

Port Arthur Historic Site

Port Arthur Historic Site Management Authority

A Case Study

The Getty Conservation Institute, Los Angeles

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The Getty Conservation Institute works internationally to advance conservation and to enhance and encourage the preservation and understanding of the visual arts in all of their dimensions—objects, collections, architecture, and sites. The Institute serves the conservation community through scientific research; education and training; field projects; and the dissemination of the results of both its work and the work of others in the field. In all its endeavors, the Institute is committed to addressing unanswered questions and to promoting the highest possible standards of conservation practice.

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Introduction

Over the past five years, the GCI has undertaken research on the values of heritage. Following work on the nature of values, on the relationship between economic and cultural values, and on methods of assessing values,¹ the current effort aims to illustrate how values are identified and assessed, how they play into management policies and objectives, and what impact management decisions have on the values. This analysis of Port Arthur Historic Site is one of four analyses of heritage sites undertaken by this project. Each discussion is published as a case study.

Site Management—Traditional and Values-Based

Heritage site management can be defined simply as “the way that those responsible [for the site] choose to use it, exploit it, or conserve it.”² Authorities, however, seldom make these choices solely on their own. As the interest in heritage and heritage sites has grown, people have come to anticipate benefits from these resources, and authorities must take into consideration these expectations. Many cultural sites are appreciated for their cultural and educational benefits; some are seen primarily as places of recreation; and others are expected to act as economic engines for communities, regions, or nations. Sometimes the expectations of different groups can be incompatible and can result in serious conflicts.

Although heritage practitioners generally agree that the principal goals of cultural management are the conservation of cultural resources and/or their presentation to the public, in reality, cultural sites almost always have multiple management objectives. The result is that often the various activities that take place at these sites—such as conservation interventions, visitor management, infrastructure development, and interpretation—are handled separately, without a unifying process that focuses all decisions on the common goals.

In recent years, the field of heritage preservation has started to develop more integrated approaches to site management and planning that provide clearer guidance

for decisions. The approaches most often favored are those called *values-based*.

Values-based site management is the coordinated and structured operation of a heritage site with the primary purpose of protecting the significance of the place as defined by designation criteria, government authorities or other owners, experts of various stripes, and other citizens with legitimate interests in the place.

Values-based approaches start by analyzing the values and significance attributed to cultural resources. They then consider how those values can be protected most effectively. This systematic analysis of values distinguishes these management approaches from more traditional ones, which are more likely to focus on resolving specific problems or issues without formal consideration of the impact of solutions on the totality of the site or its values. While there are variations in the terminology and specifics of the processes followed, values-based management is characterized by its ability to accommodate many heritage types, to address the range of threats to which heritage may be exposed, to serve the diversity of interest groups with a stake in its protection, and to suggest a longer-term view of management.

There are many sources of information that can be tapped to establish the values of a site. Historical records and previous research findings have been the most used in the past, and they are generally consulted first. Values-based management places great importance on the consultation of stakeholders—individuals or groups who have an interest in a site and who can provide valuable information about the contemporary values attributed to the place. Traditional stakeholders of cultural sites have been professionals in various disciplines—such as history, archaeology, architecture, ecology, biology, and so on—whose input is expressed through their research or expert opinions. More recently other groups who value heritage sites for different reasons have been recognized as stakeholders too. These new stakeholders can be communities living close to a site, groups with traditional ties or with interests in particular aspects of the site. Stakeholders

with wide-ranging and sometimes conflicting interests in a place may perceive its values quite differently. However, most of the values articulated in a values-elicitation or consultation process are legitimate, and thus merit serious consideration and protection as the site is used.

In its strictest definition, values-based management does not assume a priori the primacy of traditional values—historic, aesthetic, or scientific—over others that have gained recognition more recently, such as social ones. However, in the case of sites of national or regional significance, the principal values recognized are almost always defined by the authorities at the time of designation. In those instances, the values behind that significance ordinarily have primacy over all others that exist or might eventually be identified. In all sites (national and others) some of the ascribed values will be deemed more important than others as the significance of a place is clarified.

Once the values of a site have been identified and its significance established, a critical step to assure their conservation—and one of the most challenging aspects of this approach—is determining where the values reside. In its most literal sense, this step can mean mapping the values on the features of the site and answering questions about which features capture the essence of a given value. What about them must be guarded in order to retain that value? If a view is seen to be important to the value of the place, what are its essential elements? What amount of change is possible before the value is compromised? A clear understanding of where the values reside allows site managers to protect that which makes a site significant.

Values-based heritage management has been most thoroughly formalized in Australia, where the Burra Charter guides practitioners.³ Faced with the technical and philosophical challenges posed by aboriginal places, nonarchitectural sites, and vernacular heritage, Australian heritage professionals found that the existing guidance in the field (such as the deeply western European Venice Charter) failed to provide adequate language and sensitivities. Building on the basic ethics and principles of the Venice Charter, they devised guidelines for heritage management that became the Burra Charter, a site-specific approach that calls for an examination of the values ascribed to the place by all its stakeholders and calls for the precise articulation of what constitutes the site's particular significance. While it is officially endorsed only in Australia, the Burra Charter is an adaptable model for site management in other parts of the world because the planning process it advocates requires the integration of local cultural values.

VALUE AND SIGNIFICANCE

Value and significance are terms frequently used in site management with various definitions. This holds true for the organizations involved in this case study project; each of them uses these terms slightly differently, and they are often guided by wording included in legal or regulatory documents.⁴

In this study, *value* is used to mean the characteristics attributed to heritage objects and places by legislation, governing authorities, and/or other stakeholders. These characteristics are what make a site significant, and they are often the reason why stakeholders and authorities are interested in a specific cultural site or object. In general, these groups (or stakeholders) expect benefits from the value they attribute to the resource.

Significance is used to mean the overall importance of a site, determined through an analysis of the totality of the values attributed to it. Significance also reflects the degree of importance a place has with respect to one or several of its values or attributes, and in relation to other comparable sites.

The Case Study Project

Since 1987 the Getty Conservation Institute has been involved with values-based site management planning through research efforts, professional training courses, symposia, and field projects. As an extension of this commitment, and associated with a related research and publication effort on values and heritage conservation, the Institute has led an effort to produce a series of case studies that demonstrate how values-driven site management has been interpreted, employed, and evaluated by four key organizations. In this project, the GCI has collaborated with the Australian Heritage Commission, English Heritage, Parks Canada, and the U.S. National Park Service.

All four national agencies employ approaches to the management of their own properties that reflect their own histories and legal environments. However, they all have expanded their approaches to define, accommodate, and protect a broader range of values than a stock set traditionally associated with heritage places.

The case studies in this series focus on values and their protection by examining the place of values in management. By looking at individual sites and the management context in which they exist, they provide a detailed example that describes and analyzes the processes that connect theoretical management guidelines with

management planning and its practical application. The analysis of the management of values in each site has been structured around the following questions:

- How are the values associated with the site understood and articulated?
- How are these values taken into account in the site's management principles, policies, and strategies?
- How do management decisions and actions on site affect the values?

The four sites studied as part of this project—Grosse Île and the Irish Memorial National Historic Site in Canada, Port Arthur Historic Site in Australia, Chaco Culture National Historical Park in the United States, and Hadrian's Wall World Heritage Site in the United Kingdom—were identified by their national organizations. Each of the sites examined in this study was put forth as an example of how values issues have been addressed by their respective stewards. The studies do not attempt to measure the success of a given management model against some arbitrary standard, nor should they be construed as explaining how an agency handles all its sites. Rather, they illustrate and explain how four different groups have dealt with the protection of values in the management of four specific sites and how they are helped or hindered in these efforts by legislation, regulations, and other policies. In those instances where the negative impact of policies or actions has been noted, it has been done to illustrate the complexity of managing sites with multiple values. These comments should not be taken as a judgment of the actions of the site authorities.

The organizations participating in this project share a belief in the potential usefulness of values-based management in a broad range of international contexts. These studies have a didactic intent, and they are intended for use by institutions and individuals engaged in the study and/or practice of site management, conservation planning, and historic preservation. As such, they assume that the reader is familiar with heritage management concepts, international charters and guidance, and general conservation principles.

About This Case Study

This case study looks at the management of Port Arthur Historic Site in Australia by the Port Arthur Historic Site Management Authority (PAHSMA) since 1987. PAHSMA is a government business enterprise created by the

Tasmanian State government. Conservation and stewardship of Port Arthur as a heritage site is the primary objective of PAHSMA, which in managing the site also must take into consideration financial viability.

The second part of this study describes the site of Port Arthur itself—its geographic situation, history, and evolution as a heritage site—as well as its contemporary features, partnerships, infrastructure, and facilities. The section then discusses the management context in which PAHSMA operates, including its relationship to state and Commonwealth governments and heritage organizations.

The third part of the study examines the identification and management of the values of the site and is structured around the three questions previously mentioned: the identification of the values associated with the site; their place in management policies and strategies; and finally, the impact that the actual management of the site is having on the values.

In the concluding section, several didactic themes are addressed, including the balancing of cultural and economic values, the implications of PAHSMA's particular institutional arrangements, and the impact of its Burra Charter-based conservation planning process on site values.

Management Context and History of Port Arthur Historic Site

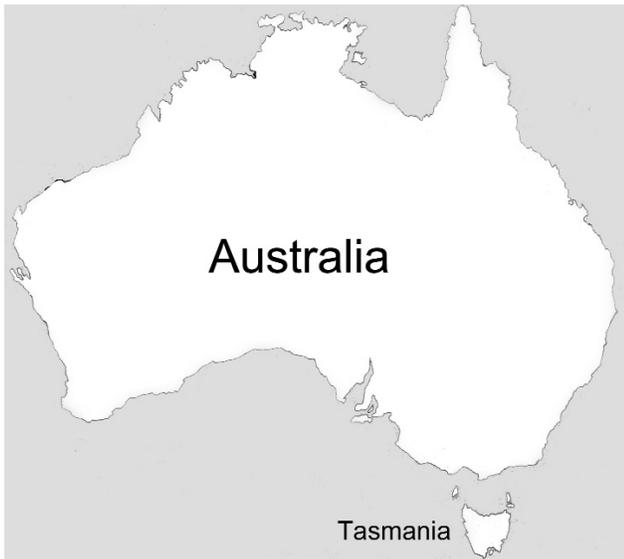


Figure 1. Map of Australia. Port Arthur is located on the island of Tasmania, south of the Australian mainland.



Figure 2. The Tasman Peninsula, located at the southeast end of Tasmania.

Geographic Description⁵

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, England implemented a policy under which convicted criminals were sent to Australia to serve out their sentences and be reformed through work. Prisons, support communities, and small industries were established in Australia to punish, employ, and equip the incoming convict population. Port Arthur was to be the center of this new convict system, organized in the remote area now known as Tasman Peninsula. There, repeat offenders and the recalcitrant served out their terms—often life sentences at hard labor.

Now in a ruined state, Port Arthur is of great significance to contemporary Australians, particularly Tasmanians. The site is one of the best-known symbols of the era of “convictism,” which played such a formative role in Australia’s history and identity.

Australia’s only island state, Tasmania is located south of Australia, separated from the mainland by Bass Strait. In designating a site for its penal colony, England chose the Tasman Peninsula for its remoteness and isolation. The peninsula is connected to mainland Tasmania by a slender isthmus known as Eaglehawk Neck, which is



Figure 3. The location of Port Arthur and eight other prominent convict heritage sites.

less than 30 meters (33 yards) wide. Aside from this narrow land link, the Tasman Peninsula is surrounded entirely by water. Directly to the south is the southern Pacific Ocean, and to the east is the Tasman Sea. To the west and north is a series of bays, some sheltered from the open ocean. One of these protected, deep harbors was dubbed Port Arthur. Its location on the peninsula made it ideal for the construction of a penal settlement in large part because it would provide a port for oceangoing vessels traveling across Storm Bay to and from Hobart, the center of colonial government in Tasmania. Today, Hobart is Tasmania's capital and remains an important port in its own right. By road, Port Arthur is approximately 100 kilometers (62 miles) from Hobart; by modern boat, the trip takes between three and four hours.

Port Arthur has a temperate and wet climate. The area's plentiful rain once supported lush vegetation, including forests dominated by various species of native eucalypts. Today, much of this native vegetation has been cleared and replaced by grass and European deciduous trees.

History of Settlement and Use⁶

Port Arthur is a complex and rich heritage site. Dozens of buildings occupy the site, some in ruins, some restored as museums, others adapted for reuse in a variety of ways. Some structures date from the convict period (1830–77), and others represent later eras. The site is also rich in archaeological resources.

