PART FOUR

Finding Common Ground: The Role of Stakeholders in Decision Making

Introduction

Brian Egloff

Stakeholders are those individuals, groups, enterprises, agencies, professional organizations, or institutions that in one way or another have an interest in a place or an action. That interest can relate to tangible things or to the implementation of ideas. Implicit in this definition is the notion that there is a sense of shared concern, ownership, or belonging expressed in part as a common value system. Throughout much of the brief history of conservation and archaeology, the involvement of stakeholders has been on a limited and ad hoc basis, with some projects being relatively inclusive and others exclusive. It is fair to say that archaeologists and conservators in many instances are not trend-setters, but in some cases they have gone beyond the limits of contemporary protocols to form inventive relationships with stakeholders. Heritage specialists from Australia, Europe, Latin America, Oceania, and Southeast Asia present their experiences dealing with the diverse and sometimes conflicting plethora of stakeholders and illustrate how conservation outcomes can be achieved and sustained when situated within a framework of shared decision making.

Pisit Charoenwongsa provides us with an example from the Nan Valley in northeastern Thailand of "living heritage," where protection versus tourism in a pending World Heritage locale is all-important. The cultural aspect is considered the thrust of the exercise, but there is an underlying economic imperative to produce returns for villagers in a context of limited resources. Here the conservation of ancient pottery kilns excavated by archaeologists illustrates the need for sustainability that is closely linked to appropriate community training. It is of considerable concern that economic growth and cultural decline often go hand in hand. Of particular interest is the requirement instituted by the king of Thailand that artifacts "should be kept at the place to which they belong." In a similar vein, the *China Principles* recommend that scientific information relating to an archaeological site should be maintained at that place, recognizing that true sharing of decision making is based on equal access, not only to economic resources but to intellectual property as well.

Stakeholders to some extent have always been part of heritage conservation projects; however, all too often they have been involved only in carrying out the manual labor or logistical support, or as interested bystanders. Most noticeable examples of the genuine sharing of decision making have occurred when research that was undertaken in foreign climes required partnerships with nationals of the host country, such as in Mexico.

Rodney Harrison, in the context of a former Aboriginal reserve in New South Wales, focuses on the particular values ascribed to what many would call ordinary sites and artifacts, though these places and things are especially evocative to the dispossessed and their descendants who wish to reassert their heritage. Richard Mackay, in the urban context, advocates that historical archaeology should follow a "values-based approach" and, like Harrison, stresses the tactile and "memory-scape" significance of artifacts.

Invariably, if a place is valued by one stakeholder group for a particular set of qualities, then it will be considered significant by other groups for different reasons. Nowhere is this seen more clearly and intensely than with national and international heritage icons. World Heritage as exemplified by the petroglyphs at Côa Valley in Portugal illustrates many of the conservation challenges that arise from stakeholder involvement with large-scale conservation projects, no matter where they are in the world. António Pedro Batarda Fernandes

and Fernando Maia Pinto question how heritage specialists deal with decision making when hostility to the initiation of the conservation project is likely to continue into the foreseeable future. Local tensions among competing stakeholders, academic jealousies over who will reap the intellectual benefits, conflicting national and regional economic imperatives, and perceptions of an archaeological approach as elitist are just a few of the stereotypical challenges that emerged during the conservation of the Côa Valley archaeological site.

Central to this discussion is the notion of values within the tension-fraught world of land use, urban development, and resource exploitation and the attendant relocation of populations. Increasingly the cultural heritage resource manager has to tread a very narrow line indeed between the needs of government, the development industry, the international funding body, their professional requirements, and, more important, the ethical commitment to the local population. Growing expectations of archaeology to provide financial returns in a world driven by economic rationalism are being realized, as sacred landscapes are returned to Aboriginal communities in southeastern Australia. Brian Egloff is involved in heritage conservation in communities such as these, where the financial stakes are increasing and there is every likelihood that there will be both strong external opposition and dissension within the community if there are not open, established, and transparent avenues of communication.

The archaeology of environmental impact assessments contracted by companies concerns Ángel Cabeza when the projects have the potential to destroy heritage. How heritage specialists in Chile meet the needs of indigenous peoples—be they rural, such as the Aymaras and Atecamenos to the north, or urban dwellers, such as the Mapuche—as a feature of developmental projects is difficult to predict. A transborder situation involving environmental factors and local community needs, including food production, is described by Anabel Ford. Here on the border between Belize and Guatamala, a community group, the Amigos de el Pilar, is committed to the effective management of the Mayan archaeological site within an environmentally sustainable paradigm. Increasingly we see the conservation of cultural heritage being linked to sound natural resource management. Nelly Robles García's telling account of the encroachment of indigenous communities onto the World Heritage landscape at Monte Albán demonstrates another facet of the economic paradigm, where a substantial portion of the population lives in poverty and is seeking to encroach on heritage resources just to meet the daily needs of food and shelter.

From an international perspective, the transfer of power and decision making to stakeholders takes many forms. Recently there has been the realization that groups, particularly indigenous peoples, having been dispossessed in the past, require not only a recognition of their authority but also, and more important, positive economic outcomes. To conserve the heritage, archaeologists, anthropologists, and conservators must meet the challenge of dealing effectively with the shift from providing only short-term employment to a genuine sharing of decision making with diverse communities, including the provision of long-term sustainable economic outcomes.

Conservation, Researchers, and Aboriginal Heritage: A Perspective from Coastal Southeastern Australia

Brian Egloff

Abstract: *Over the past two hundred years Europeans have observed and conducted research with Aboriginal communities and Aboriginals have studied "white fellas." From the perspective of the Aboriginal community at Wallaga Lake on the south coast of New South Wales, it is instructive to chart the various relationships that have obtained between researchers and indigenous groups from 1880 to the present. Commencing with the work of A. W. Howitt, who promoted the revitalization of ceremonial activities, to that of Norman Tindale and Joseph Birdsell in the 1930s that was set within a eugenics paradigm, to more recent research dealing with protected area land management, the various relationships can be demonstrated to provide if not immediate, then certainly long-term information that facilitates the meeting of community heritage conservation needs. The stakes are becoming ever higher as archaeologists and anthropologists provide advice to governments on the return of commercially valuable heritage landscapes to indigenous communities. This paper describes the strengths and weaknesses of recent experiences in Australia when dealing with community heritage conservation in the context of widely publicized legal cases.*

From the inception of anthropological and archaeological field studies in Australia, researchers from various academic disciplines have contributed to Aboriginal studies and the conservation of significant and sacred places through an intimate relationship with indigenous stakeholders. This paper focuses on an Aboriginal community on the south coast of New South Wales in a region of Australia that was affected in the 1830s, early in the colonization process. Until relatively recently it was assumed that the "remnant populations" living on Aboriginal reserves and in the surrounding countryside had little if any understanding of traditional practices or beliefs and could contribute only marginally to conservation efforts. However, due perhaps to a reserve system that placed generations in close proximity to each other, traditional knowledge was transmitted to select younger adults (Egloff [1979] 1981; Lampert and Sanders 1973). It is the retention of this traditional knowledge that supports the assertion by Aboriginal communities that they must be entrusted with the conservation of sacred places, which at times comprise entire landscape systems. Since the 1990s the aspirations of Aboriginal groups have coincided with the intention of the native title agenda of the Commonwealth of Australia and the land rights legislation of New South Wales, both of which seek to restore lands to indigenous groups as a social and economic basis for community betterment. The challenge is to demonstrate that contemporary Aboriginal community members are the rightful inheritors of significant landscapes, as many indigenous groups were either dispersed or translocated en masse from their traditional areas.

In 2001 the Office of the Registrar of Aboriginal Land Rights in New South Wales commissioned a study by Egloff, Peterson, and Wesson (2001) to find out if there were individuals who qualified under the Aboriginal Land Rights Act to be entered on the list of Aboriginal owners of two cultural landscapes, Biamanga and Gulaga National Parks, which were of significance to the Yuin peoples of Wallaga Lake. From that list of Aboriginal owners, the minister administering the act will appoint a panel to negotiate the terms for the return of lands to the community. Once the ownership of the lands is transferred, the Aboriginal council will lease the lands back to the New South Wales National Parks and Wildlife Service for park purposes. The Board of Management of the parks will have a majority of Aboriginal owners. As members of the board, the

owners will have the authority to set community-driven goals that may conflict in some instances with natural heritage conservation objectives. This process is similar in intent to that of the Commonwealth government with respect to Kakadu and Uluru-Katajuta National Parks.

Australian archaeologists and anthropologists are required by the ethical standards of their professional associations as well as by the established protocols of government agencies to work with indigenous communities as an integral part of their research, and thus they are in intimate and prolonged contact with Aboriginals. I argue here that it is an almost unconscious reaction to seek social justice when working closely with indigenous communities that have been demonstrably disadvantaged through historical processes. In more and more instances, archaeologists and anthropologists are called on to provide "expert" services in the expectation that their findings will positively influence the outcome of native title or Aboriginal land rights judicial hearings and will secure social and economic benefits for indigenous communities while also conserving valuable heritage resources. Archaeologists and anthropologists have often sought to balance their work through interdisciplinary perspectives. What is required is a process that both fulfills the requirements of the research project and meets the needs of the indigenous communities, without the outcomes being inadvertently influenced by a social justice agenda. There are instances in which the recommendations of expert heritage specialists, when put to the test, have fallen short, leading to the destruction of heritage resources. Heritage conservation specialists must take steps to ensure that their involvement with stakeholders will not lead to outcomes that jeopardize heritage resources while delivering highly sensitive research results.

Wallaga Lake Aboriginal Community

On the south coast of New South Wales, in the early 1800s, explorers, entrepreneurs, and settlers recorded Aboriginal activities. Systematic census surveys were also undertaken, in some instances by the various Protectors of Aborigines, from the 1830s onward in conjunction with the distribution of blankets on the birthday of Queen Victoria. In the 1880s, ninety years after first contact, the institutionalization of indigenous groups commenced when Aboriginal families were "encouraged" to live at the then isolated reserve at Wallaga Lake. This community is situated adjacent to a coastal lagoon between two dominant landscape features (fig. 1). Gulaga Mountain directly to the north features in the peoples' origin myth; Mumbulla Mountain, to the south, is said to be the dreaming place of Biamanga, a historical elder also known as Jack Mumbler (for photograph, see Egloff [1979] 1981:11). Both mountains hosted secret and sacred ceremonies; they are widely believed to be the ancestral forces that bind the community together and give it strength to survive (Byrne 1984).

In 1893 the Wallaga Lake community played a pivotal role in an initiation ceremony fostered by A. W. Howitt (1904), at that time the police magistrate of Gippsland in eastern Victoria (Mulvaney 1970; 1989:221). Although there is no doubt that his ethnographic studies were unethical by today's standards (Peterson 1990), his voluminous papers, available at the Latrobe Library in Melbourne and the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Straits Islander Studies in Canberra, provide ample opportunity for scholars and community representatives to reinterpret his data.

Norman Tindale's first fieldwork in 1918 was in northern Australia, where he sketched the boundaries of Aboriginal "tribes." When his work was submitted for publication, the editor removed the boundaries as at that time it was widely believed that Aboriginal bands wandered aimlessly over an unbounded landscape. This affront led Tindale throughout his career to pursue the demarcation of "tribal" lands through his continent-wide compendium of Aboriginal group boundaries (Tindale 1974). Tindale arrived at Wallaga Lake shortly after Christmas in 1938 with the then Harvard-based biological anthropologist Joseph Birdsell. Birdsell measured the physical attributes of the residents, and Tindale compiled genealogies while taking photographs of the informants. Their research aimed to document the intermingling of Aboriginal populations with the British settler society. Peterson (1990) puts forward a persuasive case that this research was undertaken in the context of the general concern with eugenics that dominated biological anthropology thinking in the 1920s and 1930s. Today, Tindale's maps of tribal and language distributions are frequently referred to in land claim cases by Aboriginal communities. His genealogies form the basis for family history projects, and the photographs he archived are in many instances the only surviving visual record of previous generations.

Both Howitt and Tindale recorded songs, dances, and phrases in the local dialect during their research, but it was not until the 1960s that linguists systematically recorded the remnants of languages that the elders possessed. This research by Diane Eades (1976), Janet Mathews, and Luise Hercus has been published only in part but is available on computer disc from the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait

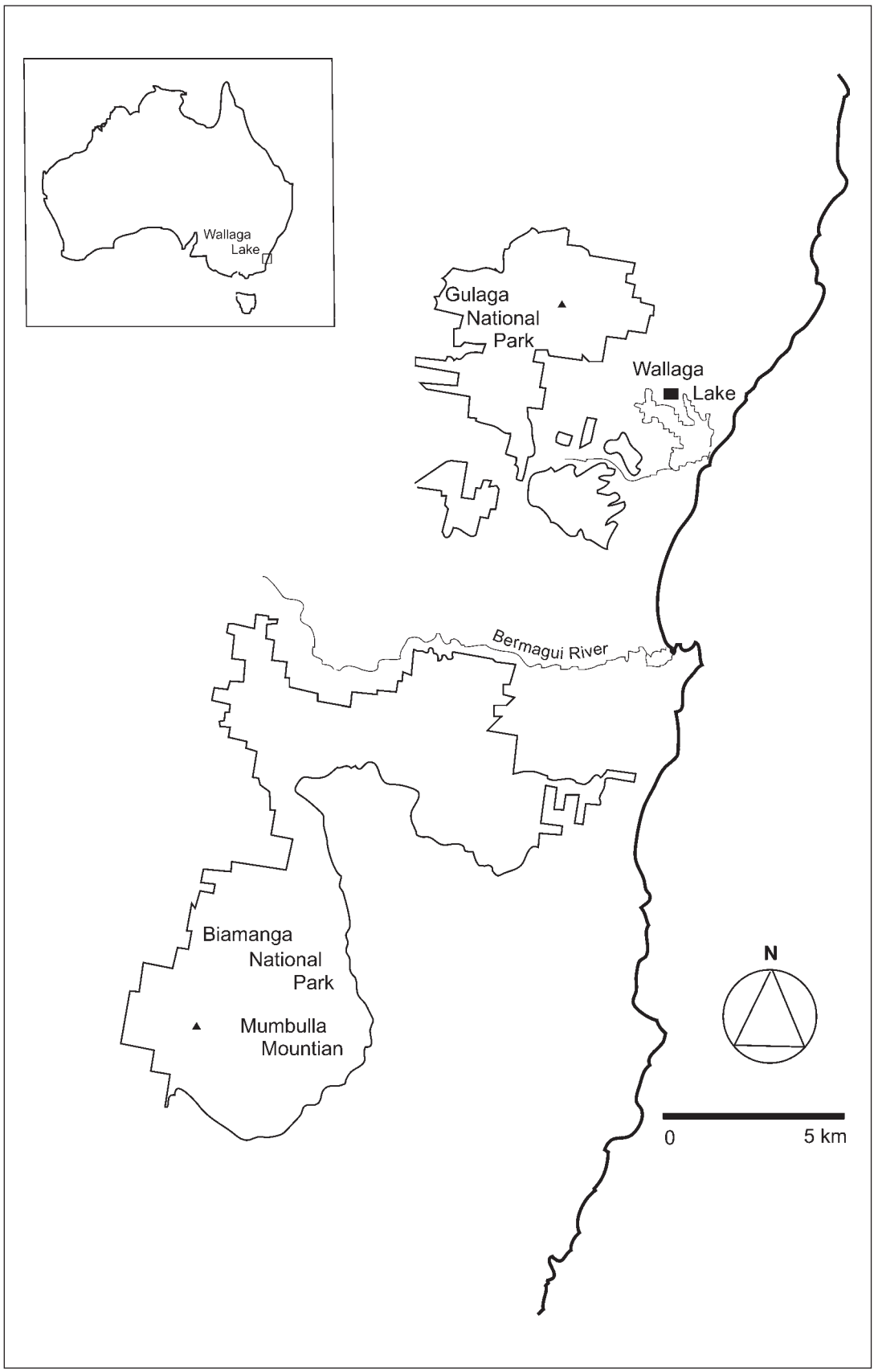

FIGURE 1 Wallaga Lake Aboriginal community with Gulaga National Park and Gulaga Mountain directly to the north and Biamanga National Park and Mumbulla Mountain to the south; far southeastern coast of Australia. Map by Brian Egloff

Islander Studies. The linguistic recordings are being used by Aboriginal elders to revive an interest in the language as it was spoken in the linguistic area that incorporates the Wallaga Lake community.

Traditional Knowledge and Landscapes of Significance

In the late 1970s the National Parks and Wildlife Service in New South Wales, the agency charged with recording and protecting Aboriginal sites, commenced not only the mapping of archaeological sites but also the documentation of sites of particular cultural significance to Aboriginal communities. This work was undertaken by an anthropologist, Howard Creamer (1984), and an Aboriginal park ranger, Ray Kelly (1975), under the direction of Sharon Sullivan, an archaeologist. Their study was continued by an indigenous team from Wallaga Lake led by Ted Thomas, a community elder. By the close of the 1970s, Aboriginal interests also had begun to correspond with the concerns of the green environment movement, although the two forces remained distinctly separate and at times politically opposed. The decade saw increasing pressure on the state government to protect landscapes with high natural and cultural values. One of the first confrontations between the timber industry and Aboriginal and green interests was at Mumbulla State Forest, a short distance south of the Wallaga Lake community. Ted Thomas, who had been working with the Park Service to record and conserve places of significance to the Wallaga Lake community, asserted that Mumbulla Mountain was a place where male initiation ceremonies had been held. This assertion was supported by both anthropological and archaeological research, as well as an archival search that located an unpublished map by Howitt of the 1883 initiation that matched the location and terrain of Mumbulla Mountain (Egloff [1979] 1981; Mulvaney 1970).

In 1980 the culturally significant south-facing side of the mountain and the summit were declared an "Aboriginal Place" and a "Protected Archaeological Area" within the state forest, and in 1994 the site was designated a national park with the addition of various other lands. Mumbulla Mountain was then the central feature of an extensive protected area. This series of events happened in the context, perhaps overly romantic, that for forty thousand or more years Aboriginal people were the "original" conservators of the Australian landscape and that today they should take on this role for the wider community (see Feary and Borschmann 1999).

The Calling of the Spirits (Morgan 1994) is an illustrated account of the life of a member of the Wallaga Lake Aboriginal community who lived in a nearby rural town. Eileen (neé Thomas) Morgan is but one of many Aboriginal authors who in the 1990s wrote an account of what it meant to be Aboriginal. Autobiographies were augmented by biographies of notable Aboriginal personages. Lee Chittick, a local photographer, and Terry Fox, a former priest and community worker, produced a profusely illustrated and fascinating account of Percy Mumbler, a revered elder of the Wallaga Lake community (Chittick and Fox 1997). For the first time there were published accounts by or featuring local Aboriginal people that put a human face on heritage conservation issues. Deborah Rose (1990) drafted a report on the cultural significance of Gulaga Mountain for the Forestry Commission of New South Wales and the New South Wales National Parks and Wildlife Service, focusing on the female component of the community at Wallaga Lake and discussing their interests in the mountain.

Damaged Families and Biased Researchers

Two national inquiries added momentum to the movement to involve indigenous communities in heritage conservation: the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody (Wootten 1991) and the National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from Their Families (Link-up and Wilson 1997). As we move toward transferring the control of substantial heritage landscapes, the political, economic, and social stakes are raised. When the researcher working with the community has seen informants grow from children into adults, strong personal commitments and bonds—and, more important, implied obligations—are forged. Working with Australian Aboriginal communities at times places the researcher in a social environment where the extraordinary imbalance of the haves versus the have-nots is painfully if not tragically apparent. The profound poverty and economic despair that grip families and damage entire generations cannot but influence the researcher. When called as expert witnesses, heritage specialists are presumably to provide fearless and untainted advice. Yet these archaeologists or anthropologists are aware of the injustices of the past and the inability of the legal system to correct those wrongs and provide "social justice" retrospectively. The courts and tribunals have found that heritage specialists may package the past to meet with a perception of community needs. In one instance an overzealous description of an alleged heritage place was described by a tribunal as "puffery."

Returning National Parks

In New South Wales the National Parks and Wildlife Act 1974 (NSW) and the Aboriginal Land Rights Act 1983 (NSW) facilitate the return of protected areas to local Aboriginal land councils. Only Aboriginals meeting the following criteria can have their names listed on the register of Aboriginal owners: the individual is directly descended from the original inhabitants of the culture area in which the land is situated; has a cultural association with the land that derives from traditions, observances, customs, beliefs, or history of the Aboriginal inhabitants of the land; and has consented to the entry of his or her name in the register (Egloff, Peterson, and Wesson 2001:2). The kind of information required to demonstrate direct biological descent from an original inhabitant is sensitive to say the least. Legitimate concerns as well as malicious rumors are raised with respect to the pedigree and the right to "speak for country" of individuals who seek to be listed as Aboriginal owners. It goes without saying that we live in litigious times. Only legally sound research processes will lead to positive outcomes should the findings be tested in court. Heritage conservation issues can be compared to an accordion that expands and contracts. At times the local Aboriginal community can deal with the issue, but in some instances the matter expands and becomes of national or international concern. Inclusive processes and communication are the essence of good heritage conservation practice.

David Ritter, principal legal officer of Yamatji Land and Sea Council, has written extensively on proof and evidence in native title proceedings (Ritter n.d.:at 1850). He stresses that it is not fatal to the case if archaeologists or anthropologists act as advocates, but they must stay within the realm of their expertise. However, at times the court has been critical, as in *De Rose v. South Australia* (at 352) where O'Loughlin states that the researcher providing the expert advice was "too close to the claimants and their cause: he failed to exhibit the objectivity and neutrality that is required of an expert who is giving evidence before the court. Rather he seemed—too often—to be an advocate for the applicants." Ritter emphasizes that the court wishes to hear directly from the bearers of the Aboriginal culture and that the role of experts should not supplant the testimony of community members. On the south coast of New South Wales, the landmark case *Mason v. Tritton,* testing native title and rights to the sea, had been lost to the Aboriginal defendants. In this instance the archaeological report was considered by the magistrate to be in a "strange form," as if "wishing to please the person who had asked for the opinion" (Egloff 2000:202; Strickland 1994).

At the commencement of the Biamanga and Gulaga Aboriginal owners research project, it was considered imperative by the registrar that the researchers not appear to be advocates for any segment of the community. The author, a historical archaeologist who had worked specifically with the Wallaga Lake community since 1978, and Sue Wesson, a geographer with extensive genealogical and family location data, were seen to be associated with certain factions and obviously were emotionally involved with the community. It thus seemed prudent to include in the research team Nicolas Peterson, a social anthropologist who had extensive experience with indigenous land rights in the Northern Territory since the 1970s. A research design seems to have worked wherein the multidisciplinary team consisted of some researchers who were personally close to the Aboriginal community and some who had no previous dealings with the informants or factions of the community.

In Australia there are instances when reports have been drafted by researchers but permission to publish the study has been withheld by Aboriginal communities, rendering the material unavailable for study. Neither the registrar who commissioned the report nor the researchers wanted that to happen with the Biamanga and Gulaga report. Copies of the report have been with the community for two years; issues have been raised, but by and large the questionable parts of the report have been matters of detail that were readily corrected. It was subsequently decided to make the report user-friendly by including historical photographs of members of the Wallaga Lake community. Seeking written permission from the descendants to publish the photographs has entailed numerous visits with members of the community scattered along the south coast. It is apparent that the more contact researchers have over a longer period, the less likelihood there is of their work becoming divisive and controversial (Egloff, Peterson, and Wesson 2005).

Sarah Colley (2002), in an exploration of the recent history of Australian archaeology, documents the ability of some archaeologists to work with communities and promote the objectives of conservation, while other archaeologists have failed, and the heritage resource has either been destroyed or abruptly returned to the community under court order. In the 1980s and 1990s the repatriation of skeletal material and artifact collections raised real questions and divided the Australian archaeological community. Initially the concern was with collections of Pleistocene-dated human remains. A controversial case was taken to court by the Tasmanian Aboriginal community to have La Trobe University return recently

excavated archaeological material. The court order was challenged by the university but was upheld, and the archaeological materials were returned to Tasmania (Colley 2002:xii–xiii).

Conservation Agenda

Once they are deeded to the local Aboriginal land councils, Gulaga and Biamanga National Parks will be leased to the New South Wales National Parks and Wildlife Service to continue as public protected areas. For the most part, the Parks Board of Management will comprise Aboriginal owners who no doubt will adopt a conservation agenda that differs in some respects from current management practices. In anticipation of community needs, the park service has adopted an inclusive management process and has fostered the employment of Aboriginal rangers and park workers. Biamanga and Gulaga National Parks are used for a variety of community purposes, from culture camps to dreaming ceremonies and tourism-linked cultural and natural tours. Yet to be resolved is the extent to which Aboriginal people will be allowed to hunt, fish, and gather wild plants in national parks, contrary to present regulations.

Heritage conservation specialists, be they anthropologists, ethnoarchaeologists, geographers, or historical archaeologists, have long recognized the need for dialogue and partnerships with the people they are studying. Although indigenous communities were involved to some extent with surveys and the excavation of archaeological sites, they did not necessarily determine what was significant about the heritage place or decide how it should be conserved. And seldom have archaeological conservation projects been specifically designed to contribute to the social and economic needs of indigenous communities. Today there is a shift in the power balance as heritage specialists are required to share their knowledge and authority. With the value of heritage conservation still being worked through by Australian communities, it is likely that the specialist will be called on to participate at one time or another in court proceedings. However, a key role of heritage conservation specialists is to keep their employers and Aboriginal community members out of unnecessary court proceedings. Ideally this is best dealt with by having an open, transparent, and inclusive process that extends over an appropriate period. Heritage conservation must be viewed as a process that does not necessarily seek closure or resolution but that is always open-ended and in fact welcomes change. Expanding from sites to places and then to broader landscapes while at the same time being inclusive is difficult at times, as every community speaks with a different voice.

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"It Will Always Be Set in Your Heart": Archaeology and Community Values at the Former Dennawan Reserve, Northwestern New South Wales, Australia

Rodney Harrison

> Yesterday I was at Dennawan and the little bit of a [house] frame is still standing there and I got a bit emotional. . . . I was out there with Arthur Hooper and we went over and he said, "I think this is the place here now, this is where you fellas used to live," and when I walked and stood there I said, "Yes, Arthur, this is the place." You don't feel that just anywhere. You only feel that in special places, and Dennawan is a special place. It will always be set in your heart.
>
> —JUNE BARKER, speaking to the author about the significance of the archaeology of the former Dennawan Reserve, Lightning Ridge, 11 April 2002

Abstract: *This paper presents a perspective of an archaeological site gained through medium- to long-term community-based participatory research with one local Australian Aboriginal community. It is radically different from that which may have emerged from either a social or an archaeological significance assessment, had each been carried out in isolation. At the ruin of the former Dennawan Aboriginal Reserve in far northwestern New South Wales, the living and the dead interact through the humble physical remains of tin cans, broken bottles, and tumbled-down house frames. Drawing on oral accounts of community participants and fine-grained archaeological recording of the remains of the site, this paper reveals the complex relationship among archaeological "relics," local communities, ancestors, and the role of archaeological sites in contemporary local identity building. The participation of community members in archaeological research provided an opportunity for the sensuous nature of local people's active (re-)creation of locality to come into view. This paper argues that archaeologists must engage with those local communities that have custodianship of the places they study to adequately understand and hence manage and conserve the significance of the places.*

Archaeological Sites as Dead Places?

For many archaeologists, it is a common assumption that archaeological sites are "dead" places. The very qualities that define the "Western" aesthetic appreciation of archaeological sites—ruin, decay, fragmentation (Lowenthal 1985; Pearson and Shanks 2001; Shanks 1992)—are the hallmarks of places left behind. Archaeological sites, metaphorically and literally, form artifact crypts, coffins that we reinter for analysis and investigation. To this way of thinking, not only are archaeological sites dead, but they should ideally be static. Hence the concern among archaeologists about understanding and documenting archaeological site formation processes, which are often seen as processes that are destructive of the archaeological record. In 1983 Lewis Binford argued that "the challenge that archaeology offers . . . is to take contemporary observations of static material things and . . . translate them into statements about the dynamics of past ways of life" (20). Archaeologists, following Binford's dictum, have often seen their role as that of expert and interpreter, translating the traces of long-dead sites to educate a passive if not unrecep-

tive public. While archaeological value has been seen to lie in the ability of a site to address technical research questions, the contemporary social value of such places has become increasingly disassociated from archaeologists' assessments and conservation of their heritage value. In cases in which archaeological sites are actively visited, interacted with, and used, there is the potential for such purely "archaeological" conservation agendas to come into conflict with the needs and wishes of stakeholders and local communities.

But as anyone who has ever seen George A. Romero's 1968 horror film, *Night of the Living Dead,* will know, the dead *walk.* In this paper I consider the example of an ephemeral and largely unremarkable archaeological site that plays an active role in the social world of one Australian Aboriginal community. I argue that a "classic" approach to assessing the scientific values associated with this archaeological site would be insensitive to the dynamic and active role that it plays in the life of this local community. A combination of detailed, fine-grained archaeological investigation and deep, participant-observation ethnography precipitates a more holistic understanding of the heritage values associated with the site. Routine archaeological assessments would be inadequate to describe, and hence manage, the significance of such a place.

An Archaeology of Attachment to the Former Dennawan Aboriginal Reserve, Northwestern NSW, Australia

The name "Dennawan" describes a multiplicity of spatially concurrent places (fig. 1). It is principally associated with an unsupervised Aboriginal Reserve, gazetted in 1913 on the site of an earlier camp that had provided an Aboriginal labor force for surrounding sheep ranching properties (fig. 2). At the turn of the nineteenth century Dennawan was a bustling village; built at the junction of two traveling stock routes on the edge of the western NSW pastoral frontier, it contained a hotel and an inn, a shop, a post office, a police station, and a resident Aboriginal population of several hundred people. Dennawan was also an Aborigines Inland Missionary outpost, where the fondly recalled missionary, Miss Ginger, taught children to read and write. Dennawan is an archaeological site on the edge of Culgoa National Park (fig. 3), a place visited and recalled in the present. Dennawan is a place from which Aboriginal people were removed in the 1940s—a symbol of the broader "spatial story" (de Certeau 1984) associated with the NSW Aborigines Protection Board's concentration and segregation strategies of the late 1930s and the 1940s (e.g., Goodall 1996). Dennawan is simultaneously all and more than any of these things. It is an entanglement of genealogies, a place where past, present, and future collapse (for a full description of the history and archaeology of the former Dennawan reserve, see Harrison 2003, 2004; Veale 1997).

My first experiences at Dennawan occurred during a visit to the site with several local Aboriginal people who had either lived or had ancestors who lived at the site in the 1930s. The first thing that struck me was the way people interacted and articulated their relationship with the place in an "archaeological" manner. By this, I mean that it involved interrogating, touching, and talking about the material traces of the former settlement. People also interacted with the place in a formal, performative (Butler 1993) way, which suggested it was more than a dead memorial to the past. Instead, Dennawan emerged through the course of my involvement in recording it not as a dead place but an active site for the contemporary creation of locality, community, and collective identity. While I was mapping the remains of the Reserve, I developed a parallel investigation into the significance of the remains to local Aboriginal people and the way in which that significance manifests itself during visits to the site.

The Living and the Dead

For descendants of the Aboriginal people who used to live on the Dennawan Reserve, the dead often visit the living in dreams. Contemporary Muruwari people have a number of beliefs about relics and their relationship with ancestors that have contributed to the development of Dennawan as a place of pilgrimage. Physical contact of the body or skin with artifacts is considered a way of making a connection with the ancestral past. During visits, especially to precontact archaeological sites, Muruwari people like to rub artifacts such as those of flaked stone against their skin. Vera Nixon explained in an interview:

> When you're rubbing the stones over your skin you can get the feel of—you sort of get the feeling of the spirits coming into your skin somehow or another. I dunno, it's a strange feeling, but it's a good feeling. (DENNAWAN, 18 November 2001)

The belief that ancestors' spirits are associated with the objects they used during their lifetimes structures people's interactions with the remains of the former settlement. A trip

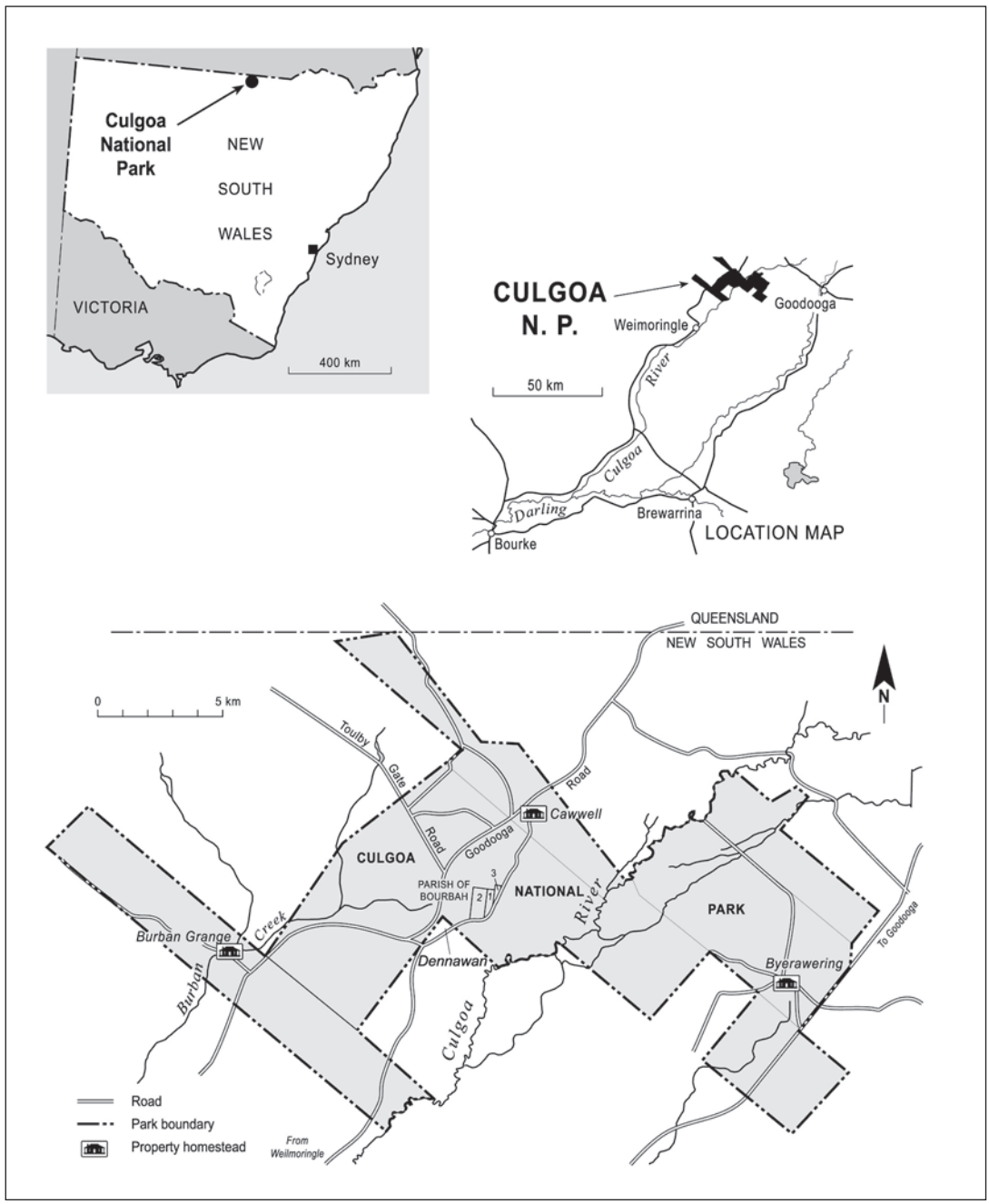

FIGURE 1 Location map showing Culgoa National Park and Dennawan in western New South Wales, Australia. Redrawn from a map prepared by Peter Johnson and published in Harrison 2004

to Dennawan, then, is much more than just an opportunity to learn about the past; it is an opportunity to make direct and intimate contact with it. Josey Byno said:

> When we go and visit the place and see the artifacts that they used to use and the fire there, the oven, we get very emotional. Not only that, there is a special feeling in the air that surrounds us. We can feel that spiritual feeling wherever we go, and we know that they are with us. (DENNAWAN, 18 November 2001)

While it is important for people to be able to touch and interact with the artifacts on site, it is considered dangerous to remove them. People who do this are tormented with bad

FIGURE 2 The Ferguson family at Dennawan in 1936. Standing at rear, Duncan; seated, his wife, Blanche, holding baby Cheeko, with children Gloria, June, and Fred. Reproduced with kind permission of June Barker.

FIGURE 3 The remains of "Granny Bailey's house" on the former Dennawan Reserve in 2002. *(Left to right):* Project collaborators Josey Byno, Arthur Hooper, Dorothy Kelly, and Vera Nixon. Photo: Rodney Harrison

dreams or sickness. In contrast, just being at the site is considered to make Muruwari people feel physically healthy. Arthur Hooper, now in his seventies, noted:

> Ever since I've been coming out here, doing a little bit of work for people, I've been feeling really great. I'm really happy to see the old place again. And my feelings—inside me it's a very glad feeling, I have no worries about anything else. No aches and pains, I just walk around the place for hours and hours without getting tired. (DENNAWAN, 18 November 2001)

The ability of the place to effect change on the bodies of Muruwari people is an important facet of the spirituality and significance of the former Dennawan Reserve. These corporeal influences are intimately tied to various spiritual associations with the former settlement, in particular, the slippage between post-1930 associations with Aborigines Inland Mission Christian missionaries and older, deeper associations with *wiyrigan* (medicine men) and *miraaku* and *miraga* (spirits). This slippage creates a certain denseness of experience that is felt by Muruwari people in the present when visiting the archaeological site, which they have increasingly done on a regular basis, especially over the past ten to twenty years.

