est prévu de créer un grand parc archéologique dans la région extrême nord du parc, entre les tours 14 et 15, qui offre une opportunité exceptionnelle d'explorer les ruines archéologiques le long du côté urbain de la muraille, qui est resté enseveli depuis l'époque des Mamelouks. Enfin, l'établissement d'une aire pour les expositions et autres activités culturelles est prévu dans le complexe de Kheyrbek à proximité de l'extrémité sud de la muraille. Cette installation servira de point de contact pour la communauté tout en offrant aux visiteurs une description de la culture et des traditions locales.

3. *Organisation d'activités approfondissant la compréhension du patrimoine culturel par les visiteurs et les résidents, ainsi que le développement des aptitudes locales pour la préservation et la protection du quartier islamique du Caire.* La muraille représente une excellente opportunité de démontrer les approches et les méthodes appliquées à sa découverte et à sa conservation, et un lieu permanent de formation où les artisans locaux, les organisations nationales et les institutions internationales peuvent se rassembler pour déterminer ensemble les techniques de restauration les plus appropriées. Ces expériences permettront en outre de promouvoir la création d'une main d'œuvre spécialisée dans les techniques traditionnelles de construction et les techniques modernes de restauration ainsi que le développement des petites entreprises, autant d'éléments dont a grand besoin le quartier islamique du Caire. De la sorte, la conservation peut être rattachée à des programmes de promotion du développement économique et de création d'emplois pour la communauté locale.

4. *Garantir la gestion à venir de la muraille et sa pérennité à long terme grâce à l'établissement de programmes permanents de réparation et d'entretien*

et le suivi de tout changement ou transformation ultérieur. Le succès d'interventions particulières concernant la muraille doit être mesuré en tant que processus dynamique de participation populaire, suivant un dialogue et un consensus débouchant sur une meilleure protection du monument. C'est pourquoi les programmes à venir doivent veiller à ce que la communauté locale tire elle aussi parti des avantages à long terme qu'ils créent, car cette communauté est l'un des intervenants principaux en ce qui a trait à la vie continue et l'utilisation idoine de cette structure. À l'avenir, tout programme de ramassage des ordures, d'entretien d'espaces ouverts, de réparation de la muraille et de reconstruction de bâtiments avoisinants doit être exécuté avec la participation et le soutien directs de la communauté et non contre sa volonté.

Conclusion

La réinvention de la muraille historique, monument abstrait et isolé, et son intégration dans un programme urbain plus vaste, de concert avec la mise en application progressive des plans et des activités décrits ci-dessus, pourront transformer cette structure ensevelie depuis des siècles et oubliée par le développement général de la ville, en un atout culturel et vital pour la modernisation du quartier islamique du Caire. Dans ce contexte, le tourisme constitue une ressource et une opportunité, qui doit être maîtrisée et transformée en une appréciation du monument pour ses qualités intrinsèques et comme avant-cour des quartiers historiques de la ville et de sa communauté. Le défi pour l'avenir consiste à préserver les ruines et la signification réelle de la muraille Ayyoubide, tout en en confirmant et en en forgeant le nouveau rôle pour les années a venir.

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Scientific Committee

Scientific Committee

The Scientific Committee was composed of experts from the field, representatives of the OWHC, the City of Cuzco and the Getty Conservation Institute. Each member has taken an active role in the preparation of the program.

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