PRE-CONVICT PERIOD

Aboriginal peoples are believed to have inhabited the island of Tasmania for at least 36,000 years prior to the arrival of the first Europeans in the mid-seventeenth century. Dutch navigator Abel Tasman led the first European expedition to Tasmania in 1642 and named the island Van Diemen's Land after his sponsor, the governor-general of the Dutch East India Company.⁷

CONVICT PERIOD AND CONVICTISM⁸

Under the British Empire, the convict system was formally initiated through the *Transportation Act* of 1717, which stated that the "labor of criminals in the colonies would benefit the nation." Convicts were once auctioned to British colonists in North America, but the American Revolution put an end to this practice. In December 1786, Orders in Council identified, among other territories, the east coast of New Holland (Australia) and its adjacent islands as the colonies that would receive transported

criminals. The first fleet that sailed from England the following year to settle the Australian state of New South Wales carried a significant number of convicts. In 1790, Governor Phillip of New South Wales introduced the policy of assigning convicts as indentured laborers or servants to free settlers. Phillip believed that providing convict labor for a period of two years at the expense of

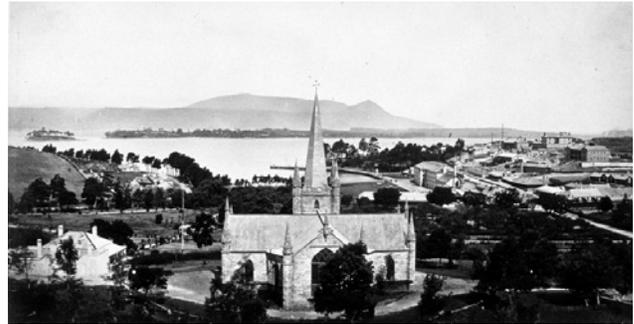


Figure 4. View of the church and Mason Cove, 1873. Photo: Courtesy, W.L. Crowther Library, State Library of Tasmania.



Figure 5. View of church and Mason Cove, 2002. Photo: David Myers



Figure 6. The penitentiary building, the largest and most prominent structure from the convict period. Photo: Marta de la Torre

the Crown would encourage settlers to the area. The practice soon spread throughout the colony and became known as the assignment system.

In 1803, Governor King of New South Wales sent a fleet, which included convicts, to establish the first British settlement in Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania) near the present city of Hobart. King had chosen the island to ward off the threat of French settlement and to monitor American whaling ships. Hobart soon became an important port and the seat of government for the island. Van Diemen's Land, which originally was not a separate colony but an outpost of New South Wales, and its isolated location was viewed as suitable for the containment of hard-core convicts. The island's first penal settlement was established at Macquarie Harbour, on the island's west coast, in 1821. A second station was created at Maria Island in 1825. Both facilities were secondary penal stations that held prisoners who had committed new offenses since their transport to Australia.

Demand in Hobart for wood was high, particularly for shipbuilding, and in September 1830 the first convicts were sent to Port Arthur to cut timber. Soon thereafter, the island's third secondary penal station was constructed at Port Arthur.

Following the closure of the penal settlements at Maria Island in September 1832 and at Macquarie Harbour a month later, Port Arthur's population, infrastructure, and importance grew rapidly. The following year, a small island within sight of Port Arthur was selected for burials. The island, which would over time receive approximately one thousand interments, was then known as Dead Island. In 1834, prisoners' barracks were built and the first juvenile prison in the British Empire was constructed at Point Puer, across the bay from Port Arthur. Its purpose was to separate young male convicts from the "bad company and example" of the adult convict population. Construction began on the settlement's first permanent buildings, which included a church. By 1836, the settlement contained almost one thousand convicts and Point Puer nearly three hundred boys. Port Arthur had become an important industrial center, the site of ship and shoe manufacturing, lime making, saw milling, stone quarrying, coal mining, brick and pottery manufacturing, leather tanning, and agricultural production.

An 1838 British House of Commons Select Committee on transportation severely criticized the arbitrariness of the assignment system. Consequently, convictism in Australia changed markedly. The committee proposed replacing the assignment system with a new approach

known as the probation system. Committee members believed new convicts should complete various stages of incarceration and labor and eventually earn their freedom through good behavior. Under the new system, newly transported prisoners would initially spend a portion of their sentences working at a probation station. They then would be organized into gangs to work on roads, to clear land, and to provide agricultural labor in remote areas. To incorporate the probation system, housing for the convict gangs had to be constructed quickly.

Immediately following the adoption of the probation system in 1841, Van Diemen's Land was chosen as the location of several probation stations to be administered from Port Arthur. These stations were established at Saltwater River, the Coal Mines, Cascades, and Impression Bay. Additional stations were set up on the adjacent Forestier Peninsula. When criminal transport to New South Wales ceased after 1842, the number of convicts sent to Van Diemen's Land increased significantly.

By this time, Port Arthur had entered a significant period of development, marked by construction of a hospital (1842), flour mill and granary (1842–45), and houses for administrators. The start of construction of the Model Prison (later known as the Separate Prison) in 1848 signaled a shift in the settlement's approach to the administration of prisoners. The new approach was based on ideas from Britain and the United States at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century that prisoners should be reformed through a regime of total silence and anonymity. In the 1820s, experiments in separate and silent incarceration were carried out in the United States, most notably at Eastern State Penitentiary in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The Philadelphia system was refined in Britain and later at Pentonville Prison in London, which served as the model for the design of the Separate Prison at Port Arthur. Among the system's more prominent components were its solitary cells used to isolate prisoners from the corrupting influences of other prisoners, and its "dumb cells," wherein problem inmates were deprived of light and sound. These prisoners were allowed outside their cells only once a day. They were forced to wear hoods to avoid being recognized by other convicts and felt slippers to muffle the sound of their footsteps. Other changes at the settlement during this period included the closure of the Point Puer boys' prison in 1849 and the conversion of the flour mill and granary into a penitentiary from 1854 to 1857.

The number of transported convicts to Van Diemen's Land decreased over the years, and the practice finally ceased in 1853. Three years later, Van Diemen's Land was renamed Tasmania. Although probation stations on the island gradually were shuttered as the last convicts passed through them, Port Arthur and its outstations continued to operate for some time. The settlement evolved into a welfare establishment, housing paupers, invalids, and the mentally ill, as evidenced by the construction of a Paupers' Mess in 1864 and the asylum in 1868. In 1871, control over Port Arthur was transferred from the British Imperial to the Tasmanian State government. The cessation of Imperial funds signaled the impending decay of Port Arthur's structures. Six years later, the Port Arthur penal colony was finally closed down. This event signaled the end of the free labor supply that Tasmania had relied on since the beginning of the nineteenth century. From 1830 to 1877, more than 12,000 sentences were served out at the settlement.

THE COMMUNITY, OR "CARNARVON," PERIOD⁹

After the end of convictism in Tasmania, the physical remains of the convict system were often referred to as "blots on the landscape." Reminders of the island's sordid past, they were routinely demolished and their materials reused. In 1877, the newly dubbed Tasman Peninsula was opened to private settlement, the former prison site was renamed Carnarvon, and the government attempted to auction the land lots and buildings to the public. At first, local residents resisted buying property at Carnarvon, but by the early 1880s a small community with a school and post office had been established. Some of the penal buildings were demolished and sold as salvage, and others were converted to serve new purposes. Carnarvon became the center of the Tasman Peninsula community, functioning as a gathering spot for sporting events and other functions. Tourism grew, benefiting the local economy.

Although the establishment of the Carnarvon community was slow to take hold, both local and outside interest in the former penal site had grown, nurtured by curiosity about its dark past. Many locals wished the remains of the penal settlement would crumble into oblivion; at the same time, they realized its potential for income. Thus began Carnarvon's evolution into a tourist town.

The first concerted effort to benefit financially from the site's tourist potential came in 1881—only four years after the closing of the penal colony—when the Whitehouse brothers launched a biweekly steamer

service between Hobart and Norfolk Bay to transport visitors to Carnarvon. Two years later, the brothers opened the first hotel at the site of the former Commissariat Store. In 1893, the volunteer Tasmanian Tourist Association was formed to promote and develop Tasmania as a tourist destination. The association prepared and distributed leaflets about Carnarvon, focusing on the scenic qualities of the region. The site's sordid past was rarely mentioned, an omission that became a recurring pattern in the promotion of Carnarvon and the rest of Tasmania. The 1890s also witnessed the opening of the Port Arthur Museum in Hobart at the photography studio of J. W. Beattie, which exhibited numerous period photographs of the site as well as convict-era relics.

A series of fires in 1884, 1895, and 1897 destroyed and damaged several structures. Many of the remaining convict-era buildings were gutted, including the church, asylum, hospital, prison, and penitentiary. Concurrently, however, many new buildings were being constructed, symbolizing the steady growth of the Tasman Peninsula community around Carnarvon.

In 1913, the Tasmanian Tourist Association submitted the first proposal to the Tasmanian State government for the management of the ruins at the site. Later that year, the government drafted the first set of recommendations for the site's management, including physical repairs to the church, and began to implement them the following year. This move marked the first effort of the Tasmanian State government to actively preserve a historic site.

The government then established the Scenery Preservation Board (SPB) in 1915 to manage parks and reserves across the state, including the Port Arthur site. The following year, the SPB laid the groundwork for the first formal protection of the ruins at Port Arthur through the creation of five reserves: the church, the penitentiary, the Model Prison, Point Puer, and Dead Island. The SPB was directly responsible for Port Arthur's management, but its secretary and field staff—all state employees—were based in Hobart. It is worth noting that the board's main function was to protect the site's natural environment and scenery rather than its cultural heritage.

These reserves were Australia's first gazetted historic sites—a measure of Port Arthur's long-standing importance in Australian culture. Gradually, the SPB acquired land at the site, appointed guides, and conducted a few small-scale preservation projects. Over the next two decades, Carnarvon was widely publicized and its notoriety spread quickly. By 1925, the SPB, its financial resources

running low, accepted the Tasman Municipal Council's offer to assume management of the reserves, subject to certain conditions set by the SPB.

In 1926, a remake of the 1908 film *For the Term of His Natural Life* was shot at the site, despite protests that it would result in negative publicity for Tasmania. Released in 1927, the film was a box-office success and had a significant impact in promoting tourism to the site. That same year, Carnarvon was renamed Port Arthur in an effort to help outsiders identify the site's convict history. The Port Arthur Tourist and Progress Association was also formed for the purpose of further developing the site into a tourist center.

The Tasman Municipal Council managed the site until 1938, when control was turned over to the Port Arthur and Eaglehawk Neck Board, a new group within the SPB, as a result of the Tasmanian State government's renewed financial support for the SPB. Over the next two years, the government acquired the Powder Magazine, the Government Cottage, the Commandant's House, and the cottage in which Irish political prisoner William Smith O'Brien was held in 1850. As before, the justification for purchasing the properties was their economic earning potential from tourism. However, during World War II, visitation to the site plunged. The SPB had its budget slashed at the same time it was assigned the task of managing sixteen new reserves. As a result, the buildings at Port Arthur were allowed to decay even further, and losses due to theft and vandalism only added to the toll.

Following the recommendations of a document known as the McGowan Plan, the Tasmanian State government took a bold step in 1946, purchasing the town of Port Arthur for the sum of £21,000. In a stark change from the past, the plan called for valuing the history and architecture of the site rather than focusing primarily on its economic value. Tourist visitation to the site grew rapidly once again after the end of World War II. Access to the site remained free, however, and the SPB had difficulty developing and managing the site with the small amounts of income generated from guide fees and building rentals. Nevertheless, some conservation and ground beautification projects moved forward. In the 1950s, the SPB managed to purchase the town hall/asylum building and leased it to the Tasman Municipal Council, which had been using the building as its chambers. Encountering licensing problems at Hotel Arthur, located in the former Medical Officer's House, the SPB approved construction of a new motel on the hill behind Civil Officers' Row overlooking the rear of the Model Prison and the whole site.

After years of delays, the motel finally opened in 1960. Two years later, the Tasman Peninsula Board, a new group within the SPB, assumed responsibility for site conservation after years of ineffective management.

In 1971, the Tasmanian State government dissolved the SPB and replaced it with the National Parks and Wildlife Service (NPWS), which then assumed responsibility for the management of Port Arthur. In 1973, the Tasman Municipal Council vacated the town hall/asylum building and moved to Nubeena. At that time, the NPWS had a policy that excluded residential use within the historic site. The council's relocation and conversion of the town hall to a visitor center was symbolic of the community's displacement from the historic site. As discussed in the following section, the 1970s and succeeding decades saw increased state investment in conservation and creation of more dedicated management regimes for Port Arthur as a heritage site. A regular ferry service began transporting tourists from the site to Dead Island. At the request of the ferry operator, the island's name was officially changed to the Isle of the Dead.¹⁰

In 1979, the Tasmanian State government announced the first substantial commitment of monies from the Commonwealth and the state (A\$9 million over seven years) to conservation at the site in the form of the Port Arthur Conservation and Development Project (PACDP). This project, which continued until 1986, funded the extensive restoration of historic buildings, the stabilization of ruins, and the development of visitor-related facilities and infrastructure, and provided for the conservation and development of historic resources throughout the Tasman Peninsula as well. Based on input from Australia ICOMOS, the NPWS revised and expanded the recognized significance of Port Arthur as a historic site to include the township period (roughly 1880 to 1930).¹¹ The PACDP was at the time the largest heritage conservation and development project undertaken in all of Australia. It also served as a significant training ground for Australian heritage professionals. This training component has produced a nationwide interest in the ongoing conservation work and protection of the cultural resources at Port Arthur.

As the seven-year project came to a close, the Tasmanian Minister of Arts, Heritage and Environment refused to provide further funding. The Tasmanian Parliament responded in 1987 by passing the *Port Arthur Historic Site Management Authority Act*. This act created and transferred authority over the site to the Port Arthur Historic

Site Management Authority (PAHSMA), a government business enterprise (GBE).