Archaeology

Technical detail obtained from fine-grained differential GPS recording is being integrated with anecdote and memory in the mapping of the archaeological remains at Dennawan to produce a multivocal, textured representation of the archaeological record and to provide insights into a shared past (figs. 4–7). An artifact database linked to a hand-held computer and differential GPS has been used to record all of the eight thousand artifacts and structural features at the site to a horizontal accuracy of ±4 centimeters. Digital audio recordings taken in the field have been captured as a separate layer and integrated into the GIS. Oral accounts and archaeological mapping have been combined to develop integrated data sources on which to base an interpretation of the archaeology of the former Reserve. The site recording was undertaken during

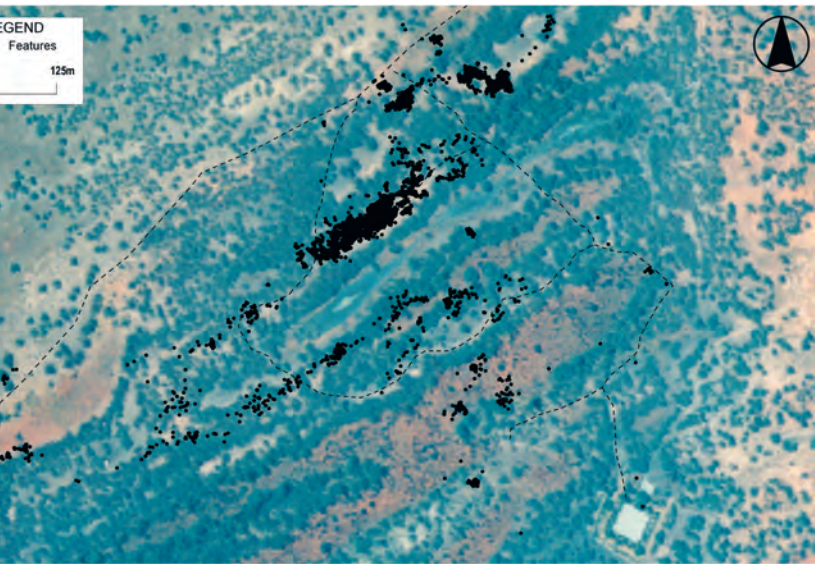

FIGURE 4 GIS map showing the locations of features recorded during the archaeological survey in 2001–2. Features include broken bottle glass, tin cans, wooden posts, and corrugated iron sheeting (for more detail, see Harrison 2004:chap. 8). Courtesy of Rodney Harrison

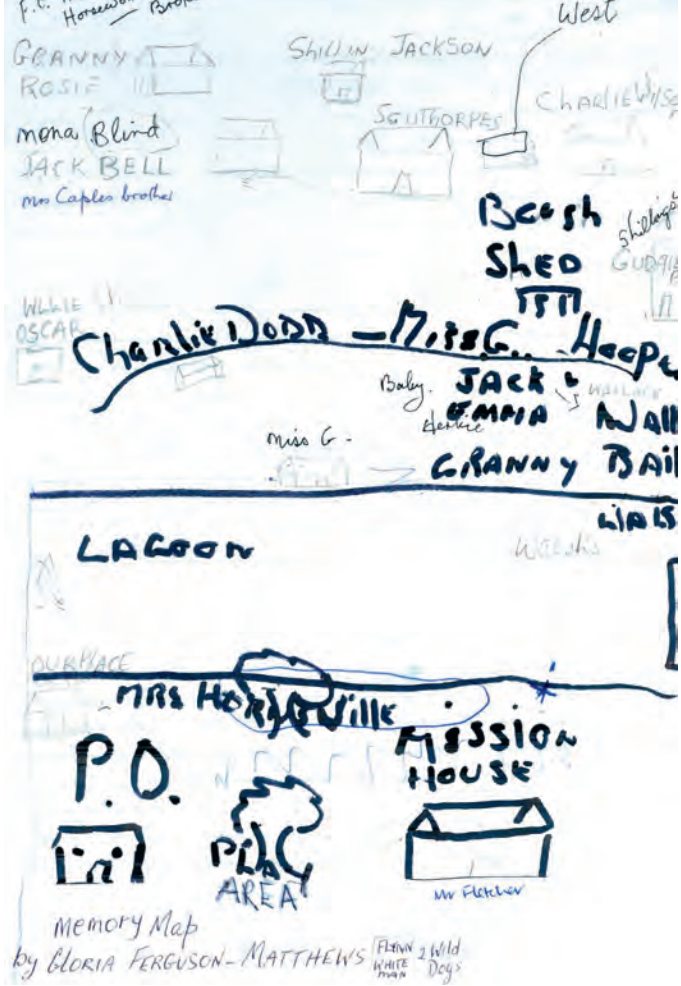

FIGURE 5 Gloria Matthews's "memory map" of the former settlement, drawn in late 2002. Gloria lived at Dennawan during the late 1930s and has vivid memories of the settlement as it existed at that time. Reproduced with kind permission of Gloria Matthews.

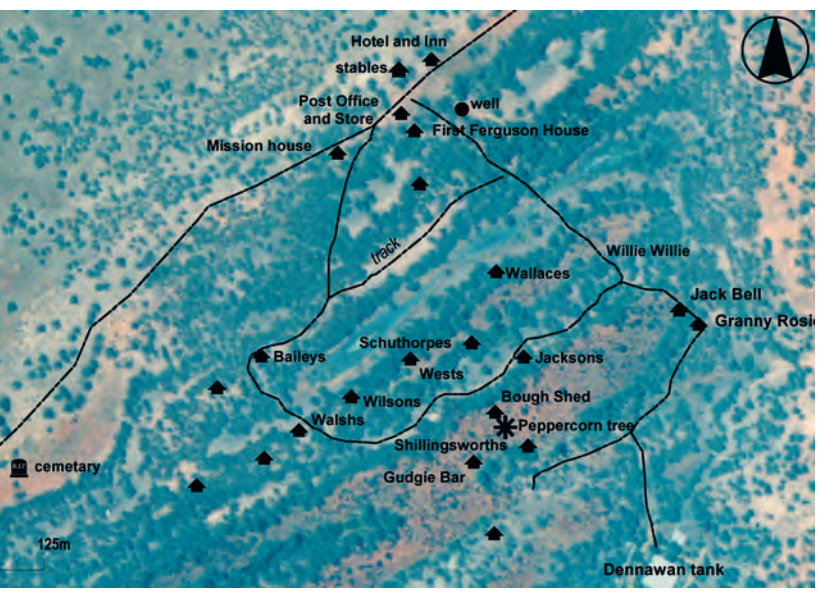

FIGURE 6 The information from Gloria Matthews's map combined with the results of archaeological field survey reveals an individual memoryscape. The physical remains of the settlement serve for contemporary Muruwari people as a mnemonic for remembering the dead and a focus for the active creation of locality and collective identity. Courtesy of Rodney Harrison

FIGURE 7 Detail of the scatter of archaeological remains near one of the former residences at Dennawan, showing tin can, enameled milk jug, and kerosene tin. These humble archaeological remains are imbued with immense emotional and spiritual significance for Muruwari people. The significance of such artifacts emerges only in dialogue between archaeology and oral history. Photo: Rodney Harrison

multiple field trips over a period of approximately eighteen months. This relatively protracted period of investigation was important for allowing the community the longer time frames they required to engage collaboratively and in a considered way with the research, and it was an important part of the project methodology.

Understanding the Significance of the Former Dennawan Reserve

The archaeology of the former Dennawan Reserve has much information to contribute regarding the relatively hidden histories of Aboriginal pastoral labor camps in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in Australia. However, the ruins of the former Reserve are much more than a source of information to local Muruwari people; they represent instead the focus for a program of shared, collective memorialization of the past. The artifacts that remain on the former Reserve are invested with intense emotional and spiritual power. They form the conduit for controlled interactions between the spirit and human worlds and between past and present. Instead of ceasing to exist after its abandonment, Dennawan continues to hold power and fascination for Muruwari people as a place where local traces and memories persist, challenging and actively assisting in the creation of the past and the present. It does this as much through the mutual involvement of people and objects, which both evoke and create collective memories, as through their absence or decay. Place and trace provide creative opportunities for citation, quotation, and montage (Pearson and Shanks 2001). For Muruwari people, Dennawan is past *and* future. Each trip to Dennawan represents an opportunity to excavate a "place of buried memory" (Küchler 1999; Leslie 1999:108).

This social-archaeological significance of Dennawan is unlikely to have registered under a conventional archaeological significance assessment. Though that approach may have involved community consultation (Byrne, Brayshaw, and Ireland 2001), leading to a recognition of the historical significance of Dennawan to Muruwari people, I think it is unlikely that the intimate, sensual relationship between people and objects at Dennawan would have become evident in the absence of either the detailed archaeological study or deeper ethnographic research. This emerged in the context of detailed archaeological fieldwork and the protracted engagement of the community with the archaeological project and participant observation in moving across and interacting with the place. Other authors have described the protracted engagement of local community members with archaeologists recording sites in a region as "story-trekking" (e.g., Green, Green, and Neves 2003), and this marriage of the recording of individual "landscape biographies" (Harrison 2002), oral history, and field survey is emerging in community-based archaeological research as an integral method for articulating the role of archaeological resources in contemporary local social relations (see also Byrne and Nugent 2004). This provides a challenge to heritage managers, who make routine archaeological and social significance assessments but tend not to investigate the significance of these areas in tandem with one another.

Outcomes of Increased Stakeholder Participation in Archaeology in Australia and Implications for Conservation

The outcomes of increased stakeholder participation in archaeology in Australia have important implications for conservation in ways that are broadly relevant to archaeology worldwide. I would argue that the kind of collaborative community archaeological research discussed here has real conservation outcomes in terms of developing a more holistic understanding of the contemporary values of archaeological sites. Dennawan's significance lies neither in its scientific significance as an archaeological site nor in its historic or social significance to the local community but at the interface of archaeology and community. It is the deep layering of memory and attachment, and the complex structuring of the archaeological record that emerges in dialogue with contemporary accounts of local people, from which the significant values of Dennawan can be surmised.

There are a number of more general outcomes of increased stakeholder participation in archaeology in Australia, a point that has been noted by a number of authors over the past ten years, during which time communities have become increasingly vocal about their rights to be involved in the conservation of archaeological places (e.g., Byrne 2002, 2003; Byrne, Brayshaw, and Ireland 2001; Clarke 2000, 2002; Davidson, Lovell-Jones, and Bancroft 1995; Davison 1991; Godwin and L'Oste-Brown 2002; Greer 1996; McIntyre-Tamwoy 2002; Ross and Coghill 2000). I have summarized a number of these outcomes in a paper written with two of my colleagues (Greer, Harrison, and McIntyre-Tamwoy 2002). Where community stakeholders have been involved in setting the research agenda for archaeological research projects, focus shifts to

- the recent, remembered past and the "entangled," "cross-cultural" nature of historic heritage places;
- the role of "locally significant" heritage places as part of the active creation of community and as integral components of local, social identity (as opposed to the "national" heritage of the state, which archaeologists and other heritage practitioners might emphasize);
- understanding what local communities actually "use" heritage for and how archaeology specifically can be used by communities; and
- the way in which the past is socially constructed, and contested, by different stakeholders.

All of these approaches that community stakeholders bring to archaeology not only benefit heritage conservation through the development of a more holistic understanding of the significance of places but also challenge archaeology to produce new research to meet community needs and interests. I think such a diverse mix of approaches is healthy for the discipline of archaeology, not only in stimulating new and often exciting lines of research, but also in reminding archaeologists of the various stakeholders who hold interests in the pasts they study (e.g., Layton 1989a, 1989b; McBryde 1991).

In the case of Dennawan, social beliefs about the relationship between objects and the dead also dictated, to a large extent, that archaeological investigation should be nonintrusive. Communities are increasingly calling for archaeologists to develop new, innovative, nondestructive ways of working with archaeological sites. At Dennawan, I was able to employ some of the new spatial technologies associated with differential GPS and GIS. Again, I think such calls from stakeholders also have positive spin-offs in challenging archaeologists to develop methods of archaeological investigation that conserve the archaeological resource but still answer archaeological research agendas.

Conclusion: Rubbish or Relic? Object Lessons and the Archaeology of the Tin Can

The humble archaeological remains at Dennawan belie the intensity of the local people's emotional attachments to the site and its relics. With its ephemeral archaeological remains and piles of tin cans and other "rubbish," Dennawan is clearly not the sort of archaeological site that would have attracted much attention under an archaeological or cultural heritage management discourse that focuses on the deep prehistoric past or prominent built structures such as the remains of early pioneering infrastructure. I would argue that people throughout the world have similar, hidden relationships with the archaeological sites we assess regularly as dead places. But we cannot presume to manage the multitude of values that communities attribute to these places by considering them "dead." Local communities create archaeological sites as much as we create them through our archaeological interpretations. Sometimes the dead walk among us.

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Community-based Archaeological Resource Management in Southeast Asia

Pisit Charoenwongsa

Abstract: *This paper emphasizes the importance of implementing a community-based approach to heritage management for projects in Southeast Asia. With reference to living heritage, it is vital that the people have substantial input into how their cultural heritage is maintained. This point is illustrated in a case study of a new project in Nan province, northern Thailand, in which a community-based approach is being applied in both the excavation and postexcavation processes. By designating much of the province an integrated cultural and natural landscape with Thai National Heritage Site status, the archaeological and geographic features can be protected for generations to come. Main issues include the ongoing debate about preservation versus tourism and development; stressing methods of protection rather than ownership of cultural property; and the relationship between practical archaeology and preservation of the archaeological resource through stakeholder involvement in Southeast Asia. As a number of countries in Southeast Asia lack funding and material resources, it is imperative that they apply sustainable systems for successful heritage management. This discussion could be broadened to encompass social and economic approaches to heritage preservation across Southeast Asia.*

The destruction and depletion of cultural heritage is easily understood as a consequence of rapid development. Accordingly, conservation—the safeguarding of sites—is viewed as a process contradictory to development. The inclusion of the Nan and Wa Basin Integrated Cultural and Natural Landscapes of Northern Thailand on the country's tentative World Heritage List by the Thai Committee on the Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage provided an encouraging opportunity to bring awareness of the built and material heritage and its significance to the local people.

For the first time in Thailand, Nan province played host to an archaeological program initiated by a broad range of people: community members, with technical assistance from staff of SEAMEO-SPAFA (Regional Centre for Archaeology and Fine Arts in Bangkok, Thailand) and UNESCO, university professors, private sector employees, and government officers, including the provincial governor. Another interesting project, involving the excavation of a site initiated by a Thammasat University professor, is the focus of this paper. It is hoped that this project, in a lesser-known area of the Royal Kingdom of Thailand, will prevent damage to and the loss of other endangered heritage resources.

The Nan Project: Secrets of Its Success

At Bo Suak, Nan province, excavations were conducted in 1999 by Sayan Prishanchit, a Thammasat University lecturer, on private land with the consent of the owner. Two mounds turned out to be ceramic kilns dated between 500 and 750 B.P. Fortunately, the kilns were in perfect condition and provided a great deal of information. Therefore, as this was archaeologically rich terrain and acknowledging the fact that Nan is one of the poorest provinces in Thailand, it was agreed that a community-based archaeological project would be set up in the area.

The aim of this project was the creation of "living heritage," named after ICCROM's Living Heritage Sites program, whereby a community-based approach is applied to heritage site management. In this case, the provisional "Nan Project" includes the following:

- providing people with the appropriate in-community training to become on-site participants with archaeologists; and
- continuity of indigenous culture to be maintained through the promotion and trade of handicrafts, textiles, foods, and other local products.

In both cases, decent incomes and higher self-esteem should be gained in the long term, which can develop local people's confidence in offering skills and knowledge of their own accord.

The sustainability of preserving Nan province's cultural heritage is being reviewed by the Office of the National Committee on the Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage of Thailand. In the Nan project there had to be a relationship between preservation and the ways in which practical archaeology is carried out. Not only was it fortuitous in being able to secure permission to excavate on private land, but the owner was enthusiastic at every stage of the development, taking a cultural rather than a financial interest.

The Nan project has been successful for the following reasons:

- Volunteers were welcome at any time to work with archaeologists.
- Working with archaeologists has given local people greater understanding of this practical skill and has also created an appreciation of heritage issues, such as development and conservation.
- During excavation, the site was made accessible to the public to view the archaeological work.
- The land, originally privately owned, is now in the public domain, so that there are greater opportunities for decision making with regard to the cultural and natural aspects of Nan.

The site area was gradually improved. First a shelter was placed over the kilns; then a wooden building, disassembled from old wooden houses by local workers, was constructed to house some ceramic collections and was used as a venue for seminars. It was designed by an architecture student and built according to the local Lanna (northern Thai) style as instructed by local experts.

In addition, the site became better known and was used as a teaching and learning center for ceramics and the general archaeology and history of northern Thailand, especially after the visits of HRH Princess Galyani, the king's elder sister, in 1999, and HRH Crown Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn in 2001.

After five interesting and productive years at Nan, the site remains a small-scale and innovative project. No outstanding problems have been encountered. A subdistrict administrative organization saw the possibility of developing another community-based archaeological center when another kiln site was located nearby; however, this plan has not received public support.

Factors in the Implementation of the Nan Project

Three groups prompted this new community-based approach to archaeological resource management. All needed to be redirected in their attitudes toward this subject.

The Community

Previously, local people would have been sidelined in the sociological and environmental decisions made concerning their land. Poverty is a prominent problem in Southeast Asia. One crucial step in creating awareness and instilling appreciation of cultural heritage was to promote its economic and educational benefits for the community. With the assistance of major institutions such as the World Bank, conservation should become a welcome activity in the province, as it will help to alleviate poverty and rescue people from social exclusion.

Developers

Modern development, on and in heritage sites or areas, is expanding in Southeast Asia at an alarming rate. This trend is the prime suspect in the damage and disappearance of heritage resources in this region. Those Southeast Asian countries with the money and materials to engage in modern development are striving for economic growth; the inadvertent result is a cultural decline. This scenario can be observed elsewhere in the world. The most blatant ignorance encountered in this situation is the attitude of the developer who can see only an "ancient pile of bricks" standing in the way of a new multimillion-dollar shopping complex.

Economics are the guiding force in modern development, but heritage issues and the views of the local community should also be highly valued. Currently, archaeology is expected to deal with much of this emphasis on conservation. In fact, heritage resources, when managed appropriately, can also be used for economic benefit, since they may have much longer life spans than modern structures and materials.

As communities in heritage areas are inevitably affected by modern development, they can provide the necessary link of understanding between conservators and developers. More important, they can participate in projects by contributing valuable personal information on matters of heritage.

Academics

Academics tend to have an insular and narrow view of archaeological resource management. Moreover, generally they do not seek interaction with the community involved, and they have a limited view of the cultural issues that are at stake. In Southeast Asia, this occurs because of an education system that fails to teach the value and significance of the built heritage such as temples and other ancient monuments and material heritage such as ceramics, textiles, and ancient artifacts.

However, direct and fulfilling approaches to conservation issues were achieved at Nan with the necessary interaction provided for the community by SEAMEO-SPAFA and UNESCO.

Final Comments

In addition to developing an appreciation for the history and value of a heritage site, the Nan people were imbued with a sense of pride in the archaeological work conducted at Nan and enjoyed talking with television and radio media about it. They were impressed with the detective work and felt that touching the artifacts was a special experience. They felt a greater sense of ownership and wanted all finds to be kept in Nan as testimony of their local history. Without knowing it, their sentiment coincides with the statement made by His Majesty King Bhumibol Adulyadej in 1957 that "artifacts and art objects should be kept at the place to which they belong," despite the fact that such finds have to be relinquished to the appropriate authority.

The Antiquity Act of Thailand states in chapter 24 that no one can claim ownership of any finds either buried or concealed and/or abandoned at any place in the country or its specified economic zone. Moreover, finds automatically become state property regardless of who owns the land on which they were found. The finder of such artifacts has to deliver them to a competent authority, either an administrative officer or a police officer under the criminal procedure code. The finder is entitled to a reward of one-third of the value of such property. In this case, the owner is considered the legal custodian.

What does the future hold for Nan archaeology? Among other developments, a postgraduate student from Thammasat University is now conducting his own research into the use of the site as an informal educational center.

Finally, the Nan community, with typical Thai warmth and courtesy, welcomes visitors. And the community now understands the term *boraanakhadii* (archaeology).

Adaptive Management and the Community at El Pilar: A Philosophy of Resilience for the Maya Forest

Anabel Ford

Abstract: *Resource management and conservation are palpable themes of the day. Nowhere is this more keenly felt than the Maya forest, one of the world's most biodiverse areas and among the last terrestrial frontiers. Over the next two decades this area's population will double, threatening the integrity of the tropical ecosystems with contemporary development strategies. Curiously, the Maya forest was once home to a major civilization with three to nine times the current population of the region. The forest survives and demonstrates resilience to the impact of human expansion. This paper discusses the El Pilar Program, which argues that there are lessons to be learned from the past. Over the past ten years, the program has forged new ground in testing novel strategies for community participation in the conservation and development of the El Pilar Archaeological Reserve for Maya Flora and Fauna. The program touches major administrative themes of global importance: tourism, natural resources, foreign affairs, and rural development and education. Yet its impacts go further. Working with traditional forest gardeners affects agriculture, rural enterprise, and capacity building. There are few areas untouched by the program's inclusive sweep, and more fields have the potential to contribute to its future.*

The El Pilar Archaeological Reserve for Maya Flora and Fauna is a site that spans the contemporary borders of Belize and Guatemala (fig. 1); it involves a number of partnerships, the most important of which is that with the communities surrounding the site. The primary objectives of the El Pilar Program are research, development of a binational tourist destination of Maya history and environmental education, support of local and community leadership from enterprise development to sustainable growth, and promotion and preservation of the living legacy and history of the Maya and how the forest became a garden. The El Pilar Program argues there are lessons to be learned from our past, particularly with respect to managing natural resources.

Understanding the Culture of the Maya Forest

The issue of resource conservation has accompanied humankind throughout time. Resource limits have been identified in the archaeological record and recorded in historical documents and are measured exhaustively today. Archaeological research on prehistoric civilizations, including that of the Maya forest, has provided an appreciation of past strategies of managing resources.

The magnificent Maya civilization of Mesoamerica was once a flourishing farming society. The Maya prospered over many millennia by using forest-dwelling animals and plants and adapting domesticated crops to their tropical habitat. By doing so, they met their basic needs and managed environmental assets while recognizing environmental limitations.

Today, population increase, deforestation, monoculture farming strategies, and Old World methods of pasture and plow are bringing the Maya forest to yet another threshold. The Maya forest of Mesoamerica is a biodiversity hot spot, ranked second of twenty-five endangered regions by Conservation International (Mittermeier, Myers, and Mittermeier 2000), and current projections for the region are ominous. The population is predicted to double over the next twenty years, further straining resources. Yet this region was home to the ancient Maya civilization, whose population was three to nine times the current level, a civilization that has left clues that hold great potential for developing a strategy to manage the complex habitats of today's forest.

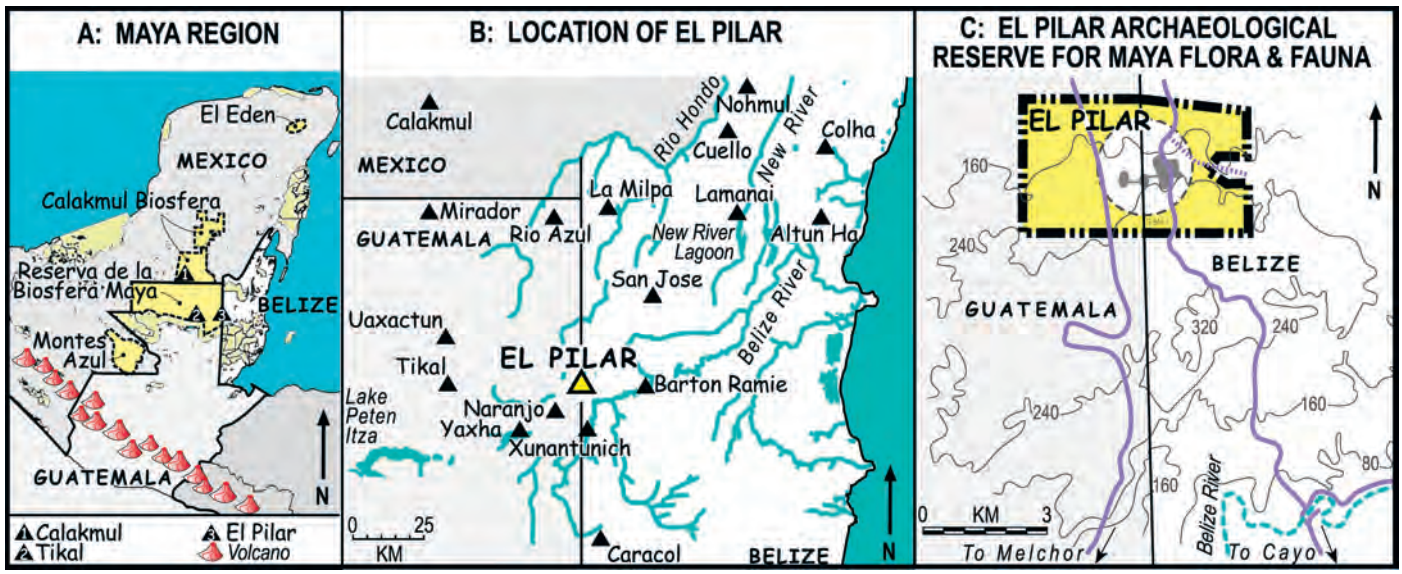

FIGURE 1 Regional, local, and site-specific scales of El Pilar.
Courtesy of BRASS/El Pilar Program

The Maya Forest as a Garden

The composition of the Maya forest today is reminiscent of the Maya people's complex relationship with nature. More than 24,000 types of plants have been identified in the region, 5,000 of which are endemic. This diversity combined with evaluations of species similarity suggest a homogeneous composition wherein widely spaced areas share 53 to 71 percent of the plant species (Campbell et al. 1995). This is dramatically different from the Amazon, where study plots rarely have more than 10 percent of species in common (Balée and Campbell 1998; Campbell 1989, 1994, 1998). The Maya forest's great diversity and general homogeneity are combined with a high economic component, with up to 90 percent of the plants listed as useful (Campbell, Walker, et al. 1995; Campbell, Ford, et al. in press). This suggests that human systems played an important role in the development and maintenance of the Maya forest (Atran 1990, 1993; Moran 1993).

Linguistic terms in the Mayan language speak to traditional knowledge of the forest and describe a continuum of its economic qualities (Barrera Vásquez 1995). *Kanan K'ax* describes a "well cared for" forest, evoking the concept of management, yet the verb *kanan* signifies both "care for" and "learn" in the Yucatecan Mayan language family, a recognition of the changing dynamics of an adaptive cycle in ecology. *Ka'kab K'ax* indicates a forest with good agricultural soil quality, reflecting a subtle appreciation of the environment (Atran 1993; Atran et al. 1999). If human interventions selectively graded the species' composition of the Maya forest to favor economic needs over four millennia, how might an understanding of this relationship shape conservation efforts today?

The first step is to study the rise of the Maya civilization in light of the traditional farmers of the forest today. An analog of forest structure itself (Senayake 2003), traditional polycultivation in the tropics minimizes instability and degradation and integrates labor techniques that maximize production (Bray 1994; Gomez Pompa 1990; Gomez Pompa and Kus 1998; Mollison 1988). The result is a mosaic land use strategy tailored to local economic needs: the Maya forest as garden (Nigh 1995, 1997). Heterogeneous and biodiverse, tropical forest gardens constituted the strength of the Maya community in the past, as they do today (Tzul 2001), by relying on the traditional knowledge of local farming households. The El Pilar Program is working alongside communities to explore and promote the traditional forest garden as an alternative to extensive land-use strategies.

Community Participation and the Development of the El Pilar Archaeological Reserve for Maya Flora and Fauna

Deep forest jungle sequestered the vestiges of Maya city monuments and houses after their demise around A.D. 900, until the 1830s when curious Western explorers entered the region (Stephens 1969). Since then, the area has drawn scholars who have been conducting research that fills university library bookshelves. Regional leaders, schools, and organizations in the Maya forest have come to recognize the educational vacuum that exists with regard to their own area and history. The El Pilar Program focuses on this void and is encouraging local communities to use, protect, and understand how they contribute to the Maya forest's evolution (Ford and Miller 1994, 1997; Wernecke 2000–2001; cf. Fagan 2003) as well as participate in and learn from the archaeological research at El Pilar.

The El Pilar Vision Unfolds: Community Involvement

In 1992 the Belize Department of Archaeology spearheaded the initial investigations at El Pilar. With the government's support, in 1993 the El Pilar Program commenced a full-scale investigation (see Appendix 1). Insights gained from detailed surveying, mapping, and extensive excavations over ten seasons have established the foundation for an innovative approach to participatory conservation and development efforts in the Maya forest (Ford 1998; Ford and Montes 1999; Ford and Wernecke 2001; Girardin 1999).

As work at the site gained momentum, local community members in Belize expressed interest in the research and investigations at El Pilar. In 1993, with the El Pilar Program's assistance, the local villagers established Amigos de El Pilar (AdEP). AdEP identified its mission: foster community partnerships in the creation and management of El Pilar, develop new livelihood opportunities, promote sustainable income generation geared to the growing ecotourism industry, and promote education on the preservation of natural and cultural resources (see www.interconnection.org/elpilar).

Since its inception AdEP has made significant strides. Working with national and international leaders, AdEP participated in the creation of protected area boundaries in 1995, and applauded the official designation as the El Pilar Archaeological Reserve for Maya Flora and Fauna (EPAR) in Belize and Guatemala in 1998. This new legal status would have significant influence over the future of El Pilar and the community and was vital in expanding local involvement and support.

With Ford Foundation funds, regional program advocates were formally incorporated as the El Pilar Program (Appendix 1). In Belize, Anselmo Castañeda, a natural resource conservationist, focuses on local and regional environmental issues. In Guatemala, José Antonio Montes, an international lawyer, concentrates on legal and political processes. Castañeda's interest in ecological sustainability and Montes's appreciation of international law transformed the team into the binational program it is today. This new dynamic infused AdEP with new internal organizational ability and external visibility. The El Pilar Program helped to develop a website for El Pilar in 1997 that highlights the community's collaborative efforts and provides updates of research and management activities.

As the community's relationship with the El Pilar Program matures, AdEP is focusing its activities on its mission and becoming independent (Awe 2000a, 2000b). Not only does AdEP have its own vision of how its relationship with El Pilar should develop, it is gaining the capacity to translate its vision into tangible results. As an income-generating strategy related to environment and tourism, AdEP developed the Masewal Forest Garden Trail in 1999. This 1.5-kilometer visitor trail, which highlights ornamental and medicinal plants as well as the nursery, was created with the assistance of Raleigh International volunteers (fig. 2).

Through their own spirit and dedication and grants and support from the network of the El Pilar Program, AdEP opened the Be Pukte Cultural Center in 1998 (fig. 3), a forum for AdEP's meetings and a place to feature handcrafted items, publications, and information on El Pilar. The center has evolved to host community activities related to education, ceremonies, presentations, and meetings, as well as cultural events and natural resource training.

Education in the Maya Forest

Educational outreach is an important way to build both a foundation of community support and a leadership base for AdEP. The El Pilar Program, now fully composed of community, research, and management entities (see Appendix 2), coordinates a variety of field and community endeavors and has made it a priority to develop local environmental and conservation education curricula.

Community education got under way during the early years with meetings and workshops in which various aspects of conservation and development were addressed. In 1995 three workshops were arranged to train the local community

FIGURE 2 Community collaborators Raleigh International at the Masewal Forest Garden and Reinas El Pilar Lakin and Chikin. Courtesy of BRASS/El Pilar Program

in resource development and management. To familiarize AdEP with other archaeological sites, a series of mobile workshops, or *talleres,* were organized. Participants visited six major archaeological sites in the Mundo Maya (Maya World, a transnational concept encompassing Mexico, Guatemala, El Salvador, Belize, and Honduras) in 1999–2000 to evaluate community and reserve strategies and development options.

Through a series of workshops between the government and AdEP, innovative education programs at the university level have also begun.

Managing One Resource in Two Countries

One of the challenges facing the El Pilar Program is its binational character. Local education has increased El Pilar's visibility within the community and acted as a catalyst for AdEP to begin building a presence at the regional, national, and international levels. In 1995 AdEP President Marcos Garcia discussed the group's interests with key officials in ministry and department offices in the Belize capital of Belmopan. In 1996 Garcia represented the community at a binational government-sponsored workshop, Encuentro El Pilar. As part of this first region-wide workshop focused on El Pilar, participants had the opportunity to visit El Pilar and see its potential. They identified goals aimed at the formal protection of El Pilar in both Belize and Guatemala.

The collaboration of communities, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and students has borne results. In 1998 AdEP joined with a Belizean NGO, Help for Progress, to develop a successful partnership between Belize and Guatemala, as well as the improvement of conservation endeavors at El Pilar (www.helpforprogress.org).

By 1998 protective reserves had been established around El Pilar in both countries. During successive international roundtable workshops (Mesa Redonda I, II, and III; fig. 4), the administration and management of the contiguous reserves was established. A permanent organization on the Guatemalan side, Amigos de El Pilar, Melchor, was officially registered in 2000 to set the institutional framework for true cross-border management.

To further the spirit of the cross-border alliance, a cooperative association was established between AdEP-Belize and AdEP-Guatemala to undertake full organizational responsibility for the Fiesta El Pilar. Under their administration, new ideas are being incorporated into the fiesta. In 2001, for example, two Reinas El Pilar were selected to pose as El

FIGURE 3 Growth of the Amigos de El Pilar cultural center. The 1995 *galeria (top left),* the 1998 Be Pukte *(top right),* the 2000 interior *(bottom left),* and the 2003 Cultural Center and Café *(bottom right)*. Courtesy of BRASS/El Pilar Program

Pilar Chikin and Lakin (see fig. 2), or West and East, symbolically dissolving political boundaries (Awe 2000a, 2000b). As of 2002, members of AdEP refer to themselves as "AdEP Lakin" and "AdEP Chikin," further transcending boundaries and affirming new alliances.

The Way Forward

There is reason to look forward to greater opportunities. Major international agencies have invested resources in the El Pilar process (Ford 2001). As the visibility of El Pilar increases, new interests and opportunities are emerging, and regional and international agencies are now looking to increase their stake in El Pilar.

Demonstrating and advocating the conservation-tourism model is only the beginning of a larger process. Rethinking traditional and even progressive strategies aimed at providing local communities with entrepreneurial skills will need to be addressed in the ongoing project of sustainable and profitable ecotourism development. Although well established, the institutional framework of the El Pilar vision is still fragile. As investments are made and risks are appreciated, the unity between AdEP and the local community creates opportunities for El Pilar. Each new external link that is forged reinforces AdEP's internal organizational structure. The process is deliberate, however, and needs attention if AdEP is to keep pace with faster marketing schedules.

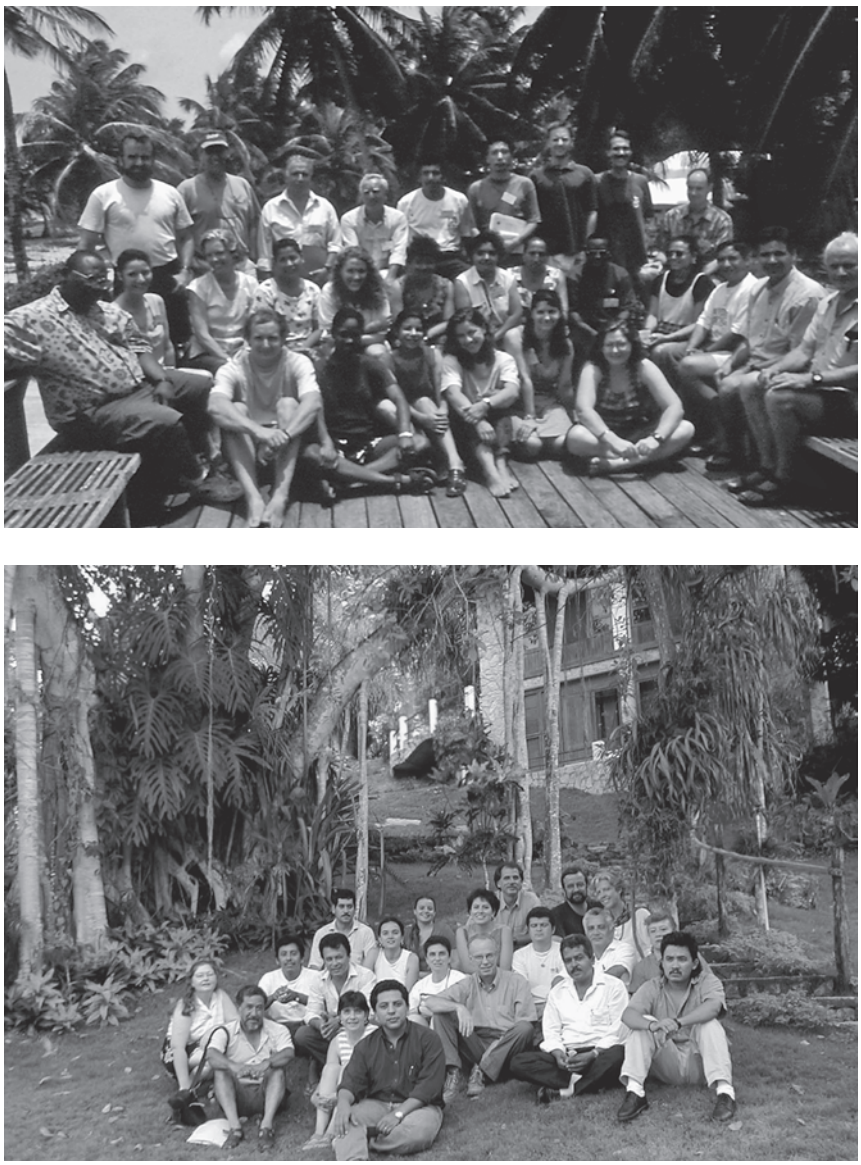

FIGURE 4 Consensus building with the Mesa Redonda El Pilar. The core group of MRII in 1998 at Rum Point Belize *(top)* and MRIII at Remate Guatemala *(bottom)*. Courtesy of BRASS/El Pilar Program

Reflections

The achievements and progress that have been made at El Pilar since its beginnings in 1992 are the result of an ever-expanding network of collaborators. Supported by annual funding efforts, the El Pilar Program has established an eclectic base (see Taylor-Ide and Taylor 2002).

The El Pilar vision is not static. As EPAR and its surrounding communities evolve, there will be adjustments; as more people visit the site each year, the vision grows. A commitment lies at the core of the El Pilar Program—the commitment to uphold the integrity of the cultural and natural resources it was formed to protect. To be genuine, that commitment needs to be wholly embraced by the local community, towns, and cities. Participation is what makes the El Pilar Reserve for Maya Flora and Fauna dynamic, infusing it with the ability to educate, reform, and transform.

Acknowledgments

The work at El Pilar owes much to the people of the Maya forest and the governments of Belize and Guatemala who had the foresight to explore an innovative development scheme. They

have explicitly given the El Pilar Program the privilege to demonstrate the many different ways to view the ancient Maya monuments. Imagining the Maya forest as one region, appreciating El Pilar as one site, and collaborating with cheerful skepticism—these have provided a new dimension to include El Pilar among the novel destinations of the Mundo Maya. Our work is dedicated to all who know that they are part of this story and to all who will be.

Appendix 1. A History of El Pilar

1972	El Pilar recorded by the Department of Archaeology (DoA) Government of Belize
1984	Belize River Archaeological Settlement Survey (BRASS) initial mapping of the site
1993	DoA conservation at El Pilar with BRASS project
1994	Help for Progress NGO begins participation with Amigos de El Pilar
1995	Official boundaries of El Pilar established in Belize
	Model Maya House created at Tzunu'un; El Pilar listed on World Monument Watch
	Master map of site core completed, including Pilar Poniente, Guatemala
1997	El Pilar certified as a *monumento cultural* (cultural monument) in Guatemala
1998	El Pilar developed as a contiguous reserve in Belize and Guatemala
2000	Rolex Award for Enterprise-Cultural Heritage recognition for El Pilar vision
2001	Publication of *El Pilar Trail Guide*
	Both AdEP groups sign Declaration of El Pilar International Community Participation
2002	8th annual Fiesta El Pilar held, organized by AdEP Chikin and Lakin
2003	Collaboration with Counterpart International, Washington, D.C.
2003	National Institute of Culture and History Belize begins collaboration with AdEP Lakin
	Consejo Nacional de Areas Protegidas endorses the master plan for El Pilar

Appendix 2. Collaborative Team Organization

El Pilar Program

University of California, Santa Barbara, Main Office: Anabel Ford, Director

Exploring Solutions Past: Nonprofit organization based in California (www.espmaya.org)

Counterpart International: Megan Havrda

Belize Advocate: Anselmo Casteñeda, Regional Environment

Guatemala Advocate: José Antonio Montes, International Law

Community Participation

Amigos de El Pilar: Lakin/Chikin (Belize/Guatemala)

Community Accompaniment

NGO Program Partners: Community and Conservation Management

Help for Progress/Belize: Elias Awe, Rick August

Canan K'aax and Naturakeza para la Vida/Guatemala: Ramon Zetina, Suamy Aguilar

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Social Landscapes and Archaeological Heritage in Latin America

Nelly Robles García

Abstract: *This paper addresses the urgency of understanding the multiple elements that make up the contemporary social setting of archaeological sites in Latin America, elements that in their totality create the social landscape. This concept helps us to outline the social dimensions of phenomena that are more commonly the province of anthropology and sociology and are rarely approached from the perspective of heritage conservation. In practice, our lack of understanding of these phenomena creates severe constraints in developing proposals to support the conservation of heritage sites. Study of the social landscape is crucial to a complete understanding of the relationship between heritage conservation and regional development, which unfortunately in Latin America is a negative one.*

Despite the paucity of social research regarding the relationship between archaeological heritage or heritage sites and society at large, in recent years there has been an undeniable advance in such studies. Without exception, society emerges as a heterogeneous entity, made up of a multiplicity of actors and situations that overlap and interact around specific sets of interests.

Heritage sites reflect a mix of tangible and intangible interests, as well as material and ephemeral resources. The contemporary view of such sites is that they consist of both ancestral and modern values. Archaeologists, as those responsible for managing sites and as interpreters of traditional societies, tend to be sensitive to and value the ancestral over the modern, whereas for government and associated institutions the reverse tends to be true. Most field experience reveals the pressure that a lack of understanding of and capacity to balance these factors generates with respect to site conservation and the context for technical work (Hoopes 1997; Robles 1998).

It is therefore extremely important to define a basis for analyzing this context, recognizing that the tension between these two points of view may spill over into political demands. In Latin America such demands may result in mass movements that promote non-negotiable agendas, where the pressures of circumstance mean that the decisions taken are not necessarily the best for the conservation of cultural heritage.

Background

In Mexico and other countries in the region, the emergence of archaeology coincided with a certain attention to indigenous roots as a manifestation of nationalism. Archaeology offered nation builders a way to link the descendants of a noble and accomplished past to visions of a proud and prosperous future.

By 1939 Mexico had institutionalized broad-based oversight of archaeological heritage, which placed control of all modalities of archaeological research and protection in the hands of the state. Nominally the state left room for some participation in conservation efforts by creating the possibility of neighborhood or community councils (INAH 1972). In practice, however, state tutelage constrained the liberty of action by a wide range of actors, especially in relation to land use (INAH 1972). This created a tension or antagonism over both the process of decision making and the substance of conservation policy that continues to bedevil conservation efforts.

From 1962 to 1964, when Mexico made a concerted effort to create what would become the National Museum of Anthropology, there emerged a series of debates over the decision to display simultaneously evidence of past and present material cultures, that is, the archaeology and ethnography, of

indigenous peoples. Although a broad-based spirit of nationalism supported the establishment of the monumental museum, this did not silence the voices of discontent that objected to the combination of archaeological heritage and contemporary ethnography in a single collection under a common roof, in effect linking pre-Conquest with contemporary landscapes.

More recently, efforts by the Committee of the Americas of the Society for American Archaeology have revived hopes for a better understanding between archaeology and heritage preservation in Latin America (Drennan and Mora 2001). Nevertheless, this convergence continues to fall short as it lacks insights and methodology from social and economic anthropology that would produce a more complete picture of the social complexities that shape heritage management. In effect, one of the most persistent dilemmas has been the reluctance of traditional specialists and practitioners to recognize the changing context of their work. Without such recognition, pleas for more broadly based approaches to heritage management appear to have little hope of prospering.

Contemporary Complexity

Today a more open academic environment facilitates discussion regarding different elements and processes in site management or the myriad tasks of conservation. Attention has shifted to trying to understand the elements of society and the conditions that generate the persistent stress affecting sites (Demas 2000; Hoopes 1997; Robles 1998; Robles and Corbett 1995).

Using an anthropological or sociological lens, it is possible to identify those actors who shape the social context of a specific archaeological site and to calculate their level of influence over the processes of conservation or degradation affecting it. We can also calculate the benefits the site condition may distribute to those actors (Robles 1998). Without undermining archaeologists' research in different areas, we need to understand that independent of the scientific values that may permeate a heritage site, at any moment—but especially once a site's significance is established—that very process may trigger or revive an array of interests associated more closely with its status as a resource than as a focus of scientific study.

Today social research tends to document indigenous affairs related to cultural heritage in general and to archaeology in particular. We see, nevertheless, that social considerations in their broadest sense include a wide array of societal environments. Thus we can find an extensive assortment of challenges linked to urban, city-country, modern, traditional, political, or other interests that form part of the mix that has been put into play. In this sense we understand the need for social research focused on heritage matters, as it permits a more reliable assessment of the range of conditions that characterize the relationship between a site and the larger society of which it is a part (Robles and Corbett 1995).

The *social landscape* may be understood as a complex concept that elaborates not only the list of actors present at a site or area but also the relationships that exist between the actors and the site, with the concept of heritage, and among the actors themselves. The concept also captures the array of interests centered on the site and on cultural heritage, which generally prove more extensive than we first imagine.

In this respect a heritage site may be known but may remain unexplored for generations without any alteration in its relationship with the social environment. Archaeological research removes the site from anonymity, and a successful project generates value by converting the site to an attraction; this in turn can trigger a struggle of economic interests linked to several sectors, particularly tourism. This occurs independent of and often without explicit recognition of other dimensions of social complexity such as property, land tenure, values, or other constructs.

Taking Monte Albán (fig. 1) as a case study to demonstrate what the concept of social landscape can mean for most archaeological sites in Mexico or elsewhere in Latin America, several levels of analysis are necessary to understand the variety of stakeholders that interact with the site. The result has been a fascinating complex of overlapping social groups, individuals, and interests clearly differentiated from one other, a complexity in which heritage resources play a central role, not only in a scientific sense. For some of these actors, this site can be understood as simply an enormous piece of earth and as such can be treated according to the rules of the free market and speculation. Others may see it as a large open space for recreation and outdoor activity; still others see it as part of an ancestral heritage whose grandfathers set it aside to be preserved and appreciated. Meanwhile scientists see it as an important setting for understanding a culture stretching back centuries or even millennia.

The Monte Albán Experience

Experience gained in working at Monte Albán, a World Heritage Site in Oaxaca, Mexico, has enhanced sensitivity to social

FIGURE 1 The central plaza of Monte Albán. Courtesy of Archive of the archaeological site of Monte Albán, INAH

realities in the context of heritage sites. These become as important as understanding historical events, physical conditions of structures, or other elements such as chronologies. A site such as Monte Albán, immersed in a physical context of urban marginality and poverty, demonstrates the need to mobilize social science methodologies to understand the social complexity of the site (fig. 2). Some of the levels of analysis used in this study are discussed below.

Social Actors

Information collected directly in the field reflects the diversity of actors playing a role in the setting of the site. These include site workers, scientists, visitors, and students, as well as those who, without being present at the site on a daily basis, nevertheless generate demands on it, such as hotel owners, travel agents, neighbors, property owners, shepherds, and others, including institutions.

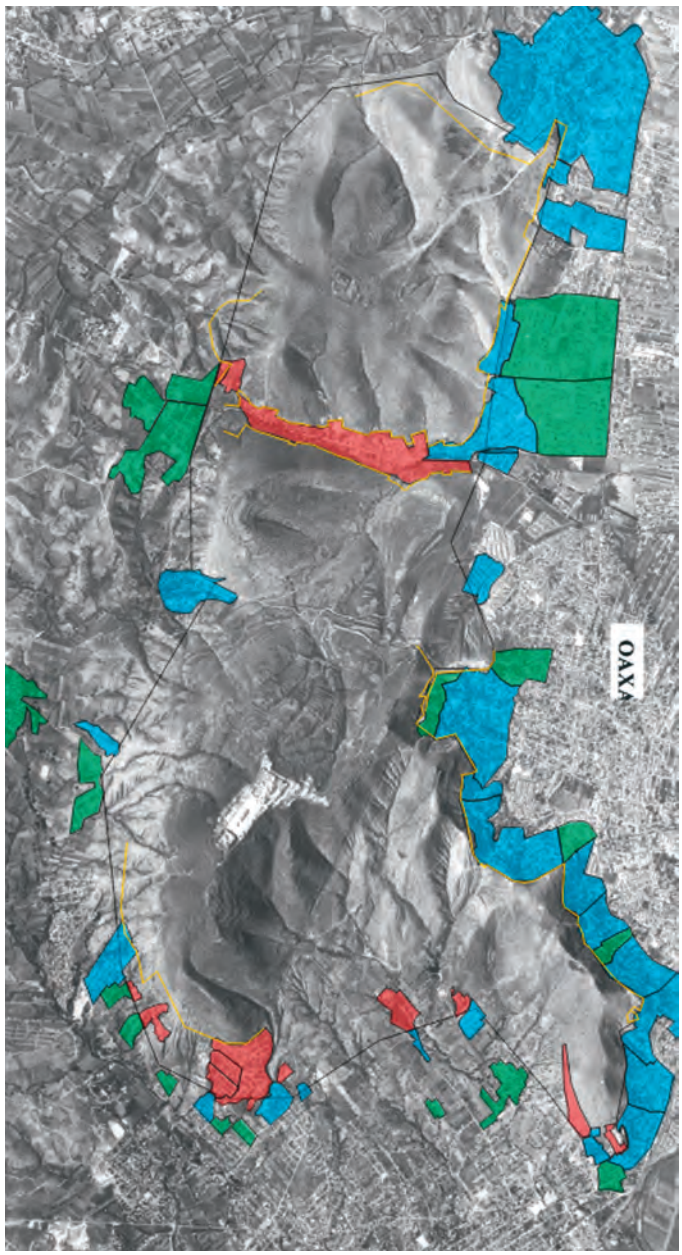

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FIGURE 2 Aerial photo of Monte Albán, showing surrounding human settlements. Courtesy of Archive of the archaeological site of Monte Albán, INAH

Colonies within the polygon

Colonies in the areas adjacent to the polygon

Colonies having one section within the polygon

Netting placed inside the polygon to demarcate urban growth

Source: INEGI 1995. Digitalization of image: Araiga Adrian Salinas.

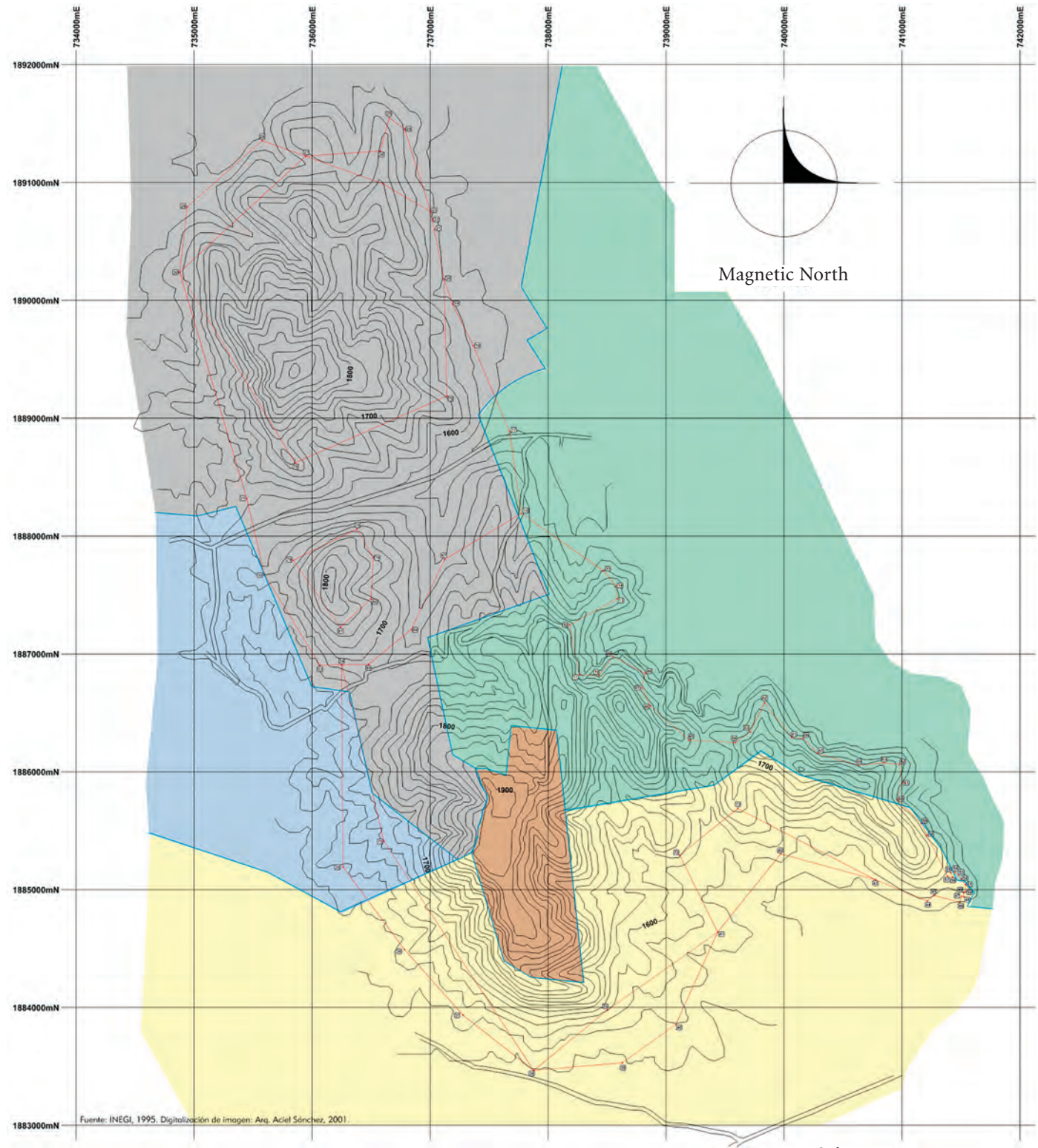
Institutions

In Mexico, based on a single law, the federal government has control of heritage resources, including archaeological resources as they are considered part of the national heritage (INAH 1972). The National Institute of Anthropology and History (INAH) was established to study, preserve, and interpret for the public different elements valued in archaeological sites. This monolithic character makes INAH an institution almost without parallel in the archaeological world and at the same time shows that the Mexican public accepts the notion that heritage is a responsibility of the state. Elsewhere in Latin America, institutional counterparts of the Mexican model have been created, for example, in Guatemala, Peru, Cuba, and Colombia. Nevertheless, these culturally oriented institutions are not the only ones that may play an active role in the conservation of archaeological resources. This role now stretches across institutions that address tourism, public works, urban planning, and the management of land and ecological resources, in addition to others with the capacity to affect the archaeological heritage. To date, none of these offers an agenda that addresses heritage conservation, given the Latin American political tradition that assumes that heritage issues are complicated, delicate, and exclusive.

Political Jurisdictions

In Latin America social relations structured around land historically have been of exceptional importance given its status as the central resource sustaining communities and cultures. In Mexico, as in most Latin American countries with a history of conquest, the problems of land tenure go much further and deeper than the simple relationship between land and property. Independent of the type of land tenure, the law referenced above and the Mexican Constitution recognize the municipality as the legally sanctioned institution with the power to decide on the future of archaeological remains within their political jurisdiction.

In the case of Monte Albán one must deal with four municipalities on these issues, even though there are constant internal contradictions regarding who should make decisions, especially when dealing with different socially defined properties. These are widely recognized and distributed in Mexico, and they complicate decision making as municipalities claim their authority over available resources, whether natural or cultural (fig. 3).



Source: INEGI 1995. Digitalization of image: Aciel Sánchez, 2001.

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FIGURE 3 Municipal boundaries overlapping with Monte Albán. Courtesy of Archive of the archaeological site of Monte Albán, INAH

Land Tenure and Speculation

Much more important than the recognition of ancestral values and appreciation of cultural heritage are values related to land and access to potential economic resources generated by the archaeological sites. In Mexico, values associated with land are deeply grounded in the various indigenous and mestizo cultures. *Ejidos* (common lands), communities, private property, and federal property appear to be legally and legitimately differentiated by specific institutions. However, in practice there may be unwritten, yet locally recognized, values that a narrow technical perspective may omit or overlook but that form important parts of the local value system. In the case of the protective boundary around Monte Albán, there are four types of land tenure, each clearly represented by different social groups and leaders. Stakeholders may find that INAH presents an obstructive presence, limiting their capacity to behave as they see fit in the management of resources they consider to be theirs rather than under the control of the federal government.

In this sense, landownership and its defense has been such a long-standing condition across Mexico and Latin America that it has generated, besides bloody internal struggles, the emergence of a complex system of power parallel to the official political structures (Stephen 2002). In this way, discussions necessary to further the goals of conservation within the boundaries of the Monte Albán archaeological zone, whose priority is the control of speculation on community and ejido lands, have had to focus on representatives of agrarian interests rather than on the municipal authorities who, according to law, are the agents formally charged with addressing land conflicts (fig. 4).

Speculation on lands having a specific social character (ejidos and communities) represents a threat to the integrity of cultural heritage within the Monte Albán archaeological zone for two reasons. First, excavation to create foundations for modern buildings presents an ongoing danger in the form of destruction of materials and disturbance of the subsoil. Second, during excavation, the likelihood of illegal extraction and trafficking in archaeological materials is also heightened.

The history of Monte Albán as a site open to the public reflects a permanent struggle to resist the proliferation of irregular, marginal settlements overlapping the boundaries of the protection zone. The complexity of land tenure, the lack of commitment on the part of local and state governments, lack of clarity regarding alternatives, and budget scarcities in the agencies responsible for heritage values combine to create an environment that is ideally suited to the encouragement of speculation on community and ejido lands, nuclei that on the

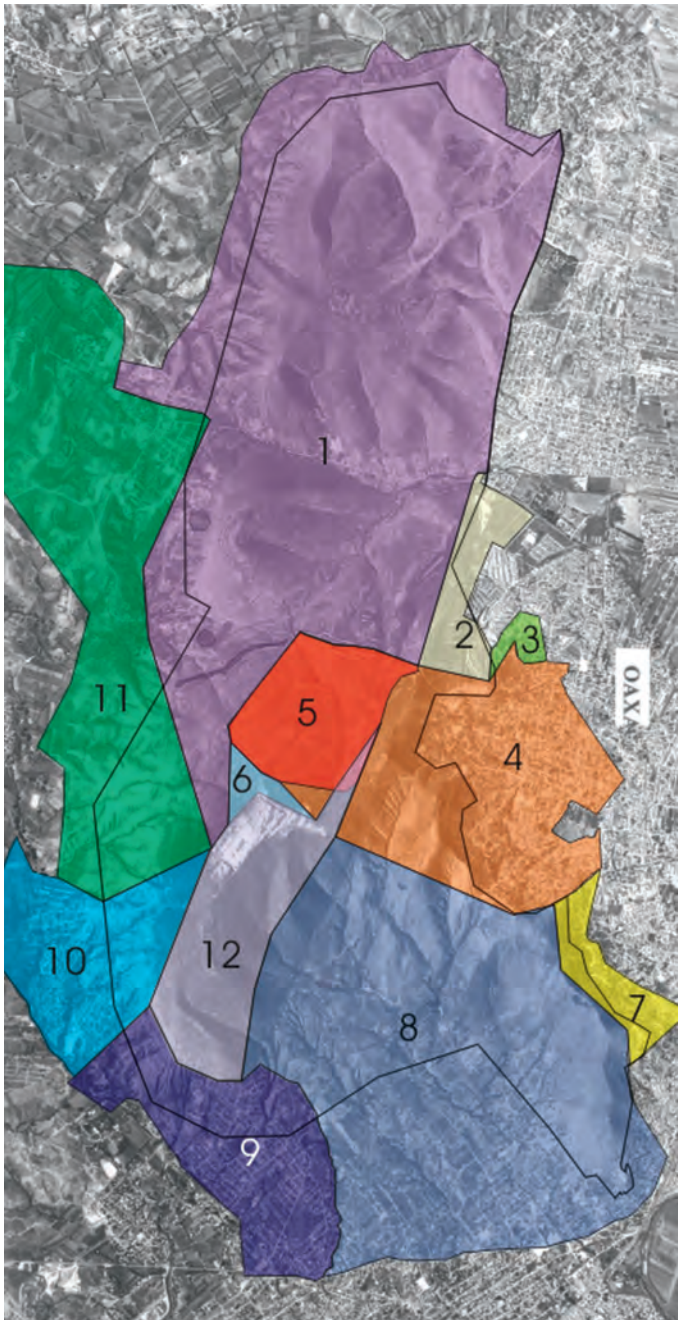


FIGURE 4 Land tenure complexity in Monte Albán. Courtesy of Archive of the archaeological site of Monte Albán, INAH

1 Ejido of Santa María Atzompa
2 Bustamante family private property, Montoya Agency, city of Oaxaca de Suárez
3 Ejido of San Martín de Mexicapan, city of Oaxaca de Suárez
4 Communal property of San Martín de Mexicapan, city of Oaxaca de Suárez
5 Communal property of San Martín de Mexicapan, area claimed by the Peasants Union of San Martín de Mexicapan
6 Ejido of San Martín de Mexicapan, area recognized by co-owners and neighbors
7 Communal property of San Juan Chapultepec, city of Oaxaca de Suárez
8 Communal Property of Santa Cruz Xoxocotlán
9 Ejido of Santa Cruz Xoxocotlán
10 Property of private agency, San Javier, city of Santa Cruz Xoxocotlán
11 Ejido of San Pedro Ixtlahuaca
12 Area under the guardianship of INAH

Source: INEGI 1995. Digitalization of image: Araiga Adrian Salinas.

whole belong to small-scale speculators whose uncoordinated activities have the effect of promoting a constant invasion of supposedly protected spaces. And this takes place at the archaeological site that is the single most important tourist attraction in Oaxaca, whose renown generates more than half a million visitors annually and serves as the engine of the tourist economy in the state (Robles and Corbett 2002).

Nevertheless, this problem cannot be resolved simply by having the state take absolute control of all land showing evidence of archaeological materials, as the social unrest that would create would be enormous. The governments of the region will never have the resources to acquire so much land: the official archaeological zone of Monte Albán covers 2,078 hectares, of which approximately 10 percent has been opened to the public. Even if they could acquire the land, there would not be sufficient funding to support archaeological exploration, restoration, services, and protection. The undeveloped lands would continue to draw squatters and looters. The central issue is land tenure and the speculative activities associated with it. These conditions and all that flows from them in terms of stakeholder activity and competition for advantage must remain the central focus of any social analysis supporting conservation (Olea 1997:153–56).

Land Use

The different actors and interests provoke a flow of decisions regarding land use and access to related resources. In governmental models addressing the conservation of heritage sites in the region, there is no possibility of formal expropriation giving the state absolute control over the land. Therefore, archaeological research and heritage protection, or tourism and interpretation, are simply uses to be added to those already associated with diverse features of the site, for example, agriculture, grazing, collecting and gathering, and other extractive uses. At Monte Albán, some of these uses have relatively low impact on the archaeological remains, but others, for example, house or road construction, clearly result in continuing erosion or drastic alteration of a variety of significant features of the site (fig. 5). Different stakeholders clearly pursue conditions such as tenure security, access to agriculture and grazing, extractive rights, and general control over access to resources in ways that assure the rights of use and disposal. Land use rights may be so grounded in custom and practice that they rarely exist in written form, but this does not reduce their powerful hold on notions of justice and legitimacy. In this respect, no matter how valued and reasonable heritage protection appears to the archaeologist, to many stakeholders it will simply be a rather new arrival among the long list of claimants to land use.

Indigenous Land Claims

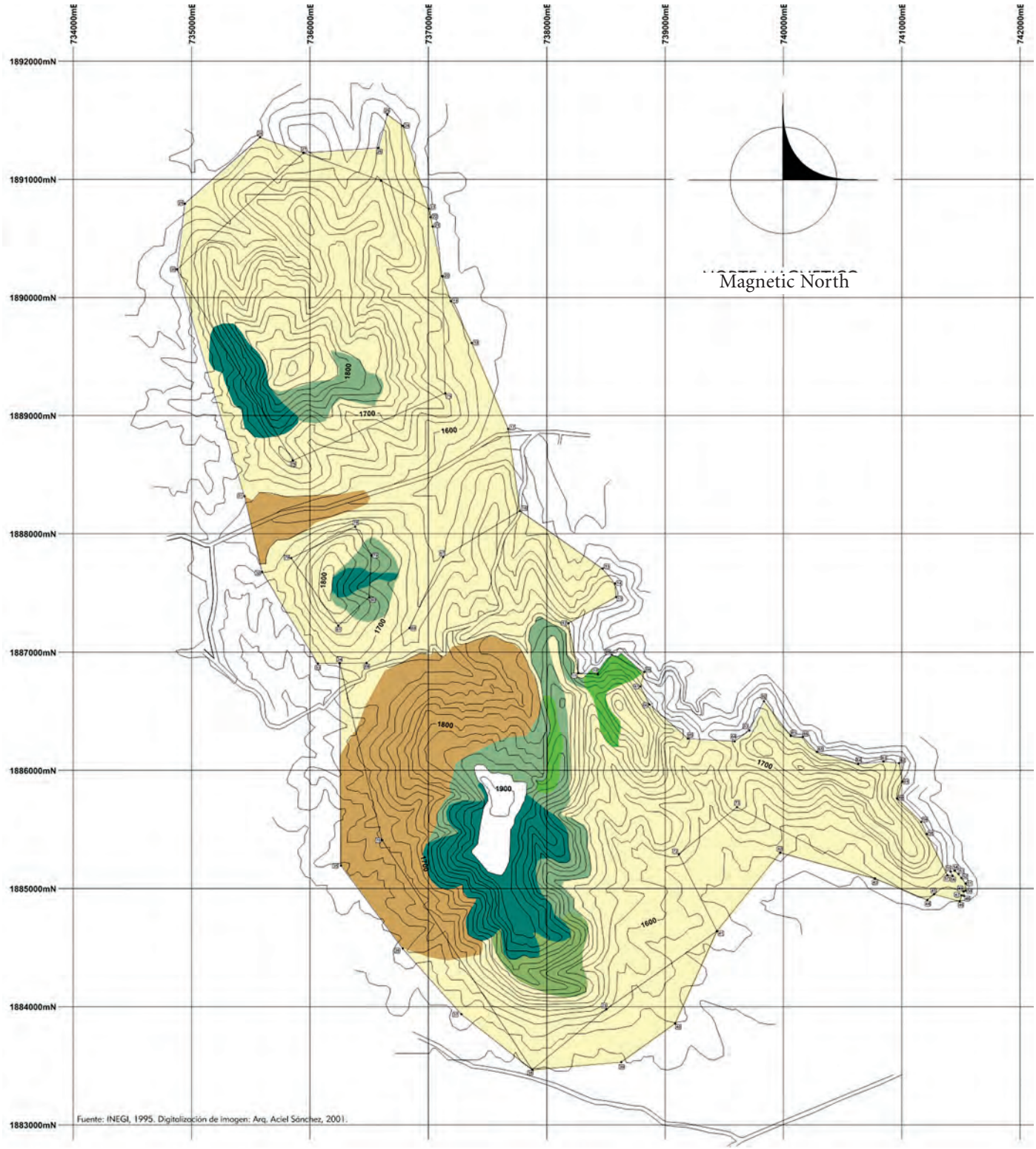
A critically important aspect of the social landscape in archaeological heritage consists of claims by indigenous groups over possession, access, gain, and values flowing from different archaeological sites and museums. This element is exceptionally delicate in that two streams of discourse flow from it, each subject to logic grounded in the ways in which interest groups define and legitimize their values.

First, there are the historic claims of indigenous groups to use traditional and ancestral lands in ways consistent with their values and accustomed practice. Marginalized from the period of the Conquest to the present, indigenous people in Mexico and elsewhere in Latin America seek recognition of rights long ignored. These claims, which above all refer to the rights of indigenous communities for access to their culture—a right stipulated in Article 2 of the Constitution of the United Mexican States—concern the right to continue exercising their worldview, which attaches the highest values to ancestral sites, to continue practicing traditions and beliefs, and to shape practice in ways that are far from the utilitarian perception imposed by the state, which regards diverse archaeological sites as tourist attractions to generate income (fig. 6).

This legal component raises a serious challenge to Latin American governments in the sense that historically they have accepted ancestral values as ideological instruments that legitimize accession to power or other behaviors within the group, but they segregate contemporary indigenous populations from decision-making processes related to the future of cultural heritage or the control of other resources. This practice of exclusion, which in Mexico is a long way from resolution in spite of serious efforts over the past decade, contains the potential for disruptive and destabilizing confrontations.

However, indigenous groups may also demand dominion over heritage sites for reasons distant from ancestral concerns or a desire for cultural continuity. To the extent that "in many communities there is a belief that archaeological zones are big business" (Martínez and Bader 1998), the central concern may be economic, not ethnocultural.

A second, very different perspective on indigenous claims has to do with the extent to which they have been borrowed or reshaped to serve the interests of specific groups who seek to legitimize their claims on heritage resources by linking them to presumed indigenous interests. Indigenous discourse serves to justify and mask claims on the state that in reality draw on a clear economic interest such as commercializing



Source: INEGI 1995. Digitalization of image: Aciel Sánchez, 2001.

Scale 1:12,500

FIGURE 5 Land uses by the various neighbors at Monte Albán. Courtesy of Archive of the archaeological site of Monte Albán, INAH

FIGURE 6 Rally at the central plaza. Courtesy of Archive of the archaeological site of Monte Albán, INAH

heritage sites either through provision of services or by treating them as commodities to be bought and sold, in effect engaging in disguised speculation. This subtle difference, not readily recognized by the inexperienced, traps anthropologists, conservation professionals, archaeologists, and those generally sympathetic to indigenous causes.

Even leaders of indigenous movements may fall prey to this. In 2001 Subcomandante Marcos, the EZLN moral leader, passing through Oaxaca, publicly defended "indigenous" claims to parts of Monte Albán, unaware that the group requesting his support was in fact a group of speculators cloaking themselves in indigenous rhetoric. Some of the most assertive participants in efforts to secure control over lands within Monte Albán's boundaries on the grounds that they should be under the control of neighboring indigenous communities are in fact migrants from other parts of the state seeking a tactical advantage in negotiations with INAH.

Urban Growth

The increased concentration of urban housing is probably among the most damaging forms of land use to protected areas. While planned settlements certainly generate damage, much more damage comes from the spontaneous settlements commonly associated with poverty and marginalization across Latin America. Some of the region's most important heritage sites are vulnerable to such pressures. Irregular settlements involve all kinds of excavation, from foundations to terracing. These destroy and bury archaeological materials as well as important elements of the natural and cultural heritage (fig. 7).

The concentration of population also generates a demand for public services. Streets, schools, water lines, and other services require excavation and/or burial. The affected populations, however, are much more concerned with access to services than any damage their provision might cause.

FIGURE 7 Settlement growth toward Monte Albán. Courtesy of Archive of the archaeological site of Monte Albán, INAH

Around Monte Albán spontaneous growth and the formation of poor settlements is part of contemporary reality. More than one hundred thousand people live on the fringes of the archaeological zone in at least fifty unplanned, poorly serviced *colonías* (Corbett and Gonzalez Alafita 2002). This situation opens the door to politicians inclined to promise all kinds of services or improved conditions in return for political support. The politician or agency manager who is reluctant to respond may quickly become a target of marches and demonstrations. But the extension of services only encourages further settlement and the process becomes self-perpetuating.

Quality of Life

It is worth noting the tendency toward a negative relationship between successful heritage sites—defined in terms of annual visitors—and the quality of life in the settlements that surround them. As more major sites in the region become engulfed by the growth of metropolitan areas or even their own service populations, the sharp contrast between local conditions and the apparent prosperity of heritage site visitors becomes more apparent. The average income of the majority of families living in the immediate area of Latin American heritage sites is at the poverty level, on occasion well below minimum wage. Monte Albán represents an extreme case in which many families live in extreme poverty without basic services such as education, access to health care, or urban infrastructure (fig. 8). The great majority of the economically active population work at casual labor or in the informal economy, with low incomes, no benefits, and few prospects. The consequences for families are predictable: poor diets, bad health, and minimal services. The average level of education in communities around the archaeological zone is less than six years of primary school.

Today the surroundings of heritage sites such as Monte Albán and others in Mexico reflect poverty, social marginality, and conditions hardly conducive to an appreciation of the values of heritage conservation. This description, regrettably, is not an exception, as we can see by comparing Monte Albán to other well-known heritage sites in Latin America. Teotihuacan, Tula, and Mitla in Mexico; Machu Picchu and Chan Chan in Peru; Kaminaljuyu and Quirigua in Guatemala, to name a few, present similar profiles.

When speaking of the relationship between society and heritage in Latin America, we describe a series of conditions that overlap in diverse ways to create the social landscape that characterizes the contemporary life of the site in question. Unfortunately, in Latin America these landscapes all too frequently refer to settings of conflict over resource access and control linked to a low quality of life, urban poverty, and social problems such as drugs, assaults, pollution, congestion, and other indicators of a highly stressed existence. Meanwhile, the heritage sites themselves become the targets of looting, vandalism, depredations, and other behaviors very much at variance with what we hope they will convey about human aspirations and accomplishments. Both the sites and the populations around them become targets for opportunistic, even corrupt, behavior.

FIGURE 8 Housing quality in the surrounding neighborhoods of Monte Albán. Courtesy of Archive of the archaeological site of Monte Albán, INAH

Without a doubt, in Latin America we see a clear association between cultural heritage conservation in general and archaeological protection specifically and levels of development. It is essential to find research methods adequate to produce a clear understanding of the social setting of heritage protection in order to formulate alternatives for inclusion in development planning. The goal must be to generate development programs that create positive environments for efforts to protect the archaeological heritage.

Acknowledgments

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Reflections on Archaeological Heritage and Indigenous Peoples in Chile

Ángel Cabeza

Abstract: *This article is an attempt to awaken archaeologists to the new demands from different groups of society, especially indigenous peoples, regarding the preservation and appropriate use of their archaeological heritage. It analyzes the New World context of heritage policies and the way in which archaeologists have had to adapt and focus their objectives and methods. It presents a brief comparative analysis and explains the Chilean situation, especially as regards the conditions that have resulted from recent legislation on indigenous and environmental topics, and how, from the state's perspective, work has been done with indigenous people.*

The onset of the twentieth century was marked by the imperialism of a handful of states that controlled most ethnic cultures and minorities in their territories. This situation, combined with two world wars and a cold war lasting several decades, led to the disappearance of many cultures and, with them, their centuries-old wisdom. The twenty-first century has begun differently, with an explosion of cultural diversity and a strengthening of cultural identities that were either hidden or almost extinct. Our world is very different from the one we knew two decades ago. Different groups of people have made great strides in economic and political integration that hitherto had seemed impossible. At the same time, intensive migrations over the last decades have radically changed the ethnic map of many cities and regions in the world due mainly to inequalities in access to development and increased poverty in many countries.

Archaeology, as a concept and as research, has been affected both positively and negatively by these events. On the one hand, archaeology has incorporated in its work much of the technological progress made and has torn down old theoretical precepts. Furthermore, it has drawn a group of professionals open to creating and participating in new theoretical and methodological orientations and willing to face the new realities that are affecting their research. On the other hand, the new value that many societies have placed on cultural diversity has enabled many cultures to regain their past and heritage, generating a new and constantly changing situation that is at times in conflict with the development of archaeology.

This paper offers reflections, from the Latin American perspective, based on two decades of experience with different indigenous groups and communities, as well as participation in various debates on the subject.

Ethics and Governance with Regard to Heritage

Culture may be defined as a series of distinct spiritual, material, intellectual, and emotional features that mark a particular society or social group. Cultural heritage is a legacy from our forebears and a testimony to their very existence. The importance of heritage stems, fundamentally, from its contribution to forming a culture's identity. Identity consists of the essential element that enables people to gather together around a common project, this being understood as a civil community that may include different peoples who share basic principles and values. A proper relationship among cultural heritage, national identity, and a national project is key to achieving harmonious and long-lasting development. Heritage results from different cultural and historic traditions; it expresses the diversity of the land and its people. Knowledge of and respect for cultural diversity enriches people's lives and contributes to strengthening tolerance, valuing differences, and fostering fraternity between human beings. For that rea-

son, we must learn to value cultural diversity and avoid confrontation so as to foster a profound and fruitful coexistence.

In this sense, it is necessary to broaden an understanding of heritage that is still dominated by aesthetic and historic criteria while excluding some groups. In many cases, priority has been given to heritage linked to power groups, to masculinity and supremacy, to the detriment of the everyday and mundane, with more attention paid to what has been written than what was spoken, and greater heed paid to the ceremonial and sacred than to the secular.

Research into identifying and exporting heritage, especially archaeological heritage, has been a topic of widespread discussion. Doubtless, the majority of persons acknowledge that a society is heir to all cultural accoutrements that its ancestors created and which belong to its culture. But societies have a history, one that concerns a territory whose borders change as do its occupants, either with migration or the arrival of other peoples with whom there follows integration, assimilation, or overt domination. Heritage has frequently been considered war booty or has been deliberately eliminated to destroy all trace of the existence of earlier societies that occupied that particular territory. Hardly any society, past or present, has been free from such practices.