In late April of 1996, tragedy struck when a gunman killed thirty-five people at Port Arthur, twenty inside the Broad Arrow Café and fifteen in the immediate vicinity. Most of the victims were tourists, but the remainder both worked and lived at Port Arthur. The event proved to be traumatic to the site staff and the local community. In December of that year, the Broad Arrow Café was partially demolished.¹² The tragedy forged a new chapter in Port Arthur's, and Australia's, history by almost immediately catalyzing the passage and enactment of national gun control legislation in Australia. The Australian prime minister also tapped funds to build a new Visitor Centre to replace the Broad Arrow Café.¹³

Shortly thereafter, the Tasmanian authorities commissioned the Doyle Inquiry into the management of Port Arthur. This investigation looked at the workings of PAHSMA since its establishment, including the PAHSMA Board's handling of the development of the new Visitor Centre and parking area, its relations with employees in the aftermath of the tragedy at the café, and the conservation and maintenance of historic resources at the site.¹⁴ The inquiry resulted in amendments to the *PAHSMA Act* as well as the reconstitution of the PAHSMA Board. With the 1998 change in the Tasmanian legislature from the Liberal Party to the Labor Party, the state government adopted policies encouraging tourism to improve the economy. This new stance also led to the appointment of high-profile individuals to the PAHSMA Board, including a former executive director of the Australian Heritage Commission (AHC).

In 2000, the Tasmanian premier announced that PAHSMA would receive A\$10 million in funding for conservation over the ensuing five years. A condition of the funding was that PAHSMA would submit a new conservation plan to the AHC. The premier also announced that state and Commonwealth funding would be provided for the creation of "The Convict Trail," which would reconnect the historic site at Port Arthur with the convict outstations throughout the rest of the Tasman Peninsula, including those at Eaglehawk Neck, Cascades, Impression Bay, Saltwater River, the Coal Mines, and Norfolk Bay. PAHSMA, the Tasman Municipal Council, and local businesses formed a partnership known as Port Arthur Region Marketing Ltd. (PARM) to market the Port Arthur region as a tourist destination. After much debate, a memorial garden also was created in the spring of 2000 at the site of the former Broad Arrow Café, which is now in ruins.¹⁵

The Management Context

COMMONWEALTH HERITAGE LEGISLATION, POLICY, AND ADMINISTRATION

Though the Port Arthur Historic Site is owned by the Tasmanian (state-level) government, not the Commonwealth (federal- or national-level), this discussion of management and policy contexts begins with a look at relevant national-level factors.

Australia has separate Commonwealth, state, and territory governments, which together comprise a fairly decentralized system. Decisions and actions related to most heritage places and their land use are governed by state and local laws. Correspondingly, sites either are funded by state governments or generate revenue on their own. This important political context is a distinctly different one for sites funded by national governments.

The *Australian Heritage Commission Act (1975)* is the Commonwealth's primary legislation dealing with the identification, protection, and presentation of cultural heritage places at the national level. This act established the AHC and the Register of the National Estate. The AHC is an independent authority operating under the jurisdiction of the Commonwealth government's Environment and Heritage portfolio, and is responsible to the Minister for Environment and Heritage. The minister is authorized to direct the AHC or its chair to provide advice and to enter places into the Register of the National Estate. The AHC is not directly involved in heritage management as an owner and manager of sites.¹⁶

The purpose of the act is to place responsibility on Commonwealth ministers and authorities to take into consideration National Estate values (as defined by the AHC) and professional recommendations concerning the potential effects of proposed actions.¹⁷ It is generally not intended to give the AHC paramount protective authority over National Estate places.

The act defines the National Estate as follows:

The National Estate consists of those places, being components of the natural environment of Australia or the cultural environment of Australia, that have aesthetic, historic, scientific or social significance or other special value for future generations as well as for the present community.¹⁸

This register acts as a national list of places that reach a defined threshold of significance at a national, regional, or local level, against which proposed Commonwealth actions and decisions can be checked for potentially harmful impacts.

AUSTRALIA ICOMOS

The Australian national committee of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (Australia ICOMOS), organized in 1976, promotes good practice in the conservation of cultural heritage places throughout the nation. It is a nongovernmental organization and is affiliated with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). Its members are professionals from a variety of fields involved in the practice of heritage conservation.

In 1979, Australia ICOMOS adopted the *Australia ICOMOS Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Significance* (The Burra Charter). The Burra Charter, which was revised in 1988 and 1999, has provided guiding principles for cultural heritage conservation practice in Australia.¹⁹ The Burra Charter consists of principles and procedures that ensure the conservation of a place's cultural significance. It sets out a logical process for articulating the cultural significance of a place and then deciding on conservation policies and measures to protect that significance. The process emphasizes consultation with a range of stakeholders, as well as transparency and clear documentation with regard to understanding and protecting significance. The charter's principles have been widely and voluntarily accepted and followed by heritage agencies and practitioners throughout the nation, and it has been perhaps the most influential document in moving cultural heritage practice in Australia toward a more explicitly values-based approach. As such, it has become a de facto policy.

TASMANIAN HERITAGE LEGISLATION, POLICY, AND ADMINISTRATION

State-level factors are perhaps the most important policy contexts shaping the management of Port Arthur. The first law in Tasmania to address the protection of heritage was the *Scenery Preservation Act* of 1915. This legislation established the Scenery Preservation Board, the first public authority established in the whole of Australia for the management of parks and reserves. Port Arthur was among the lands the SPB held and managed. In 1970, the *Scenery Preservation Act* was repealed through adoption of the *National Parks and Wildlife Act*. This act provided that land may be declared a conservation area to preserve features of historical, archaeological, or scientific interest, or to preserve or protect any Aboriginal relics on that land. The act also created the National Parks and Wildlife Service (of Tasmania) to manage both cultural and natural heritage within Tasmania, although emphasis was

clearly on the latter. NPWS was the managing agency for Port Arthur Historic Site from 1970 to 1987.²⁰

In 1995, the Tasmanian Parliament passed the state's first comprehensive cultural heritage legislation, the *Historic Cultural Heritage Act*.²¹ This law contains provisions for identification, assessment, protection, and conservation of places deemed to have "historic cultural heritage" significance. The act also provides for the creation of the Tasmanian Heritage Council (THC), which is responsible for advising the minister on issues concerning Tasmania's historic cultural heritage and measures to conserve that heritage for present and future generations. The THC also works within the municipal land-use planning system to provide for the proper protection of Tasmania's historic cultural heritage (it has statutory review over projects involving properties on the Tasmanian Heritage Register), assists in "the promotion of tourism in respect of places of historic cultural heritage significance," and maintains proper records—and encourages others to maintain proper records—of places of historic cultural heritage significance.

The 1995 law also provided for the creation of the Tasmanian Heritage Register, kept by the THC. The criteria for being listed on the register are based on those used for the Register of the National Estate. Under the *Historic Cultural Heritage Act*, the minister may declare a site to be a heritage area if it is deemed to contain a place of historic cultural significance. Works impacting a registered place must be approved by the state Heritage Council. The council has the authority to set standards for approved works and to require professional supervision of the work. The act also provides for Heritage Agreements, which include provisions for monetary and technical assistance to the owner of the registered place. The council may approve damaging works only if it is satisfied that there are no prudent or feasible alternatives.²²

LOCAL COUNCILS

In the state of Tasmania, land use and development are regulated by planning schemes, which are legally binding statutory documents. Local councils are responsible for preparing and administering these planning measures, which include provisions governing land use and development.²³

The *Municipality of Tasman Planning Scheme* (1979), administered by the Tasman Municipal Council, governs use and development of land on the Tasman Peninsula. All lands within Port Arthur Historic Site are classified as a National Park/State Reserve reservation.

The approach to the site, as well as its viewshed, is also regulated by a complex system of zoning.²⁴

When the Tasman Municipal Council receives planning applications regarding historic areas, it refers them to the Development Advisory Committee for Historic Areas. This committee is composed of representatives from the council, from the local community, and from the Tasmanian Department of Tourism, Parks, Heritage and the Arts. For projects and reviews on the Port Arthur reserve, the Tasman Municipal Council focuses on straightforward infrastructural matters, such as sewer and water provision, deferring to PAHSMA (and THC reviews of PAHSMA's activities) on most heritage-specific matters.²⁵

PORT ARTHUR HISTORIC SITE MANAGEMENT AUTHORITY

In 1987, the Tasmanian Parliament passed the *Port Arthur Historic Site Management Authority Act* establishing PAHSMA, which assumed management of the site from the Tasmanian Department of Lands, Parks and Wildlife. Since 1995, PAHSMA has been a GBE operating in part under the provisions of the *Government Business Enterprises Act* (1995). A semi-independent government authority with an annual budget provided by the Tasmanian State government, PAHSMA nevertheless operates under the auspices of an appointed board rather than the state. The Port Arthur site faced perpetual funding shortfalls, and through PAHSMA the Tasmanian government hoped to create an entity capable of independently generating its own revenue. One of the first steps was to start charging admission fees to the site.

The PAHSMA Board reports directly to the Tasmanian premier, and there is state representation on the board as well as state budget oversight and control. The *Port Arthur Historic Site Management Authority Act* defines the functions of PAHSMA as follows:

- Ensuring the preservation and maintenance of the Historic Site as an example of a major convict settlement and penal institution of the nineteenth century;
- Coordinating archaeological activities on the Historic Site;
- Promoting an understanding of the historical and archaeological importance of the Historic Site;
- Consistent with the management plan, promoting the Historic Site as a tourist destination;
- Providing adequate facilities for visitors' use;

- Using its best endeavors to secure financial assistance by way of grants, sponsorship, and other means, for the carrying out of its functions; and
- Conducting its affairs with a view to becoming a viable commercial enterprise. (A further Act of Parliament in 1989 amended this requirement to read: "Conducting its affairs with a view of becoming commercially viable."²⁶)

In the wake of the Port Arthur Massacre, the management of PAHSMA came under close scrutiny and was found to be in serious need of reorganization. According to the Tasmanian State government's report of the Doyle Inquiry,²⁷ PAHSMA's economically self-sufficient mandate was at odds with the conservation values and goals recognized (in the 1985 plan and thereafter) as the foundation of the site's management. PAHSMA is not likely to generate sufficient income to fully fund its conservation activities; however, its tourism operation endeavors to generate a sustainable stream of income within its broader conservation, economic, and community objectives.

In 1997, PAHSMA convened the Port Arthur Heritage Advisory Panel (HAP) consisting of heritage experts. Its chair was a senior Canberra-based heritage consultant. The chair reported directly to the PAHSMA Board. HAP's role was to advise the board on matters regarding heritage at Port Arthur. The panel took a hands-on approach at the outset, initiating and drafting the brief for the site's current conservation plan, which was completed in 2000. As the PAHSMA Board acquired members with greater heritage expertise and hired more professionally trained heritage conservation individuals on its staff, the panel has stepped back and focused primarily on reviewing secondary plans and providing a broader level of advice to the conservation staff.²⁸

Port Arthur Historic Site Facilities and Services

One of the most striking aspects of the Port Arthur site is the beauty of the surrounding landscape and its contrast to the horror of the events and penal-industrial system of nineteenth-century convictism. By some accounts, the beautiful landscape works against the conservation and interpretation of the main messages and related historic and social values of the site. However, this quality of the site was noted early on—indeed by the convicts themselves—and thus could be considered one of the important historic elements in the site's past. For some

visitors, the serenity of the landscape makes it difficult to imagine the brutality of the convict period. For others, that same serenity actually helps them reflect on the site's past. Buildings such as the penitentiary and the Separate Prison—where the convict experience is immediately felt—have the most potential for conveying the historic experience.

MAJOR BUILDINGS AT PORT ARTHUR²⁹

The Asylum

The asylum (1867) housed the mentally ill, older convicts, and ex-convicts—some transported from locations other than Port Arthur. From 1895 to 1973 it was home to the Carnarvon Town Board (later known as the Tasman Municipal Council). Today it houses a small museum and a cafeteria.

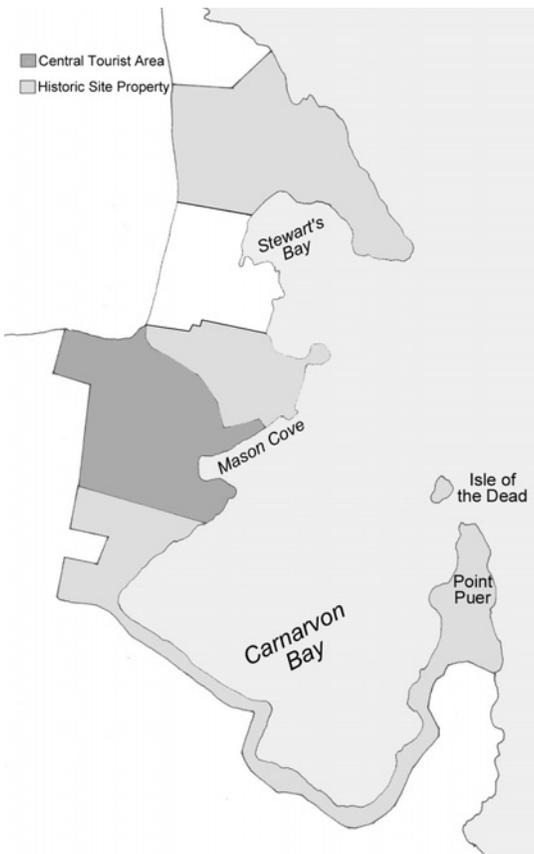


Figure 7. Map of the current property boundaries of the Port Arthur Historic Site and the central visitors area.