Nowadays, more individuals and states share certain principles of mutual respect that must be extended to all societies. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights and, more recently, the Conventions of UNESCO point that way. However, the task is not easy, and there exist very complex historic and philosophic aspects: ethnic rivalry, religious struggles, political confrontations, and historical debts for past wars that are a difficult burden to shoulder and resolve.

For decades, with certain exceptions, archaeologists have been building up a pleasant academic refuge that has been respected by the community. It was a time of discovery and exotic trips motivated by a desire to understand the past and to collect archaeological objects for exhibition in national museums. Curiosity for what was familiar and foreign was the dominant factor that fed the scientific appetite and the community's imagination.

However, the reality is different for archaeologists today, depending on the location of their work. At least two basic processes are involved in the change. First, a portion of archaeologists have had to take part in the debate from the viewpoint of the environment, the economy, and development related to archaeological heritage, where decisions are taken by teams of professionals from different disciplines, at times with great circumstantial pressure brought to bear on them. These decisions may lead to the substantial modification of certain projects under development, or the abandonment of the projects, or to the destruction of the heritage itself. It is the archaeology of environmental impact studies; it is archaeology contracted by companies or by public services; it is archaeology with deadlines (Cabeza 2001; Neumann and Sanford 2001).

Second, the power of indigenous peoples is reemerging, as is that of diverse nonurban communities, whose identity was ignored by the government and by society. Knowledge of their heritage provides force and sustenance for the political projects of these groups, strengthening their social cohesion and differentiating them from a nation's society in general and leading to economic initiatives such as tourism, arts, and crafts. In this context, a number of archaeologists have been surprised to find that they are not as welcome as before or that they are rejected outright; that their projects come to a full stop and their scientific interpretations are criticized because they contradict local beliefs.

Some archaeologists have refused to acknowledge such changes. Others have realized that they are not capable of dealing with the situation, that they were not trained for field archaeology marked by social, ethnic, political, and economic contingencies. Still others, as a result of more failures than successes, have had to walk this tightrope alone, facing their colleagues' mistrust and the conflicts that heritage research and conservation hold today. The challenge is this: how do we exchange information and viewpoints? how do we face this matter constructively from the perspectives of the academic, governmental, and indigenous world and of the communities that are nowadays claiming the right to take part in these decisions (Pearson and Sullivan 1995; Stapp and Burney 2002)?

Experiences in Australia and Canada are very important but little known by other countries as yet, especially with regard to participation by native communities. The situation in the United States is very valuable because of the contradictions that exist between public and private archaeological heritage and, especially, because of its accomplishments in interpreting and managing archaeological sites in protected areas. In Europe the situation is different but no less interesting with respect to the way in which local identities have been able to take over their heritage and the state has taken a backseat with regard to its administration. In Latin America, always a hotbed for innovation or unabashed copying, the situation is very diverse, but the initiatives already begun by Mexico, Peru, Argentina, and Brazil are of utmost importance for understanding what is happening in the region.

The underlying question should not be who the owner is or who is the more legitimate heir to various cultural assets but rather how we will be capable of recognizing the diverse values of such assets and use them properly so that everybody's identity is reproduced in an atmosphere of respect and harmony for all concerned. Rather than center discussion on the ownership of heritage, what should be considered is how we can better conserve that archaeological heritage for everybody and at the same time ensure that it provides cultural sustenance, force, and acknowledgment for its closest heirs. For that, the establishment of common policies of conservation, research, education, and diffusion is of vital importance, and we must move toward that goal in spite of the inevitable conflicts that arise (Zimmerman, Vitelli, and Hollowell-Zimmer 2003).

Archaeological Heritage and Indigenous Peoples

Chile's heritage is subject to a large number of the problems and conditions discussed above. Since Chile's settlement thousands of years ago, many human groups have inhabited it, developing their own cultures over the centuries. Several of them have since disappeared; some were displaced, while others were annihilated or conquered. In the sixteenth century a new invader and colonizing force came as a deep shock to the American continent. Conquest and colonization were dramatic; ancient cultures disappeared; and millions of persons died as a result of this contact, which led to the interbreeding of peoples and cultures that form the mosaic of what America is today.

It is in this context that the complexity of archaeological heritage must be understood as regards its origins, ownership, functions, and conservation. In fact, pre-Hispanic archaeological heritage was created by and therefore belongs, first of all, to the legitimate heirs of the original cultures in Chile. But if we understand Chile as a civil community of different cultures all living in the same territory and whose inhabitants are mostly mixed-race, the concept of ownership widens to include an entire population that is heir to and accountable for such an archaeological heritage. Here we encounter a noticeable demographic difference when we compare ourselves to the United States or Australia, for instance, where there was never racial mixing to the extent that it existed in Chile or in any other country in Latin America, where the indigenous population is in the majority.

In this context Latin American states, led by groups of European origin, have fought continuously to build up nation-states, ignoring—save for a few exceptions—the ethnic diversity and the ancient past of the populations they found. For that reason, both in colonial times and during the Republic, there has been an attitude and even a policy of contempt for and destruction of that past and all it represents. Independence gave way to a new political scene and the search for or creation of our own roots on which to build a different future. For many years, intellectuals idealized a romantic view of indigeneity, but the contradiction between "savagery" and "civilization" was inevitable, and the policy of extermination and conquest was reinforced in the interests of building a national society that was as culturally homogeneous as possible. In some countries such as Mexico, the ideal of a Spanish-indigenous nation was embellished; in others, such as Argentina, a nation of European immigrants devoid of any indigenous peoples was conceived.

In Chile the state set about the task of building a nation where the indigenous populations would be assimilated into a Western way of life; education was one of the pillars of that initiative. The large number of indigenous peoples—the Mapuche—combined with four centuries of Spanish coexistence with that culture produced a special concoction that has been simmering until the present day. These people are now vigorously demanding the political clout that for decades had been unanticipated. A somewhat similar occurrence took place with other indigenous cultures that have survived despite all efforts toward miscegenation, such as the Aymaras and Atacameños in the north and the Rapanui on Easter Island who, through territorial annexations, were incorporated into Chile at the end of the nineteenth century.

The recent upsurge in archaeology in Chile has been marked by environmental impact studies and the ever-increasing influence of indigenous cultures on day-to-day archaeology and on decision-making processes regarding the future of the archaeological heritage. The state has had to face these matters directly and pragmatically with differing results, few resources, and decisions handed down by some authorities rather than as a result of consistent and well-planned public policies. With a few exceptions (Navarro 1998), universities have remained on the sidelines, surprised by what has happened, by the force of the indigenous movements and by the evolution of the private archaeological market. Responses in the form of analysis of the situation, action that should be taken, and training of future professionals in archaeology have come from individuals rather than from the university system per se.

In this context, some archaeologists have been tempted to split archaeology into two unequal categories: one scientific and the other motivated by development projects. Also, some have preferred to distance themselves from the conflicts of indigenous peoples and their claim over control of archaeological sites on their land or anywhere else in the country. On the other hand, some researchers who have devoted their lives to archaeology have been unjustly criticized by indigenous peoples who ignore the role that they and their research have had in revitalizing their past and cultural identity.

The return of democracy to Chile in the 1990s made its mark on this situation with the enactment of two laws: one concerning indigenous peoples and the other the environment. Both laws created their own administrative structures and ways in which to handle citizen participation, hitherto nonexistent. In the first case, it was thought better to handle the indigenous movement and its representative structures at the level of individual cultures that were recognized through a national council that would formulate public policies and take the main decisions. Consolidating such institutionalism has been difficult, both because of its rejection by some indigenous sectors wishing to take a more radical approach to recovering land and territorial independence and because of the more obvious political, cultural, and economic contradictions between society and the state. The most frequent clashes were those stemming from forestry industries, the construction of dams, and the control of water and land rights.

The National Service for Indigenous Development and the National Monuments Council of Chile

The National Monuments Council (CMN) and the National Service for Indigenous Development (CONADI) are responsible for protecting Chile's heritage, both legally and technically. The two institutions signed an agreement of cooperation in 1996, aimed at working out joint strategies and projects related to the heritage of indigenous people. United in facing a common challenge, they can achieve the objectives defined in their respective legislations: the Law concerning National Monuments (1970) and the Law concerning Indigenous Peoples (1993). (For further information, see www.monumentos.cl.)

This agreement covers the preparation of a survey of archaeological, architectural, historic, and symbolic heritage of all indigenous peoples; a complete study of what indigenous cultural assets have to be protected by the National Monuments Law; and policies for protection, conservation, and preservation for all time of such heritage. It enables each to obtain advice on matters relating to cultural heritage. There is also an understanding within each institution that although archaeological finds belong to the state according to law, their administration could be in the hands of different institutions and even in the hands of the indigenous peoples themselves or the institutions they set up for that purpose.

However, there are problems, such as permits for undertaking archaeological digs, that are not duly coordinated with the indigenous communities, or unauthorized encroachments by the communities onto archaeological heritage that negatively affect it. In the majority of these cases, no harm was intended; rather, it was a question of ignorance of the regulations, a lack of advice, or the way in which the persons or institutions involved were handled politically.

This agreement has been maintained despite changes in the CONADI authorities. This new institution's work has been difficult because it must respond to indigenous demands, ranging from support for local development projects and the acquisition of land and water rights to resolving serious conflicts concerning squatters on land and political demands for territorial or cultural independence. At the same time, the approach to relations with indigenous people by the previous few governments has been affected by differing internal views of the problem and of solutions to potential conflicts such as the claiming of more lands, as well as political opposition to decisions taken. Indigenous people need to be consulted in the development of economic projects on Indian lands, such as the use of rivers for power plants, building of new highways, and exploitation of natural resources.

CMN's own actions have been affected by these often contradictory views. Its activities have been aimed at applying a policy whose grounds were ethical, opening up conversations in stages and gradually transferring responsibilities within prevailing legislation. This meant having to face romantic notions from within both the indigenous communities and the state, as well as having to face indigenous groups who thought that their political objectives could be attained only by bringing pressure to bear on the state. There are also groups of businessmen or landowners as well as indigenous communities who believe that defending their own interests—even to the extent of using force—is legitimate if the state or the courts of justice are unable to settle their demands satisfactorily. Interesting discussions on these problems at a global cultural, political, and economic level can be found in documents published by the Getty Conservation Institute (de la Torre 2002; de la Torre and Mason 1998).

We find an example of such conflicts and their possible resolution in San Pedro de Atacama in the north of Chile. This place has a complex situation that is in permanent flux—an immense cultural heritage and a local community that is being ethnically revitalized. There, the concept of appropriating heritage as one element of identity has been used to integrate the community, by claiming that the community must control and manage its own archaeological sites. However, the conflicts have gradually been subdued; the community was invited to take an active part, action was agreed on among the different institutions dealing with heritage, such as the local museum, CONADI, the communities, and the Chilean Forest Service (CONAF), which administers national parks. This meant developing projects for administering archaeological sites by the communities in consultation with the CMN, CONAF, and CONADI, undertaking archaeological research projects, and properly protecting such heritage. Over time, the communities themselves have discovered that the search for joint solutions was more satisfying and long-lasting than any conflict could ever be.

In the case of the Mapuche peoples located in urban areas and in the south of Chile, the focus has been on approaching with patience and much discussion the core topic surrounding their cultural identity—defending their ritual sites and burials. Because these were not legally protected as archaeological or historic monuments, they might be affected by infrastructure projects such as dams, roads, or electricity lines. Due to the large population, its dispersion, and its distrust of the state, many meetings have had to be held that included indigenous professionals acting as mediators within the communities. Fortunately, several of these ceremonial sites are now national monuments, and the communities thus endowed have discovered certain benefits that they have shared among themselves. Achieving this required time and determination.

On Easter Island, whose archaeological heritage is known worldwide, the situation has been very difficult because of its location in Polynesia, almost 4,000 kilometers from continental Chile. Its inhabitants feel the great cultural and geographic divide with Chile. The local community has known how to revitalize its culture based on its archaeological past and the oral memory or record of its traditions made by researchers. Also, more so than elsewhere, the community's archaeological heritage is the basis for its economy, so it is conscious of the need to protect and control it. There, the strategy has been to create a local structure with the help of the island authorities and the participation of the community, which also takes part in decision making. This decentralization has been generally positive, with specific problems arising when certain leaders have wished to go forward more quickly than is politically possible.

Conclusion

The world context and the greater political influence of indigenous peoples, communities, and interest groups must be faced by those who devote time and effort to the archaeological heritage, for reasons of research or administration. From an ethical, cultural, and economic point of view, communities have rights over their heritage that must be respected. Therefore, those who are working toward getting to know and protect such cultural assets cannot take refuge in science, legislation, or the state. Their role is to foresee these problems and seek creative and all-encompassing solutions. They must understand the conflicts and their causes; keep dialogue going; and accept the fact that proposals could be rejected or may fail in the short term but once corrected with the help of the local community, might be successful. Those who work in the heritage area have to tread carefully and not exacerbate disagreements but remain firm in their convictions that peaceful understanding is the best way to resolve demands that, sometimes and for many years, had been put off or, at times, silenced.

It is not an easy task, and there are different views as well as contradictory political, ethnic, and economic interests involved. Cultural assets and especially archaeological heritage is riddled with such interests. For that reason, professionals working in heritage, archaeologists and conservators, have an increasingly important role in planning and decision making wherein different persons must have room to express themselves and share ideas. They must also bear in mind that the community does not have one sole voice, that there are different interest groups that often go as far as fighting for the supremacy of their approaches. For that reason, education and proper public information are very valuable. Many problems result from ignorance of our projects by the communities and to a certain haughtiness and standoffishness on our part that has led to the attitude that we know what is best for heritage. Archaeological heritage has different values; scientific value is one of them, but there are also cultural and religious values that a community places on it. It is essential to find the common ground where all can coexist.

Archaeological heritage can be a bridge for understanding between cultures with mutual respect and within the

guidelines of universal principles. There are no special recipes; every situation is different, and peoples' experiences are vital when it comes to resolving conflicts and acknowledging the different values and interests that harmonize or contradict heritage.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that peace and cooperation are stronger than resentment or ignorance; discovering our heritage and using it respectfully and jointly enables us to grow. Although the past is full of injuries that still separate us, we nevertheless have a future to be shared.

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Whose Archaeology? Social Considerations in Archaeological Research Design

Richard Mackay

Abstract: *A worldwide trend toward greater recognition and empowerment of stakeholders in archaeological investigation and conservation is reflected in outcomes that range between formal roles for stakeholders in ongoing management to genuine control of and inclusion in processes for identification of heritage values. Concurrently, archaeological investigation and heritage management projects are increasingly reaching out to wider communities, providing opportunities for participation or innovative means of communicating project outcomes. Debate continues about the role of archaeology and archaeologists. Those who focus on "humanist" perspectives consider the contextual aspects of sites and their values in a social and community setting. Others view such an approach as outside the realm of real archaeology. This paper argues that finding common ground requires archaeology to move in two directions: toward traditional owners and other stakeholders so as to adopt a holistic approach to value identification and inclusive management and, concurrently, outward to the wider community, connecting place and knowledge with people through structured communication and events. If there is to be common ground in archaeological heritage management, it is in a values-based approach that facilitates an inclusive and interpretive archaeology.*

The worldwide trend toward greater recognition and empowerment of stakeholders, especially indigenous stakeholders, was illustrated during the Fifth World Archaeology Congress when Gary Pappen, a traditional owner of the Lake Mungo World Heritage Site in Australia, told participants, "If you want to work on this site, you will do it on our terms. We are the culture bearers." Pappen's message, though bluntly delivered, was well received and provides a salient parallel for other archaeological sites and their stakeholders.

Stakeholder involvement was a dominant theme in the "Finding Common Ground" session of the conservation program organized by the Getty Conservation Institute at the congress. The case studies presented showcased diversity and developing practice in inclusive involvement of culture bearers for important archaeological places across the globe.

As António Pedro Batarda Fernandes and Fernando Maia Pinto, whose paper immediately follows in this volume, point out, in Côa Valley in Portugal, formal roles have been defined and the involvement of stakeholders legitimized. However, while such processes are clearly a move in the right direction, active stakeholder participation seems to be an implementation of a management goal, or rather formalization of a process, rather than an integral element of the process itself.

Half a world away, on Rapanui (Easter Island), concerns about the imperialist impact of nonindigenous values and practices have ensured greater and earlier control and the vesting of authority in culture bearers, although inevitable change to places and their community values is recognized. Sergio Rapu's paper focused on the role of the entire community as partner with government in conservation (Rapu 2003). While this is an evolving process, the integral role of culture bearers is clearly at the core of successful values-based management that reflects and responds to the significance of traditions and meanings, as well as the physical fabric of the place itself.

The importance of intangible values to a comprehensive understanding of heritage is illustrated by Rodney Harrison in his paper on Dennawan Reserve (see in this volume). The cultural resource management process at Dennawan recognizes the danger that as archaeologists focus on technical research,

social values become disassociated. The Dennawan case study turns this dilemma around, emphasizing event-based experience of remains so as to refresh the "memoryscape" of stakeholders. Here the meaning, rather than the fabric or resulting science, is seen as significant, and there is a strong contrast with the traditional archaeological obsession of recording fabric. The management technique used to record significance in this case is to "map" event behavior through graphic recording of intangible values, that is, marking the "meanings" on maps or plans.

The principles highlighted in each of these case studies (and the others presented in an earlier part of the session) are relevant to the wider practice of archaeology and in particular to archaeological investigation and research design. Much of the role of archaeology worldwide and its relationship with history and traditions hinges on perceptions of the value and role of material culture. However, in doing so, the discipline tends to focus on physical evidence as the data set, rather than on other values that the place may have for its constituent stakeholder communities. Archaeologists have long trumpeted the potential of the discipline to contribute to history. But does archaeological investigation and analysis enrich the community? Is it a public good? Is there not a real danger that in fulfilling obligations that may arise from statutory controls or in pursuing evolving technology and science, archaeology can become introspective, derivative, and little more than self-serving, rather than provide a wider public or community benefit?

In my field, colonial archaeology in Australia, it is increasingly accepted that archaeology contributes major thematic evidence that can disprove or question traditional clichés about issues such as convict history and nineteenth-century "slums." The late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century colonial settlement sites in Sydney and Melbourne are of significance to the geopolitical history of the world, as they provide tangible evidence related to the process of colonial settlement through forced migration that was the precedent to the cadastral boundaries and structure evident today.

The Cumberland/Gloucester Street site in The Rocks, Sydney (Godden Mackay and Karskens 1999; Karskens 1999), sheds new light on nineteenth-century working communities, putting paid to traditional myths that these areas were simply "slums." A similar picture has recently emerged in Melbourne at the Little Lonsdale/Casselden Place site excavated over the past fifteen years (Murray and Mayne 2001).

Significantly, with both of these projects the impetus for archaeological investigation has been development pressures or management issues, but the conduct of the investigations and the project outcomes have had a wider community effect. In both cases, levels of public participation were high, with opportunities to excavate on site, attend tours, or enjoy extensive media coverage. There have been a number of academic papers and books and even a schools education kit (Astarte Resources 2001). Interestingly, in the case of the Cumberland/Gloucester Street site, now known locally as the "BIG DIG," the very act of archaeology and the extent of media coverage and political interest have imbued the place with a late-twentieth-, early-twenty-first-century layer of meaning and resulting social value. The site remains vacant, stabilized as excavated, and discussions continue about the prospect of its long-term conservation as a Historic Place.

These Australian archaeological investigation projects illustrate the prospect that there is an important wider stakeholder community than traditional culture bearers. For many places, there is also an interested public who can acquire a legitimate stake in archaeological heritage management through participation and communication. The wider community is therefore a stakeholder for many archaeological places because it is the wider community that directly or indirectly pays for archaeological investigation or management, is itself part of the history and may be eager to participate, be involved or informed. Of course, this can only happen where the archaeologists or resource managers involved provide an appropriate opportunity to do so.

If archaeology is to engage with stakeholders, the obligation is not only to include culture bearers but also to look to delivery of a wider community good—realizing the legitimacy of social context, as well as the potentially self-serving needs of archaeology.

Recent dialogue in the U.S. literature has directed archaeology toward such a humanist approach and proactive stakeholder engagement. This dialogue is relevant to urban archaeologists, like me, whose major projects attract thousands of visitors and hundreds of community participant diggers but which are still managed (in the statutory sense) on the basis of recovering "research value." The reality is that for many sites, this is the game: any prospect of conserving remains is often already removed by management decisions or statutory consent (allowing total excavation and removal), well before the on-site archaeology begins.

Archaeology is, however, gaining ground in the tussle to be relevant to society. The American debate and projects like the BIG DIG highlight diverse views on what may be regarded as archaeological data. Cleland's article in *Historical Archaeol-*

ogy, "Historical Archaeology Adrift?" (2001a:1–8), for example, has spawned a rugged debate and questioning of the role of history. This in turn draws in contextual considerations:

> A tension has thus arisen between the science which is inherent in the basic method, which constitutes archaeology, and a humanistic component of historical archaeology. Moreover, many believe that it is the latter which gives the field its freshness, imagination and adventure. (CLELAND 2001b:28)

Storytelling, and its role, not to mention even more outrageous "archaeological events" are derided by some and praised by others in a related series of discussions. Odell's article, "Research Problems 'R' Us," moves toward an engagement and humanist position that without telling stories and engaging the public, the future of the discipline of archaeology is insecure (Odell 2001:679–85).

Traditionally, archaeological investigation, even if undertaken as part of cultural resource management or salvage archaeology, has tended toward an academic research framework, often structured through geographic models: global, neighborhood, or household, as reflected in some of the WAC-5 session papers. However, we should perhaps be asking additional contemporary questions. Perhaps the question is not what do we want to know, but what do *they* want to know? In other words, how do we connect with an eager, interested, and often enthusiastic wider community? They may come to the digs; they may attend lectures; they participate at one level, but is the discipline becoming increasingly sophisticated in its technical analysis and theoretical models at the front end while neglecting the public deliverable at the back end?

Jones (2002) perspicaciously observes that these issues—archaeology as science versus archaeology in its human context—divide the discipline: objectivity versus subjectivity, rationality versus relativism, processualism versus postprocessualism.

He observes also that "one of the major strengths of an interpretive archaeology that embraces a variety of poststructural approaches is the rigorous nature of its theoretic framework" (22).

In other words, we can and should, perhaps, conduct archaeology as science in a social context, by constructing research frameworks that engage more directly with archaeology as "heritage" in its community setting. Such an approach sits well with the conservation ethos of the Getty Conservation Institute and international conservation organizations such as the International Council for Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS). Consistent with current best practice in wider heritage management, archaeology needs to move more decisively toward a values-based approach in which all significant aspects of the place or site are assessed as input to management decisions—including local economic issues, for example, or intangible aspects of culture, such as meaning or association. Stakeholder values, needs, wants, and desires must be part of the site management context; to paraphrase the views of the Lake Mungo traditional owners, the archaeology must be done on "their" terms.

Figures 1 through 3 endeavor to summarize this progression. Figure 1 presents a linear model in which the filter of research design may be used to ensure that investigation of physical evidence (i.e., the archaeology) contributes to the bank of knowledge by being undertaken within problem-oriented parameters, cognizant of existing theory and knowledge. The science and logic are apparent, but the people are sadly absent.

FIGURE 1 The relationship between theory and evidence, reflected in traditional archaeological research design.

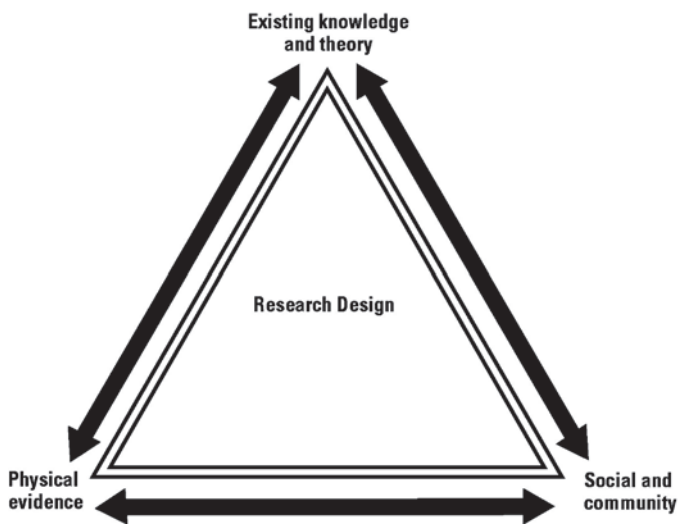

FIGURE 2 Research design reflecting broader issues, such as social and community context.

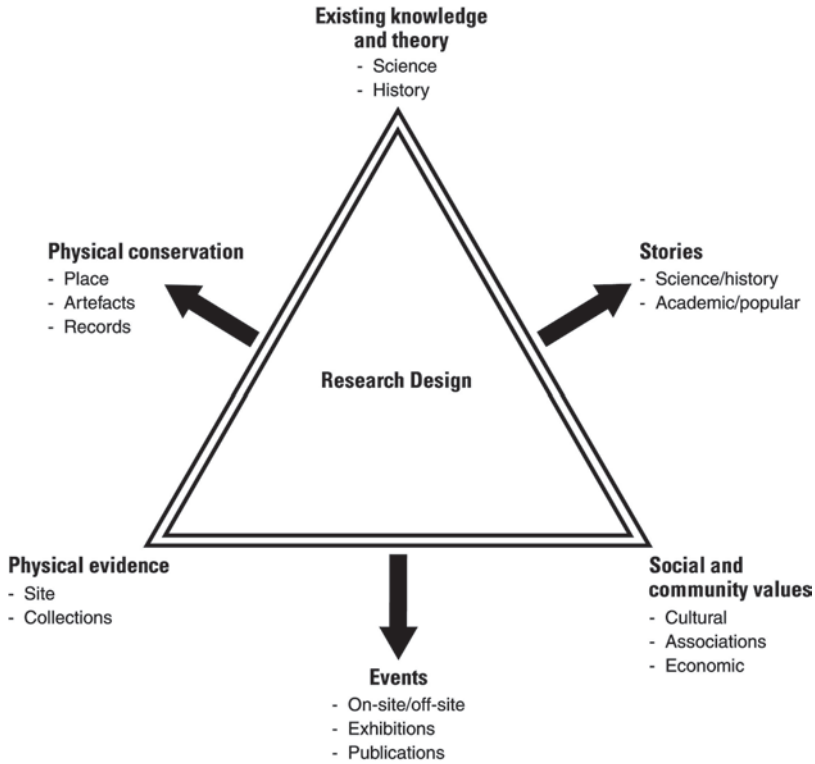

FIGURE 3 Research design: contextual considerations and potential outputs: integration of archaeological practice into holistic heritage management.

By contrast, figure 2 provides a triangular representation in which existing theory and knowledge and physical evidence are counterbalanced by social and community values. In other words, the conceptual framework for archaeological research design is expanded and can also respond to cultural practices, associations, meanings, or even the economic values of a particular place—to ensure that decisions about archaeological investigation or site management address all of the values of the place and the needs of its stakeholders.

Figure 3 builds on the representation in figure 2 by suggesting some potential outcomes. Physical evidence considered in relation to existing knowledge and theory is thereby focused on management issues and physical conservation needs for the place, its artifacts and records. The information or "stories" coming out of the investigation relate not only to existing knowledge and theory but also to the social and community context. The stories, therefore, may be academic or factual material or less formal storytelling of the type advocated by Praetzellis (1998) and others.

There is a third set of outputs, however, arising from the physical evidence of the place itself and its social and community context—the "archaeological event." This may take the form of participation in an excavation, a site tour, a website, an exhibition, media coverage, or even a book launch. In other words, where the value of the site is embodied more in its social context than in its potential contribution to theory and knowledge, it may well be that the appropriate outcome from archaeological investigation and management is the event itself rather than a report or publication. This notion, of course, provides more fodder for the derisive commentary in some of the U.S. literature about event-based archaeology, and therein lies the tension between traditional science-based models and the more humanist, inclusive approach advocated in this paper.

If twenty-first-century heritage management is about conserving all identified values and making them available to both contemporary communities and future generations, then there is a need for a less academic, less patronizing approach to archaeology; one that is more inclusive of both culture bearers and wider community stakeholders. Effective archaeological management involves moving beyond consultation, beyond tokenistic participation in projects, beyond new management involvement, and even beyond events, to an integrated approach to archaeology in its contemporary social context. The process must work both ways, with stakeholder input for values identification and management and output that connects the results of archaeological processes to their constituent communities. In doing so, cultural resource man-

agers will better recognize and realize the importance of archaeology in providing opportunities for an emotional response to the community's tangible history. If there is to be a common ground in archaeological heritage management, it is in a values-based approach that facilitates an inclusive and interpretive archaeology.

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Changing Stakeholders and Community Attitudes in the Côa Valley World Heritage Site, Portugal

António Pedro Batarda Fernandes and Fernando Maia Pinto

Abstract: *Because of its responsibility for managing a World Heritage Site, the Côa Valley Archaeological Park (PAVC) has a specific policy with regard to its stakeholders. Most local stakeholders and a large segment of the community have not yet realized that the region's achievement of sustainable development will rest on general upgrading of the socioeconomic structure. The aim of this paper is to explain why the PAVC advocates that the ability of the region to provide high-quality products and services, which match the inestimable significance of the Côa Valley rock art, will determine the success of a development project for the region based on cultural tourism. After an introductory overview of global cultural heritage management guidelines, we examine the challenges the PAVC faces in trying to establish specific management, preservation, and development strategies in this area of Portugal. We also discuss how, in certain cases, following completely "politically correct stakeholder and community-friendly" guidelines can endanger the preservation of our common cultural heritage.*

Over the past few decades, the international archaeological community has paid increasing interest to conservation heritage management (CHM) problems, as one can see from the vast literature concerning this matter (for references on the subject, see Matero et al. 1998). This has occurred for two reasons. Initially archaeologists realized that every research project should take a holistic approach to the site or sites under investigation and that preservation and presentation matters should be viewed in the same manner. Later it was believed that if archaeologists or professionals from related disciplines did not manage (i.e., preserve and present) cultural heritage resources themselves, perhaps responsibility for them would be given to administrators who lacked a preservation perspective.

To fully appreciate and understand stakeholders, we need to know how to identify, assess, and establish the best methods of communication with them. A brief discussion aims to highlight the important role that stakeholders play in the implementation of CHM processes. To some extent it also provides a basis for questioning a "politically correct" view of the involvement of community and stakeholders that underlies some authors' approaches to this issue. These approaches sometimes overemphasize the importance of stakeholders when implementing cultural heritage conservation projects. The notion that everything in the management implementation process must be done in accordance with or respecting stakeholders' demands or needs is advocated by some authors. This line of thought has made its way, unquestioned, into the mainstream of CHM thinking.[1]

The involvement of stakeholders is crucial to the success of any given CHM project. Nevertheless, we seek to demonstrate that in specific circumstances local stakeholders' and communities' ambitions should not jeopardize the higher aim: the preservation of cultural heritage resources.

Stakeholders can be located far from a particular region and still have an interest in the development or preservation of its resources. This concern may stem from their desire to preserve something valuable to them as members of the wider community. In this sense, all those who have proved themselves committed to the preservation of humankind's common legacy may have a legitimate stakeholder interest in the management or defense of the preservation of Côa Valley rock art. Local Côa stakeholders need to be aware that the significance of the valley's rock art makes it an invaluable testimony to all humankind. The fact that it is located in "their" region does not intrinsically make them the

sole or even the most decisive voices when discussing the management and tourism use of the rock art and overall development strategies.

Identification of Stakeholders

There are several different kinds of communities and stakeholders. The community can be local, national, international, or specific, such as the archaeological community. They all constitute different "stakeholders," the term being understood as individuals or groups of individuals who, whatever their location, have a specific interest in the way any given resource (in this case, cultural heritage) is managed. The number of stakeholders could be endless.[2] Because of their interest, stakeholders can either directly or indirectly affect CHM, in ways ranging from everyday decisions to long-term resolutions.

Open Attitudes and Wide-Ranging Discussion

The adoption of an open attitude by CHM organizations, what Hall and McArthur (1998) describe as "being the facilitators," will certainly foster their relationship with stakeholders. Naturally this does not mean that CHM managers should concede to every demand, as we discuss below. Nevertheless, a wide-ranging iterative process of discussion with the community and the many stakeholders on relevant matters (objectives, strategies, overall philosophical conservation and preservation approaches, etc.) must be established in order to secure the medium- and long-term success of a CHM project.

Assessing the socioeconomic and cultural status of the community can be a helpful tool in adjusting communication strategies so that the information CHM organizations transmit will be reasonably well understood. This will avoid time-consuming misinterpretations and will clarify positions so that all parties know what they can expect from one other.

Communication Processes

The local community needs feedback, whether it realizes it or not, from involved organizations in order to fully appreciate and judge the significance of its own cultural heritage. At the same time, even allowing for different communication strategies, the discourse of managers is often biased by their own beliefs, interests, or views and even, regrettably, is sometimes "bought by the highest bidder" (Hall and McArthur 1998:55), which is not very helpful when trying to gain the trust of communities. Managers must understand that CHM organizations do not work in a void or for themselves. These organizations, as any others, are integrated in a given society and are, in fact, the most empowered of stakeholders. Nevertheless, they need to be aware that it is society that delegates to CHM organizations the authority and the obligation to protect something that possesses important values to that given society.

Suitable communication methods must be established to ensure that the message is delivered effectively to communities and stakeholders. This can be achieved by promoting innovative and extended educational programs or by well-targeted information and promotion campaigns. It can also be accomplished by engaging influential and popular individuals within the community, establishing them as proficient communication channels for reaching the population. CHM organizations have to be active rather than reactive, trying actively to reach stakeholders and communities since they must be involved in the planning process from the start.

The Côa Valley Case Study: Changing Roles of Stakeholders and Community

The Côa Valley Archaeological Park (PAVC) was created in 1997 and given the responsibility to "manage, protect and organize for public visits, including the setting up of museum facilities, the monuments included in the special protection zone of the Côa Valley" (Zilhão 1998). A year later UNESCO classified the Côa Valley rock art as World Cultural Heritage. The roughly 1,200 engravings inscribed in schist, ranging in age from the Upper Palaeolithic to the present and located mostly along the banks of the final 17 kilometers of the Côa River, form the core of the cultural heritage management project in the Côa Valley (figs. 1–3).

The Côa Valley Archaeological Park was born of the need to preserve an invaluable assemblage of open-air rock art that was threatened by the construction of a dam. In this context, the creation of the park encountered fierce resistance from the supporters of the dam who believed that the dam was going to bring progress and development to the region (see Fernandes 2003). Therefore, from the beginning, a significant part of the local population did not endorse the implementation of an alternative project governed by wide-ranging conservationist, nature-friendly policies, which aimed to value heritage and to incorporate into regional development the concept of World Heritage.

For a majority of the local population and stakeholders, the creation of the park was considered a defeat, as they

FIGURE 1 Area of the Côa Valley. One of the most important port wine estates in the region, Quinta de Santa Maria de Ervamoira, can be seen in the background. Photo: CNART (Centro Nacional de Arte Rupestre). © IPA (Instituto Português de Arqueologia)

preferred the dam, the construction of which assured them a steady flow of income for at least two years. Local stakeholders felt that an urban elitist minority (stakeholders themselves, nevertheless) who had never paid any attention to that underdeveloped rural interior area of Portugal had imposed the creation of the park and subsequent halt in the dam construction (Gonçalves 2001a). Within the Portuguese administrative and political system, the creation of an archaeological park of roughly 200 square kilometers under the Ministry of Culture caused evident turmoil in the relationships between public institutions. Divergences occurred among the existing agriculture, land management, and environment agencies but mainly with the local administrations, who were heirs to a strong municipal tradition in Portugal.

Hence, it is no surprise that much of the regional population regarded the park with animosity. Adding to the situation, some important national government investment projects were postponed or delayed, an example of the latter being the construction of a museum devoted to the valley's rock art that would expand the region's capacity to receive visitors. But the chief complaint, especially on the part of the municipality, concerned the visitation system, which, in order to preserve the authenticity and integrity of the engravings and their surroundings, allows only a limited number of visitors per day (for a detailed consultation and review of this system, see Fernandes 2003; Zilhão 1998). Nevertheless, in the seven years the park has been open, 130,000 individuals have already visited the engravings (information provided by the PAVC's accountant's office).

Influential local stakeholders fancied questionable thematic parks and wanted to offer completely free access to the engravings. Their concept of development for the area included the creation of low-investment Disneyland-esque tourist structures such as on-site souvenir shops, food outlets, parking facilities, and amusement attractions—as if more than the rock art was needed to provide a quality visitor experience appealing to a broad cross-section of the general public. The main concern was to try to capture huge visitor numbers that could generate "astronomic" income flows while bypassing large private investments and the upgrading of socioeconomic and cultural structures. It is plain to see that this development concept[3] would endanger the preservation of the Côa Valley rock art in its full integrity and authenticity, especially if one considers the quite untouched context in which the engravings had survived hitherto. The most heeded local stakeholders and therefore an important part of the community give little value to the engravings—usually referred as "doodles done by the millers" who worked on the riverbanks until the 1950s. From their perspective, the only benefit would have been economic by taking the approach

FIGURE 2 View of Penascosa rock art site. One can imagine the negative impact that ill thought and intrusive mass tourism structures would have on this quite unspoiled and picturesque landscape. Photo: © Luís Luís, Parque Arqueológico do Vale do Côa

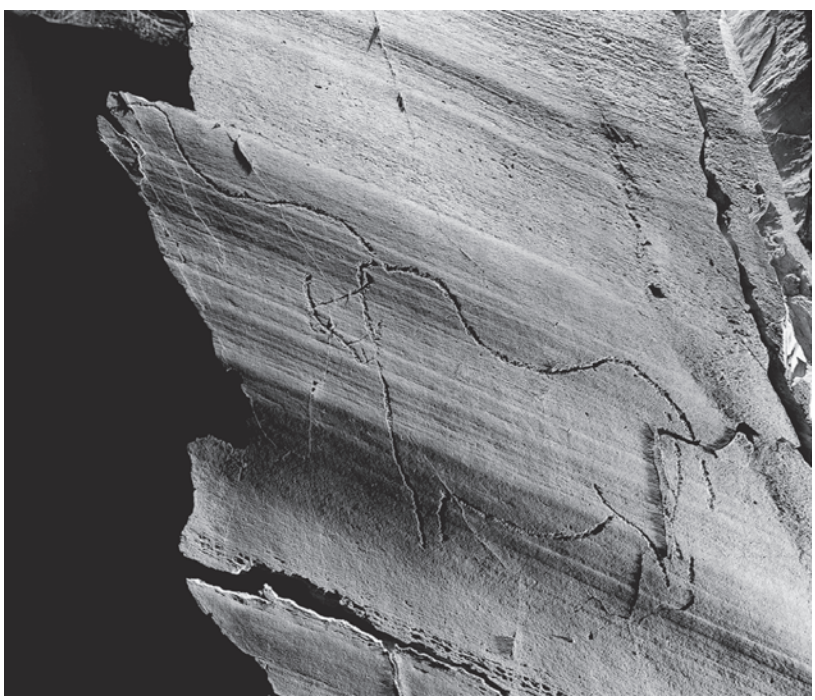

FIGURE 3 The entwined horses of the Ribeira de Piscos rock art site. Photo: CNART (Centro Nacional de Arte Rupestre). © IPA (Instituto Português de Arqueologia)

FIGURE 4 The garbage cans of Vila Nova de Foz Côa. Photo © António Pedro Batarda Fernandes, Parque Arqueológico do Vale do Côa

advocated above in which tourism development came first and only afterward preservation and holistic management of the Côa Valley rock art resource.