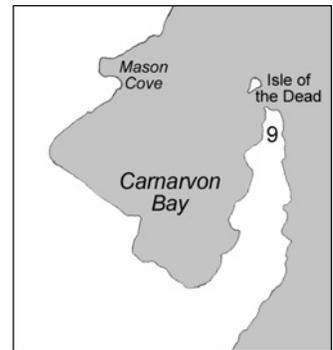
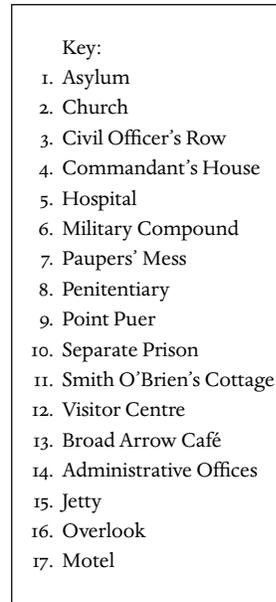
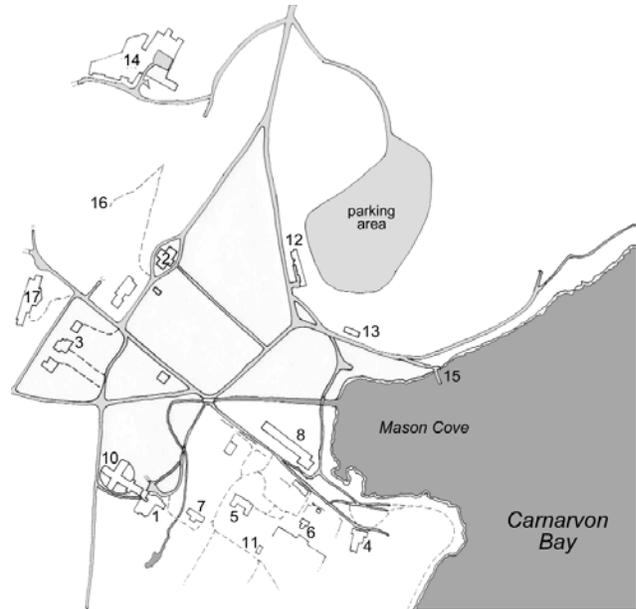


Figure 8. Map of the central visitors area and its major structures and features. It should be noted that the motel (17) sits on a small, privately owned parcel of land adjoining the site.

The Church

The church, constructed in 1836–37, was gutted by a fire in 1884 that left only its walls standing. The ruins of the church are perhaps the most recognizable symbol of Port Arthur today.

Civil Officers' Row

The structures remaining along this row housed civilian officials at Port Arthur. These include the Accountant's House (1842); the Junior Medical Officer's House (1848); the Parsonage (1842–43), which housed the Anglican parson; and the Magistrate's and Surgeon's Houses (1847).

The Commandant's House

The Commandant's House (1833) was home to the highest-ranking official at Port Arthur. It was enlarged several times, extending up the hill. It served as the Carnarvon Hotel from 1885 to around 1904, and then as a guest house until the 1930s.

The Hospital

The hospital, which housed up to eighty patients, was opened in 1842. It served convicts and soldiers in separate wards. The structure was severely damaged by bushfires in the 1890s, leaving only the ruined façade and northwest wing standing today.

The Military Compound

Soldiers lived, ate, and engaged in recreation at the military compound. It included a parade ground for military exercises. The compound also housed civilian officers and military families. The soldiers' barracks were demolished after the settlement was closed, and other buildings in the precinct were lost in bushfires in the 1890s. One of the dominant structures today is the guard tower (1835). Other extant structures are Tower Cottage (1854), which housed married officers and their families, as well as some wall sections, two small turrets, and some foundations.

Paupers' Mess

Ex-convicts who were too old or infirm to work gathered at the Paupers' Mess, built in 1864. Only the walls of the building remain today.

The Penitentiary

This substantial four-story structure was built between 1842 and 1844 and originally served as a granary and flour mill for about a decade. In 1857, it was converted to a penitentiary and held prisoners until the closure of the Port Arthur convict settlement. It housed 136 convicts on its first two floors in separate cells and 348 in dormitory-style accommodations on the fourth floor. The third floor housed a library, mess, and Catholic chapel. Sometime

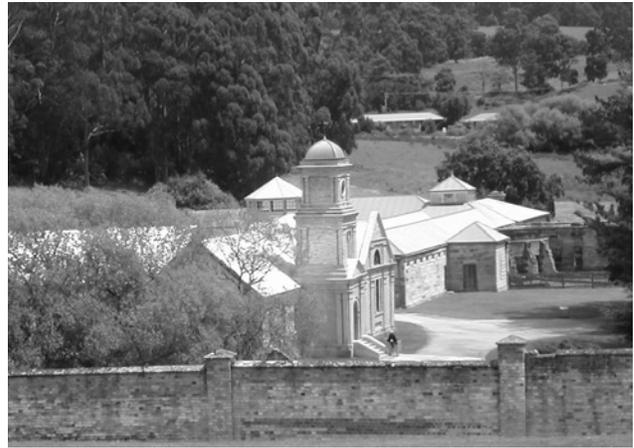


Figure 9. The asylum. Photo: Marta de la Torre



Figure 10. The ruins of the hospital lie behind those of the Paupers' Mess. Photo: Marta de la Torre



Figure 11. The exercise yards of the Separate Prison. The exercise yards lie in ruin today. Conservation and interpretation plans call for partial reconstruction of these yards. Photo: Marta de la Torre

after 1877, the structure was ravaged by fire and looted. Today, several of its main wall sections have been stabilized to prevent collapse, and it is visually the most dominant structure in the Mason Cove area.

Point Puer

Only scattered ruins remain of the former boys' prison at Point Puer (1834), located across the harbor from Mason Cove. Point Puer was created to separate boys ages eighteen and under from older prisoners. The boys' prison ceased operations in 1849.

The Separate Prison

The Separate Prison, originally called the Model Prison, was modeled after London's Pentonville Prison, and was typical of a number of other prisons such as Lincoln Castle where sensory deprivation was used to break inmates resistance to reform. The complex comprised two wings of parallel rows of cells, where prisoners were isolated for 23 hours per day and performed tasks such as shoemaking, and was first occupied in 1849.

Smith O'Brien's Cottage

This cottage, built to approximately its present configuration in 1846, was named for the Irish political prisoner held there in 1850. It also was once a stable and the military hospital.

Today, most visitors to the site arrive by car or bus via the Arthur Highway and park at the main parking area in front of the Visitor Centre, where they may purchase an entry ticket valid for two days. The ticket includes access to the Interpretation Gallery in the Visitor Centre; entry to the Port Arthur Museum located in the former asylum building, which has a small collection of convict artifacts; admittance to the site's more than 40 hectares of landscaped grounds and gardens, including more than thirty historic buildings, ruins, and restored period homes; and a guided introductory historical walking tour and harbor cruise. The twenty-minute cruise sails past the dockyards, the site of the Point Puer boys' prison, and the Isle of the Dead. Visitors' options include a thirty-minute tour to the Isle of the Dead and the ninety-minute Historic Ghost Tour. The latter consists of a lantern-lit walk at dusk around the site as tour guides tell of sightings, apparitions, and strange occurrences reported at Port Arthur from the convict period until the present.

Visitor activity is concentrated in the Mason Cove area, which was the center of development of the penal settlement and later the town of Carnarvon. A number of

historic buildings, ruins, gardens, and memorials are situated in a verdant landscape occupying the basin surrounding the harbor and defined by small ridges. Visitors navigate through this area on paved roads and surfaced walkways. Use of the roads within Mason Cove is restricted to PAHSMA vehicles. One exception is vehicle access to the public jetty, where locals are permitted to drive through the site to fish. Recently, small electric vehicles have been introduced to enable visitors with mobility difficulties to access most areas of the site.

In the northwest part of the site, secluded from the tourist areas on a forested hilltop, is the administrative complex. It includes management offices, the Radcliffe Collection and Archaeological Store, nursery and forestry facilities, and the works yard. Most of the site's service infrastructure, such as sewers, storm drains, water supply, electricity supply, and telecommunications, is concealed.

Entry fees are listed below. Tours to the Isle of the Dead, as well as the evening ghost tours, are ticketed separately. Tickets may be purchased at the Visitor Centre, by phone or fax, or at the Port Arthur Historic Site Web site.³⁰ Visitors who wish to return may upgrade their entry ticket to a two-year pass for an additional fee. Group and school-group bookings are also available. School-group tours last one to two hours. In addition to the standard tour, students get the chance to dress up in nineteenth-century-style clothing, learn how to use a semaphore, observe the site's historic architecture, and learn about early building materials and methods.

*Day entry ticket fees:*³¹

A\$ 22.00	Adult
17.50	Pensioner, senior, full-time student
10.00	Child (4 to 17 years)
48.00	Family (2 adults and up to 6 children)

Ghost tour fees:

A\$ 14.00	Adult
8.60	Child
36.30	Family

Isle of the Dead tour fees:

A\$ 6.60	Adult
5.50	Child
19.50	Family

The Port Arthur site is open from 9 A.M. to 5 P.M. The grounds and ruins are open from 8:30 A.M. until dusk. Visitor Centre hours are 8:30 A.M. until the last ghost tour at night. Services at the Visitor Centre include a desk of

the Tasmanian Visitor Information Network, operated by Port Arthur Region Marketing Ltd. Staff at the desk provide information on accommodations, activities, and other services available in the region, including information on other convict-related heritage reserves in the area. They also assist visitors with booking reservations both inside and outside the region. Food, refreshments, and catering facilities at the site include Felons Restaurant and the Port Café in the Visitor Centre, and the Museum Café located in the former asylum building. The Visitor Centre also houses a gift shop that sells books, videos, souvenirs, and Tasmanian arts and crafts. Some items may be purchased online at Port Arthur's Web site.

In the Visitor Centre, a model of the site as it was in the 1870s is used to orient visitors. The placement of the model allows visitors to gaze through a glass wall overlooking Mason Cove and the heart of the site. One of the main activities in the Interpretation Gallery is the "Lottery of Life," a game in which visitors are given a playing card containing the identity of a former prisoner at the penal settlement. As they move through the Interpretation Gallery, they trace the path of that convict from the United Kingdom to Tasmania.

Port Arthur maintains meeting facilities that accommodate groups from six to thirty-five. In addition, the site can host conferences by special arrangement that can include specialized tours, sunset harbor cruises, convict role-plays, and catering. Several structures in Mason Cove are used to house staff.

Facilities at the Mason Cove harbor area include a boat ramp and a public jetty completed in March 2002. The harbor is quite popular for recreational activities, such as scuba diving and boating.³² A private company, Roche Brothers and Sons, which operates the Isle of the Dead tour, also offers cruises to Port Arthur on a catamaran.³³ One such excursion, the Hobart to Port Arthur Cruise, follows the same route that convicts traveled, and on the way allows passengers to catch glimpses of marine wildlife and observe dramatic coastlines, including those of Storm Bay, Cape Raoul, and Tasman Island. A second excursion is the Tasman Island Wilderness Cruise, which departs from Port Arthur to Tasman Island. Another private operator offers seaplane flights. The Flight to Freedom, offered in three different lengths, gives passengers aerial views of the site and the region's towering cliffs, blowholes, caves, and geologic formations.

*Hobart to Port Arthur Cruise, including coach return:*³⁴

A\$ 120.00	Adult
99.00	Pensioner
85.00	Child (ages 4 to 17)
350.00	Family (2 adults and up to 2 children)
68.00	(additional child)

Tasman Island Wilderness Cruise:

A\$ 49.00	Adult
35.00	Child
145.00	Family (2 adults and up to 2 children)
30.00	(additional child)
43.00	Pensioner

Seaplane flights:

A\$ 80 / 110 / 160	Adult
40 / 66 / 85	Child
200 / 280 / 395	Family (2 adults and up to 2 children)

During the period covered by the 2001 *PAHSMA Annual Report* (1 July 2000–30 June 2001), the number of daytime entries to the Port Arthur site was 203,600, and the Historic Ghost Tour took in more than 46,000 visitors.³⁵ Visitation is considerably higher in the summer months. Most visitors come from other states in Australia, rather than from within Tasmania.³⁶

Understanding and Protecting the Values of the Site

Port Arthur has been recognized, in every way imaginable, as having a great deal of value as a heritage place. This section identifies the various assessments and statements of value³⁷ made for the Port Arthur site in conservation planning and policy documents. Secondly, this section identifies values of the site that are implied in policies, but not explicitly assessed and described (for the most part, these implied values are the economic values generally excluded by the Burra Charter values framework).

Values Associated with Port Arthur Historic Site

For forty-seven years Port Arthur was a convict site, but it has been a historic site for more than a hundred years. Thus, some articulation of the site's values is traceable back to the 1870s. Until the contemporary era of heritage professionalization (starting in the 1970s), most articulation of heritage values was implicit and indirect, more discernible in actions and policies taken on the site than in deliberate pronouncements. Some of the major, earlier instances of value identification are outlined in the earlier section on Port Arthur's history as a heritage site. In this section, emphasis is placed on the most recent official statements of the value of Port Arthur.

HISTORICAL ARTICULATION OF VALUES

Immediately following the convict period, the site's values were seen to be both utilitarian (the establishment of a new township and village, a productive rural landscape rising from the remnants of the convict landscape) and social (symbolic). These social values were contradictory: negative, in feelings of shame about the convict period, leading to efforts to tear down, reuse, or otherwise erase traces from the convict era; and positive, in seeing the economic potential of the convict resources, leading to the first efforts to promote tourism on site.

Aesthetic values, too, were clearly perceived, motivating visits from outsiders even before the penal colony was shut down in 1877. Visitors were drawn to the romantic aspect of the building ruins, the gardened English landscaping, and the remoteness of the Tasman

Peninsula. Aesthetic values have remained among the most clearly articulated values throughout the management history of the post-penal colony site. Developing simultaneously was the realization that the Port Arthur story (as told and as symbolized and represented in some of its remaining structures) had value as an economic resource: to draw tourists. From the last third of the nineteenth century to the present, many projects have been undertaken to develop the Tasman Peninsula's tourism economy, often centered on Port Arthur as the main attraction.³⁸ Attempts to cultivate the site's economic values in effect kept alive the historic, aesthetic, and social values of the site (and also changed them in a way), which in the 1970s became the object of concerted site management and conservation efforts. Only since the 1940s has conservation of the historic, symbolic values of the site—what are these days grouped under the rubric of cultural significance—been the focus of site development.

Historic values relating to convictism were articulated selectively, until more rigorous, professional efforts were made to document them in the 1979–86 Port Arthur Conservation and Development Project (PACDP). Certain historic values were explicitly recognized in the early twentieth century, in particular those that inspired popular narratives such as the novel and subsequent film *For the Term of His Natural Life*, as well as stories told by local tour guides. However, these values lacked a contextual understanding of the role of convictism in Tasmanian and Australian history and identity, and they did not have the base of scholarly research underlying the historic values recognized today. At the time, historic values were selected on the basis of what resonated with popular culture and consumerism (i.e., fascination with the horror of the penal system and stories of criminals) and what was marketable. Nevertheless, Port Arthur took its place in the popular national memory through the assertion of such consumer-oriented values.

CONTEMPORARY ARTICULATION OF VALUES IN HERITAGE PLANS AND OTHER OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

A wide range of values has been associated with Port Arthur, both historically and in contemporary practice. In the hundred-plus years that Port Arthur has been a heritage site, negative values as well as positive values have been very much in evidence and have shaped site management quite clearly. Conflicts between positive and negative values, or among efforts to develop different positive values, have been recognized in the 2000 Conservation Plan and other policy, planning, and legislative documents.

Over time, and especially in the past several decades, the values articulated in Port Arthur's management plans have fluctuated in response to external conditions, particularly the amount of public funding provided by different government sources. When funding has been in abundance (as it was for PACDP from 1979 to 1986), plans and management focused more exclusively on cultural significance values. When public funding has been cut back substantially, emphasis shifted toward economic values, as management necessarily turned its focus on generating revenue from the site through tourism and associated commercial activity. This situation occurred in the early 1990s, when a surplus-generating expectation was imposed on PAHSMA, which responded with greater focus on revenue generation at the expense of conservation.

In the last few decades, the articulation of site values has become an explicit goal of heritage professionals, managers, and policy makers.³⁹ A number of plans have been formulated (described below), and it is important to realize the external forces shaping these plans. In each case, plans for Port Arthur were formulated not only according to the best practices of the conservation field at the time, but also to secure funding for the site's conservation from a particular government source. The abiding purpose of securing funding through political channels has shaped the goals, methods, and outcomes of the various plans.

The 1975 Draft Port Arthur Site Management Plan, formulated by the Tasmanian NPWS, was the first modern professional plan for the site. It called for fairly aggressive restoration and for the concentration of development (including infrastructure and residences for site staff in historic buildings) on the historic core around Mason Cove. This has been referred to as the Williamsburg approach, focusing on the convict period

and removing buildings associated with the post-convict Carnarvon era. Little of this plan was implemented, though it marked one end of the development-conservation spectrum of management planning.

PACDP represented a major shift in attitude toward site values as well as a shift in the conservation philosophy that drove the treatment of values and fabric. Strongly influenced by national heritage organizations, the AHC, and Australia ICOMOS, this concentrated effort of heritage professionals from across Australia resulted in the recognition and management of a broader range of heritage values than solely those of convictism. The considerable on-site presence of PACDP personnel over several years built a strong cadre of professionals who, today, continue to hold a stake in the conservation of Port Arthur from their far-flung positions. The project relied on substantial government funding, which allowed focus on conservation, not development. No sustained emphasis was therefore paid to the future role and cultivation of commercial values.⁴⁰ When the temporary infusion of Tasmanian State funds ended, there were few resources, strategies, or expertise available to sustain the site and its conservation.

Through the development of a statement of significance, PACDP focused more explicitly on values. The project also brought about a shift in viewpoint, advocating strongly that both the convict and Carnarvon periods were important aspects of Port Arthur's heritage significance. Informal changes embodied in this new, heritage-professional approach were codified in a 1982 draft management plan, which in turn was the basis for the official 1985 Port Arthur Historic Site Management Plan.

The Burra Charter was the primary guide for the 1985 plan, but there was no explicit articulation of "values" or an explicit process of investigating different values. "The cultural significance of Port Arthur is readily apparent."⁴¹ The planners codified the site values in a four-point statement of cultural significance:

- i. The site's value as physical remains—of penal settlement and of Carnarvon
- ii. The site's associations with the Australian convict system, and the role of the system in the development of Tasmania and the nation
- iii. The townscape / landscape values [referring to aesthetic values]
- iv. The "buildings and structures are important and scarce examples of their type."⁴²

The “economic importance of tourism” to the state—speaking to the site’s economic value—was noted on page 1 of the plan as a context of the study, but not as one of the values or variables per se.

“The principal direction of management for the Port Arthur Historic Site will be towards conservation of the fabric of the settlement to enable the historic realities of the Site to be accurately and continuously understood at many levels, while providing visitor and management requirements with minimal impact.”⁴³ Based on these value priorities, arresting physical decay of the historic fabric was the paramount goal. Reconstruction, advocated strongly in the 1975 scheme, was to be undertaken only when it was the sole means of arresting decay.

The 1985 plan represented an important shift in philosophy to value the post-convict-era historical layers and fabric, capturing, as Brian Egloff puts it, “the transformation of a convict landscape into an Australian township.”⁴⁴ This avowedly pro-conservation statement of site values (not to mention the clear value-the-layers conservation philosophy) swung the pendulum toward conservation of heritage values and has since been viewed as a benchmark. It proved difficult to execute this level of conservation activity, however, without the extended commitment of Tasmanian State funds on which the plan was premised.

After 1987, state funding for PACDP ceased, and the creation of PAHSMA was naturally accompanied by a swing of the pendulum back toward economic values and generating revenue through tourism. Site management turned its attention once again toward obtaining revenue and away from research and physical conservation of heritage resources. “Given the significant economic, social, and political impacts following the events at Port Arthur in April 1996, the Authority has recognised the need to bring forward plans concerning visitor facilities and services within the Site,” including a sound-and-light show, a new Visitor Centre, an access road, and parking areas.⁴⁵ This change in management strategy and prioritization of values was not accompanied by a new articulation of values. The 1996 amendments to the 1985 management plan (done by PAHSMA) codified these changes (many of which came before the writing of the 1996 amendments) but contained no statement (or re-statement) of site values.

The shifts in values resulting from the changes in management between 1970 and 2000 set an important context for understanding the new, explicit articulation of values in the conservation planning process completed

in 2000. The 2000 Conservation Plan kept in motion the swinging pendulum of values, bringing site management back from the revenue-centered model toward what the planners view as a clear prioritization of heritage values. In practice, of course, conservation activities must be balanced with the revenue-generating tourism activities on the site, and this important challenge defines many of the site management issues discussed below. In fact, several plans for Port Arthur formally recognized the need to work on both conservation and tourism, but different levels and sources of funding contributed to the swings between management regimes focused on conservation and those focused on tourism. Currently, the management of Port Arthur seems to have achieved a fairly balanced position, one that gives conservation a clear but not exclusive priority over commercial activities.

The current regime of value articulation and site management is the subject of the sections that follow, which focus on the 2000 Conservation Plan.

OFFICIAL STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

At present, the values of the Port Arthur site are referenced in the Tasmanian Heritage Register’s statement of significance:

Port Arthur Historic Site is of great historic cultural heritage value to Tasmania and Australia for its ability to demonstrate the convict period from 1830 to 1877 and its ability to demonstrate the subsequent developments of the site, particularly as a tourist attraction and the attempts to down play the site’s convict history. Port Arthur Historic Site is one of only three convict settlements in Tasmania. It is a rare and endangered place. Port Arthur Historic Site has considerable potential for scientific and social research to contribute to the understanding of Tasmania’s history. Port Arthur is a prime example of the British colonial penal system, the evolution of that system during the 19th century, and the effects of that system in shaping Australian society. The site has the ability to demonstrate a high degree of technical and creative achievement for the time, including industrial enterprises such as shipbuilding, saw milling and brick making. Port Arthur Historic Site, as the most famous convict site in Australia, has a strong and special meaning for the Tasmanian as well as the Australian community as a place of secondary punishment in the convict system. The place also has a special meaning to Tasmanians for its association with the 1996 mass killing by Martin Bryant. The site has particular associations with Governor Arthur and political prisoner Smith O’Brien.⁴⁶

As a statement of the site's values, the preceding quote touches on all four Burra Charter categories and speaks strongly to the values attributed to the different historic layers of the post-European-contact Port Arthur landscape: from the founding of the convict period to the 1996 tragedy, including the continual reinterpretation of the site's history in the decades between the end of the convict era and the beginning of the modern conservation era in the 1970s. This statement paves the way for assessing the values of the site by value-type or by historical layer.

THE 2000 CONSERVATION PLAN⁴⁷

The values of the Port Arthur site have been articulated most exhaustively in the 2000 Conservation Plan, one of two main management documents formulated by PAHSMA, the other being the annual Corporate Plan. The Conservation Plan's detailed and rigorous breakdown of the site's values was generated according to research and the multiple significance criteria applicable to the site (from Tasmanian State legislation and from the AHC).⁴⁸ Broadly, the values are articulated according to the Burra Charter categories of aesthetic, historic, scientific, and social value, with equivalent categories added for Aboriginal and World Heritage values. The values are summarized below.⁴⁹

Aesthetic Values:

- A beautiful and picturesque landscape, combining buildings and landscape.
- Harbor location and water-boundedness of the landscape is part of the valued aesthetic (also true of other places of secondary punishment), so this aspect of aesthetic value relates closely to historic (convict) values.
- Visual "landmark qualities" as represented by the church ruins, the penitentiary ruins, and the views to Point Puer and Isle of the Dead.
- Individual buildings and elements of the English/bush landscaping each convey particular aesthetic values (for example, Georgian colonial style of the Royal Engineers, use of local materials, or lack of craftsmanship in a building's convict labor).

Historic Values:

- Port Arthur (PA) is a premier convict site relating to the nation's convict history; this takes precedent over other historic values.
- Drawing directly on this, several subvalues are identified, such as the historic value of the Separate Prison

(vis-à-vis penal history and changes in confinement philosophy) and the different parts of the penal system spread across the Tasman Peninsula (the probation stations).

- The combination of the picturesque landscape and the paradoxical representation of convict history in this setting is specifically called out as a value.
- PA is "a complex layered cultural landscape."
- On an international scale, PA is an important part of the British penal/colonization/forced-labor system (this relates to the World Heritage nomination; see below).
- PA is an early and leading example of a heritage-based tourist destination.
- PA illustrates changing approaches to heritage conservation philosophy and practice (both in management and in conservation/restoration work).
- PA's settlement was an important event in the history of Tasmania.
- As part of its penal system, PA was also an industrial complex.
- The April 1996 tragedy added "an additional layer of tragic significance" to the site; it is now associated with national gun laws.
- PA is evidence of the probation system, and later as a welfare institution (lunatics, the poor, etc.).
- After 1877 (especially the post-1894 renaming), Port Arthur/Carnarvon has historic value as a typical Tasmanian local community or small township.

Scientific Values:

- Above- and below-ground historical and maritime resources have "exceptional research potential" to yield insight into the convict experience; this extends to the cultural landscape itself, individual structures, and archival collections.
- Aboriginal sites are separately acknowledged as having research value.
- Natural resources of the site "are also an important scientific research resource."
- These scientific values refer to PA site and the outliers (e.g., Point Puer).
- The combination of "oral tradition [including family links], documentary evidence, collections, structures, engineering relics, archaeological features and landscape at Port Arthur have unparalleled potential for community education."

Social Values:

- PA is a symbol of the convict past of Australia.
- PA is a symbol of Tasmania's role in Australian history.
- PA is a foundation for Tasmanians' self-identity.
- PA is a marker of family history for some (especially those cultivating links to convictism) and of Anglo-Celtic heritage for a larger group.
 - "PA is a significant local landmark" and stands as an image of the Tasman Peninsula area as a whole.
 - "The Arcadian qualities of the Port Arthur landscape are of significance to generations of Tasmanians and other visitors."
 - PA "holds an important place in the history of modern heritage conservation in Australia."
 - The 1996 tragedy has made PA a poignant political symbol at a national level [and a poignant marker of grief for those locally and those directly associated with the tragedy].
 - PA is of contemporary social significance to Tasmanian Aboriginal people.
 - PA represents the identity of the Tasman Peninsula community; this strong association is positive (a reason to recognize and celebrate community life) and negative (signaling the estrangement that has been felt from the site itself).
 - The strong community attachment to PA is today "underscored" by the economic importance of the historic site for the peninsula.
 - PA is a place of enjoyment, reflection, and catharsis with regard to convictism.