In the Côa Valley case, we believe it is important to clarify what is understood by the type of sustainable development that incorporates public presentation of the rock art. Our model, which determined the implementation of the "low-impact" visitation scheme (see Fernandes 2003), agrees with that of the World Commission on Environment and Development, which defines this concept as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (WCED, cited in Lélé 1991:611). In this sense, the rock art cultural resource must be seen as a fundamental but nonrenewable element of a sustainable development vision for the region.

It was precisely the prominence and importance of all that the World Heritage concept encompasses that began to reverse the situation, causing a growing number of stakeholders to change their minds and start supporting the park and its policies. In fact, the prestige, visibility, and publicity associated with the "Côa Valley World Heritage brand" is finally being used by locals in the promotion of their products, as they seek to certify them as authentic quality items and services. Some cases are more successful than others (fig. 4).

Instrumental to the success of this slow but steady process of changing mentalities was the PAVC's standpoint. Although seeking the active involvement of all stakeholders, the park strongly supports national, international, and especially regional or local stakeholders who maintain as a goal of their management philosophy the offer of quality products and services. In the long run only a culture of excellence (based either on already existing "products"—rock art, Port wine, olive oil, gastronomy, or landscape—or on new, genuine, and socioecologically sound products) will determine and maintain the success of sustainable development for the region. Among the examples of stakeholders using this approach are local and national government institutions, restaurants, cafés, teahouses, hostels, olive oil producers, tour operators, and Port wine farmyards, some with hosteling facilities or small on-site museums. The above-mentioned stakeholders are experiencing good results as a consequence of upgrading their offerings and also of their association with the Côa rock art World Heritage brand (fig. 5) (see Fernandes 2003:103–4).

FIGURE 5 Some of the local traditional agricultural products that the PAVC sells in its reception centers: port wine, honey, and olive oil. Photo © António Pedro Batarda Fernandes, Parque Arqueológico do Vale do Côa

In addition to promoting a first-rate overall cultural tourism offering in the area, beginning with a quality experience visiting the rock art sites (small groups of visitors viewing rock art in a relatively untouched environment located in a characteristic landscape), the PAVC aims through this policy to lead the way in improving most stakeholders' procedures by demonstrating the long-term benefits of such a change. Hall and McArthur (1998:54) believe that "stakeholders set definitions of quality that managers work towards." In the case of local stakeholders, this is what is taking place in the Côa, although here, conversely, it was the management principles established by the PAVC that established new definitions of quality for stakeholders.

As stated, the political and social circumstances of the Côa Valley created an environment that was somewhat hostile to the implementation of the park's management policies. This climate is being dissipated slowly but gradually as stakeholders begin to see and plan for the long-term, sustainable, culturally based development of an area where illiteracy levels are high, especially among the numerous aged population (see Fernandes 2003:96–97). Instead of opting for an entirely stakeholder-friendly approach, the PAVC deliberately chose to demonstrate the justness of its management and development policies. However, this is a slow process, and it will take time for stakeholders to fully understand that the future of this region lies in sustainable tourism that takes advantage of the region's invaluable heritage coupled with the provision of prime commodities and services.

Conclusion: Anti-Development Fundamentalism or Just Plain Good Sense?

We are aware that some may accuse the park of conducting a somewhat elitist or fundamentalist approach to the management of the Côa Valley in a socioeconomic context not fully prepared to understand the reach of most of the implemented conservation and development strategies. We do not believe that rock art or cultural heritage in general should be fully accessible to or appreciated by only a few chosen connoisseurs. Nor do we consider that it "belongs" only to a local community that descends more or less directly from the makers of a given cultural heritage feature. We do not feel that planning for or attempting to assure the sustainable future of the rock art and subsequently of the development of tourism and other economic avenues in the area is an elitist or fundamentalist approach. We believe it to be just plain good sense.

Another criticism sometimes heard is that archaeologists are preservation fundamentalists who turn up their noses at any development project. As the Côa Valley case study demonstrates, when most local stakeholders have an every-one-for-himself approach to CHM and when their proposals, needs, or development concepts endanger the preservation of cultural heritage, a line has to be drawn.

CHM bodies have a preservation pact with all humankind that must be kept. Rational and reasonable preservation policies—such as the ones implemented in the Côa Valley—"dictate" that some stakeholders' ambitions cannot be taken into account if we want to safeguard cultural heritage properties. As Jacobs and Gale (1994:1–8) point out, there is a profound difference of approach and management goals between what they define as "heritage industry" and "sustainable tourism." Although the involvement of stakeholders in cultural heritage management is essential, sometimes less conciliatory decisions have to be taken. These situations can arise when stakeholder interests are impossible to reconcile, when a specific stakeholder's demand is incompatible with the preservation of heritage, or when a substantial portion of local stakeholders favor the construction of dams over the preservation of significant cultural heritage sites. In the case of the Côa, if the most influential local stakeholders and the considerable part of the community that favored the dam had their way, the rock art sites would not have been saved from flooding. However, political decisions such as the one that stopped the construction of the dam as well as the implemented management strategies have to be clearly explained so that all parties understand why some demands, wishes, or ambitions cannot be met and to assure that the entire process is transparent.

The Côa Valley case study demonstrates the difficulties of the holistic, open, modern approach to cultural heritage management. Nevertheless, a well-integrated and productive set of organizations devoted to the preservation and public presentation of global cultural heritage must be aware that the conflict between development and preservation with all that it entails may force them, at times, to take a stand, to draw a line. Although the arguments presented in the introductory section and in the Côa case study may be somewhat contradictory, we believe that politically correct stakeholder and community-friendly guidelines might not sometimes serve long-term preservation needs or sustainable development options. In our opinion, the long-term preservation of the Côa Valley rock art is dependent on the success of the park's implemented management strategies. At the same time, the possibility for successful sustainable tourism development in the

area lies in the endurance of the rock art. Since the two are utterly entwined, it is clear that any disproportion in the tourism development/preservation equation would have a tremendous and perhaps irreversible impact. Even if we agree with Liwieratos's (2004) statement that "there is a greater chance of achieving sustainable conservation through development if responsibilities are shifted to the public," we also believe that, before such a change, it is vital to make sure that the public and the stakeholders, especially local ones, are truly prepared to deal wisely with the responsibility of contributing decisively to the management of a World Heritage Site.

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Notes

1 For a general approach on this, see, for instance, Hall and McArthur 1998: chaps. 3, 4; McManamon and Hatton 2000; Start 1999. For an example of a politically correct Portuguese approach, see Gonçalves 2001a, 2001b.

2 See Hall and McArthur 1998: 46 for a hypothetical but thorough list of stakeholders in any given situation.

3 For an assessment of the negative impacts that this kind of development triggered in the Algarve region after the creation of Portugal's number 1 mass tourism destination, see Tourtellot 2005:67.

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PART FIVE

Issues at World Heritage Sites

Introduction

Sharon Sullivan

Many famous World Heritage Sites have been discovered by archaeological investigations (Troy, Knossos, and the Willandra Lakes are three notable examples), and many more have had their cultural value increased or more clearly demonstrated by archaeological work. Eugenio Yunis in his paper points out that there are one hundred eighty sites on the World Heritage List whose primary world heritage values are related to their archaeological resource.

The criteria for World Heritage listing, however, do not include archaeology as such. Cultural sites are listed because they illustrate or possess outstanding features expressive of human history, culture, or technical achievement. These outstanding features need to be discovered, assessed, recognized, and compared with other like sites in order to be listed as World Heritage Sites. Therefore, though the archaeological resource is often the very basis of listing, there are no World Heritage Sites listed for their archaeological values; rather, they are listed for the heritage qualities that archaeology, along with other research methods, has uncovered. The position of archaeology as a crucial methodology—in some cases the only methodology capable of uncovering and articulating the significance of World Heritage Sites—but not as a specific World Heritage value in itself, raises a number of issues relating to the interpretation and protection of the archaeological resource at World Heritage Sites.

Giorgio Buccellati addresses some of these issues. In a clear and thoughtful discussion of the importance of archaeology to World Heritage listing and the necessary role of the archaeologist in the site's consequent interpretation and presentation, as well as its discovery, he points out that in many cases the excavator is the creator of the cultural values of the site and consequently must work from the beginning with a view to the final presentation and explanation of the site's values in a way to which the general public will respond. He likens the archaeologist-interpreter to an orchestra conductor: the listeners do not know the details of the score or the intricacies of the orchestra, but they can appreciate the music because the conductor knows these things and transmutes them into music that the audience can appreciate. Without the conductor the music remains uninterpreted, the story untold. Buccellati goes on to discuss this role in more detail, with a series of examples and parables that deal with these issues elegantly and poetically. He points out that the nature of the archaeological resource makes it especially important that the archaeologist intelligently and sensitively interpret the site, consider the views of key stakeholders, and popularize and spread the underlying story that the site has to tell. By this process, the archaeologist ensures that the key values of the site are known and that the archaeological resource that created them is respected and conserved.

A second issue that emerges in the conservation of the archaeological resource at World Heritage Sites is the potential for conflict between the methodology of archaeology and other cultural values that the site may have. For example, the archaeological resource at Willandra Lakes in western New South Wales is considered of immense research value by archaeologists and is included on the World Heritage List because it tells us a great deal about very early populations of *Homo sapiens sapiens.* However, the human remains of these ancient people are of great significance to the contemporary Aboriginal community, which has strongly objected to their

being treated as "scientific specimens," and the management of the site purely for its research value conflicted with some of these other values. Gamini Wijesuriya takes up this theme from an interesting angle. He discusses the differences between the traditional archaeological practice, as evolved in the West and spread to the rest of the world, in particular, to Southeast Asia, and the development of the World Heritage Convention and World Heritage Criteria. He argues that recognition of community values and a community voice in management has been inimical to the inherited archaeological bureaucratic practice in Southeast Asia but that recognition of World Heritage values by these countries has considerably broadened and deepened the archaeological tradition and has led to recognition of the humanistic as well as the research values of significant World Heritage Sites in the region. The increasing emphasis by the World Heritage Committee on the management of World Heritage Sites as living sites, of significance to their present inhabitants, has helped to change traditional, rather restrictive and bureaucratic archaeological research mores.

At World Heritage Sites with substantial archaeological remains, another issue relates to the actual conservation of these remains, especially where they have been exposed. There is often a great deal of pressure to exhibit them to the public, since they are the physical evidence of the story being told and the reason that many people actually visit the site. Such remains are often subject to gradual attrition by weathering, inadequate protection, and overuse. There is often a potential conflict between their conservation (which may indicate the need for reburial) and their exposure—used to explain the site to the visitor but often very damaging in the long term.

Also, often at World Heritage Sites only the excavated, described, or assessed portion of the resource is recognized, protected, and interpreted. The future archaeological potential of the site is often not officially recognized, and major parts of the archaeological resource are often excluded from the designated World Heritage area, because their significance is not recognized at the time of listing. An example of this is Angkor in Cambodia, a World Heritage area that includes all the major temples and water management systems that made up the great Khmer settlement, discovered and conserved over almost two centuries, initially by the French and later by the international community and the Cambodian government. The designated World Heritage Site is of outstanding beauty and displays breathtaking examples of craftsmanship and technical achievement. However, much of the settlement of greater Angkor—where people lived and worked—is not included in the World Heritage Site, and until recent archaeological investigations, including the use of satellite imagery, its extent and importance have not been recognized. So often much of the archaeological resource and the heritage landscape, which are crucial for conserving the site's World Heritage values, are not included in the designated World Heritage Site.

Douglas C. Comer's paper addresses this issue from the point of view of monitoring. He describes a rigorous and carefully designed monitoring system for World Heritage Sites with archaeological values, focusing on Petra as an example. His work is values based and uses systematic monitoring to identify change at all levels of the landscape and consequent remedial management action to conserve the key features of the World Heritage Site. Monitoring systems are designed to range from broad ecological characteristics and values through entire ancient landscapes (including those around the World Heritage Site) to specific structures and features—with the whole treated as an integrated system for management purposes. Comer points out that this broad yet detailed approach not only gives us the tools to protect the present resource but also provides fresh insights into the working of ancient landscape systems. Such a system makes it possible to record systematically and in detail changes to specific exposed features and to carry out remedial work to conserve them if necessary, and it can be applied to landscapes surrounding the designated site that will affect its significance.

Eugenio Yunis specifically addresses the issue of tourism at World Heritage Sites and its effect on archaeology, pointing out that many sites suffer from extensive overuse and crowding. He emphasizes that demand management, destination management, and site management are all necessary methods of tourism control. Although these methodologies may seem distant from the everyday concerns of archaeologists, they are crucial for the ongoing conservation of the resource. He points out that other World Heritage Sites (especially in sub-Saharan Africa) suffer from neglect and lack of resources and management. At these sites, in contrast to those with overcrowding, he points out that well-planned promotion and visitation could help to rectify the neglect and could in fact contribute to conservation by providing the necessary funding and resources through visitor contributions and by raising the national and international profile of these sites and consequently support for their conservation among the international community.

Taken together, these papers provide an interesting and stimulating picture of some of the challenges and responses relating to archaeological conservation at World Heritage Sites. Perhaps above all they make us realize the crucial role of the archaeologist, not only in discovering World Heritage values, but also in ensuring that the archaeological resource, which often forms the basis for these values, is duly recognized and protected in World Heritage conservation and management practice.

Sustainable Tourism at Archaeological World Heritage Sites

Eugenio Yunis

Abstract: *High tourist numbers at archaeological World Heritage Sites (WHS), mostly in developed countries, can create numerous problems that affect their culturally valuable structures or elements. Measures to ease the problems derived from tourism congestion at these sites are urgently needed. This paper argues that strategies and management plans aimed at site maintenance and conservation also need to include the management of visitors, specification of the corresponding interpretation and management techniques concerning group and individual visitors, seasonal flows, zoning, and capacity limits. A complementary approach to reducing tourism pressure on existing and often crowded WHS is to diversify the heritage designation process, including wider heritage-rich regions. Also, cultural tourism opportunities could be expanded through the inclusion of wider regions in tourism development plans and promotional programs in and around WHS. In developing countries, where most archaeological sites suffer from abandonment, looting, and decay as a result of insufficient protection due mainly to the extreme shortage of public funds, tourism can offer an excellent opportunity to achieve two objectives: safeguard their archaeological heritage and generate job and income opportunities to alleviate poverty in the sites' surrounding areas.*

There are certainly many issues regarding archaeological World Heritage Sites, but I neither intend nor pretend to cover them all in this brief paper. The approach adopted here is from the socioeconomic development perspective, including environmental and conservation issues. It focuses particularly on the contribution that tourism, as a contemporary sociocultural phenomenon and vibrant economic sector, can make to sustainable development. I make special reference to the potential of tourism in the developing world while not ignoring the problems frequently associated with mass tourism in more developed destinations.

The focus of this paper is on tourism at archaeological World Heritage Sites, although most of the conclusions and guidelines proposed for these are also applicable to other types of cultural heritage properties. And when looking at archaeological heritage sites, I distinguish between two extremes: highly visited sites, most of them located in developed nations and usually suffering from high flows of visitors; and sites in developing countries, generally with low levels of visitation and often suffering from lack of financial resources for their conservation.

Tourism in Today's World

The impressive growth of tourism over the past fifty years is one of the most remarkable economic and social phenomena of this period. International tourist arrivals grew, in real terms, from a mere 25 million in 1950 to 698 million in 2000. This represents an average annual growth rate of 7 percent over a period of fifty years. The revenue generated by these arrivals—excluding air fares and not taking into account income from domestic tourism—has increased at 12 percent a year over the same period, well above the average annual economic growth rate. Revenue reached U.S. $476 billion in 2000 and today represents the number one item in world trade in services (32.1 percent). Tourism represents 6 percent of total international trade, including goods and services.

Reasonable and relatively conservative forecasts by the World Tourism Organization indicate that this trend will continue, in spite of temporary crises due to wars, epidemics, and other political or economic events, and that tourism will grow

steadily in the foreseeable future. International arrivals are expected to increase to more than one billion in 2010 and attain over 1.5 billion by 2020. These data relate to the whole tourism sector, but it is reasonable to assume that tourism at World Heritage Sites will develop along parallel lines, or even faster.

Indeed, cultural and natural world heritage sites are becoming favored destinations for an increasingly larger number of tourists. According to a study by the European Commission, 20 percent of the total tourist visits in Europe, both intra-European and from overseas, are culturally motivated, while 60 percent of European tourists are interested in cultural discovery during their trips, whether within Europe or to other destinations. Current habits of shorter but more frequent holidays will particularly favor cultural, natural, and generally specialized destinations.

Although this type of tourism is not new, the progressive increase in numbers has taken place in the late twentieth century and is likely to grow even faster in the new century. Many factors explain this trend, among which are

- a more sophisticated tourist, in search of different cultural backgrounds and expressions;
- a growing number of local authorities looking at tourism as a source of income and employment opportunities;
- a growing awareness among conservation, cultural, and natural heritage authorities about the possibility offered by tourism to generate financial resources; and
- a continued growth in global tourism demand, both international and domestic, that pervades all types of destinations, including World Heritage Sites.

At the outset, it is important to state that, over and above the economic benefits that tourism can bring to nations and communities, the main value of tourism at heritage sites lies in that it serves as an introduction to the historical and cultural background of a country or place that people might otherwise never approach.

Tourism at Archaeological World Heritage Sites in Developed Countries

There are currently about 180 archaeological sites on the UNESCO list of World Heritage Sites, of which some 60 to 65 are located in the developed countries of Europe, North America, Japan, and Oceania. These forty or so countries have a huge domestic tourism market and were host to nearly 500 million foreign tourists, or approximately 70 percent of the international tourism market in the year 2000.

Many of these tourists, both domestic and foreign, visit World Heritage Sites and generate substantive income for the sites themselves and for many local residents living in the surrounding areas. At the same time, the problems created by high tourism visitation to these archaeological sites are numerous, and in many cases they have an impact on the valuable remaining structures or components that make up the site and that give significance to it. Measures to ease the problems derived from tourism congestion at these sites are, therefore, urgently needed. Three basic models are generally proposed to manage tourism congestion, each dealing with demand management, destination management, and site management. The first two fall under the responsibility of public authorities and the tourism industry, while the third is of particular relevance to the issues dealt with in this volume.

At the root of most of the problems derived from tourism at highly visited sites is the absence of a suitably balanced site management plan that integrates the four main objectives, conservation, research, education, and public visitation. Furthermore, when such a plan does exist, it is common to find that it has not taken into consideration the fact that the site is to be, or indeed needs to be, visited by tourists of different ages, interests, nationalities, and requirements and at different times throughout the year.

Management plans must, in the first place, provide for the right type of measures to ensure the necessary conservation of the site and to preserve its different values. But plans should also involve the local community in site management, and of course also in the economic benefits that can be derived from it. This is the only way to ensure the community's commitment to and cooperation in protecting the site, through a better understanding of its cultural and historic values and the realization that it is not renewable.

Together with a strategy for site maintenance and conservation, there is an imperative need to formulate a strategy for the management of visitors at each archaeological site, with specification of the corresponding interpretation and management techniques concerning group and individual visitors, dealing with seasonal flows, establishing special zones with different protection measures according to their fragility and vulnerability, and with different capacity limits, and so on.

A key condition for success in the implementation of site management plans is stakeholders' participation in the plan's formulation. In addition to the local community, it is essential to involve tour operators, other tourism-related companies, and their staff. Cooperation and coordination between site managers and tourism businesses is a determinant in achieving the smooth handling of visitors, including large numbers of them when the site permits it. The opposite is also true: even a small number of uncontrolled visitors at a site can result in damage to it. This usually happens when there is no coordination between site managers, on the one hand, who feel unconcerned about tourism flows, and tour operators, on the other, who are only interested in short-term economic gains for their business. Both attitudes combined may lead to serious damage to the site's physical structures and its values, and of course to a reduction in visitors' satisfaction and learning.

But beyond site management, there is another issue in connection with highly visited sites. While it has been generally beneficial for these sites to be inscribed on the World Heritage List, since it has helped to develop further awareness of the value of heritage and the need to preserve it, it may be argued that it has also meant adding a further element of risk, due to the appeal that such inclusion and the resulting media coverage exerts on the public at large and especially on private tourism operators.

This is why it seems reasonable and convenient to consider alternative approaches to site designation, perhaps extending the concept of "sites" to include wider heritage "areas" or even "regions." Indeed, attractive and culturally rich monuments, villages, or archaeological sites that are equally representative of a given culture or historical period for which a site has been designated often remain outside the tourist circuits and do not benefit from the positive effects of tourism development. Thus, in order to reduce the tourism pressure on existing and often overcrowded World Heritage Sites, there is a need to diversify the heritage designation process. At the same time, there is a need to expand the cultural tourism offer through the promotion and inclusion of wider regions in tourism development plans and promotional programs in and around the World Heritage Sites.

In summary, in the face of increased pressure from a higher proportion of the population in the developed world wanting and having the right to travel, to experience and learn about foreign cultures, and to visit their built and natural heritage, it is necessary to

- strengthen conservation efforts at archaeological heritage sites likely to be visited by high numbers of tourists;
- establish, in consultation with the local community and with the tourism industry, advanced management plans for archaeological sites, including regulations for their visitation, and strictly enforce them; and
- identify new archaeological and cultural heritage attractions near World Heritage Sites and develop them for tourism visitation, so that demand can be better spread out, thus reducing the pressure on existing sites.

Archaeological World Heritage Sites in Developing Countries

Let us now look at the other extreme. More than one hundred archaeological World Heritage Sites are located in developing countries, many of them in the so-called least developed nations, where tourism is only incipient. Most archaeological sites in these countries are suffering from abandonment, looting, and decay as a result of a total lack of protection and conservation due, among other factors, to the extreme shortage of public funds for such purposes. Few of these sites receive visitors, and if they do, it is usually in small numbers. Yet tourism can offer an excellent opportunity to these countries to achieve two objectives: safeguarding their archaeological heritage and generating job and income opportunities to alleviate poverty in the sites' surrounding areas.

A good example of this type of situation is sub-Saharan Africa, where extreme poverty is the norm. There are twenty-eight archaeological sites registered or candidates to the UNESCO World Heritage List in thirteen African countries south of the Sahara, which represent about 8 percent of all such sites in the world. These thirteen countries have a total population of 192 million, with an average GDP per capita of less than U.S. $300. Worse than this average is the crude fact that over 80 percent of these people, that is, more than 160 million persons, are living on less than one dollar per day.

The same thirteen countries received only a combined total of 1.55 million tourists in the year 2000, with an average per country of about 150,000 tourists per annum. This is barely 0.22 percent of total international tourist movement. And what is happening to their archaeological World Heritage Sites? They are generally in danger because of an understand-

able lack of attention by the public authorities, which are financially unable to cater for the most essential needs of the local population. The local communities, for their part, are perhaps unaware of the cultural, archaeological, and historic values embodied in those sites, and as they do not receive any benefit from them, they are also unaware of their potential economic value. A similar situation can be found in several countries in Asia, the Middle East, and Latin America, even if they are not in the least developed category.

National determination by governments of these countries, as well as generous and concerted international action, is required to assist them in developing heritage tourism around their archaeological and other World Heritage Sites in a sustainable way. This will allow them to achieve conservation and economic objectives at the same time. Cooperation among national governments, their cultural and tourism authorities, international organizations, and the international tourism industry is urgently needed. Also, the cooperation of archaeologists, conservation professionals, and managers of highly visited sites in Europe and North America would help to transfer their experience in research and interpretation, in site management, protection, and conservation, in tourism development and marketing, among other areas.

This issue could represent a tangible way for the archaeology and conservation professions to show their commitment to the main challenges of our world today—reducing shameful poverty levels in a world of affluence and contributing to social harmony and peace.

Presentation and Interpretation of Archaeological Sites: The Case of Tell Mozan, Ancient Urkesh

Giorgio Buccellati

Abstract: *Management of archaeological sites should not be viewed as an additional layer that is imposed from without but as something that issues from the intrinsic value of the monument. From this perspective, the best management practice is one that reflects the strategy that has brought the site back to light in the first place. As part of management, the excavator ought to communicate the motivation behind the recovery, because that is the same motivation that governs any effort at conserving and presenting. Only then can the excavator legitimately leave the site and turn it over to others for protracted management. The thrust of this article is that the archaeologist-excavator must work with a view toward final presentation from the very beginning of the excavation process. Such an effort will remain inscribed in the monument in ways that could never be proposed again later and will make a broader fruition of the monument flow seamlessly from its intrinsic value as progressively perceived through the excavation. This conviction is developed not out of theory but rather out of the practice of archaeological work at a particular site, which is at the basis of the conclusions proposed here. It may be said that if ancient Urkesh lay buried under what came to be known as Tell Mozan, we as excavators are the ones who have once again turned Mozan into Urkesh. This paper seeks to describe how we have gone about this task.*

Archaeological "Localization"

Let me propose a metaphor, taking my cue from a neologism. The term "localization" has come to be used regularly in information technology and related domains to refer to what we might normally call "translation." There is a whole industry built around this concept: it addresses the particular need to make commercial websites accessible not only and not so much in different languages, but in different cultures. How to advertise bathing suits to Eskimos might be a reductio ad absurdum of this process. The point is that to sell a product one has to make it "locally" relevant; one has to translate not just words but a whole mind-set and the material embodiments by which it is represented. You might say that localization is the commercial side of semiotics.

So it should be, I would argue, with the presentation and interpretation of archaeological sites. We seek to convey understanding. In a commercial venture, understanding is seen primarily as appeal: it is not so much that a firm wants customers to understand the inner workings of its product; it only wants them to understand what can appeal to them so that a potential customer becomes an actual one. In a cavalier, and ultimately patronizing, approach to the presentation of an archaeological site we may fall prey to the same syndrome: whatever the *vulgus* can accept, that's what we'll provide them. But this attitude, and any shade thereof, must be avoided—for three good reasons.

First, there is an intrinsic value to presentation and interpretation—to archaeological "localization," if you will. Culture is a continuum, and there should be no hopeless rift between the technical aspects of archaeology and the interests of the layperson. Gradual transitions in the kind and amount of detail, yes. But a sharp break—no. When presenting and interpreting, the archaeologist must be like an orchestra conductor: few if any people in the audience may be able to read the score, but the music performed *is* the score, not a watered-down semblance of it. It is such a profound respect for the continuity of culture that will save us from any form of paternalism, whether vis-à-vis stakeholders or tourists. And note that just as a conductor is first and foremost a musician, so

must archaeological "localization" remain in the hands of the archaeologists. It should not become a job that we gladly relinquish to outsiders, leaving it for them to decide what the rhythm should be or where the crescendos should go.

Second, presentation and interpretation are an extension of our teaching mission. We must be able to gauge the common ground between our technical knowledge and the degree of readiness in our audience. We must be in touch with the concerns of our audience, and address them—not in order to sycophantically modify our data for the sake of pleasing but rather in order to present what we perceive as real values in such a way that they can be truly appropriated. The other side of paternalism is a "take it or leave it" attitude: this is what we offer, too bad if you don't like it. Instead, we must identify with legitimate interests, stir them, and provide answers.

Third, presentation and interpretation should enrich our own archaeological horizon. We must become better archaeologists precisely through the effort of explaining. After all, the whole of scholarship is a form of translation. As archaeologists, we translate a mound of dirt into a pile of paper or its digital counterpart. And this process develops in a capillary sort of way from the most synthetic to the most analytic. But the data so understood and so presented remain always a single whole: answering the broadest question has implications for the most remote detail. This is also why we archaeologists must be the presenters. Trained, there is no doubt, by the skills that show us how to help the audience appropriate the intended target, but also trained to bear in mind the nature and value of this same target.

In this light, "popularization" is not a secondary endeavor with which the archaeologist cannot be bothered. It is rather an intrinsic aspect of our task. In the few remarks that follow I deal with a few instances that may help to show how this can happen in a concrete situation, using as a test case our own work at Tell Mozan, ancient Urkesh, in northeastern Syria. In so doing, I plan to address the concerns of the overall theme in this session of WAC from a perspective that is only seemingly tangential. It goes to the core of the problem, I submit, if we view management (at least as far as it pertains to an archaeological site) not as an additional layer that is imposed from without but as something that issues from the intrinsic value of the monument. From this perspective, the best management practice is one that reflects the strategy that has brought the site back to light in the first place. The excavator ought to communicate the motivation behind the recovery, because that is the same motivation that governs any effort at conserving and presenting. Thus the thrust of my argument is that the archaeologist-excavator must work with a view toward final conservation and presentation from the very beginning of the excavation process. Such an effort will remain inscribed in the monument in ways that could never be proposed later and will make a broader fruition of the monument flow seamlessly from its intrinsic value as progressively perceived through the excavation. For better or for worse, that has been my concern at the site about which I am speaking here. It may be said that if ancient Urkesh lay buried under what came to be known as Tell Mozan, we as excavators are the ones who have once again turned Mozan into Urkesh. Here, then, I seek to describe how we have gone about this task.

What Popularization Can Do for Scholarship

In our effort at protecting the mud-brick walls of a royal palace that is undergoing long-term excavation, we have aimed at combining conservation with reconstruction (see my article in Part III of this volume). This makes the ruins much more understandable to even the occasional visitor, particularly with the addition of color schemes and signs that explain the function of the various rooms through which one can in fact walk with a newly acquired sense of appreciation for such things as circulation patterns or size of rooms, which remain abstract when just laid out on paper. But unexpected results quickly become apparent for the archaeologists as well. No matter how well trained one is to read floor plans and sections, the danger is always present to perceive them as they are on our reading medium (whether paper or the computer screen), that is, as planes rather than as indices to volumes. The effort at "reconstructing" our walls by means of metal and canvas coverings could not be justified only in the function of correcting this misperception. But, having embarked on a reconstruction program that aims at presenting the architecture to the public in an understandable way, there is the unquestionable benefit that the archaeologist, too, can perceptually relate to volumes rather than just planes. Here is a very telling example of the continuum about which I was speaking earlier: the effort of visualizing serves the same function that biofeedback does, because the volumes one reconstructs for public presentation elicit a new understanding of the very premises on which the reconstruction is based in the first place.

It also quickly emerges that only the team of archaeologist and conservator could accomplish this. One cannot subcontract the task to outsiders, because the questions that arise

in the process require a full understanding of the stratigraphic premises on the one hand (archaeology) and of the limits of intervention on the other (conservation). An apt parallel can be found in the textual sphere. A "good" translation is not the "translation of a translation," that is, the reworking of a "literal" translation. Rather, a "good" translation is one that transfers the syntactical, semantic, and semiotic valence of the original text—hence one that requires an even greater understanding of the source language than is needed for a "literal" translation, that is, a rendering of mere morphological and lexical features. Thus in the case of our palace, every detail of the reconstruction is assessed both in terms of its stratigraphic and functional relevance as understood by the archaeologist and in terms of its susceptibility to preservation.

Virtual reality reconstructions are another good example of how important it is that archaeologists be directly involved in the technology. No such project can be handed to an outsider the way we give a manuscript to the printer. We do not want to just present an aesthetically attractive rendering to the public. Rather, the presentation ought to serve as a vehicle for an in-depth consideration of spatial relationships that may not be immediately apparent, even after the walls are restored to their original dimensions. A three-dimensional model elicits questions from the archaeologist that have an important heuristic function, in that it directs attention to aspects of connectivity that one might not otherwise suspect.

Ultimately, a thorough effort at presentation and interpretation becomes involved in matters of semiotics that can also be surprising. Signs were dynamic and easily perceived by the culture from which the monuments arose. Palace and temple were endowed with a richness of meaning that is only dimly hinted at in the meager remnants we bring back to light. The very words *palace* and *temple* may in fact be more evocative than the ruin. But we must assume that the ancients would instinctively have had a full semiotic perception—that is, an awareness of the valence a monument can have as a sign. Perhaps no amount of reconstruction and explanation can ever again elicit such a perception, but a committed effort to a reconstruction and explanation so directed can endow the ruin with a resonance it lacks when we, the archaeologists, stop after we have laid bare the skeleton. The effort to communicate the value of ancient signs to the public forces scholars to think more deeply about just what such value was. In this respect, presentation and interpretation, resting on stratigraphic understanding and conservation skills, serve as the conduit for a proper humanistic approach to archaeology. The overriding concern of such an approach to the past lies in the appropriation of past experience, an appropriation not based on fantasy but rather on a controlled reflection about what the ancient experience in fact was. We may say that the archaeologists' first task is to establish, with the tools and the sensitivity of a social scientist, the patterns that are recognizable in the physical record. At which point, they continue with the tools and the sensitivity of the humanist to reach beneath the simple clustering of patterns and to inquire after the meaning that gave them origin in the first place.

What Popularization Can Do for Conservation

More specifically, we may now consider the effect on conservation of popularization taken in the sense of proper presentation and interpretation. An effort to promote understanding of a site is a two-way street. On the one hand, a site that is well understood encourages people to preserve it. On the other hand, eliciting meaning for others, even the occasional others, raises the archaeologist's awareness for meaning *tout court.*

As for the first point, pride in one's heritage is the best guarantee against looting, or even casual damage. But such pride can only derive from an understanding of the intrinsic value of a site. Archaeological ruins are not always immediately evocative of grandeur, hence education is as critical a component as conservation and reconstruction. The second point is the reverse. As scholars, we are not engaged in empty advertising. We don't make up meaning; we find it. And any effort to convey it to others—from peasants to politicians—helps us to see it in a different light. Culture is a continuum not only because it can be explained, but because the explanation rebounds on the explainer.

At Mozan, we have pursued these goals in a commonsense sort of way, that is, not so much out of a predetermined program that we had set out to implement but rather responding to needs as they were perceived little by little. This is not to say that we stumbled into action casually and haphazardly. There was from the beginning a strong commitment to the basic principles that I have been outlining, and what developed slowly were only the specific forms that our concrete implementation of these principles took over time.

For instance, we found that the best way to integrate the "stakeholders" (we did not then have a name for them), and at the same time the best way to avoid any form of paternalism (or neocolonialism, if you wish), was to develop our own sense of commitment to values. In this manner, the effect of our actions was to co-opt and be co-opted at the same time. To co-opt—because we assume that the values we believe in

have an independent pull on the "others." And to be co-opted—because we are eager to appropriate the values they in turn believe in. It is then clear that we want to share something that we consider valuable in its own terms. In this way we have communicated the need to conserve the nonspectacular as well as the spectacular—and this is no small feat in archaeology. We have nurtured an atmosphere of great care for the maintenance of the past by showing how even small details are essential to understand the larger picture. As a result, there is a sense of pride not just in the fruition of the finished product as presented but also in its maintenance. And conversely, the stakeholders nurtured in us an appreciation for responses that we did not expect—poetic addresses, for instance, on the part of what turned out to be innumerable poets among our neighbors, or drawings, or even musical compositions inspired by "our" shared archaeological site that looms so large on all our various horizons.

Importantly, along these lines, our early start on conservation showed how we are professionally involved in conservation. Walls were preserved when first exposed, not after they were known to be the walls of a palace. This communicated our commitment to the exposed relic as such, regardless of its potential public relations value. It communicated, in other words, a degree of professional integrity and coherence that was not lost on the audience (again, our "stakeholders"). In return, we were strengthened in our resolve, because their embracing our effort underscored for us the intrinsic worth of the effort, almost as much as receiving an additional grant!

The presentation we provide as a finished product (reconstructed walls, posters, handouts, even an audiotape that accompanies a visitor when we are not present at the site) is the major avenue for our message. But another very important channel of communication has been the talks we give in more or less formal settings. We begin with our own workmen, who number up to two hundred in some seasons: we give general overviews with slides and now computers, but we also give, to the crews of the individual excavation units, periodic assessments of the goals, the progress, the strategy. We provide them with handouts that spell out dates and names. Our workmen and other local collaborators, who are all from neighboring villages and towns, come back with their families and friends and begin to explain not just about walls and buildings but about events and history. We also give more formal presentations in the local towns, whether in cultural centers or schools, and of course receive groups and individuals who come for an occasional visit. The newly found understanding of their own territorial past is a source of great energy, and it obviously provides a firm lever on which rests the long-term protection of the site.

Some episodes attest to the far-reaching benefits of this approach. Our site was used as a burial ground for neighboring villages. That this can no longer be the case was accepted with good grace, but beyond that we have also started working on the removal of existing burials, with the full cooperation of the families. In the case of the village of Mozan itself, we established a common cemetery where the human remains that we have studied are reburied along with the bodies of newly deceased members of the village. Also, in the lower portion of the tell, which corresponds to the ancient outer city (for a total of almost 150 hectares), there are fields that are owned by local farmers who cultivate them on a regular basis. A change from wheat to cotton culture has stimulated the construction of industrial-type wells. When one is planned, the owner waits for the expedition to return, at which time we do a sounding and submit a recommendation to the Directorate General of Antiquities and Museums as to whether a permit may or may not be granted. And even when our recommendation is negative, it is accepted without grudge. Finally, the urban growth of neighboring towns has been chartered by the various local governments in ways that respond to the requirements of archaeology as we have been presenting them. The positive result is that the ensuing regulatory plans take into full account the landscape in which the site is located and seek to protect it by steering the development away from it.

Conclusion: "Localization" as Semiotics

As in the case of conservation, presentation and broad interpretation for the public, or archaeological "localization," must not be viewed as an outside intervention that takes place apart from, independently of, and long after the archaeological work proper. "Localization" must be inserted in the archaeological work itself, avoiding the tendency to see it as something which is both *a posteriori* and *ab exteriori.* The main reason, I have argued, is that archaeology as such benefits from the effort, that is, that we learn about our side of archaeology by seeking to present it and explain it to the local and the wider public. Unquestionably, better archaeology results from proper localization.

In our experience, this means that pertinent concerns must be inscribed in the excavation process itself and not left for a distant, later, and extrinsic intervention. It is, to some extent, a matter of sensitivity more than of procedures or

staffing. In a broad sense, this touches on the question of meaning. For the archaeologist, meaning can easily be reduced to technical control, more or less defined by metrical data, and reinforced by statistical correlations among seemingly infinite masses of data. And it is indeed important that we master this aspect of our trade. For in the absence of full control, there can only be fantasy. But it is important that we seek the meaning beyond, or rather behind, the patterns, that is, the meaning that ultimately gave rise to the patterns when the "data" were embedded in the stream of life. It is in this sense that I have referred to localization as "semiotics." Properly, we seek to identify the value that signs had for the ancients. But an invaluable support to this effort is the parallel endeavor to identify the value that the same signs ought to have for our contemporaries. In this way, we all—archaeologists working at the site, modern inhabitants of the area, and outside visitors—become stakeholders of our common past.