Aboriginal Values:

- Associational values
 - General associational value with Aboriginals due to their occupation of the Tasman Peninsula.
 - The value of some Aboriginal sites on the peninsula, though it is now a highly modified landscape.
 - Negative value, to Aboriginals, owing to their displacement from this place.
 - Weak associational values in the post-European era.
 - Social values (meanings felt by the contemporary Aboriginal community)
 - Existence of traditional Aboriginal resources (though there apparently is little physical evidence of such).
 - The Aboriginality of the area has been crushed by the post-invasion convict era.

- Scientific, educational, and other values (meanings for the non-Aboriginal community)
 - (Potential) scientific value
 - As historic value, Aboriginal values help demonstrate that the significance of PA goes beyond the convict era.

World Heritage Values:⁵⁰

- PA is one of eight sites included in the thematic nomination that has been drafted (but not forwarded) for Australian Convict Sites.⁵¹
 - The values identified to support the World Heritage Convention criteria are in accord with the other values identified above, though they focus mostly on historic values and ignore values and significance for the local communities, a real source of complexity and challenge in managing PA.

The Burra Charter methodology was employed to articulate, research, and assess these values, and they are the result of a deliberate process of investigation, research, consultation, and synthesis. The value categories necessarily overlap (e.g., some historic values also appear under Aboriginal values and World Heritage values), as it is impossible to fully separate one kind of site value from all others. Seeing the Conservation Plan as the product of Burra Charter methodology is important for understanding the particular concept of "social values" used (to encompass all the different senses of place attachment, historical and contemporary) and the absence of "economic values," which are largely excluded from considerations of cultural significance.⁵² In keeping with Burra methodology, the articulation of site values is centered on the four primary types: historic, aesthetic, social, and scientific.

Value articulation is also organized according to stakeholder communities: the mainland Australian community, the Tasmanian community, the Tasmanian Aboriginal community, the local Tasman Peninsula community, the tragedy community, and the heritage community. This effort to look at values from multiple perspectives maximizes the articulation of the site's values.

Based on the values articulated in the Conservation Plan, Port Arthur's current statement of significance—PAHSMA's benchmark policy statement on cultural values—reads as follows:⁵³

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Port Arthur Historic Site is an outstanding convict place—an important foundation for Australia's sense of identity.

Port Arthur is significant in a World context because it exemplifies a worldwide process of colonial settlement using labour provided by forced migration. The place symbolises an expansionist period of European history and British strategic objectives. It displays key aspects of penal philosophy and the social structure that produced it. In conjunction with other Australian Convict places, Port Arthur demonstrates aspects of the British penal system, in particular, concepts of religious instruction, secondary punishment and segregation as adopted in Australia. It is a focal point for understanding the convict history and convict-period operation of the Tasman Peninsula. The place also represents changing community attitudes to the notion of convict heritage.

At Port Arthur, a sense of scenic beauty is heightened by the paradox of a grim past. Topography and layers of history reflected in indigenous and introduced plantings and an array of structures combine in an evocative and picturesque cultural landscape. The Arcadian qualities of this landscape contrast with its historical role as an industrial penal site. The form and location of built elements display deliberate design and arrangement, reflecting the initial order and hierarchy of Port Arthur's civil, military and penal settlement and subsequent post-convict history. The place retains a high degree of integrity and authenticity.

Port Arthur is an important element in Australian identity, invoking intense and, at times, conflicting feelings. The place has traditionally been an important centre of economic activity and work in the Tasman Peninsula and Tasmania—initially as a convict workplace, later a town and premier tourist destination.

For the Tasman Peninsula community, Port Arthur has strong and enduring associations and meanings as a landmark and as the symbolic centre of the community.

Port Arthur's physical evidence, both above and below ground, has exceptional scientific research potential arising from the extensive resource itself, the integrity of archaeological deposits and the ability of material culture to provide valuable insight into the convict experience. In combination, the oral tradition, documentary evidence, collections, structures, archaeological features and landscape at Port Arthur have great potential for research and community education. Port Arthur is a landmark place in the history and

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The Broad Arrow Café and the 1996 Tragedy

In April 1996, a gunman entered the Broad Arrow Café in Port Arthur and opened fire, killing twenty people. After firing more shots outdoors in the parking area, he got into his car and continued his killing spree. The tragic event added another layer to the dark history of Port Arthur and presented a number of challenges for site managers.

From the perspective of several distinct stakeholder groups, the heart-wrenching events associated with the Port Arthur massacre have had a marked effect on the values of the site. In the words of one interviewee, the tragedy has “drawn a line” in the history of the site, between what came before and what comes afterward.¹ The incident has made Port Arthur both a poignant contemporary political symbol and a symbol of grief for locals and others directly associated with the tragedy.

The shooting impacted not only the café and its staff (some of whom were among the victims) but also the entire site by recasting the image of Port Arthur in the public mind.

Opinions differ as to how the values associated with the 1996 tragedy relate to the core cultural values of Port Arthur (those related to convictism). Although the tragedy is mentioned in the Conservation Plan's statement of significance, the plan's main focus is on

convictism. The crime at the Broad Arrow added an ironic note to the cultural values that were already driving the convictism theme. For some visitors, the shooting overshadowed convictism and its industrial, penal, and landscape stories. The 1996 tragedy is thus deliberately not promoted to visitors.

Different groups held different opinions about how the café site should be handled. Some wanted all evidence of the event destroyed. Indeed, the café was partially demolished as an act of mourning. Others sought to mark the site: memorials appeared soon afterward. The different social values of the café, corresponding to different communities/stakeholder groups, were a source of real conflict.

Site managers tried to ensure that the range of values was fully researched and that no group's values were excluded. In deciding what ultimately would happen to the physical remains of the café site, a careful study of the social values associated with the tragedy and the site was undertaken.² The study followed a methodology developed specifically for understanding the different social values ascribed to heritage sites, and which depended on identifying and interviewing the broad range of stakeholder groups. The study's findings illuminated what course of action to take. By using a deliberate and detailed process of consultation to deal with an emotionally charged situation, the

study was praised as a successful effort to document and address stakeholders' values.

The social-value study discerned national values, some of which, though, were expressed uniquely by local communities (e.g., the mourning of those directly affected by the event). These local and national values, however, were conflicted as much as they were related. The negative site values held by those in mourning sensibly led to the partial destruction of site fabric—an attempt to remove traces of the horrible events. Those focused on a more long-term and more positive view of site values (e.g., that the Port Arthur tragedy represented a turning point in gun control laws, or that the Port Arthur tragedy represented an additional layer of history) wished to preserve the remains as a way of preserving the positive social value.

In the context of this case study, a number of conflicts over values and fabric can be identified:

- Different stakeholders, some representing local constituencies (relatives of victims, local residents, Port Arthur staff) and others representing more national (nonlocal) constituencies, construed the values of the café differently.
- Finding value in a building (or, ascribing values to fabric) does not always lead to a policy of conservation. In some instances, negative values suggest destruction or neglect of the

fabric as the preferred course of action.

- Divergent values held by different groups and individuals pointed to different ways to handle the fabric of the café: negative social values led to a desire to destroy the physical remains; positive social values (e.g., the institution of national gun control legislation) suggested conserving the physical remains of the tragedy site.

The resolution of these conflicting values—a painful process that involved a number of stakeholder groups and a site management team in transition—was multifarious. Some parts of the site were conserved in accord with each set of values. A new memorial was installed (a cross made of huon pine, initially intended as a temporary marker); the demolition of the café, begun immediately after the tragedy, was halted; and the remaining shell of



Port Arthur Memorial Garden. Demolition of the café was started shortly after the 1996 tragedy but was halted by court order. The structure remained in ruins until it was reconstructed as a memorial. The memorial, however, is not given prominence in the interpretation schemes of Port Arthur and serves primarily as a quiet testimony to the senseless killing of staff and visitors. Photo: Marta de la Torre

the building was preserved in a state of stripped-down ruins, cleared of any physical evidence of the shooting, yet clearly marking the actual site as a literal memorial.

By putting Port Arthur on the front page nationally and internationally, the tragedy immediately heightened the contemporary social values of Port Arthur, and it likely brought more visitors too. In an economic sense, there is another connection between the tragedy and site values: post-tragedy government funding led to the debate about the siting and form of the Visitor Centre, which in turn helped stimulate the design and commissioning of the Conservation Plan and the new articulation of values and values-based planning for the whole site (though a revised conservation plan had already been in the works).

Over time, it is likely—perhaps inevitable—that the values associated with the café, and the strength with which they are felt, will change. In the years since the stabilization of the café ruins and the creation of memorials, site managers have placed an interpretive marker at the site and published a modest brochure in response to visitor inquiries. Such interpretation would have seemed inappropriate in the immediate aftermath of the tragedy, when no one wished to draw attention to the site. As local memory becomes less immediate and locals deal with their grief, the national mem-

ory will likely become predominant, and the Port Arthur tragedy will likely take on value as another layer of national significance—as opposed to the extraordinary, conflicted, and particularly local values of the place that were felt immediately after.

Notes

1. Scott 1997 is a powerful and detailed account of the tragedy and its effects on local citizens and those associated with Port Arthur.
2. Jane Lennon and Associates 1998; Johnston 1992.

development of Australian heritage conservation philosophy and practice.

Port Arthur and the Tasman Peninsula have contemporary significance for Tasmanian Aboriginal people, arising from the perceived intactness of the natural landscape and the presence of pre-contact Aboriginal sites that connects the present-day Aboriginal community to the pre-contact past.

The events of 28 April 1996 make Port Arthur a symbol of continuing tragedy, suffering and gun law reform for all Australians.

Port Arthur is a nationally-significant symbol of Australia's convict past, a highly revered icon that symbolically represents Tasmania's place in Australian history.

The statement of significance touches on all categories of value articulated in the planning process and begins to prioritize them simply by ordering the brief narrative. It also succeeds in interpreting site values in a number of ways: by capturing the different cultural values (aspects of cultural significance) identified in the Burra process and suggesting the character of the Port Arthur landscape as thickly layered with historic values; by introducing economic values into the mix; by referring to various stakeholder communities that hold these values; and by suggesting the regional nature of Port Arthur's significance—it is the peninsular landscape, not just the Mason Cove core, that holds significance.

Along with the Conservation Plan, other documents look at the values of Port Arthur from perspectives other than those involved in the overall, conservation-focused plans.

BROAD ARROW CAFÉ CONSERVATION STUDY

The Broad Arrow Café Conservation Study⁵⁴ was commissioned to research, articulate, and assess the heritage values associated with the April 1996 tragedy. This study, which preceded the 2000 Conservation Plan concerning the entire Port Arthur Historic Site, elicited the values of the café site according to established Australian social-value methodology.⁵⁵

The following excerpts from the statement of significance resulting from the Broad Arrow Café study speak to the values identified specifically for this part of the Port Arthur site in the wake of the tragedy. Further detail and discussion can be found in the accompanying sidebar (*see p. 21*). Most significantly, the study found strong negative and positive social values associated with the café.

“The Café has nation-wide social value because of its connection with the tragedy.

- *For some communities this value is related to deceased friends and relatives;*
- *for others it is related to the nature of the tragedy, evoking both negative and positive responses;*
- *for others such as historians, writers and cultural tourists, it is part of the ongoing history of the site.”*

The study also found minor or negligible aesthetic and scientific values associated with the Café. The historic values were seen to be significant in two senses. First, the 1996 tragedy added another layer to the history of the site, though the relationship between the 1996 tragedy and the tragic aspects of convictism is the subject of some uncertainty. Second, many observers believe the Broad Arrow Café-as-tragedy site will acquire greater historic value in subsequent years in association with the shift in national gun laws and attitudes, and may even eclipse the locally held negative social values that were so strong in the tragedy’s immediate aftermath.

Though some values clearly take precedence over others regarding the Café, conflict remains in the articulation of the different priority values. Negative social values articulated by local communities led to heated discussions about how to commemorate the events and victims of April 1996, and to the desire to destroy or at least de-emphasize the physical remains of the Café. Positive social values, articulated from a more national-scale perspective, led to a commemorative strategy dependent on physically marking and preserving the café site. (For more about the implications of these value articulations on the conservation of the site’s physical fabric, see the Café sidebar, p. 21.) All immediate stakeholders except one agreed to support the majority in retaining the café ruins as part of a memorial garden.

UNIVERSITY OF TASMANIA ECONOMIC IMPACT STUDY

The economic impact study commissioned by PAHSMA and completed in 1999 is the most direct and deliberate analysis and statement of the site’s economic values.⁵⁶ The study included dollar estimates of the contributions of Port Arthur Historic Site operations to the state economy and an exploration of how the heritage values of the site (construed more broadly but still in economists’ terms) could be described and estimated. The first aspect of the study showed that Port Arthur clearly has a positive economic impact on the state economy, yielding positive

multiplier effects as gauged through job creation, PAHSMA expenditures, and tourism outlays in connection with visits to the site.

As part of the second aspect of the study, a distinction was drawn between direct-use values of the site (the impacts of which are fairly straightforward to measure economically, as was done in the first part of the study) and indirect “preservation values” such as bequest value and existence value, which are more difficult to measure or estimate and therefore only outlined in the document. These kinds of economic value are briefly described in the report but are not estimated or analyzed in detail.⁵⁷

In conclusion, the report states that the “large increases in conservation expenditures on the Port Arthur site can be justified on economic grounds”—that is, on the basis of economic impacts that could be measured within the limits of the study. It also recommended that “a full scale heritage valuation” be completed in which the full range of economic values can be analyzed. Ultimately, the goal of this study is to articulate and analyze the economic values of the heritage site in their own right, employing the various quantitative analytics “native” to the economics field.