Are We Ready to Learn? Lessons from the South Asian Region

Gamini Wijesuriya

Abstract: *Although with Western colonization, traditional practices of caring for heritage began to disappear from South Asian countries, strong conservation traditions based on Western knowledge started to develop. Over the years, issues specific to local and regional situations were identified and innovative solutions were found. The World Heritage system brought new ideas and demanded the fulfillment of certain requirements with its nomination process. This was difficult within the existing institutional and legislative structures. As a result, conflicts arose but the outcomes were promising. The results also demonstrated that the World Heritage system can be used as a platform for sharing knowledge for the better protection of South Asian heritage.*

Two major movements of heritage conservation can be seen in South Asia. The first has a regional outlook and originated more than one hundred fifty years ago. In the mid-nineteenth century, British colonial administration introduced "archaeology" into their public sector management regimes in South Asia. Soon "conservation" became a major activity in this management system, as an integral part of archaeology. Including conservation within the domain of archaeology in these countries was a very useful model at the time, when the colonial administration concentrated on protecting major archaeological sites that had been neglected for centuries and required state protection. At this time, however, archaeology in this part of the world was a management discipline rather than an academic discipline (Wijesuriya 2003a). Systems that had originated in India and Sri Lanka were later extended to Nepal as well as to Bangladesh and Pakistan after the latter two separated from the mainland. This reflects a common thread in the approach to archaeology and conservation that is deeply rooted in all these countries.

The second movement is universal in its outlook; it affected the region through World Heritage activities. The concept of World Heritage and its operations over the past three decades brought, even demanded new definitions as well as new approaches to the conservation of heritage. The concept required a reassessment of heritage values, a broadening of conservation approaches, a demarcation of buffer zones, and above all new management structures.

The two movements are in conflict, not necessarily with regard to the end objectives, but to the way in which they operate. This paper attempts to explore some of the conflicts that have emerged in managing World Heritage archaeological sites in the region. World Heritage Sites provide a common platform to debate and to learn from these issues, both for the international community that exercises jurisdiction over the World Heritage Convention and for those at the local level who are responsible for the protection of heritage. Examples presented here are from the author's experience of working in five countries—Sri Lanka, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Nepal—on a number of issues together with the World Heritage Centre, ICOMOS, and ICCROM.

Conservation in the Past

The past indeed lives in the present in South Asian societies and plays a significant role in the lives of the people (Wijesuriya 2003a). One remarkable result is the transmission of heritage, dating from the sixth century B.C., to the present generation with its original values and associated communities (Wijesuriya 2003b). This continuity of heritage, mostly of religious traditions, was possible because of highly sophisticated principles and processes of conservation developed by

these societies. *Mayamatha,* a treatise on architecture written in the sixth century, provides evidence:

> Those temples whose characteristics are still [perceptible] in their principal and secondary elements [are to be restored] with their own materials. If they are lacking in anything or have some similar type of flaw, the sage wishing to restore them [must proceed in such a way that] they regain their integrity and are pleasantly arranged [anew]; this [is to be done] with the dimensions—height and width—which were theirs and with decoration consisting of corner, elongated and other areas, without anything being added [to what originally existed] and always in conformity with the initial appearance [of the building] and with the advice of the knowledgeable. (Quoted from Dagens 1985)

It is also evident that such principles have been complemented by the infrastructure and resources provided by the rulers and the public. Chronicles refer to the rulers who appointed special officers and even ministers to oversee conservation work (Wijesuriya 1993). A ninth-century inscription from Sri Lanka quoted below documents the level of skills that were available for conservation.

> [There shall be] clever stone-cutters and skilful carpenters in the village devoted to the work of [temple] renewal.
>
> They all . . . shall be experts in their [respective] work.
>
> Means of subsistence of the [same] extent [as is] given to one of these, shall be granted to the officer who superintends work.
>
> Moreover, when thus conferring maintenance of the latter person, his work and so forth shall [first] be ascertained, and the name of him [thus] settled [with a livelihood], as well as his respective duties, shall be recorded in the register.
>
> Those of the five castes who work within the precincts of the monastery shall receive [their] work after it has been apportioned; and they alone shall be answerable for its correctness.
>
> The limit [of time] for the completion of work is two months and five days.
>
> Blame [shall be attributed to] the superintendents, the *varikas* and the labourers who do not perform it according to arrangement.
>
> Those who do not avoid blame, [and] do not do [the work] or cause it to be done [as arranged], shall be deprived of their share. (De Zilva Wickremasinghe 1912:8–9)

Conservation and Archaeology under Colonial Rule

The above systems began to disappear with the beginning of Western colonization. The first major conservation movement began with the arrival of the British in the nineteenth century. British colonial administration introduced "archaeology"—as a management discipline—in India, which included Bangladesh and Pakistan, in the mid-nineteenth century and two decades later in Sri Lanka (Wijesekera 1990) with the establishment of departments of archaeology (Archaeological Survey of India and Archaeological Survey of Sri Lanka). These departments were in the domain of public administration, and the original intention of the work was to record the archaeological ruins of the respective countries.

These departments began the identification and recording of individual monuments and, in some instances, large areas with surface ruins, as well as the process of state protection. Within a decade or two, the authorities were compelled to undertake rescue operations to protect some of the significant monuments that were in a bad state of repair. The public works departments' services were obtained for the stabilization of structures, under the guidance of civil engineers. With the exception of Sri Lanka, such structural conservation work was continued by engineering professionals (designated as archaeological conservators) even after responsibility for such work was fully taken over by the respective departments of archaeology. In terms of resources, conservation work began to absorb much of the annual government allocations.

In the early stages of colonial administration, departments of archaeology were headed by civil servants, but they were gradually replaced by professional archaeologists who possessed academic, field, and managerial experience. Thus, in theory, an archaeologist was always in command of all the conservation work carried out by the respective departments. In addition, again with the exception of Sri Lanka, all conservation professionals (engineers) functioned under the immediate supervision of an archaeologist (designated superintending archaeologist, assistant director, etc.). The majority of conservation work in the form of consolidation of ruins was guided by Marshall's conservation manual (Marshall 1923) and similar documents adopted by each country.

Even today, archaeology and conservation management systems are centrally controlled and highly bureaucratic, with hardly any focus on the general public as their main customers, and they are often subject to political interference. Over the past decades in some countries, archaeologists have been replaced by civil servants as heads of departments. The systems operate with strong legislative mandates but under archaic government procedures most of which are nonflexible and internally focused. Although many senior-level staff have access to current knowledge in archaeology and conservation, its application is not as simple as one would like to see.

For more than a century and a half, knowledge transmitted mostly from the West has directed the activities of conservation and heritage management in general. In the end it has generated a great wealth of knowledge about heritage conservation. Many sites have been documented and action has been taken to protect and maintain them on a regular basis by means of on-site monitoring systems. Although conservation issues specific to this part of the world had been addressed and innovative solutions found by local professionals, these drew little or no attention from the rest of the world. It was a one-way information flow and therefore natural that such systems conflicted with new movements such as world heritage conservation practice. There are, however, many positive outcomes as a result of the conflict between the two movements.

Conventional versus World Heritage Approaches

The second conservation movement came to this part of the world with the introduction of the World Heritage Convention. The convention shifts from the concept of cultural property to cultural heritage, thus capturing a much broader spectrum of human traces of the past (ICCROM Newsletter 2003). This has resulted in greater recognition of the diversity of the heritage and intangible dimensions of the past. For instance, the concept of cultural landscape brought recognition to places that have significance to societies but do not necessarily contain tangible remains. The World Heritage system, headed primarily by Western scholars, began to define monuments and sites in a much broader geographic and cultural context and to develop conservation approaches accordingly. These new ideas, together with certain explicit requirements for inscribing sites on the World Heritage List, were imposed on conservation professionals in the Asian region as well.

Initially, professionals in Asia had to absorb and translate these new ideas and requirements into their local and institutional cultures. They also faced the task of educating and convincing politicians and the general public about the new developments as these groups began to express more interest in the subject. Some of the examples discussed below explain the nature of the conflicts and the final outcomes that have been or are yet to be achieved.

In the case of the archaeological World Heritage Site of Hampi in India, the Department of Archaeology had identified fifty-six individual buildings for protection long before the convention came into effect. However, these are only the major and visible ruins of a unique and massive city center of the fifteenth century, with clear boundaries covering a geographic area of more than 30 square kilometers. For the purpose of the convention, and with the help of provincial government heritage legislation, the site definition now exceeds the fifty-six monuments. Conventional legislation, which defines what heritage will be protected, and management approaches need revision so as to facilitate World Heritage operations.

Archaeological sites are generally considered ruins, for the most part buried and dead or "not in use." Many archaeological sites in the Asian region, however, do not fit this view. For example, Anuradhapura in Sri Lanka, Lumbini in Nepal, Bodhgaya in India, and many other sites are still places of worship and pilgrimage and are considered sacred by millions of Buddhists. These places contain archaeological remains dating back to the third century B.C.E., but their sacredness adds a different set of values and conservation challenges. Although these values are included in the criteria for selection of World Heritage, their consequences are yet to be understood by the professional conservation community. It should be understood that the conservation of these sites as presently undertaken is in direct conflict with general approaches to archaeological sites. Some of the practices in this region could be further refined and adapted to deal with issues of archaeological sites associated with living religions (Wijesuriya 2003b).

The test of authenticity of materials, form, and design as required by the convention was in direct conflict with some existing conservation practices in the region due to the lack of recognition of the cultural context and the diversity of different countries. For instance, many religious buildings demand the replacement of decayed materials in order to retain spiritual and other cultural values attached to them. The spiritual significance of a stupa in Sri Lanka as reflected by its outer appearance is more important to Buddhists than the materials replaced or added during conservation. The old

material remains are respected in Buddhist culture but in a somewhat contradictory manner. The practice of renewal by replacing decayed materials guarantees continuity and also helps to retain the spiritual significance of a temple. Disregard for such practices in different geographic regions and cultures has been highlighted previously. It is worth quoting Ito (2000):

> Authenticity is a European word originating from ancient times. In contemporary days, it appears in the text of the Venice Charter. In [the] European concept, conservation methods applied in Roman ruins, namely, conservation with minimum interventions, would be evaluated as meeting authenticity in material. However, in most Asian languages we do not have any proper word corresponding to authenticity. . . . We Asian experts in charge of conservation were embarrassed by this method of minimum intervention. We thought that we have had other ways of conservation and should keep the essence of these ways even in future. We were much troubled.

This conflict has resulted in the Nara Document on Authenticity, which has provided a useful framework for recognizing diversity and considering conservation practices in the cultural context of a given society when it is desirable.

On the other hand, the Nara Document does not give license to conservators to disregard or undervalue the authenticity of material remains of the past. Thorough documentation, research, analysis, and wider consultation in decision making in the conservation of materials, be they part of a building or otherwise, are some of the important practices demanded today that were also practiced in Asian countries. But the increased deterioration of systems within the departments of archaeology in South Asian countries has tended to result in deviation from these practices. The replacement of over one thousand terra-cotta plaques at the World Heritage Site of Paharpur in Bangladesh is a case in point. The archaeological conservator–project leader of the conservation program decided to replace ancient terra-cotta plaques with replicas and to preserve in a museum those that were removed. This was well intentioned and well documented, but the conservator and his team were unable to capture the difference between the original work and the replicas, thus sacrificing authenticity. Current practices—contrary to the original intent of having conservation be an integral part of archaeology under the purview of an archaeologist—do not ensure wider consultation among colleagues within or outside the department. If that had occurred, a disastrous situation would have been averted. Involvement of the World Heritage Centre in this matter was considered a conflict, but it can be seen as an incentive for local professionals to avoid such situations in future and to embark on widely advocated multidisciplinary team work in conservation.

Linking heritage conservation with land use planning was the single most powerful tool used in the recent past. This is particularly relevant to the management of large archaeological sites. The conventional departmental system has neither a legislative mandate nor the required staff for this purpose. A major paradigm shift is required in heritage management approaches for these conventional systems to be able to work with relevant authorities who have legal mandates. Had this sort of approach been used as advocated by the experts involved in the World Heritage missions, some of the major threats to the sites could have been avoided. Building the massive bridge across the World Heritage Site of Hampi in India led the site to be included in the List of World Heritage in Danger. This easily could have been avoided if heritage protection authorities had reviewed the infrastructure needs of the area with the planning agencies. On the other hand, the sacred area planning scheme prepared for the archaeological World Heritage Site of Anuradhapura, with the help of the town and country planning legislation and many agencies, is the principal management tool being used for its conservation. The region has some of the best-practice examples to share and adapt to particular situations. The World Heritage system could be an open platform for this purpose.

Working within civil society, let alone respecting its views, is a phenomenon generally in conflict with the prevailing practices of public service in South Asia. However, it is important that the responsibilities of protecting heritage be shared with the wider community. Civil society can include the private sector, nongovernmental organizations, volunteers, and local communities that are in favor of and useful in heritage conservation. Not only is the current public service in conflict, it does not provide any opportunities for making new alliances. To overcome this situation and facilitate conservation of large archaeological sites, several new initiatives are under way in Asian countries. The Sigiriya Heritage Foundation that was established by the government of Sri Lanka provides for public-private partnerships in protecting the Sigiriya World Heritage Site. The Lumbini Development Trust has taken responsibility for managing Lumbini, while the Department of Archaeology retains supervisory powers. A number of

similar initiatives have been taken in India for the management of their archaeological sites, some of which have been active from the nomination stage. The effectiveness of these initiatives in protecting World Heritage Sites needs closer examination and adaptation.

The management plan is another important instrument demanded under the World Heritage Convention. This requires the analysis of outstanding universal values and the formulation of long-term strategies not only for conservation but also for other relevant aspects such as presentation, visitor facilities, tourism, future research, monitoring, and maintenance. Annual operational programs are intended to stem from these management plans. Such plans demand very high skills from the preparation to the implementation stage, and require evaluations and revisions at regular intervals. Preparation of management plans, which also require wider consultation with different professional groups and with civil society, are not practices familiar to the public service sector.

The system provides only limited conservation planning at central offices where some management capabilities exist. Low-ranking staff based at the site level can make little if any contribution to the preparation of management plans. By way of comparison, a person in charge of a World Heritage archaeological site in Asia could be a very low-ranking staff member with little education but long years of experience, while a manager based at a similar site in a Western country could be a professional with postgraduate qualifications. It is, however, worth recording that as a result of pressure from the World Heritage operation, management plans for many sites are being developed with the help of professional communities outside the public sector, and sites are being managed by professionals. The transition to having a professional heritage manager at the site level and the preparation of comprehensive management plans are experiences that can be shared with the international community.

There is a strong monitoring component for all sites protected by the respective governmental agencies (departments of archaeology) in Asia. Some sites are guarded twenty-four hours a day by permanent staff members who are expected to report any minor or significant changes to the remains, based on the monitoring results. Another level of monitoring is conducted by senior staff members of the regional or head office who visit sites on a regular basis. The terminology used may differ, but the ultimate objective is to observe changes to the heritage. Though information collected in this manner is qualitative, it is adequate for the preparation of annual maintenance or conservation plans. It may not be sufficient, however, for the requirements of periodic reporting. Nevertheless, it is important that existing practices be given due consideration in developing modern monitoring methods.

Conclusion

Cultural heritage, with its many diverse and composite cultures, plays an important role in the political arena as well as in the day-to-day lives of many people in the region. The number of World Heritage Sites in the region is rising, as it ought to, which adds new dimensions to consciousness of the past. However, the notion that protection of heritage is the role of government is deeply rooted in the minds of many people because of the prevailing practices of government-controlled archaeology and conservation. The importance given to the World Heritage List and relevant matters by the respective governments as well as increasing awareness among professional groups and the general public, and their willingness to be partners in heritage protection, has opened conservation approaches and management practices to wider debate. The conventional government-controlled system, with strong, deeply rooted conservation approaches and management practices, was in conflict with World Heritage operations when the latter began in these countries.

These conflicts have raised interesting issues relevant to the conservation and management of World Heritage Sites that are also applicable to heritage conservation in general. As a result, new initiatives have emerged and local conservation professionals and agencies have opted to revive their conventional approaches, management practices, and even legislation and to share best practices at the regional and international level. Similarly, the World Heritage system has begun to acknowledge the importance of issues in South Asia, thus demonstrating that there are some gaps in current knowledge and that there are areas for improvement. The process of knowledge expansion should give due consideration to issues at heritage sites in their own cultural, social, and organizational contexts. The World Heritage system provides a useful platform to discuss new and improved approaches to conservation and management practices while sharing knowledge from local, regional, and international experiences. However, the ultimate objective should be to use World Heritage as a vehicle for the conservation of heritage in general (Wijesuriya 2001). As the director-general of UNESCO has urged, "This concept of heritage calls upon each and every one of us to respect the trans-historical significance of the sites, not only

those inscribed in the lists, but also those which, while possessing comparable significance, have not been listed and perhaps never will be. World Heritage sites should serve as an example and become models of conservation for all sites, including those of more local interest" (Matsuura 2003).

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Monitoring of Landscape Change at World Heritage Sites: Prologue to Proactive Management

Douglas C. Comer

Abstract: *This paper argues that rigorous programs of monitoring key resources, visitor experience, and community conditions should be established at World Heritage Sites. Thoughtfully structured monitoring can greatly reduce the time needed to develop effective and efficient management programs and sustainable site improvement projects that are informed by science and public participation. It can also alert decision makers and the concerned public to ongoing natural and cultural processes that will destroy key resources in the absence of intervention. Monitoring is described at two scales: of the integrated landscape in which the site is located and of management zones established within the site. Monitoring programs must be based on (1) an understanding of the natural and cultural resources at the site that make it worth preserving in the first place and (2) explicit statements of desired uses and conditions at the site. That is, monitoring programs must be based on both scientific study and social understanding. The first of these should be accomplished through an inventory and evaluation of site resources and of practical knowledge of the natural and cultural systems that affect those resources. The second must be developed through negotiation with stakeholders, which at World Heritage Sites include groups based both locally and globally.*

The Advent of Protected Area Monitoring

Protected area management in most places has developed largely by repeating the patterns of human organization that are familiar to those charged with establishing a management organization at a particular site. Most often, this has been done uncritically. However, we now have a history for the management of protected areas, including archaeological sites, stretching back about a century that we can use to improve and develop site management.

A key moment in that history was the passage, in 1970, of the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) in the United States. In response to this act, the U.S. National Park Service, the oldest of the organizations that manage archaeological sites and other protected areas, began to keep careful records of environmental change produced by management activities. Soon, monitoring protocols and programs were being developed at many parks.

After about a decade, it became clear that the protocols developed for monitoring provided the basis for a more effective and efficient way to manage parks. Management zones had been an essential element of general management plans for parks for half a century. Now, biologists, ecologists, and archaeologists were brought in to define management zones with much more attention to the distribution of the natural and cultural resources that parks had been established to protect. Many park managers enthusiastically embraced this style of management, originally instituted as a result of an increasing demand for management transparency and accountability, because it provided a better way to use funds and staff. Thus the policy to establish a program for each park to monitor the conditions of natural and cultural resources in a more formal and precise way than had been done previously evolved to link the results of monitoring to management decisions.

In a monitoring program, the site to be protected is treated as a system. A system contains specialized parts that must function and interact in ways that sustain the system as a whole. Communication and coordination of these parts is essential to systemic sustainability. The agency by which

communication and coordination is accomplished must, minimally, be able to

- establish system requirements, that is, identify essential system components and standards for those components.
- survey component standards (characterize the condition for each component).
- plan and organize efforts to maintain and improve system health based on a solid evaluation of component conditions and the ways in which they operate to affect the system as a whole.
- monitor the condition of key system components and the effectiveness of steps taken to maintain and improve system health.
- revise plans and reorganize efforts in a timely manner.

Monitoring programs make explicit several of the capabilities essential to the executive functions of effective communication, coordination, planning, and decision making. Site managers in developed countries with mature administrative support systems for protected areas functioned relatively well for decades without a monitoring program. They were able to do so because the five capabilities listed above were in place, and they were able to use these capabilities by emulating the seasoned managers with whom they worked in their formative years. By making these capabilities explicit, however, we make them accessible to managers who do not have the benefit of the training and support that those in established systems enjoy. A monitoring program is also a shortcut to effective planning, and it retains the necessary ingredients of public involvement. Finally, it provides site managers not only with the information they need to make decisions but also with the substance of arguments they can deploy to explain those decisions and to acquire funding, equipment, and personnel.

Essential Elements of a Monitoring System

The purpose of monitoring is to identify undesirable change occurring at strategic loci. The object is more than to arrest deterioration at these loci before it becomes irreversible; it is to reverse deterioration before it precipitates system collapse. Monitoring is employed in many fields, including medicine and natural resource preservation. As the principles of transparency and accountability have become more prominent in government and business, monitoring has emerged in those areas as well.

In every field, monitoring involves first identifying *indicators.* Indicators are the things to be measured. An elegant monitoring system selects things to be measured that are most pertinent to the overall condition of the system to which they belong. In medicine, for example, one monitors, among other things, blood pressure and cholesterol. In natural resource conservation, one monitors the health of indicator species or those species that are most sensitive to generally deleterious environmental change. An often-cited indicator from a practical realm is the canary in the coal mine. If the canary dies, it becomes urgent to understand why and to take swift corrective action for the safety of the miners.

The second step in monitoring is to decide on or devise *instruments.* In medicine, these include an inflatable cuff and a stethoscope in the case of blood pressure. In ecology, we might count occurrences of indicator species in a certain area to measure species health.

The third step is to set standards. When what we measure exceeds those standards, we take corrective action. Deciding on the corrective action usually involves discussion, even debate, and perhaps testing to understand why standards have been exceeded.

At protected areas, monitoring can be thought of as being of two types. The first of these involves monitoring not only the protected area itself but also the entire region in which changes that occur might affect resources, experiences, and conditions inside the protected area. This type of monitoring can be termed "integrated landscape monitoring." The other kind of monitoring is of change occurring in zones that have been established at protected areas. These zones are established in ways that are described more fully below, but they are generally determined by the desired uses and conditions suggested by the distribution of cultural and natural resources within the protected area. This type of monitoring can be called "management zone monitoring."

In what follows, occasional reference is made to ongoing efforts at Petra Archaeological Park in Jordan to establish a monitoring system in order to distinguish integrated landscape monitoring from management zone monitoring. The Petra experience also serves to highlight some specific considerations and tools that are appropriate to each scale.

Integrated Landscape Monitoring

Crucial here is the use of a broad landscape analysis in order to identify indicators, select instruments, and establish standards. This regional perspective will reveal encroachment on core resource areas by ongoing development that changes

viewshed, drainage, and vegetative patterns. The most practical and cost-effective means of accomplishing this is sometimes to use satellite remote-sensing technology. This technology can be employed as a key tool in a preliminary landscape analysis that helps to yield indicators, instruments, and standards. Satellite imagery also provides a synoptic view of landscape change, one that shows how changes in one area of a large landscape affect other areas. In addition, it compensates for the chronic shortage of personnel at protected areas in developing countries that would otherwise be needed to inventory, characterize, and evaluate the landscape by on-the-ground inspection.

Efforts now under way at Petra Archaeological Park to establish a monitoring program illustrate uses of satellite imagery for integrated landscape monitoring. At Petra, as at many other cultural and natural World Heritage Sites, destruction and deterioration of specific resources is often produced by altering the balance between cultural and natural processes, which leads to the instability of structures that we wish to conserve. Most destructive systemic changes involve encroachment by modern development, and the immediate degradation of experience is often far from trivial.

Topography is the framework for human occupation of a landscape: people can reside and work only where slope and aspect are suitable and where water, the occurrence of which depends to a large degree on topography, is present. Existing satellite technology can be used to produce a digital elevation model (DEM), the basic tool by which topography can be analyzed, represented, and understood. This technology includes ASTER imagery and data collected by the space shuttle radar technology mission (SRTM). Both sources can be used to obtain data that will provide a DEM with 30-meter accuracy. Such data are inexpensive. Acquiring more precise DEMs may be necessary for some applications, although these are usually more expensive. They include the analysis of aerial stereo pairs obtained with aircraft. Alternately, Space Imaging Corporation can acquire, for almost any location on earth, stereo pairs that can be used to produce DEMs accurate to 6 meters horizontally and 2 meters vertically. Such a DEM is being acquired for a portion of Petra, and the utility of the DEM will be tested there. What must be kept in mind, however, is that satellites are being launched continually, and these will provide data of increasing precision and utility.

Viewshed Analysis

Modern developments such as hotels and roads are jarring when seen by visitors who are walking through ancient cities and landscapes. Digital elevation models can be used to highlight those areas that would intrude on views from historic areas (see fig. 1). The degree of development in these areas can serve as indicators; protocols, including those involving remote-sensing technologies, to detect degree (in particular, height) of development can be instruments; and height restrictions and lux levels at night can be incorporated into standards.

Vegetative Change

Encroachment also sets in motion changes in topographic, hydrologic, and vegetative patterns that over longer periods can destroy cultural resources. A history of vegetative change can be constructed using what is now well-known technology of LANDSAT and SPOT satellites, which have been collecting multispectral data for twenty-five years. The history can first provide a baseline and then tell us how vegetation has changed in type and distribution. Certain types of vegetation can produce damage to cultural resources, and degree of vegetative growth is easily observable in multispectral and hyperspectral imagery. The ASTER satellite can, among other uses, serve as an instrument (fig. 2). High-resolution (approximately one meter per pixel) satellite near-infrared imagery (such as that acquired from IKONOS and Quick Bird satellites) has become readily available over the past few years and can now provide even more precise tracking of vegetative change. Standards must be developed with reference to a ground inventory of resources sensitive to vegetative change. Not only vegetation, but also the lack of vegetation, can constitute a threat because erosion develops more easily and proceeds more rapidly as vegetation disappears. Standards should be established in indicator areas for acceptable type, density, and distribution of vegetation.

Hydrologic Change

Erosion is more directly produced, of course, by water. Water at many archaeological sites is the greatest single threat to cultural resources. It destroys belowground sites through erosion; and as surely, though sometimes more slowly, it damages and eventually destroys architecture, whether of wood, earth, or stone.

Hydrological flow models show how water would flow, assuming that all rain became runoff and there was no interception, evapotranspiration, or loss to groundwater. Figure 3 displays such a model. The area in which the majority of tombs and the ruins of freestanding structures at Petra are contained is outlined in red.

An example of interception in a flow model is a water management system. Therefore, the baseline for hydrological

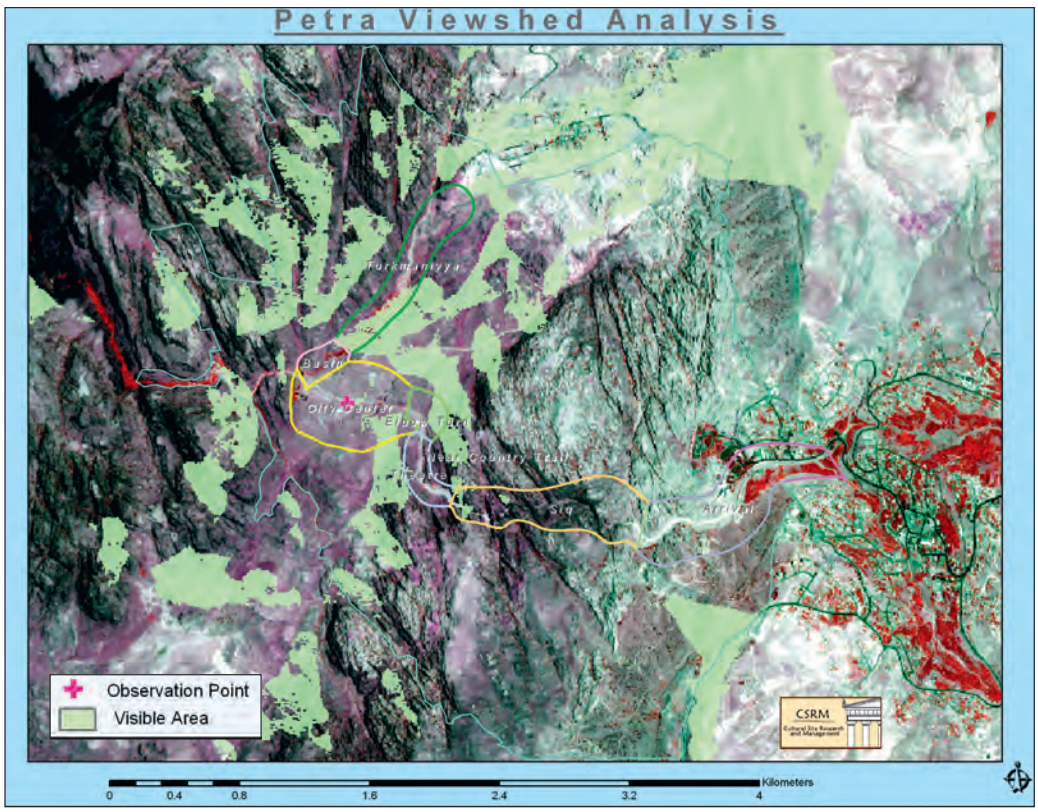

FIGURE 1 Viewshed analysis of Petra. Areas visible from the historic core are indicated in light green. Courtesy of CSRM and Space Imaging

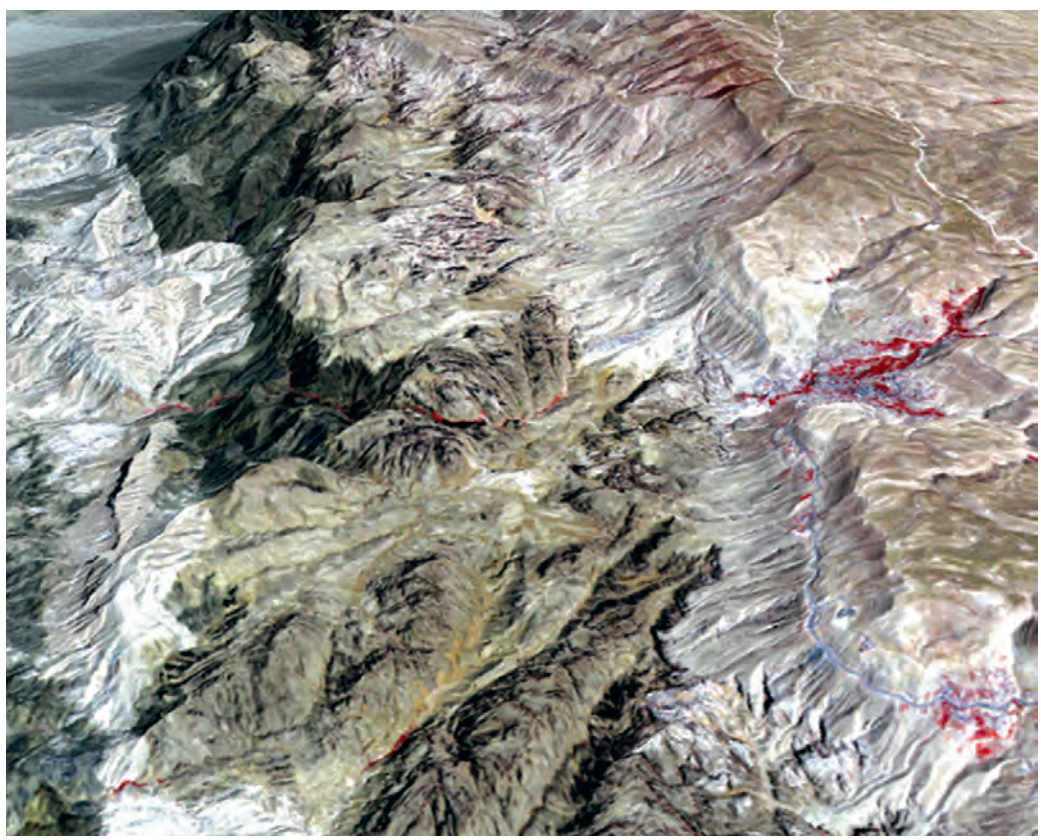

FIGURE 2 ASTER (advanced spaceborne thermal emission and reflection radiometer) satellite image draped over DEM produced through stereoscopic analysis of the two data sets collected simultaneously by the satellite. Courtesy of CSRM and Space Imaging

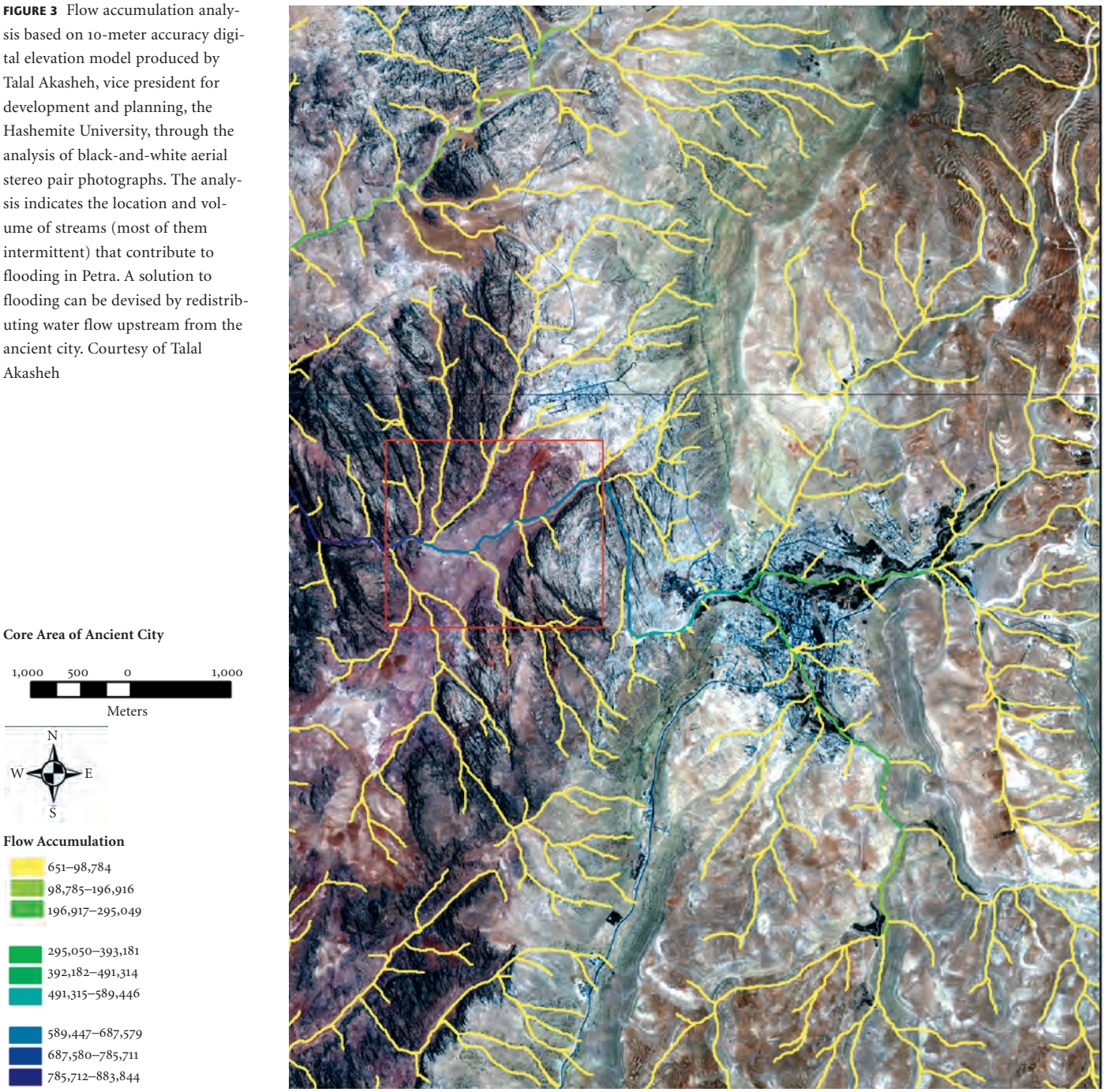

FIGURE 3 Flow accumulation analysis based on 10-meter accuracy digital elevation model produced by Talal Akasheh, vice president for development and planning, the Hashemite University, through the analysis of black-and-white aerial stereo pair photographs. The analysis indicates the location and volume of streams (most of them intermittent) that contribute to flooding in Petra. A solution to flooding can be devised by redistributing water flow upstream from the ancient city. Courtesy of Talal Akasheh

change at archaeological sites often should include features in such systems. One function of the water management system at Petra was to direct water to agricultural fields. By draping high-resolution IKONOS satellite imagery over a digital elevation model, we can see clearly for the first time what eludes the observer on the ground, a field system that is placed optimally in the watershed (fig. 4). While the field system here is obviously intact, where field systems have been destroyed elsewhere, flash flooding downstream is common. The prime example of this is the area into which the modern town of Wadi Musa, adjacent to Petra, has spread over the past fifteen years.

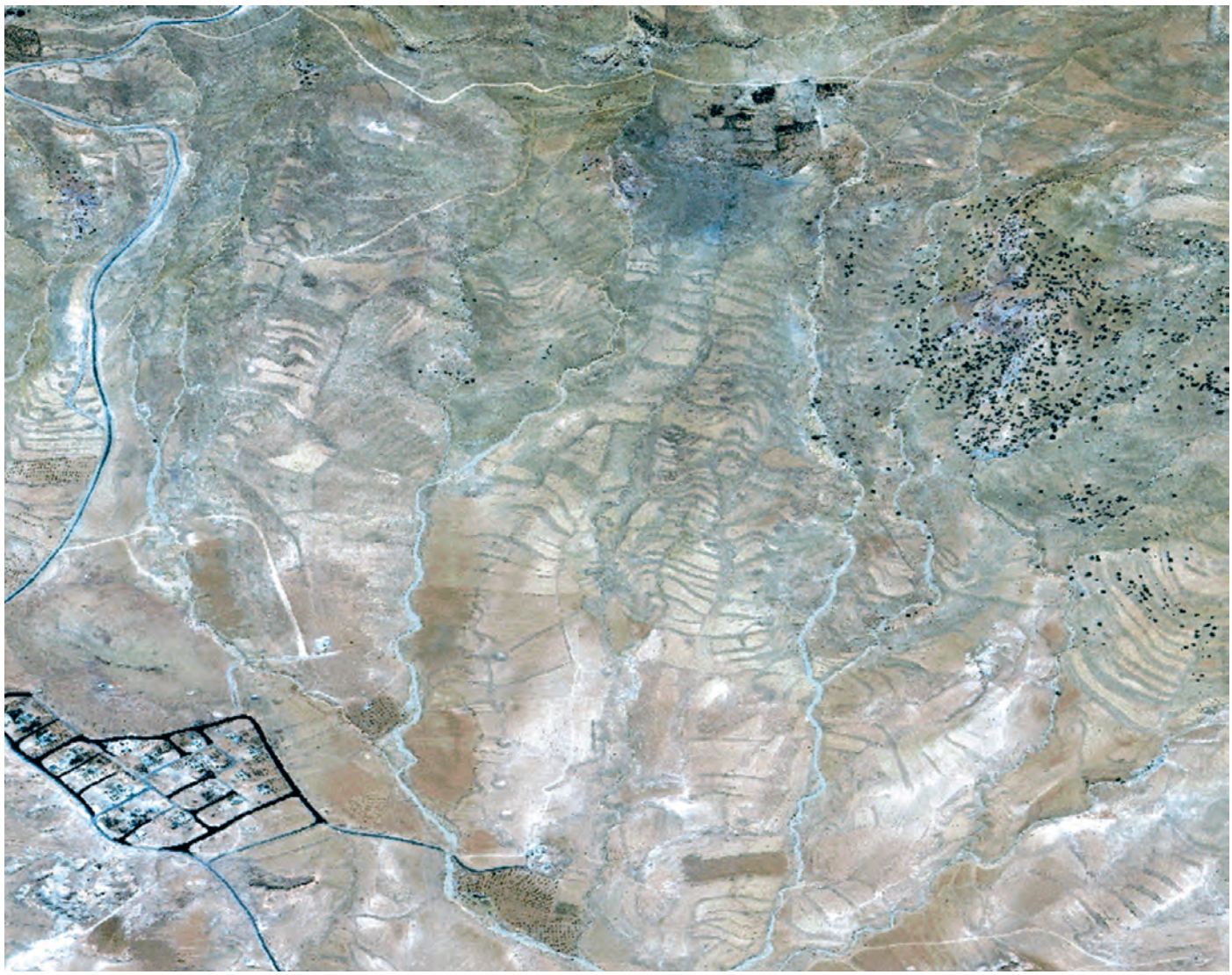

FIGURE 4 Field system above the Beidha area of Petra that distributes water to terraced fields. Given the similarity in plan to Nabataean fields elsewhere, it seems likely that this field system originated in Nabataean time. Courtesy of CSRM and JPL/NASA, with special thanks to Mike Abrams

Figure 5 shows the results of the removal of the field irrigation system that once acted to buffer flash flooding. This photograph was taken on 14 January 2004. Floodwaters are seen coursing through the heart of the ancient city, eroding archaeological sites and tombs. Floodwaters running downslope and through the sandstone canyon system pick up salts. When the sandstone from which the famous tombs of Petra were cut absorbs the water, it absorbs the salts. When the water evaporates, the salts crystallize, forcing sandstone grains apart in a process known as "salt-wedging." Water also runs

FIGURE 5 Flash flood waters among tombs in the core area of Petra on 14 January 2004.

down the facades of tombs. Limestone dust from nearby highlands has settled on the exterior of the tombs, forming a hard but brittle crust. When water finds its way into cracks in the crust, it eventually wears away the softer sandstone beneath. The exterior, on which decoration has been carved, falls away.

The ancient water management system also directed water into channels that led to cisterns or reservoirs. Cisterns were usually carved into stone and out of the rays of the sun. This was important because the system also shunted water away from the tombs cut into the walls of the sandstone canyon system in which Petra is located.

What is needed is the identification of indicators in the form of areas where development would most compromise the ancient water management system, instruments by which to detect and gauge development in these areas, perhaps including the use of satellite imagery, and standards that would discourage development likely to produce damage to the cultural resources of Petra. A monitoring system of this sort at Petra could be a model for such systems at other World Heritage Sites.

Management Zone Monitoring

Monitoring also occurs at zones within a protected area. Management zones should be discrete (nonoverlapping) areas determined by

- distribution, type, and sensitivity of resources present.
- environmental parameters that affect resource condition, visitor flow, and visitor experience.
- infrastructure design and standards that affect visitor flow and experience.
- desired use. Uses essential to accomplishing management objectives for the protected area are assigned the highest priority.
- desired condition. Desired condition is determined not only by local and international resource management standards and guidelines but also by management objectives.
- boundaries suggested by existing landscape features. These features can be natural (e.g., rivers and ridges)

or produced by human alteration of the landscape (e.g., roads and treelines). Ideally, an observer located anywhere in the landscape would find it possible to determine the zone by noting prominent landscape features.

It is important to note that desired uses and conditions for the integrated landscape should be formulated with the participation of stakeholders. Once these have been determined for the entire landscape in which the protected area is located, specific uses and conditions can be allocated to individual management zones. Indicators can then be established for those conditions that are most informative about and representative of the overall desired conditions for the zone. As with integrated landscape monitoring, the instruments selected must be practical, as well as provide the appropriate degree of precision. Standards are often best set with input from scientific and technical experts, as well as from groups that will be affected by the results of monitoring. Petra management zones are shown in figure 6. Desired uses and conditions for these zones are presented in table 1; table 2 presents sample indicators, instruments, and standards for each zone.

Management Response

An essential element of effective monitoring is that it be integrated into site management procedures so as to trigger management action if standards are not met. Therefore, the 2000 Petra Operating Plan provides for the management organization and operating procedures necessary to ensure that destructive actions are documented and that this documentation is used as the basis for management action. At full staffing levels, Petra Archaeological Park will have three monitoring specialists with expertise in stone conservation and geology, archaeology, and cultural anthropology.

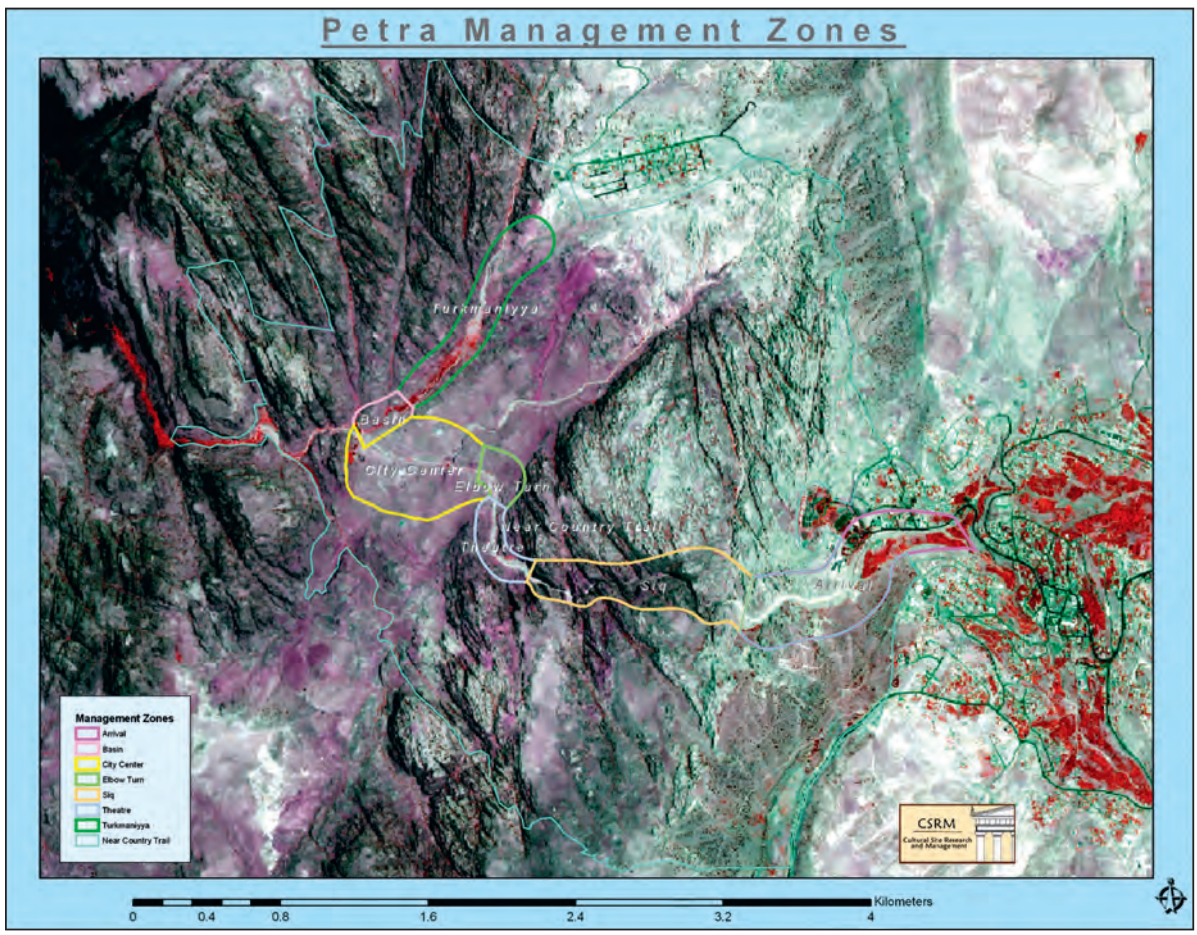

FIGURE 6 Management zones at Petra Archaeological Park, Petra World Heritage Site. Courtesy of CSRM and Space Imaging

Table 1 Desired uses and conditions for management zones at Petra. These will be reevaluated by stakeholders each year for three years.

Management Zone	Desired Use	Desired Condition
Arrival	Basic visitor orientation, transition from modern to ancient world. Must provide list of possible experiences, locations of essential amenities (rest rooms, food, refreshments) map, and orientation film (7–17 min.).	Order and cleanliness, clarity of message, effective presentation to visitor of options and the location of basic services. Inviting and engaging atmosphere, friendliness and hospitality. Opportunity to rest and renew before entering Siq.
Siq	Interpretation of natural forces that produced Siq, use of Siq in ceremonies, hydrological role of Siq, instilling a sense of expectant awe.	Quiet, natural smells and sounds, clear but non-intrusive interpretive media.
Theater	Establish connection with Greco-Roman city planning tradition, discussion of Nabbataean stone-working mastery, discussion of role of Nabbataeans in Greco-Roman world (e.g., four Roman emperors were of Arab descent).	Clear but nonintrusive interpretive devices that do not degrade resource.
Elbow Turn	Rest areas, comfort stations, transition to central portion of ancient town and orientation of visitor to city center layout, role of Petra in trade, flow of water into city and into agricultural fields above city.	Clean rest rooms, opportunities for comfortable rest, opportunities to rehydrate, clear but non-intrusive interpretive devices, opportunity to acquire additional interpretive media.
City Center	Explanation of probable layout of Edomite, Nabbataean, Roman, Byzantine, Crusader, and Bedouin occupation of the area.	Clear explanation and depictions of ancient city-scape that do not depend upon destructive research or devices.
Basin	Review of experience, rest and renewal.	Clean rest room and dining facilities. Clear instructions as to options for returning to modern world.
Turkmaniyya	Return route to modern world, enhancement of experience by using traditional modes of transport, opportunities to acquire authentic handicrafts, viewing of additional tombs from perspective of mode of transport, overall perspective of ancient city as one gains elevation.	Traditional but comfortable modes of transport offered in nonaggressive fashion, interpretive devices for features along Turkmaniyya, summary of experiences in park, and suggestions for additional ones (e.g., Ad-Dayr, High Place, Wadi Sabra, etc.).
Near Country Trail	Specialized tours (e.g., High Place of Sacrifice, Um Alp-Biyara, Crusader Castles) on well-marked and patrolled paths.	Opportunities for more intimate experience with nature and culture, patrols to ensure that undesirable activities are not allowed.

Every incident of observation will generate a written document, whether the observation is by Petra site personnel on their daily rounds or by technical specialists visiting the site. Monitoring observation forms will be prepared for use by park staff during regular rounds at the park. These will call for information about the exact location of the observance; the date and time; what was observed, including any activities or conditions that have produced or may produce damage or deterioration; any preliminary recommendations; and the name of the observer. Observations made by technical experts will include a summary that can be easily used by Petra site management for taking steps to correct the observed problem.

It will be the responsibility of the Petra Archaeological Park director to review each written monitoring observation, eventually with the assistance of the chief, Branch of Research and Monitoring. The park will keep a file of every written monitoring observation and staff will discuss each one with the director and prepare a yearly report that includes each observation, actions taken to correct observed problems, and further actions required. The director will also have the responsibility for requesting resources adequate to correct observed problems.

Iteration

Monitoring is an inherently iterative exercise. Monitoring reports reviewed and discussed annually by stakeholders provide the basis for modification of indicators, instruments,

Table 2 Sample indicators, instruments, and standards for Petra management zones. These will be reevaluated by stakeholders each year for three years.

Management Zone	Sample Indicator	Sample Instrument	Sample Standards
Arrival	Degree of visitor orientation	30-second interviews at entrance to Siq of random sample of visitors	80% of visitors know four key monuments or sites, three tour routes, locations of rest rooms, locations of food and drink, are aware of need for sun protection and necessity of staying on pathways in central area of site
Siq	Graffiti	Reporting with digital cameras and GPS	Any occurrence of graffiti or vandalism
Theater	Visibility of remaining mason's marks	Bimonthly inspection	Any erosion of mason's marks
Elbow Turn	Condition of rest rooms	Two inspections per day conducted at different times each day	Rest rooms are open, clean, and have all necessary supplies
City Center	Degree of visitor orientation	30-second interviews at center of Colonnaded Street of random sample of visitors	80% of visitors know locations of rest rooms, locations of food and drink, are aware of need for sun protection and necessity of staying on pathways in central area of site; 75% know that visible monuments and sites are from different time periods, and that other tour routes exist that would require at least one more day at Petra; 60% can name at least three visible key monuments and sites
Basin	Visitor satisfaction	Survey form	80% of visitors rate dining and rest facilities good or better
Turkmaniyya	Availability and adequacy of transportation	30-second interviews in Umm Sayhun of random sample of visitors	No injuries, no reports of visitor harassment, wait time of less than 15 minutes at Basin and at Umm Sayhun for transport back to Wadi Musa
Near Country Trail	Inspection of tombs	Reporting form	No incidents of use of tombs as rest rooms or reports of graffiti
Integrated Landscape	Percentage of landscape covered by field systems watered by runoff	High-resolution satellite imagery	No decrease in percentage of landscape covered by field systems watered by runoff

standards, and reporting procedures. At Petra, it is anticipated that it will be three years before a monitoring program will be fully effective. Other iterations are sure to follow as recurring problems are addressed and solved and new concerns take center stage. Once the program is in operation, however, it will provide transparency and accountability in management—a way to explain and make available for public discussion management decisions and requests for staff, funding, equipment, and other resources necessary to effective and efficient site management.

PART SIX

Archaeology and Tourism: A Viable Partnership?

Introduction

Eugenio Yunis

The relationship among archaeology, conservation, and tourism is attracting more attention from scholars in archaeology and conservation and from managers of archaeological sites as tourist movement around the world—especially to famous sites—continues to grow at a rapid pace. Several questions arise in connection with this issue:

- Can tourism activities be permitted within archaeological sites, and if so, under what conditions?
- Can the risks associated with tourism be controlled at archaeological sites? How?
- To what extent can tourism contribute, financially or otherwise, to the conservation of archaeological sites?
- Should there be limits on tourist numbers at archaeological sites, and if so, how should these limits be established?
- How should local communities living close to archaeological sites be associated with tourism activities, and what should be their role in conservation of the sites?
- Is there a role for archaeologists in the development of sustainable forms of tourism?

The Fifth World Archaeological Congress addressed these issues in a special session in which leading specialists presented their views, based on their experiences at various locations in the Americas, Europe, and the Middle East. The session was jointly organized by the Getty Conservation Institute and the World Tourism Organization.

A generally agreed-upon initial premise of this discussion was that tourism is an unavoidable sociocultural and economic phenomenon of affluent contemporary societies. It was similarly agreed that tourism is likely to continue to grow throughout the world, as new strata of consumers gain access to the tourism market and as worldwide communications continue to improve, awakening the desire to visit historical, natural, and other attractive sites and landscapes. It was also generally accepted that visiting archaeological and other historic sites has, in principle, a positive effect, in the sense that it can help to educate people about their own past or that of particular societies and in so doing can improve intercultural understanding and eventually lead to a more peaceful world.

But at the same time, it was amply recognized that uncontrolled tourism can severely and irreversibly damage fragile sites, deteriorating their physical fabric, destroying their values, and not effectively transmitting their importance to the visitor. The presentations on specific cases in different parts of the world—by three members of the archaeological profession and a tourism planner—and the debates that followed served to draw some interesting conclusions that could enlighten both immediate actions to be taken by site managers and tourism operators and future research and policy making. The most salient conclusions are summarized here.

A first, fundamental condition for making tourism at archaeological sites sustainable from the economic, social, and cultural standpoints is to involve local communities, for being guardians of the sites enables them to reap benefits from the tourism activity that takes place there. Community-based cultural tourism and ecotourism can provide one answer, as demonstrated in the case of the Eastern Desert in Egypt. As Willeke Wendrich puts it beautifully, "By involving the local population directly in the excavation and adding a training component as well as a site management plan to the archaeological work, an unglamorous mudbrick site might change

from a useless section of off-limits land at the fringe of a community to a source of pride and potential income."

Complementing the above approach, it was suggested that expanding tourism to lesser-known sites in the vicinity of a major site, the values of which are equally representative of a given culture or period, would ease the pressure exerted by high volumes of visitors to famous sites. Thus it was found necessary to develop a "narrative of the region" from scratch by combining the history, natural environment, and local attractions into a coherent presentation.

One risk of tourism-based economic development is the marginalization of the local population. The local community is vulnerable and easily can be exposed to outside influence; they often welcome development opportunities with the promise of benefits but without the experience to foresee likely negative consequences to their social well-being and lifestyle. The hazards in this case are multifaceted: rapid development, lack of political will to safeguard the community's interests, greed and corruption, lack of legislative controls (or implementation of those laws), and the impact of the transient tourist.

In a similar vein, using the example of Maya sites in the Yucatán Peninsula of Mexico and Central America, Wolfgang Wurster stresses the need to adopt a global perspective, both in archaeological research and excavation as well as in tourism, relative to the larger cultural area of civilizations, not just to individual sites. Until recently, the causes of deterioration to sites in this region have been the extreme rainfall, which disintegrated mortar structures, and aggressive vegetation, which destroys roofs and walls. During recent decades, a third factor of destruction has prevailed: illicit digging by looters that precipitates the collapse of the entire structure.

A global, sustainable view requires a multidisciplinary team of experts: architects, archaeologists, civil engineers, forestry officials, tourist managers, and economists, united in drawing up a master plan for the entire Maya region or other settlements that are to be made accessible to controlled tourism. Wurster further emphasizes that "times have changed, and they bring about a change of thinking, not just in methods of conserving monuments, but also in the expectations and pretensions of tourism."

In her presentation on the Altamira caves, Pilar Fatás Monforte states that "the purpose of heritage conservation should be to allow responsible use, applying criteria of sustainability, so that present exploitation does not exhaust future utility." This is the approach applied in the management of public visits to the cave of Altamira. In describing the advantages of the approach adopted at this Palaeolithic site—where a replica of the cave and a didactic museum with modern interpretive techniques were built—she underlines an additional benefit: the new museum helps to arouse people's interest in the fragility of heritage and the need to restrict visits to the original cave. She points out that the primary task is to preserve the cave from risk, but staff are also trained in communication, dissemination, and provision of scientific information to all interested parties.

Finally, Scott Cunliffe, adopting the perspective of tourism planner, proposes a planning and management tool, "cultural risk management" or risk management for cultural resources, to provide a means for a productive, effective, and viable partnership of archaeology and the tourism industry. He stresses the need for the presentation and interpretation of archaeological conservation to link the protection of the resource (conservation) to its use, understanding, and business potential: "This direct link to tourism could and should be at the heart of the partnership between archaeological conservation and tourism."

In conclusion, it was agreed at the session that tourism is a key determinant of the future of archaeological sites worldwide, and it cannot be left to occur without sensible and careful planning and continuous monitoring and control. Social, cultural, and economic impacts from tourism must be compatible with the principal objective of long-term conservation of archaeological sites. Sustainable tourism offers the opportunity to move from potential conflict to cooperation among tourists, the local population, and conservation and archaeology professionals.

The New Museum of Altamira: Finding Solutions to Tourism Pressure

José Antonio Lasheras Corruchaga and Pilar Fatás Monforte

Abstract: *Since its discovery in 1879, the cave of Altamira has attracted large numbers of visitors. In 1979 the National Museum and Research Center of Altamira was established to preserve and manage the cave. In 1982 annual visitorship was fixed at 8,500 people. The new Museum of Altamira, inaugurated in 2001, offers an alternative—a replica—to visitors that does not compromise the preservation of the original cave. Heritage is a fragile, nonrenewable resource. The purpose of heritage conservation should be to allow responsible use, applying criteria of sustainability, so that present exploitation does not exhaust future utility. The replica of Altamira allows the cave to be experienced with absolute fidelity. It is a large three-dimensional "open book," scientifically sound and original in its museological concept. The reproduction is part of a huge permanent exhibition about the Paleolithic period that is intellectually accessible to all; it fosters intelligent interaction and pleasure in learning through its analogy to present-day life. The cave of Altamira is known worldwide as a milestone in the history of art. Its symbolic, social, and tourist implications position it among those sites having a notably positive impact on their regional environments.*

History of the Cave of Altamira

The paintings of Altamira—the first to be cataloged as Paleolithic—were discovered in 1879 by Marcelino Sanz de Sautuola. Since then, Altamira has become a symbol of prehistoric art throughout the world because of its antiquity and, above all, the magnificence of its art. It constitutes a milestone in an art form that proliferated in Europe, from Gibraltar to the Urals, more than twenty thousand years ago.

Throughout time, Altamira suffered many natural and artificial transformations. The difficulty of preserving the cave soon became evident. There were several rock falls from the ceiling. In addition, an interest in allowing public visits began in the early twentieth century. In 1924 the authorities in charge began to make the cave more accessible by providing paths and steps and illuminating it with spotlights. A road was built leading to the cave, and the esplanade next to its entrance was turned into a parking lot.

In 1939 the authorities focused on increasing tourism, and in 1955 Altamira was visited by more than fifty thousand people. This began a critical period for preservation of the cave: experts in charge of its conservation wanted to reduce visitor numbers, but politicians thought large numbers of tourists were an economic boon of vital importance to fostering tourist activity in Cantabria generally.

This disastrous cultural policy led to visitor numbers of more than 177,000 in 1973. At that time the cave was the main tourist attraction in the region and one of the most frequently visited sites in Spain. The situation was so bad that if the number of visitors had increased, the paintings would probably have disappeared as a result of extreme changes in humidity and temperature causing physical, chemical, and microbiological problems (fig. 1).

In 1978 the cave was given to the Spanish government, which since then has been responsible for its management. In 1979 the National Museum and Research Center of Altamira was created by the Spanish Ministry of Culture to preserve and manage the cave. That same year the cave was closed to the public, and a team of specialists began to study environmental parameters. On conclusion of the study, a fixed daily

FIGURE 1 Visitors flocked to the cave of Altamira during the 1970s. Courtesy of Museo de Altamira

number of visitors was determined that would not alter its inner climatic environment, and in 1982 Altamira was reopened for a reduced daily-maximum number of visitors, with an absolute limit of 8,500 people a year. The aim was to maintain its microclimate and to ensure the preservation of the paintings and engravings.

Altamira and Tourism: Finding Solutions

As a general philosophy, the fundamental aim of conserving heritage should be to enable its use. When we talk about using heritage, we have to consider its sustainability, because present exploitation should never exhaust its future use. This is the approach applied in the management of public visits to the cave of Altamira. Visits are not restricted to specialists; the general public may, by prior request, visit the cave, and this will continue as long as conservation conditions permit. The only condition governing their selection is that visitors must be over twelve years old; the order of appointments is based on a waiting list.

The temporary closure of the cave in the 1980s was hotly disputed since it had a profoundly negative effect on tourism. On the one hand, there was the need for proper management of the cave; on the other, a large demand to visit. The cave's fragility left no doubt that the two situations were incompatible. The solution was to offer a high-quality alternative.

The idea of reproducing Altamira became a much discussed topic. Of course, outside cultural circles, the main motivation was to relieve the crisis suffered by the tourist industry. Many arguments were advanced to support this: economic, political, social, and educational. All were in agreement that a solution must be found that served all parties and interests involved.

Since 1982 the main preservation problems have been addressed. However, some outstanding issues affecting the cave were yet to be resolved: (1) it was necessary to repeat and complete the research work carried out in 1979; (2) there was no permanent recording system that might allow the verification of preservation parameters; and (3) environmental risks, such as sewage and traffic, had not been totally resolved. These concerns, combined with the availability of modern techniques for data recording and the application of new approaches, were reasons to search for a solution from a broader perspective.

In 1992 this solution materialized as a museum project for Altamira that was approved by the museum consortium and begun in 1993. Since then the Ministry of Education and Culture has invested significant funding in scientific equipment and in research agreements with other institutions, as well as in the purchase of the land above the cave. The multifaceted project included measures to improve conservation of the cave art and other heritage held by the museum, planning of a multidisciplinary research project to advance scientific knowledge about Altamira, and various communication strategies to popularize this knowledge. In other words, the project responds to the three main functions of a museum: conservation, research, and communication.

The aims of the project were (1) to satisfy the great demand to visit Altamira; (2) to improve the preservation of the paintings and engravings in the cave; and (3) to create a focal attraction that could contribute to the development of the regional tourist sector. The tools needed were a protection plan; construction of new infrastructure (supply and sewage systems, roads, paths, etc.); and a new building to house the reproduction of the cave, a large permanent exhibition on the Paleolithic period in Cantabrian Spain, new areas for laboratories, research, and administration, and any other public or semipublic facilities that the museum as a whole may require.

FIGURE 2 The new Museum of Altamira. Courtesy of Museo de Altamira

The Altamira project encompasses all of these. The cultural offerings of the new Museum of Altamira include not only the reproduction of the cave but also a permanent exhibition, *The Times of Altamira,* and many other activities such as workshops, conferences, and guided visits (fig. 2).

The project has solved the problems of preservation by carrying out a diagnosis of preventive preservation requirements and increasing the amount of land owned around the cave by 80,000 square meters, enabling traffic and supply and sewage systems to be moved more than half a kilometer from the cave. It has answered the demand for knowledge about and visits to Altamira by constructing a replica, creating the exhibition *Times of Altamira,* and reshaping the landscape. And, of course, it has helped to regenerate regional tourism.

The Neocave of Altamira

The name "Altamira" creates high expectations because it is a landmark in the history of art and has become a legend throughout the world. This implies a responsibility on the part of the museum not to disappoint those expectations.

Using a replica could be a problem because of the tendency to attribute value exclusively to originals and to reject copies and reproductions (sometimes the term "falsification" is even used, confusing quite disparate concepts). The solution was to ensure that the project's conception, design, and execution were of the highest quality and based on scientific research.

Using the results of this research, the replica of Altamira re-creates the original cavern space as it was during Paleolithic habitation rather than as it is today: that is, natural rock falls, supporting walls, paths, and other arrangements made in modern times have been suppressed.

By applying computerized modeling to the cave's topography, more than 40,000 sample points per square meter were measured and shaped; the reproduction has an accuracy of one millimeter. The paintings have been reproduced using the same techniques and natural pigments employed by Palaeolithic artists. Thus high technology and artisan techniques were combined to achieve the best results (figs. 3, 4).

This high-quality alternative to visiting the original cave does not compromise preservation of the original, yet it allows it to be known with absolute fidelity. It is an "open book" about Altamira based on scientific data and an original museological concept based on quality and singularity. The new museum provides an interesting opportunity for everyone to experience this heritage, and it allows Altamira to be shown without restriction to a larger number of visitors. More than one million people have visited the new Museum of Altamira since 2001; the number of visitors is expected to stabilize at over 200,000 per year, which is more than the number that came to the original cave during the 1970s (figs. 5–7).

FIGURE 3 Ortho-image of the polychrome ceiling. Produced by the National Geographic Institute. Courtesy of Museo de Altamira

FIGURE 4 Process of reproducing the paintings. Courtesy of Museo de Altamira

FIGURE 5 The Neocave: vestibule. Courtesy of Museo de Altamira

FIGURE 6 The Neocave: ceiling with paintings. Courtesy of Museo de Altamira

FIGURE 7 The Neocave: paintings of bison. Courtesy of Museo de Altamira

FIGURE 8 View of the permanent exhibition *The Times of Altamira.* Courtesy of Museo de Altamira

The Neocave of Altamira is part of a huge permanent display on the Paleolithic consisting of original pieces from various museums as well as multimedia presentations; it is intellectually accessible to all and motivates intelligent interaction and pleasure in learning through analogy to present-day life (fig. 8). The new museum has become a model of visitation for other heritage sites; many requests for technical information have been received for use by other museums and cultural spaces.

Other Tourism-related Implications

The tourism industry has recovered in Santillana del Mar and its surroundings. Tourism pressure justified the important investment in this multifaceted project, because it helped to guarantee not only the cultural and economic profitability of the project and the surrounding environment but also a departure from seasonal visitation patterns. That is why the project has been linked to tourism and was attached to a European Union Support Framework, "Valuation of Cultural Resources of Tourist Interest," wherein it responds to the third defined strategy: "aspects relating to the recovery and maintenance of cultural resources of tourist interest." The project revalues Altamira by making tourist use possible.

There is another collateral benefit: the new museum helps to arouse people's interest in the fragility of heritage and the need to restrict visits to the cave. For example, in September 2002 the cave was closed again in order to restudy conservation conditions. This time the public reaction was very different from that in 1979; the reasons for closure were well understood by the general public, and they have access to an extremely interesting alternative, the Neocave.

Another key to appropriate management of the cave is entrusting it to museum technicians, basically curators. While the main task is to preserve the cave, staff are also trained in communication, dissemination, and provision of scientific information to all interested parties.

The Museum of Altamira is a cultural reference point for the tourist destination of Cantabria and "Green Spain" in general. The museum and Paleolithic art are used to portray Cantabria in the current tourist campaign of "Green Spain." The bison of Altamira are among the themes selected by Turespaña in its international campaign, "Spain Marks," which promotes Spain as a cultural and tourist destination. The regional government of Cantabria includes the Museum of Altamira in its promotional efforts. The museum collaborates in this promotion; its communication department personally welcomes tourism and travel journalists sent by the

Promotion of Tourism Service of the Cantabrian government and tour operators referred by the Regional Society of Tourism. Through its booking department, the Museum of Altamira pays special, personalized attention to visits organized by travel agencies, booking centers, and hotels.

The Museum of Altamira disseminates information about its cultural offerings and sends a quarterly newsletter published by the Friends of the Museum Assocation to tourism offices. In summer 2003 the Museum of Altamira made available a new brochure edited especially for tourist establishments: hotels, tourist offices, travel agencies, and so on.

A final consideration is the professional relationship between the museum and tourism, which is difficult because no relationship existed between the Spanish Ministry of Tourism and the Ministry of Culture. In 2002 the "Plan to Promote Cultural Tourism" was presented to the Ministry of Culture. This was developed by the Secretary of State for Tourism to promote the heritage resources of Spain as tourist attractions. The first general aim outlined was the creation of a cultural tourism offering (a cultural offering becomes a cultural tourism offering when the rights to its use and enjoyment are available for acquisition in the tourist market), which involved measures designed to increase information on cultural products and to reinforce the promotion and support of the commercialization of cultural products.

Step by step, the results of the campaign are being seen. At present, museums are listed on the official website of Turespaña, cultural icons have been incorporated in the campaign "Spain Marks," and museum activities have been included in the cultural calendar. Recently, the Museum of Altamira participated in another initiative designed to meet the goals of sensitization to and structuring of the cultural tourism sector. A number of training sessions were held, aimed at cultural and tourism technicians, agents of archaeological venues, civic groups, parks, and cultural landscapes, to analyze Altamira as a cultural tourism resource. However, in most cases, each museum must establish its own relationship with tourism institutions and companies, and this usually depends on the goodwill of the professionals in charge of communication departments, where they exist. Broader collaboration is recommended in the future between the cultural and tourism sectors in order to obtain cultural products of high quality.

Archaeology and Sustainable Tourism in Egypt: Protecting Community, Antiquities, and Environment

Willeke Wendrich

Abstract: *This paper explores how archaeologists should consider getting involved with sustainable tourism in order to communicate their findings to the public, protect the sites that they are working on, improve fund-raising for the archaeological project, and contribute to an economically viable system for the population of the area. Two examples illustrate the benefits of working closely with the local community. The Eastern Desert Antiquities Protection Project (EDAPP) involves a training program and the creation of a collection of present-day material culture by the Ababda nomads from the Eastern Desert in Egypt. The Fayum ecotourism project is a first step in defining the development needs for an area of Egypt that has an extremely interesting history but does not attract the mass tourism that the Giza pyramids and the monuments of Luxor do.*

Egypt is a country with immensely impressive and well-known archaeological remains that draw approximately 2.5 million tourists annually. These visitors spend an average of $1,100 each, which amounts to 6 percent of Egypt's gross national product (GNP).[1] Based on World Bank data, it appears that in 2002 almost 50 percent of Egypt's gross domestic product was generated by the service sector, with tourism providing the largest percentage of revenue. An estimated 2.2 million people (3.5 percent) of a population of 62 million find employment in the tourism sector.[2] In spite of the large number of people employed in tourism, most of the tourism industry revenue benefits the large (often international) tour and hotel companies and the Egyptian government.

Most tourists who visit Egypt follow a standard itinerary, from the pyramids at Giza, near Cairo, to the temples of Luxor and nearby Karnak, often combining the cultural experience with relaxation at the Red Sea coast where beach and dive tourism has developed at a rapid pace (fig. 1). Archaeologists and conservators are worried about the threat to the ancient remains posed by the increase in the number of visitors. The rise in temperature and humidity and physical attrition in the tombs and pyramids have a direct causal relation to the large numbers of tourists visiting these monuments, and at several locations the number of visitors has had to be reduced. In 1995 the number of visitors to the tomb of Nefertari in the Valley of the Queens in Luxor was limited to 150 per day. Since 2003 the tomb of Nefertari has been closed to regular visitors. In the same year the maximum number of daily visitors to the pyramids of Khufu and Khafra was set at 300. At times these monuments are closed completely so as to allow the temperature and relative humidity to return to acceptable levels. Not only the enclosed spaces are under threat: backpacks brush past limestone walls, thousands of feet climb the soft stone of the ancient thresholds and stairs—the wear and tear is apparent.

Large crowds are by no means the only danger to Egypt's antiquities. By defining protocols for conservation and site management, the Egyptian Supreme Council of Antiquities is attempting to protect the archaeological monuments and sites from threats varying from town expansion, soil harvesting, and extensive or intensive visitation by tourists to looting and the effect of environmental changes resulting from the artificially high level of the water table and air pollution.

Whose Cultural Heritage?

World Heritage Sites, many of them monumental tombs or religious complexes built by the elite, are under close scrutiny. Egypt has a wealth of less glamorous antiquities, dispersed in

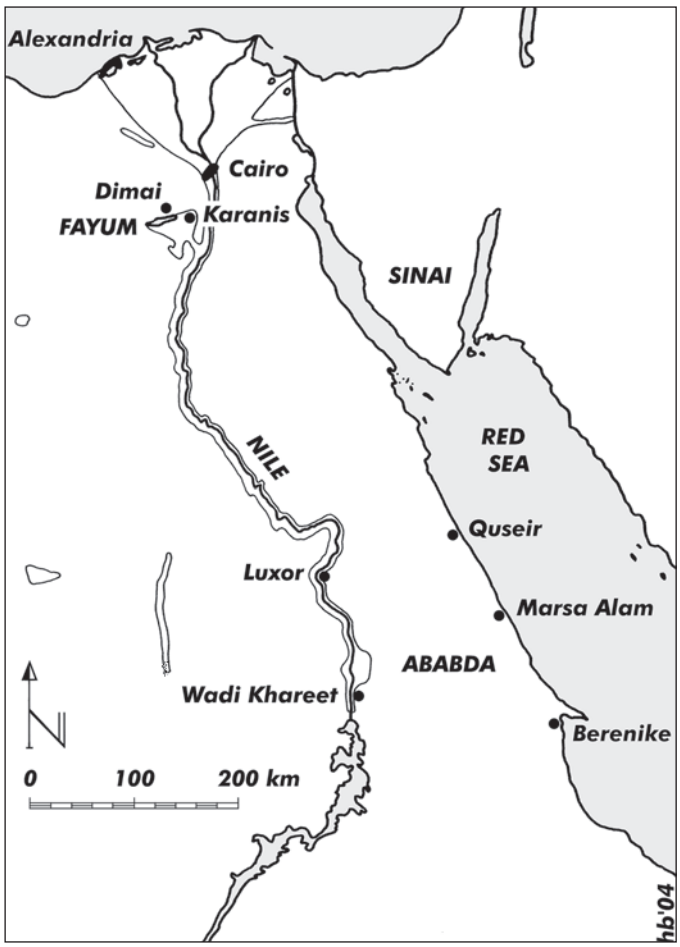

FIGURE 1 Map of Egypt. Drawing by Hans Barnard

the landscape of the Nile Delta, strung out along the edges of the desert, and buried under modern cities, towns, and villages. School programs bring Egyptian children into the museums and monuments, creating an awareness of Egypt's glorious past. It is, however, a very selective past. For most visitors, Egyptians and tourists alike, "antiquities" are the awe-inspiring stone structures found in Luxor and Giza, not the mudbrick remains at the edge of the village.

Ironically, the ancient remains built of modest mudbrick, rather than the built-in-stone provisions for the afterlife of the elite, provide the most important information about the lives of the ancient Egyptians. They represent residential areas, workshops, and even palaces. These ancient settlement sites, some of them of enormous proportions, are often located in remote rural areas that are plagued by adverse economic circumstances. Poverty tempts the inhabitants of these areas to mine every possible source of income, be this the fertile soil that is conveniently concentrated in ancient mudbrick or antiquities that can be sold into the illegal market. These problems are by no means new. The *sebakhin,* or soil diggers, have been farming ancient mudbrick sites for generations, sometimes at an industrial scale. At the site of Karanis, in the Fayum depression just southwest of Cairo, railway tracks once led to an enormous void at the heart of an ancient Greco-Roman city (fig. 2). In the process of digging for fertile soil, the sebakhin came across papyri, statuettes, and other interesting finds that could be sold to antiquities dealers. In the case of Karanis, it was the persistence of archaeologists from the University of Michigan that finally put an end to these destructive activities in about 1925. Today, the poorer

FIGURE 2 *Sebakhin* involved in "mining" the ancient town of Karanis on an industrial scale for fertile mudbrick, papyri, and other antiquities. Courtesy of the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, University of Michigan, Kelsey Museum Archive 5.2465

segment of the population still ventures out to archaeological sites to dig for treasure. An equal lack of awareness exists among wealthy Egyptians, and this results in the expansion of building projects, industrial quarrying enterprises, and large-scale land reclamation and irrigation projects that destroy the ancient sites.