SUMMARY OF THE VALUES ASSOCIATED WITH PORT ARTHUR

Whether one looks at the values that have been articulated for the Port Arthur site, or at recent planning and policy documents, it is clear that both cultural and economic values have been recognized and that both have formed the basis for decision making over time.

In keeping with the Burra Charter model, cultural and economic values are treated differently and separately. Cultural values have been analyzed and articulated most explicitly, and to one extent or another have remained at the center of all discussions of Port Arthur’s value as a place. Economic values have been influential in shaping decisions and determining the management for the site, but they have been articulated and analyzed more implicitly, as they are considered to be derived values and not inherent conservation values.

Cultural values center on the remains of the convict period, but over the past several decades conservation philosophy has shifted to emphasize the value of other historic periods of the site—the Carnarvon period, in particular—and set up management schemes in which convict-period values are not permitted to obscure or erase these other cultural values.

Economic values have long been part of Port Arthur's identification and management as a historic site. This is made abundantly clear in David Young's *Making Crime Pay*⁵⁸ and in the summary history of Port Arthur in the earlier part of this case study, and remains so today. The tourism development activities initiated over the past hundred-plus years were never based on a deliberate assessment of economic values and potentials. Nevertheless, these activities have been formative factors in the management of the site as well as in subsequent appraisals of the site's values, which now include the history of these tourism activities.⁵⁹

The next section explores how the articulated site values have been incorporated into management policies for Port Arthur. It is followed by a discussion of the implications of management decisions on site values and vice versa.

How Management Policies and Strategies Take Values into Consideration

From the foregoing, it is clear that Port Arthur has a great depth and breadth of values and that the Conservation Plan and other documents articulate values in support of the widely agreed-upon cultural significance of the site. Further, it is evident, implicitly and explicitly, that the economic values of Port Arthur are an important factor in its management. In exploring how these values are reflected in the current management strategies for the site, some patterns emerge:

- First, cultural significance values are clearly articulated and addressed in PAHSMA's Conservation Plan and have become the basis for conservation policy at a general level.
- Second, both cultural and economic values strongly shape the management strategies and decisions regarding the site.
- Third, in accordance with the site's Ministerial Charter and the Conservation Plan, conservation has priority over other activities and issues in the management of the site.
- Fourth, economic values are assessed or analyzed in the course of day-to-day management of the site, whereas cultural values are assessed and analyzed as part of the deliberate forward-planning scheme represented in the Conservation Plan.
- Fifth, the decisions of PAHSMA's executive and board are the vehicle for integrating the various cultural and economic values. The board oversees the preparation

of the Corporate Plan each year. It is a formal document endorsed by the government and the vehicle for carrying out on a yearly basis Conservation Plan and board policies and priorities relating to the site as well as various government obligations. However, the board also makes significant conservation and management decisions more informally, based on the need to integrate the various cultural and economic values on a day-to-day basis.⁶⁰

This section describes how site values are reflected in policies by analyzing the main site management documents. Such an analysis seems appropriate given that the overall management of the site has been organized by PAHSMA around the processes that have generated these plans—primarily the Conservation Plan and Corporate Plan. These two instruments, along with the factors stemming from the institutional and regulatory settings of PAHSMA, overwhelmingly constitute the formal management strategies.⁶¹

Our interviews revealed the opinion of many on site that these older plans are not relevant to the present management of the site. They were originally required for statutory reasons and crafted to attract funding as well as ensure conservation. Although they do not guide day-to-day, site-by-site decisions today, the 1985 plan in particular has shaped the development of site values and the current management by adjusting the balance between cultivating cultural and economic values. The plan also helped shaped the management of values today by, for instance, valorizing Carnarvon-era resources, ensuring conservation of the remaining heritage resources, and preventing development and overzealous reconstruction at the center of the site.

THE 1985 MANAGEMENT PLAN

Together, the 1985, 1996, and 2000 plans reflect the pendulum swings management has taken in order to balance conservation and the access/tourism activities required to operate the site (in other words, balancing the dual goals of conserving cultural significance and funding operations). The main factor in determining which way the pendulum swings has been the availability of external government funding.

The comprehensive 1985 Management Plan was written near the end of the seven-year PACDP, which used A\$9 million of state and national funds to carry out a variety of conservation works. The plan was carried out in accord with the Burra Charter and identified as management objectives conservation of fabric and cultural significance, as well as tourism and ancillary commercial

development. Cultural significance centered on the convict system as the basic vector of European settlement in Tasmania. Different layers of history were described and acknowledged—convict, Carnarvon, modern—but as the plan stated, “[T]he potential of Port Arthur as an authentic historic site” lies with convictism.⁶²

The cultural significance of Port Arthur was defined in the 1985 plan as “readily apparent”:⁶³

- (i) because the site is a major physical demonstration of the lives, customs, processes and functions of an early Australian penal settlement, and its transformation into the township of Carnarvon, which is of particular interest and in danger of being lost.
- (ii) because of the inherent associations of the site with the Australian convict system, and the role this system played in the economic, social and cultural development of the state of Tasmania in particular, and the nation in general.
- (iii) because of the townscape and landscape values of the Site, and in particular the degree of unity of materials, form and scale, and the contribution of the setting in the landscape.
- (iv) because many of the buildings and structures within the site are important and scarce examples of their type.

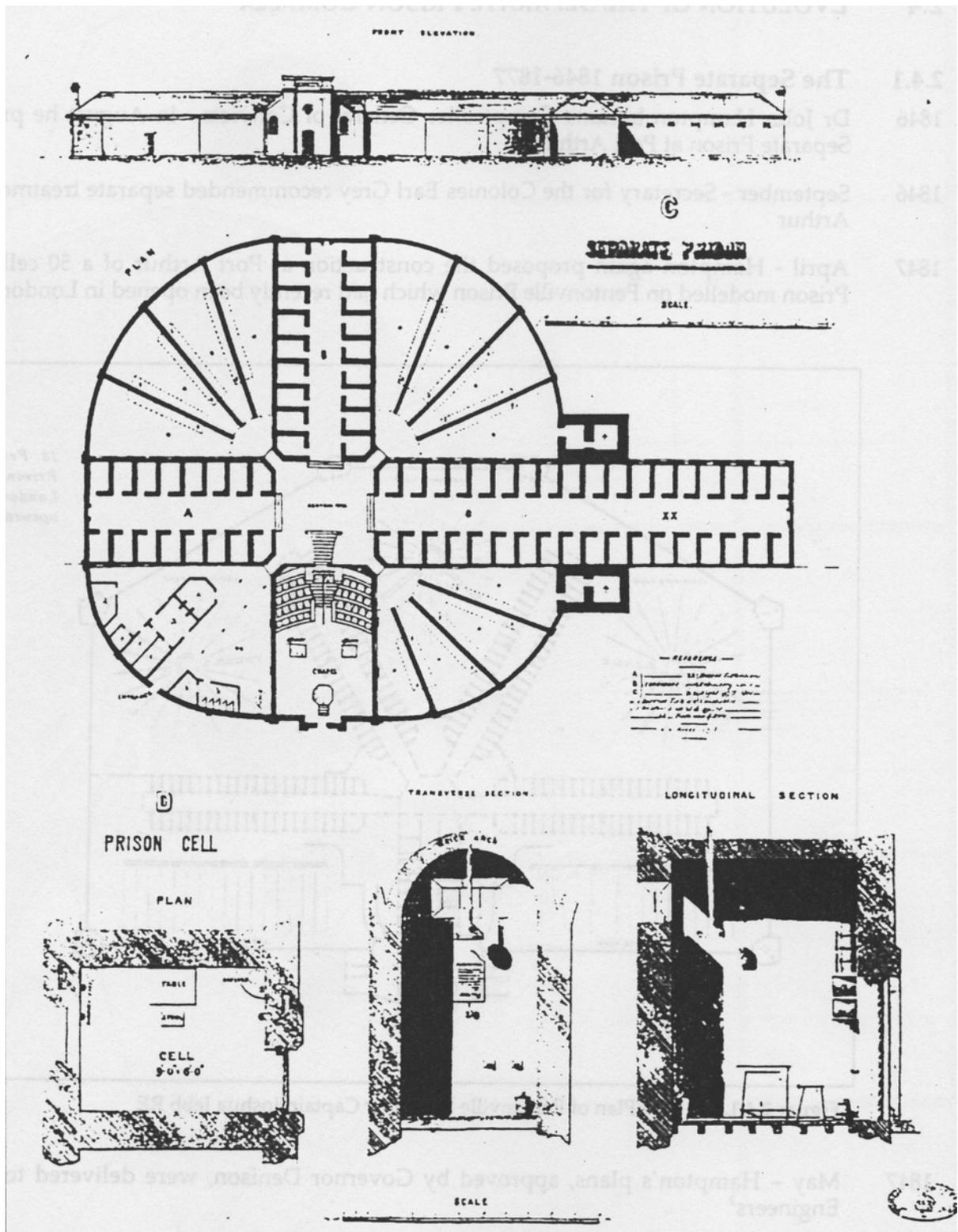
Management policies in the 1985 plan recognize the need to achieve a balance between “the dual requirements of the site with respect to conservation and tourism.” Although the national and Tasmanian significance of the convict/penal site “as an historical document” is given priority, “[a]t the same time, the Historic Site is one of the principal tourist destinations in Tasmania, and as such is of vital importance to the State’s economy. It is imperative therefore that the enjoyment and interest of visitors to the Site be a principal concern of management to be balanced with the need to curate the Historic site.”⁶⁴ The policies implementing this strategy, however, continued in the direction of conservation and did not result in strong revenue-generating measures. The eleven policies almost entirely cover guidance of conservation, with little attention paid to tourism development or access. Also included is a statement about the exclusion of community facilities from the site, apparently prioritizing the conservation of the core convict/penal landscape, and tourist access to it, over the social values embodied in community use of the site, which had grown over time.

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The Separate Prison

The Separate Prison is one of the most valued structures at Port Arthur. It is relatively intact, highly imageable, and directly related to some of the most dramatic chapters in the history of Tasmanian convictism. The conservation strategy for the prison is of great interest. As of this writing, the recommendations currently being considered include a combination of preservation, repair, and reconstruction of some elements, as well as correcting some past reconstructions. The plan provides a glimpse into how the general conservation policies of the Conservation Plan are being integrated and applied to the details of a single building—particularly, how significance and values are related to specific fabric interventions.¹

The 1840s shift in carceral philosophy represented by the Separate Prison—separation and isolation—is historically significant and resonates today.² Through the many decades of Port Arthur’s life as a tourist site, the Separate Prison has been the most visited. The building has endured several substantial episodes of construction, conservation, reconstruction, destruction, and reuse. Much of the fabric of the prison is in serious need of repair; overall the building is in poor condition and does not present an authentic or contemplative experience for visitors.



The original plan of the Separate Prison, showing individual cells, exercise yards, and chapel. (Source: 2002 Conservation Plan.) Reproduced with permission of the Archives Office of Tasmania, PWD 266/1822.

The planning process behind the 2000 Conservation Plan provides guidance for the specific treatment of particular areas of conservation activity through secondary plans and specific conservation projects formalized in “individual element plans,” master plans, and projects. The *Separate Prison Project Report*, which is in the draft stage, is a full-scale conservation plan for the building. The plan was undertaken by outside consultants (Design 5 Architects) and has been reviewed by the Heritage Advisory Panel and staff of the Conservation Department. Prior to implementation of the project, the plan and the proposed scope of work must be approved by the Tasmanian Heritage Council.

The *Separate Prison Project Report* is being developed as a derivative of the Conservation Plan and fleshes out the overall site values and significance statements articulated in the *Conservation Plan*. The *Separate Prison Plan* includes documentation, historical research, and condition assessment of the structure. Issues of interpretation and visitor access are carefully integrated with decisions on the care of fabric; the plan focuses on making an interpretable building, not merely on the conservation of the fabric.

The planned treatment of some major Separate Prison building elements includes the following:

- Some walls that historically separated exercise yards will be reconstructed.
- The main entrance, where convicts historically entered the building, was incorrectly reconstructed from the 1930s through the 1950s (the opening faced north whereas it originally faced south) and will be reconstructed again.
- Some cell interiors and doors will be reconstructed for the sake of interpretation (no original doors are extant).

The aesthetic impact and historical narratives of the Separate Prison—the power of being in a stark setting, representing a notorious turn in carceral philosophy—are compelling. Creating an “immersion” experience through which this can be conveyed to visitors is the driving force behind the decisions for selective reconstructions—which, as the Burra Charter and Conservation Plan policies clearly state, is acceptable only under the most stringent conditions. For instance, the principles guiding specific decisions on the prison’s fabric state, “It is essential to at least partly reinstate the historical ‘opacity’ of the building, whereby an outsider could not see in, and an inmate could not see beyond his controlled space.” Meanwhile, however, the overall policies of the *Conservation Plan* set a context for these decisions: “Evidence of later (e.g., post-convict) uses of the building will be conserved and interpreted, but will not be emphasized.”³

The Separate Prison plan strikes a balance between conservation of cultural values and creating an interesting visitor attraction by reconstructing some lost building elements, removing some layers of previous restoration, and stabilizing other fabric elements. The decisions seem motivated by a clear understanding of the central role this structure should play in the realization and management of the site's cultural significance values (particularly the convictism themes), as well as the financial imperative realized by attracting visitors.