That these activities result in the destruction of cultural heritage is mostly lost on the persons who make use of the additional source of income. The question should be asked: whose cultural heritage are we trying to protect? And under which circumstances does cultural heritage become jointly "ours"?

The Role of the Archaeologist

In the history of the archaeology of Egypt one might also point a finger at the early archaeologists who certainly contributed their share to the destruction of ancient sites, a fact that did not go unnoticed by the Egyptian authorities.[3] In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the most common attitude of Western archaeologists to Egyptians was colonialist: a paternalistic attitude of the *effendi* (lord) to the ignorant *fellaheen* (peasants) who were hired as workmen, and this was combined with an elitist attitude of the Western scholar to Egyptian colleagues. What the great scholars left behind was in many cases an unsystematically excavated, unpublished site, abandoned and left open to the elements. Archaeologists of the second half of the twentieth century became aware that they had a responsibility for conservation, site management, and protection. Paradoxically, as soon as a foreign archaeological team shows interest in an archaeological site, this arouses or strengthens the interest of the local population; and the result may well be an increase in illicit digging activities as soon as the excavation team has left the area.

Can this phenomenon be turned into a win-win situation? It potentially can, if a direct link can be made between income, knowledge, and preservation. That link could be formed by alternative forms of tourism such as ecotourism or cultural tourism. Ecotourism and cultural tourism are forms of sustainable tourism that are responsible, are sensitive to the local environment and culture, and directly improve the welfare of the local population. In the literature the number of terms for and definitions of sustainable tourism is enormous, but the goals can be summarized as follows:

- To develop greater awareness and understanding of the significant contributions that tourism can make to the cultural and natural environment and the economy.
- To promote equity in development.
- To improve the quality of life of the host community.
- To provide a high-quality experience to the visitor.
- To maintain the quality of the cultural and natural environment on which the foregoing objectives depend (see Dowling and Fennell 2003:5).

Is there a role for archaeologists in the development of sustainable tourism? Archaeologists traditionally (and caricaturally) consider tourists and tourism with mild contempt—as an ignorant nuisance, as a threat to the ancient remains, or at best as a potential funding source. A more productive stand is taken by archaeologists who are aware that interaction with tourism can be an important asset on several different levels.

Stimulating the interest of the local population in nearby antiquities and creating a heightened awareness of their cultural value will help to preserve the ancient remains. Direct economic interest of the local community in the local antiquities will strengthen this effect considerably. For archaeologists, important issues are at stake. To have the support of the local population in the protection of an archaeological site is as important as legal and government protection. Archaeologists can have an important role in stimulating such support by aiding the development of sustainable tourism. They can provide the knowledge to make an unglamorous archaeological site into a fascinating narrative. Through their familiarity with multiple cultures, they are able to help translate the expectations of the visitors and the hosting culture. The yield for the archaeologist, apart from rapport with the surrounding population and better protection of the ancient sites, is that his or her work will have a much broader audience (and potential donors).

By involving the local population directly in the excavation and adding a training component and site management plan to the archeological work, an unglamorous mudbrick site might change from a useless section of off-limits land at the fringe of a community to a source of pride and potential income. Is this too optimistic? I use two examples to illustrate the benefits and potential of working closely with the local community. The Eastern Desert Antiquities Protection Project (EDAPP) involves a training program and the creation of a collection of present-day material culture of the Ababda nomads from the Eastern Desert. The Fayum ecotourism project is a first step in defining the development needs for an

area of Egypt that has an extremely interesting history but does not attract the mass tourism that the Giza pyramids and the monuments of Luxor do.

Eastern Desert Antiquities Protection Project

Although the Egyptian Eastern Desert and the Red Sea shore are located in an extremely arid environment, there are nevertheless many remains of past human activities. These are concentrated at quarrying or mining sites; along the shore, where the harbor towns were founded; and along the routes from these harbors to the Nile Valley, transport routes protected by a string of fortified watering stations. The dates range from the prehistoric to the present, with the height of activity in the early Roman period (first and second centuries B.C.E.).

In 1994 a team comprising experts from the University of Delaware, Leiden University, and the University of California, Los Angeles, started work in Berenike, a Greco-Roman harbor from which ships left for the Indian Ocean basin (Sidebotham and Wendrich 1995, 1996, 1998, 1999, 2000). The team worked under the auspices of the Egyptian Supreme Council of Antiquities and hired approximately sixty members of the local community, which in this region is not a static but a mobile entity. The Ababda are a nomadic group living in the southern part of the Egyptian Eastern Desert. Part of the group has settled along the Red Sea in villages such as Marsa Alam and Quseir and in a large village in the Nile Valley, Wadi Khareet. The people who have settled in Wadi Khareet have mostly given up their pastoral nomadic lifestyle and have become agriculturalists or laborers. A substantial group that still lives in the desert follows the rainfall to find good grazing for their herds of sheep, goats, and camels (fig. 3). The relations between the settled and mobile Ababda are close knit, and the change from one lifestyle to the other is fluid. An Ababda family can decide to live in the village, but as long as they have livestock, they can leave on a moment's notice. Members of different clans are found in specific areas of the desert but also in the villages. The composition of the group of Ababda working on the excavation project was equally mixed. Men from different Ababda clans came from a settlement and several encampments nearby; others came all the way from Wadi Khareet in the Nile Valley, a distance of approximately 250 kilometers.

Apart from working on the excavation, several of the older Ababda were hired as guides for the survey of the hinterland. During their life of roaming the desert, they regularly came across ancient remains, often near the same water sources that are used today. These Ababda were able to show where in the vast area of the Eastern Desert antiquities could be found, although they usually did not discern British camps of World War II from Roman or Pharaonic settlements. During the mapping and excavation of the ancient remains, the discussion with the Ababda would often center on the people living in the desert two thousand years ago. When it became apparent from the excavated material that during its latest phase (fifth and sixth centuries C.E.) Berenike had been inhabited by a settled group of nomads, the Ababda became even more enthusiastic. The cooperation prompted a discussion on cultural change, the eternal demands of life in the desert, and the preservation of culture—both the ancient remains and the rapidly changing culture of the Ababda.

The latter was uppermost in many minds because change was imminent. From 1990 onward there was rapid development of beach and diving tourism along the Red Sea coast. In 1998 the first effects of this development could be noticed in the south, where the Ababda live. A brand-new asphalt road had been built, and the bus service that used to pass through the area once a week was expanded to four times a week and, in 2000, to six buses a day. The first hotels were built just north of Marsa Alam. At the same time the government tried to convince the Ababda to lead a more settled life by building villages, water tanks, schools, and clinics.

FIGURE 3 Ababda dwelling in the region of Berenike. Photo: Willeke Wendrich

Reactions among the Ababda varied widely. Some Ababda were ready to settle and adapt to a "modern" way of life, to find employment as truck drivers or builders. Others abhorred the developments and said that they would withdraw deeper into the desert. A third reaction, mostly from people who had been settled for approximately twenty years, or were "second-generation" settled Ababda from the Nile Valley, was one of resignation and also pride. Their identity was Ababda. It was this group especially that was interested in preserving not only ancient but also present-day Ababda culture. Through their contacts during the excavation with men who were still living in the desert, they realized how little they knew about Ababda culture and how much there was to know.

With the help of the Cultural Fund of the Netherlands Embassy in Cairo, the Eastern Desert Antiquities Protection Project was initiated. This comprised a training program for the Ababda in preserving the desert sites and understanding the ancient use of the desert, but it also included a component that concentrated on the present-day desert dwellers and the cultural heritage of the Ababda. In the context of EDAPP, a group of Ababda created three exhibitions on Ababda culture: one in Berenike, one at the visitors' center in the Ottoman Fort at Quseir, and a traveling collection that has been on display for a year at the Museum of Ethnology (Wereldmuseum) in Rotterdam.

Related to the rapidly changing circumstances along the Red Sea shore, another focus of discussion became how the Ababda could contribute to and benefit from the increasing tourism. The dive centers and hotels are owned by large national and international companies. The desert safaris, however, can benefit greatly from direct involvement of the Ababda community. At present there is one company that has initiated this close cooperation, one in which the Ababda have real input.[4]

In several areas of Egypt, experiments have been done with training the local population to be involved in an official capacity in the protection of the natural and cultural habitat. Locally recruited rangers are active in the Sinai[5] and the Wadi Rayan area in the western part of the Fayum (see below).

In 2000 an initiative of the University of Southampton set out to involve the local community of Quseir in the development of a heritage center, which, apart from involving the town in the excavations, also had the explicit purpose of stimulating tourism.[6] The role of archaeologists in the development of sustainable tourism in the Eastern Desert could be expanded, however. In the first place, by making results of archaeological work available in both English and Arabic, the information will be much more accessible. Their involvement in training programs for inspectors of the Supreme Council of Antiquities, local guards, and rangers would highlight the importance and most recent information on the archaeology. Expansion of training initiatives for guards would ensure the direct involvement of the Ababda and would help to preserve the vulnerable cultural and natural resources of the Egyptian Eastern Desert.

Fayum Ecotourism Project

On the initiative of the Egyptian Tourism Development Authority (TDA) and the Fayum Governorate, a team of specialists researched the viability of developing an ecotourism program in the Fayum (Wendrich 2000). This is an area of Egypt with a fascinating history but without impressive tourist magnets such as spectacular temples, tombs, and pyramids. The objective of the local authorities and the TDA was to attract tourists to this region by promoting a different kind of tourism. The Fayum, about 100 kilometers southwest of Cairo, combines an impressive desert landscape with important natural and cultural resources. As one of the resting places for migratory birds, it could be advertised as an important birding area. Rural tourism could include visits to the many craftsmen who are active in the villages that dot the fertile Fayum basin. The desert landscape surrounding the Fayum depression is extremely impressive and a geologic paradise. In addition, the region has important paleontological resources.

On top of that, the Fayum boasts many archaeological sites. It is the region where we have the earliest evidence of agriculture in Egyptian prehistory (ca. 5500 B.C.E.). It was later transformed from a large swamp into well-organized agricultural fields during the Egyptian Middle Kingdom (ca. 1975–1640 B.C.E.). The Fayum was one of the most important sources of the wealth of the successors of Alexander the Great: with the wheat grown in Egypt they could finance alliances with cities around the eastern Mediterranean. All these historically important developments are reflected by a ring of ancient settlements that can still be found today surrounding the Fayum basin. These archaeological remains, unimposing perhaps in comparison to the famous stone monuments, are witness to the occupations, worries, and successes of the ancient inhabitants (fig. 4). Their story needs to be spelled out by scholars who study the settlements in all their aspects and are willing to share their fascination by explaining in accessible language what is special about them.

FIGURE 4 The Fayum region, the Greco-Roman village of Dimai. Photo: Willeke Wendrich

In the last ten years the desert around the Fayum depression has seen an enormous increase in visitors. Expatriates living in nearby Cairo venture out into this vulnerable area with their four-wheel-drive vehicles on weekends. In 2003, while working in the area, we were visited at least twice a week by groups of off-road adventure tourists, organized by a Cairo-based tour operator. Most of the visitors are environment-conscious, well-meaning citizens who do not realize that this form of tourism is very destructive to the delicate desert environment and the equally delicate paleontological and archaeological remains. There is a great need for information and more controlled access to the area, which should at the same time generate income for the local population and authorities.

The Fayum Governorate and the TDA are in favor of developing ecotourism. Their definition of ecotourism differed, however, on two important points from that of the team researching ecotourism potential. In the recent past, plans for the development of ecotourism in Egypt have always involved the construction of luxurious ecolodges in gorgeous natural settings. The research team concluded that a better rationale was to make use of (upgraded) existing accommodations, as the occupancy rate of hotel rooms in the Fayum is only 15 percent. The involvement of and direct benefit for the local population is another aspect that was not immediately associated with ecotourism by Egyptian policy makers. This situation is slowly changing, however. Experience with local rangers and guides in the Wadi Rayan area, who help to preserve the landscape and at the same time provide information to visitors, proved positive. The community is given a direct stake in preserving the cultural and natural landscape by providing a group of inhabitants of the Fayum with an additional source of income. The continued efforts to develop sustainable tourism in the Fayum seem to be slowly focusing more attention on the grassroots stakeholders.

Conclusion: Safely Experiencing the Adventure of Discovery

There is a growth market for tourists who are not satisfied with the mass tourism offerings but style themselves as travelers. Their goal is not to have a relaxing, lazy time. Instead they want to experience the genuine culture of a country and its regions by traveling off the beaten track. While some travelers are content with no-star hotels, most travelers want to have comfortable, even luxurious lodgings and good meals. Most important, the excursions have to be exciting, adventurous, safe, and interesting.

Involvement of the local community is a key feature in the development of sustainable tourism. This poses a challenge and creates the need for training in the regions that want to develop this form of tourism. Training should first provide a community with insight into guests' expectations. Language training for at least a portion of the community is equally indispensable. Another important point is to provide relevant information on the area for guards, guides, and rangers. For most geographic areas, a "narrative of the region" has to be developed from scratch by combining the history, the natural environment, and the local attractions into a coherent presentation.

Most archaeologists work in the same region for a considerable period each year over several years, and through employing members of the local communities, they have built relationships of mutual appreciation, understanding, goodwill, and trust. Members of the community who have worked at an archaeological site can work together with the archaeologists to develop the narrative and accompanying exhibits. The combined experience of the local population and the

archaeologists, consisting of a thorough knowledge of local circumstances, the region, its landscape, and its history, is an important resource in developing training programs for guides and rangers. Bringing out the narrative and providing high-quality information is something that archaeologists working in the region could do incomparably with little extra effort. The archaeological work might itself be part of the narrative, and local guides who have worked on the excavation could take guests to the "archaeologists at work."

The advantage of this type of sustainable tourism for the population of the region is that the proximity of antiquities will no longer be a source of neglect but a source of income. The advantage for the archaeologists is that a good relationship with the people living on or near an archaeological site will help to protect sites, and this is even more likely to be the case when the local population has a direct and real stake in their preservation. Archaeologists can use information disseminated to tourists to highlight the results of their work and attract additional financial support. The main advantage is accrued by the antiquities: making the local population stakeholders in preservation will provide better long-term protection of the sites than posted signs or hired guards.

Tourism is an unavoidable and potentially positive fact of our times. Sustainable tourism is a way to move from potential conflict to cooperation among tourists, the local population, and conservation and archaeology professionals.

Notes

1 Encyclopedia of the Orient, http://i-cias.com/e.o/egypt_2.htm.

2 United Nations Development Programme, www.undp.org.eg/profile/egypt.htm.

3 Mohamed Ali, in a decree of 15 August 1835, blamed the European treasure hunters for the large-scale destruction of antiquities. See Reid 2002.

4 This is the Red Sea Desert Adventures initiative. See www.redseadesertadventures.com/.

5 Listed in evaluation documents for UNESCO and the World Heritage Site of Saint Catherine's monastery. See http://whc.unesco.org/archive/advisory_body_evaluation/954.pdf; www.sinaiparks.gov.eg/; www.cairotimes.com/content/issues/envir/jujob3.html.

6 Further information on the community archaeology project can be found at www.arch.soton.ac.uk/Projects/projects.asp?Division=3&SubDivision=0&Page=0&ProjectID=20.

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Maya Cities and Tourism

Wolfgang Wurster

Abstract: *This paper treats Maya cities in the tropical rainforest—their investigation, conservation, and preparation for tourism. The geographic area of Maya cities in Central America encompasses southeastern Mexico, especially Yucatán, the lowlands of Guatemala, where Maya culture had its origins in the Petén, and part of Belize and Honduras. The time frame of the ruins in question is roughly the first millennium* C.E. *The author was involved for fifteen years in a project to conserve Maya cities in the northeast of Petén on behalf of the German Archaeological Institute. The project, called the Cultural Triangle, embraces an area of some 400 square kilometers east of Tikal toward the border with Belize and contains the large ancient cities of Yaxhá, Nakúm, and Naranjo and some fifty minor sites. In this area, the Guatemalan National Institute of Anthropology and History, in collaboration with the German Archaeological Institute, planned and implemented a project to document, conserve, and maintain endangered Maya sites. As of June 2003 it had been financed substantially by the German federal government as part of a regional development program aimed at the conservation of the rainforest and the nondestructive use of natural resources, which includes tourism. This paper presents a summary of experiences related to traditional conservation and possible alternatives. It also emphasizes a global perspective related to the larger cultural area of Maya civilization, not just to individual sites.*

Maya cities had their classical period between 300 and 900 C.E. They functioned as individual city-states with their surrounding dependent settlements, thus transforming an inhospitable area of forest and swamps into a densely populated cultural landscape with intensive agriculture. The urbanistic design of Maya cities follows astronomical and cosmological precepts, involving also the surrounding topography. Its architectural elements contain massive terraced structures, stepped pyramids with towering temple buildings atop, and multistory palaces. These elements are arranged around plazas and squares and are connected by enormous causeways that were used as processional roads.

The most characteristic feature of this stone-and-mortar architecture is the Mayan vault, made of protruding stone slabs and lime mortar. And the most stunning invention of the Maya was a hieroglyphic writing system, handed down to us in carved script on stone slabs that recorded the history of the rulers, their wars, and their alliances.

All these features, together with the unique setting in the tropical rainforest, called special attention to Maya sites and since the end of the nineteenth century incited the interest of adventurers, scientists, and then tourists. An additional romantic attraction was the fact that most of the sites had not been destroyed or reused by later settlers or other civilizations but simply covered up by the tropical jungle.

Today, after so many centuries of abandonment, most of the Maya sites—and there are hundreds of them just in the lowlands of Petén—are in immediate danger of being destroyed. Until recently they had been damaged mainly by the extreme rainfall that disintegrated the mortar structures and by the aggressive vegetation, which tore apart roofs and walls. During recent decades, a third factor of destruction prevailed: illicit digging by treasure hunters. In search of rich tombs and archaeological objects, the looters excavated enormous tunnels and ditches inside the monumental architecture and thus precipitated the collapse of entire structures.

The early excavations of Maya sites, mainly undertaken by U.S. institutions, usually did not involve conservation: one would cut down the rainforest completely and then record

and excavate the monument, leaving all trenches open. Later, all great excavations, including those of the Carnegie Foundation, powerful U.S. universities, and then the Mexican government, were combined with programs of reconstruction of monumental architecture. Chichen Itzá, Uxmal, and Palenque were such sites. In his *History of Mexican Archaeology* (1980), the renowned Mexican scholar Ignacio Bernal defines his operational guidelines: "Most archaeology is funded with public money, in Mexico at least. The State is concerned not so much with the increase of knowledge as with the creation, by excavating and restoring of suitable ruins as foci of national pride, of a greater feeling of continuity with the people's own past and the encouragement of tourism."

In the Petén lowlands, the University of Pennsylvania started a twelve-year research program in 1957 at Tikal, the greatest Maya city of all, with enormous efforts and five hundred workmen. Some of the most important architectural monuments, especially the great pyramids, were partially reconstructed. Since the outer retaining walls of the buildings had decayed, leaving the massive interior core of filling material open to further destruction, the containing walls were replaced by new masonry of stone and cement.

In terms of the UNESCO Charter of Athens, anastylosis should not be used in the conservation of Maya monuments; they are constructions made of solid core filling and exterior containing walls of mortar-masonry. The re-creation of such an exterior wall by means of new construction is not reversible since the new shell cannot be separated from the old core. It is a durable solution, no doubt, but it leaves little or nothing of the original monument. And since the procedure is extremely expensive and time-consuming, it was applied to few monuments and mostly only in one part of the original structure, the prominent facade with the staircase. This Tikal procedure created a striking contrast between the few reconstructed monuments and the enormous number of urban structures that could not be addressed and remain simply as mounds of earth and fallen debris covered with vegetation.

The reconstruction methods of the University of Pennsylvania at Tikal were setting an overwhelming example of restoration throughout Central America, and ever since they have been applied universally: total or partial reconstruction of very few important buildings on a site, leaving the rest untouched. No doubt this method saved important buildings, but the appreciation of a Maya city as an urbanistic creation is thereby neglected. The visitor appreciates solitary, single monuments only.

A real boom in the reconstruction of Maya ruins started about twenty-five years ago, as publications such as *National Geographic* called attention to them. Slogans such as "Mayan World" and "Mayan Route" became the trademark of increasingly intense touristic promotion in Central America, especially in Mexico and Belize. Tourism to archaeological ruins turned out to be big business, usually run as an ever-increasing industry by multinationals. In 2002 Mexico counted 20 million tourists, most of them exclusively to archaeological sites. Tikal had more than 150,000 visitors. We may rightly infer that the national economy of most Central American countries depends in great part on revenues from tourism to archaeological sites. This creates increasing pressure for monumental reconstructions at the sites. And the methods of the school of Tikal still prevail: partial reconstruction of selected buildings, much use of white cement, and touristic installations and hotels within the site.

In the case of the Cultural Triangle Project, which covers an enormous area of tropical forest and many dozens of sites abandoned and in danger of collapsing, the first task was to safeguard the monuments with scaffolding and to control vegetation, followed by the consolidation of walls and vaults and the refilling of looter tunnels and trenches.

For the conservation of exposed interior cores of pyramidal structures that had lost their exterior retaining walls, the director of the Triangle Project, Oscar Quintana, and his chief conservator, Raul Noriega, both architects, developed a unique conservation method: the missing exterior retaining walls are re-created using tapia, mud walls of earth, with an interior structural enforcement made by a netting of lianas. With this technique, the exterior volume of buildings is regained, and the vertical walls of the structure are protected from erosion by small grasslike plants growing on the outside. This new system is extremely economical and ecological; it does not require cement or stone materials; it uses the fallen debris within the monumental precincts of Maya cities; and it has been tested successfully since 1998. With this system of mud-wall construction, many more structures of Maya sites can be addressed than would be the case using the procedures of the Tikal school—and at much lower cost, in far less time, and using a completely ecologically sound procedure.

But the most important change of attitude in conserving Maya sites in the Cultural Triangle program is the new way of viewing sites. A Maya city is considered not just a group of prominent buildings to be restored—mainly pyramids—but rather an intricate urban creation whose main feature, after

investigation by archaeologists, can be rendered to the visitor by the control of vegetation according to a master plan. The intention is to visualize plazas and causeways and buildings and their connection with one other by a kind of landscape gardening. Even if most of the monuments remain earth mounds without restoration, the urbanistic scheme can be made visible by accentuating its traits through the control of vegetation. For the sake of creating an overall impression for visitors, it is helpful to build outlooks or viewpoints on elevated areas of the urban topography and to convey additional information using urbanistic models of the site and replicas of stelae in situ.

Such a global view requires a multidisciplinary team of experts, architects, archaeologists, civil engineers, forestry officials, tourist managers, and economists, united in drawing up a master plan for the entire region of Maya settlements that is to be made accessible for controlled tourism. The visitors are meant to experience it as the habitat of an ancient civilization, with its combination of archaeological sites and untouched rainforest with its flora and fauna—as a cultural landscape. The entire area will be declared a national park by the Guatemalan Congress. This includes the planning of access roads, itineraries, and visitor centers, and it requires the involvement of the adjacent communities: their inhabitants have to perceive benefits from the development of tourism. Such a master plan excludes excesses of reconstruction at ruins as well as the construction of luxury hotel installations and restaurant zones within the archaeological sites.

It is strange that the experts of financing agencies in particular, such as the Inter-American Development bank (IDB), still adhere tenaciously to obsolete details of reconstruction according to the old school of Tikal. We believe that times have changed, and they must bring about a change of thinking, not just in methods of conserving monuments, but also in the expectations and pretensions of tourism. A visitor coming to see Maya cities in the untouched tropical rainforest does not necessarily have to find an air-conditioned hotel with French cuisine; he or she will be just as happy in a well-designed and comfortable jungle lodge of a suitably light construction adapted to the tropical environment. For the tourist manager, that would suggest the planning of a high-quality touristic infrastructure in keeping with the natural surroundings and according to ecological principles, situated in the area but not at the archaeological sites.

There is no doubt that in the case of Maya sites, archaeology and tourism are closely related. They are not enemies; they are partners. Almost all archaeological investigation and conservation depends on funding with a view to future tourism. However, the traditional points of view of touristic management and site preservation remain the old-fashioned principles and their emphasis on reconstruction.

The problem is one of authenticity of historic monuments. Authenticity is lost through excessive reconstruction. If we, the well-intentioned but economically powerless archaeologists, could convince the top tourism managers and financing agencies that the authenticity of a historical monument in its tropical environment is in itself a profitable asset in terms of its future touristic use, we could perhaps save more original Maya cities from destruction by restoration. A Maya city represents a cultural resource of high commercial value, for its touristic potential. It is a unique historic monument and belongs to a species in danger of extinction. To kill such a rare bird would be economically unwise. Instead, its use ought to be sustainable and guided by principles of maintaining its authentic features, for the sake of golden eggs, of future touristic profits.

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Tourism and Cultural Risk Management

Scott Cunliffe

Abstract: *This paper is a brief compilation of material given in response to papers presented in two sessions dealing with tourism, archaeology, and World Heritage Sites. Tourism is a key determinant of the future of archaeological sites worldwide. Risks at historic sites are assessed by the likely hazards that may have an impact on the site or artifact, the exposure of those elements at risk of damage or destruction, and the vulnerability of the resources to damage or destruction of all kinds. A planning and management tool, cultural resource risk management, is proposed to provide a working tool for a productive, effective, and viable partnership between archaeology and the tourism industry.*

The session titled "Archaeology and Tourism: A Viable Partnership?" was one of the few at the Fifth World Archaeological Congress dealing with the business of archaeology. Case studies and examples given in the session clearly underline the importance and value of collaboration, cooperation, and support between archaeologists and tourism professionals at historic sites. The ultimate endeavor for both parties is to conserve and protect these attractions from risk of damage of all kinds, particularly those risks arising from the hazards associated with tourism.[1] Risk management for cultural resources is proposed as a mutually beneficial working tool for systematically managing future risks and uncertainties at historic sites, especially those risks derived from the uncontrolled impacts of tourism.[2]

Risks at historic sites are described by the likely hazards (including the adverse affects of tourism) that will have an impact on the site or artifact, the exposure of those elements at risk of damage or destruction, and the vulnerability and resilience of the resources to damage or destruction of all kinds. Cultural risk management is then a planning and management tool defined as "a systematic approach to making decisions under conditions of uncertainty, and dealing with the total risks by anticipating possible opportunities and accidental losses, and designating and implementing procedures that minimize (1) the occurrence of loss and/or (2) the sociocultural, economic, or environmental impact of the losses that do occur" (Cunliffe 2004).

Tourism at fragile archaeological sites is inevitably accompanied by both positive and negative impacts. It is hoped that by illustrating and advocating the use of this planning and management tool, there can be additional opportunities to build an increasingly viable partnership between tourism (businesses, policy makers, and tourists themselves) and archaeology (consultants, academics, policy makers, and the archaeological resources) to identify, assess, and manage natural and anthropogenic hazards that pose risks to archaeological resources.

The Past: Friend or Foe

Nelly Robles García from the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia (INAH) in Mexico described an age-old conflict in Monte Albán, Oaxaca. After many years of constructive effort at this archaeological site, there has been a generally positive response from visitors to the upgrading of interpretation and maintenance and the improvement of visitor services. At the same time, there has been a lack of political will and capacity to counter the local corruption, to enforce laws of heritage protection, or to solve the deeper

social problems of poverty and continued low levels of provision of basic quality-of-life needs for the local population.

In this case, the "friend" is the growing positive relationship between site and visitor, which is at the same time the "foe" for the locals as they see benefits accruing to a small number of individuals and businesses (not always local) while their overall standard of living has improved little. This is not uncommon to historic sites around the world, particularly in developing countries. One of the risks of economic development, in this case tourism development, is the marginalization of the local population. The local community is both vulnerable and exposed to outside influence, often welcoming development opportunities with the promise of benefits, without the capacity to forecast likely (negative) consequences to their social well-being and lifestyle. The hazards of tourism development are multifaceted: rapid development, lack of political will, greed and corruption, lack of legislative controls (or weak implementation of those laws), and the impact of the tourist.

While tourism is by nature a destructive industry, there is rarely deliberate malice on the part of tourists themselves. To the contrary, they are generally well intentioned and are often unaware of certain negative impacts they may be causing to sites and artifacts. A lack of adequate guidance provided on site to minimize tourists' impacts is often to blame. International conservation charters provide basic principles of cultural resource protection, but these documents need to be interpreted for site-specific use and application.

For example, the Charter of Athens for the Restoration of Historic Monuments (1931) included seven brief resolutions called "Carta del Restauro." In those first seven sentences, there was clear recognition of the need to agree on an internationally accepted means of protection of excavated sites, taking into consideration problems and mistakes of the past. This was a significant turning point for twentieth-century archaeology in terms of the need for protection. It did not, however, mention tourism as an agent of deterioration of ancient monuments. This was to come much later. Nevertheless, the Charter of Athens was the first international instrument recognizing the risks associated with poor planning and poor management at archaeological sites. As such, it can be seen as one of the first attempts at risk management for cultural sites and objects as it contains descriptions of vulnerability, exposure of the elements at risk, and the hazards—the circumstances which may cause harm—with the objective of mitigating damage and unwanted impacts of change.[3]

International charters covering cultural tourism have developed considerably in the past thirty years. The Charter of Cultural Tourism (ICOMOS, November 1976, Brussels) was revised over a period of twenty-two years until the eighth draft, titled "International Cultural Tourism Charter, Managing Tourism at Places of Heritage Significance," was accepted in October 1999 (8th Draft, for adoption by ICOMOS at the 12th General Assembly, Mexico, October 1999). At the same time, the profile of visitors to archaeological sites, their means of transportation, and their demands for access to sites have changed significantly.

Whereas before the 1950s adventure tourism often consisted of organized scientific and historical discovery expeditions, the jet (among other things) has provided the means for modern tourists to travel the globe to experience our great monuments of the past. As new areas are opened up and new archaeological resources are uncovered, it is the backpackers who are the most prolific adventure tourists, forging new frontiers of accessible sites. Changes in the practice and conventional wisdoms of archaeological investigation and conservation have also adapted to modern demands of tourism for increased access to sites, more information, and greater freedom to experience archaeology firsthand.

The work of the early-twentieth-century archaeologists in Central America, described by Wolfgang Wurster as "the old Tikal school," progressed from scientific exploration and investigation (excavation) to abandonment (rarely inclusive of conservation), followed by periods of monumental reconstruction. Chichen Itzá, Uxmal, and Palenque, for example, rely on the allure of archaeological resources to attract international tourists accompanied by their growing appetite for a learning experience, a sense of discovery, and, more recently, the need for adequate safety and security.

The changing demands of visitors for more information, more opportunities for discovery, more of everything that constitutes a quality experience, mean that the stories of conservation need to be told. Good design is good business for both archaeology and tourism. The story of archaeological conservation is a story worth telling, although one not frequently told. The presentation or interpretation of archaeological conservation links the protection of the resource (conservation) to its use, understanding, and business potential (how it is presented and interpreted to the general public). This direct link to tourism could and should be at the heart of the partnership between archaeological conservation and tourism.

The Future: Uncertain and Risky

The ancient cave in Altamira, Spain, provides a good example of a site and its managers responding to the need to ensure that future generations of visitors can explore, learn, and contribute to the conservation of the archaeological resource. The site faced the risk of grave destructive consequences from uncontrolled and excessive visitation; in 1973 the annual rate of 177,000 tourists was virtually destroying the fragile cave paintings at the site. The carbon dioxide in the breath of visitors was severely damaging the wall paintings. Adaptations to the site, starting in 1982, provided a creative range of visitor experiences that have taken the pressure off the in situ resource, ensuring its preservation. The bold new plan cut visitor numbers to 8,500 per year, reducing income significantly (the entire facility was closed for most of the period 1979–82). While the site was then protected adequately in 1982, it was not until 1992 that the museum project at Altamira dealt comprehensively with managing tourism at the site. Other environmental risks continued, however, from excessive traffic volumes and inadequate sewage and solid waste disposal. Potential disaster is always a strong motivation for policy change.

The significant risks of the future (Howell 1994) will derive from the direct and indirect impacts of tourism, not just in terms of physical damage, already obvious at many high-volume sites, but also in terms of the indirect impacts of tourism on social conditions, changing income patterns, societal values, social dislocation, and so on. Looting persists and is likely to persist, particularly where poverty exists in the world. Mention of future damaging elements would be incomplete without recognizing the destructive results of corruption. This can be one of the most damaging aspects or consequences of tourism development, not only in developing countries.

The *Heritage at Risk* publication from ICOMOS (Bumbaru, Burke, and Petzet 2000) provides an excellent summary of the threats facing various specific cultural sites around the world. The report is descriptive and not analytic. Risk management is not mentioned, and the types of responses to the threats identified are necessarily broad based. Tourism is described largely as a source of negative impacts: "Threats to archaeological heritage resources on the international level are perceived as deriving from three primary sources: cultural tourism, international development programs, and the degradation of the environment through natural process or by human-induced environmental change. Tourism now constitutes six percent of world trade. Heritage, be it cultural or natural, is the major focus of much tourism. The shaping of archaeological resources to meet the demands of tourism has had a major impact which for the most part has been negative" (Bumbaru, Burke, and Petzet 2000).

The government of British Columbia in Canada takes a more positive overview of risk and the potential impacts of a variety of hazards. "An archaeological resource impact may be broadly defined as the net change between the integrity of an archaeological site with and without the proposed development. This change may be either beneficial or adverse" (Province of British Columbia 1996). Looking toward the future, there needs to be a balanced view of both the costs and benefits of any strategic planning. This is a prerequisite to successful cultural risk management.

Cultural Risk Management

Thorough and comprehensive forward planning and risk management can help to avoid or minimize loss and damage to archaeological resources. Catastrophic events at archaeological sites come most often from a lack of forward planning. To use an old but relevant maritime acronym, all catastrophes can be traced to poor execution of the Seven Ps of life: Proper Planning and Preparation Prevents Particularly Poor Performance (Cunliffe 1995b). Archaeological conservation planning should clearly plan for all identifiable future uncertainties and catastrophic events, natural and man-made. Cultural risk management is aimed at sustainable practices "minimizing losses, avoiding, sharing and mitigating risks of all kinds" (Bowden, Lane, and Martin 2001).

Risk management is not new to the world of heritage conservation. We are seeing this type of risk analysis more and more in an increasingly litigious world (*Economist* 2001) where public safety is becoming an increasingly high priority at cultural sites. The Australian National Parks planners, for example, are using a variety of risk management tools for forward planning of maintenance needs, damage repair, accessibility assessment, public liability needs, and especially health and safety needs analysis. Elements of risk management are inherent in the conservation process and have been for a long time. What has changed is the need to single out this planning tool, to identify the characteristics of the site where risks are present for the purpose of minimizing potential loss (damage to the heritage resource, financial loss, personal injury, loss of life or property), and to develop appropriate treatment strategies.

The following formula provides a simple way of illustrating the relationship between the main identifiable components of a total risk assessment:

$$Risk_{(Total)} = Vulnerability \times Exposure_{(Elements\ at\ risk)} \times Hazard \text{ (Granger 1998)}$$

Assigning a value to each identified risk can provide an objective means of setting priorities, identifying what is immediately urgent and what requires the utmost care, and establishing budget and conservation priorities. The objective of this model is not necessarily the quantification of risk in numeric terms but rather to provide a means of identifying risks in terms of both likelihood and consequences, resulting from the product of the three variables vulnerability, exposure, and hazard. Each individual risk identified in the model includes the necessary element of time, as each risk identified has a unique time (or period of time) and place of occurrence. The incidence of simultaneous multiple hazards, as is often the case at times of disaster or catastrophe, raises those cumulative risks to a higher priority for risk treatment.

A treatment strategy can then follow with four simple steps. A residual-risk evaluation should be made after the treatment has been implemented to monitor the effectiveness of the treatment (Cunliffe 1995a). A residual risk is simply what risks remain after a certain treatment (Beck 1992).

- Identify the risk priorities (use worse case scenarios if it is useful, measure priorities in terms of both likelihood and potential consequences).
- Conduct a first-cut assessment by assigning a value to the risks by identifying, with best available information:
  - i) all likely hazards, vulnerability or resilience to those hazards, and the level of exposure of those elements at risk to damage or decay;
  - ii) the probability of that event occurring; and
  - iii) the potential severity of that risk, or the severity of the potential consequences.
- Develop a treatment strategy for dealing with the risks with available resources of manpower, finances, and so on.
- Assess what risk remains (residual-risk assessment), monitor and evaluate the effectiveness of treatment strategies.

These basic steps are a good starting point to assign a measure or value to identified risks (Lupton 1999). The same need for adaptability and using basic principles exists with the application of conservation planning and management techniques—there is no one formula, but rather a box of tools with which to work. Risk management is one such tool.

Conclusion

The tourism industry recognizes that the conservation of cultural resources is critical to destination attraction and to the successful long-term viability of the industry as a whole. There have been some catastrophes along the way; however, recent events in the world have heightened awareness of the need for crisis management and risk management planning for all places where crowds gather, moving or stationary (Cunliffe 2002).

Tourism is a key determinant of the future of archaeological sites worldwide (Howell 1994). Social, cultural, and economic impacts must be compatible with the principal objective of long-term preservation. Other determinants include financial support, available expertise, safety and security of the site and visitors, accessibility, and political stability.

Risk management for cultural sites should be aimed at identifying future policy needs to guide site protection and to identify and plan for all possible future risks and uncertainties to avoid potential disasters, to protect the archaeological resources, and to maintain a sustainable tourism product. Such foresight will be a basic requirement of conservation and presentation of fragile archaeological resources in the future. Risk management and crisis management for cultural resources should become a working tool in the everyday conservation and presentation of archaeological resources. To prepare for the future, we need immediate action to identify and to manage risk and uncertainty; we owe it to our children to plan as comprehensively as we can for the future of our past.

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Notes

1 "Risk" is defined as the chance of something happening that will have an impact on objectives. It is measured in terms of consequences and likelihood (Standards Association of Australia 1999). As a product of vulnerability, exposure, and hazard, risks can be identified as having a unique time (or period of time) and place of occurrence.

"Hazard" is defined as a source of potential harm or a situation with the potential to cause loss. In cultural risk management, it is a situation or condition with potential for loss or harm to the historic resource, the community, or the environment (Cunliffe 2004). The impact of a hazard may be immediate (occurring at a unique time) or cumulative (occurring over a period of time) and will have an effect on a specific location.

2 "Risk management" refers to the culture, processes, and structures that are directed toward the effective management of potential opportunities and adverse effects (Standards Association of Australia 1999).

3 "Vulnerability" is defined as the susceptibility to loss, damage, or injury, and the capacity to cope with recovery from such losses from natural and anthropogenic hazards.

"Exposure" is the position of being exposed to potential harm or loss (physical, financial, or other), including the specific parts or elements that are exposed and therefore vulnerable (Cunliffe 2004).

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