The proposals follow the recommendations for restoration and reconstruction set out in the Conservation Plan. Two types of building elements are slated for reconstruction: some elements of the building made incomplete over time are being restored (the exercise yards and cell interiors); elements incorrectly reconstructed in the past will be demolished and reconstructed. In both cases, this work will enhance the interpretive value of the building through "reinstatement of those functional and spatial relationships which have been missing since closure of the prison."⁴ All reconstruction would be based on thorough research and documentation,⁵ and all original (pre-1877) material would be kept, although some interim (twentieth-century) reconstructions found to be inaccurate would be removed.

The interiors of the prison's chapel wing are largely a reconstruction. The individual stalls, pulpits, ceiling, and other elements were reconstructed—too speculatively—in the 1950s.

Now known to be inaccurate, removal and reconstruction of these elements has been contemplated but is not currently planned. The benefit of vivid interpretation seems to be the driving force behind these interventions. Decisions for reconstructing elements fall within the boundaries of sound conservation practice (reconstructing only when there is evidence of the original, and/or where the existing reconstruction is inaccurate or misleading), and do not sacrifice any fabric associated with key aspects of cultural significance.

Clearly, the plan's specific decisions about building fabric are intended to directly shape the historic values represented by the building and communicated to visitors. The elements to be reconstructed are judged to be critical in conveying the main interpretive themes of convictism. A secondary concern involves retaining enough fabric to interpret the conservation process itself, though this is secondary to enhancing the core cultural significance values. The plan also pays close attention to visitor access, paving the way for greater and equitable visitation to the building and thus greater realization of its economic value within the framework of conservation.

Notes

1. As of this writing, the plan policies were not complete, though research and documentation phases of the plan are finished.
2. For a detailed description of the philosophy behind the Separate Prison and convict life in this structure, see page 6.
3. Port Arthur Historic Site Management Authority n.d.(c).
4. Design 5—Architects Pty. Ltd. 2001, 116.
5. One of the difficulties encountered was the dearth of documentation available on the major reconstruction and repair projects carried out over the decades.

Safely focused on conservation of cultural significance values given the steady stream of government funds, the 1985 plan was essentially a continuance of the PACDP years. As PACDP funds ceased and Port Arthur strived to become more economically self-sufficient, that practice gave way to years of reorientation toward economic values and efforts to generate revenue. This marked a turning point in how management policies took values into consideration.

The 1996 Management Plan reflected this shift in values. Not a full plan, but rather an eighteen-page set of amendments to the 1985 Management Plan, the 1995 plan did not rearticulate values but revised and changed some of the policies set in 1985. “The Authority finance program is reducing its dependence on government and the general limited availability of funds from that source. . . . [T]he overall impact [of this shift] can be mitigated through success in having Port Arthur perceived as the primary desirable destination in the State and as a value-for-money attraction. A higher level of visitor services, enhanced visitor programs, expanded evening programs and a continued commitment towards conservation worlds will assist the Authority in achieving improved market share.”⁶⁵ To implement these policies, the 1996 plan amends the 1985 plan to “instigate an immediate capital development program” for improved visitor facilities, including a Visitor Centre, vehicle access, and “a new visitor Night Entertainment Experience.”⁶⁶ Even though it was spurred by the April 1996 tragedy, that event only heightened the need to attract more visitors and thus generate revenue.

THE 2000 CONSERVATION PLAN AND ITS SECONDARY PLANS

The most direct, exhaustive, and deliberate translation of values into policy is found in the 2000 Conservation Plan. (For excerpts of the plan, see appendix B.) These policies follow and build on the articulation of values and statement of significance in the Conservation Plan.⁶⁷ They have been successfully institutionalized as the basis for site management and as the focal point for discussions of all site values, the treatment of all site elements, and decisions regarding programs.

The written policies that form the core of the Conservation Plan—the touchstone document for managing the cultural values of the site—are presented below. As noted many times in print and in interviews, the Conservation Plan has been wholly adopted by PAHSMA’s board and executive as the primary policy to

guide management decisions. PAHSMA has made a substantial investment in the plan, and it intends to play a large role in management of the site.

Philosophy and principles

The plan outlines the philosophical approach and principles that underlie policies. In keeping with Burra philosophy, retention and conservation of cultural significance is the overarching goal.

“The outstanding heritage value of the place imposes an overarching obligation for retention of cultural significance of the place.”

“[T]here is nothing more important or pressing about the management of the Port Arthur Historic Site than the obligation to conserve it. The existing site is the only one that there will ever be. While it is important to recognise that interpretation of the site and communication of information about the place to the wider community is an integral element of conservation, primacy must be given to caring for the place, rather than to tourism and provision of visitor services.”

“This is not to say that the importance and legitimacy of visitation and supply of positive visitor experiences is not important—it is. However, as a matter of overwhelming and fundamental importance, the conservation requirements must prevail.”

The following principles are identified as the fundamental philosophical basis for the Port Arthur Historic Site Conservation Policy.⁶⁸

- The primacy of conservation over other management objectives must be recognized;
- Port Arthur Historic Site must be a centre of excellence in heritage management;
- Essential conservation activities and works should not be accepted as determined by the current limits imposed by funding generated through visitor numbers, or other similar financial constraints. If site-generated resources are inadequate, it is imperative that, once essential actions are known and resource implications quantified, sources of external resources are obtained;
- Conservation must extend to the total resource, tangible and intangible;
- Decision-making must be based upon proper understanding of cultural significance;
- A cautious approach is required where actions may have adverse heritage impacts; abide by principles of reversibility and the precautionary principle;

- Conservation should be undertaken in accordance with well-accepted guidelines, such as the Burra Charter and other international declarations;
- The social and environmental condition of Port Arthur Historic Site should be monitored, to measure the effectiveness of conservation actions and provide essential data for future decision-making. This relates to the visitor experience and to impacts on the local community;
- Interested persons, organizations, and other stakeholders should be involved in the conservation of PA; wide consultation yields benefits to the management of the site;
- Visitation and interpretation are integral elements of conservation. Provision of a positive, informative and interactive experience for visitors to the historic site, and those who wish to learn about it, remote from the place itself, must continue to be a fundamental aim.

Conservation policy

Based on the foregoing philosophy and principles, and with guidance from the Burra Charter, the General Conservation Policy for Port Arthur Historic Site is outlined in section 5.1, volume 1, of the Conservation Plan:

Port Arthur Historic Site is a place of outstanding heritage significance, where excellence in heritage management is the primary aim.

The Port Arthur Historic Site Statement of Significance provides the basis for natural and cultural resource management at the site.

Retention of identified significance and conservation of the Port Arthur Historic Site has primacy over all other management objectives.

Port Arthur Historic Site will be managed and conserved in accordance with the following principles and guidelines:

- the Australia ICOMOS Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Significance (the Burra Charter and associated guidelines);
- the ICOMOS–IFLA International Committee for Historic Gardens Charter;
- the ICAHM Charter for the Protection and Management of Archaeological Heritage;
- the Australian Natural Heritage Charter and associated guidelines; and
- the Draft Guidelines for the Protection, Management and Use of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Cultural Heritage Places.

Conservation of the Port Arthur Historic Site will adopt a total resource approach and will extend to all areas and elements such as landscape, built structures, cultural deposits, artefacts, records, memories and associations along with uses and activities. Conservation will be directed at biodiversity as well as social values and cultural heritage, consistent with a commitment to ecological sensitivity.

Conservation of the Port Arthur Historic Site will make use of the full array of available expertise and knowledge and will adopt a scientific approach to materials conservation.

Caution will be applied in making decisions, which may damage the natural or cultural environment over time. The precautionary principle will be adopted, where appropriate, in relation to management actions with potential to result in a loss of significance. If there is any threat of serious or irreversible environmental damage, lack of full scientific certainty will not be used as the reason for postponing measures to prevent environmental degradation.

However, any actions which may result in a loss of cultural significance must be reversible.

The Port Arthur Historic Site will be protected from physical damage by appropriate security and maintenance measures.

The effectiveness of conservation management of the Port Arthur Historic Site will be monitored.

Interpretation of the history and significance of the place is fundamental to its conservation.

Port Arthur Historic Site will set national and international standards in best practice conservation.

Ultimate responsibility for decision making in relation to the Port Arthur Historic Site is vested in the Port Arthur Historic Site Management Authority.

In addition, a separate statement of policy is given for each of the following areas (see appendix B): Landscape; Aboriginal Heritage; Archaeology; Built Elements; Collections (curatorial and archaeological); Records; Research; Financial Resources for Conservation; Human Resources for Conservation; Planning Processes; Use; Visitors; Interpretation; Associated Communities; Other Interested People; The Peninsula; Future Development; Monitoring; and Land Holding.

The Conservation Plan lays out a deliberate and comprehensive approach to translating values and significance into strategies. The policies are inclusive and clear, and comprehensive in regard to cultural values. This is associated with the value types contributing to

cultural significance, the functional elements of the site, and the disciplines and professions engaged in its management (landscape, archaeology).

All in all, the plan establishes the primacy of cultural values in managing the site. It is a major achievement that PAHSMA has invested in the entire plan, as has the Tasmanian State government, which has allocated A\$10 million over five years for implementation of the plan.

The policies of the Conservation Plan form a strong base for decision making. Its outstanding feature is the strategy of giving seemingly undiluted primacy to conservation (over tourism and economic concerns), especially in light of the institutional arrangement of PAHSMA as a quasi-public corporation and the commercial imperative this requires (even if the imperative is no longer, after 1995, for PAHSMA to be a profitable enterprise; the GBE imperative calls for PAHSMA to lead the region in attracting tourism and setting a high standard for conservation and tourism experience). The policy that articulates this priority—“Retention of identified significance and conservation of the Port Arthur Historic Site has primacy over all other management objectives”—sets a high bar. It decrees that retention of cultural significance always takes precedence over other (i.e., tourism, access, utilitarian) policies and actions. (This high standard was formed in response to the Doyle Inquiry and other reaction against the pre-1996 management goal imposed on PAHSMA to make the site economically self-sustaining. Furthermore, it is in accord with the Burra Charter model.) This expectation would be unrealistic if seen only as a short-term, day-to-day guide to decision making. In reality, some short-term decisions to invest resources in tourism/ access infrastructure (and therefore not in direct conservation work) are actually made in conjunction with a long-term decision regarding the site’s conservation—keeping in mind that PAHSMA’s long-term view and mandate includes ongoing tourist access and commercial activity. The inclusion of both access and conservation as goals is what makes the overall conservation strategy sustainable in the long term.

The policies clearly set the broad strategic course for PAHSMA’s conservation work, providing guidance on such issues as consulting with stakeholder communities, relating the Port Arthur site to the whole Tasman Peninsula, preventing the building of new structures in the core areas, and placing a value on monitoring. As policies, they remain quite general and address the direction and management of conservation activities; specific conservation

actions on the site and its buildings and other elements are addressed in the secondary and tertiary plans. Creation of secondary plans will take several years to complete. The Conservation Plan is clearly designed to work with the secondary plans and is not intended to stand on its own as a guide to making detailed decisions. The secondary plans complement the Conservation Plan and treat landscape, particular buildings, and archaeological resources in the detail required.

Except in broad terms, the Conservation Plan does not prioritize the identified site values. The full range of values is well articulated, but how and when one takes precedence over another is not addressed. Again, these decisions are left to the secondary plans. Operationally, these problems are resolved by senior management and the board, who assess the priorities set out in each secondary plan and integrate them into a workable yearly program of conservation activities.

Finally, the Conservation Plan does not take economic values into consideration in any detailed way other than stating the policy that economic values take a back seat when choosing between conservation and commerce. Further, the plan policies keep separate concerns such as archaeology, landscape, and built elements. The mechanism for making and policing decisions according to these policies—for managing the site holistically—is the set of relationships forged among the core management team members. These relationships are largely informal and are an intentional result of the conservation planning process. By working with one another, various departments can intelligently resolve complicated management issues using broad parameters to which all staff subscribe. This process was seen as equally important as the production of a written plan, and to date it appears to have largely succeeded.

THE SECONDARY 2001 INTERPRETATION PLAN

The secondary plan, called the Interpretation Plan, revisits the historic values and broad interpretive policies of the Conservation Plan and produces a detailed plan of action that flows out of stated interpretation philosophy and strategies. The Interpretation Plan does not identify new values so much as it revises and renders the historic values (as well as audiences, delivery mechanisms, etc.) to a level of specificity called for in the Conservation Plan. It takes a critical approach to making plans for future interpretation and provides a thorough summary of its theoretical underpinnings.

This plan carries out the general prescriptions in the Conservation Plan. However, it departs from the latter's guidance in one important way. Whereas the Conservation Plan establishes that "the primary message of on-site interpretation will convey the significance of the place and the physical evolution of the site including conservation processes,"⁶⁹ the Interpretation Plan provides a variety of options—aimed at different audiences and at different specialty visitor groups—instead of a "primary message." The reasons for this change are justified in the Interpretation Plan's succinct review of theories guiding the design of interpretive programs.

The themes and topics⁷⁰ advance the values as literally set out in the statement of significance. They integrate the values for the understanding of visitors (presenting different aspects of the site but also connecting historical insights with contemporary issues) as opposed to using them for purposes of maximizing revenue or harvesting scientific values. For example, the plan calls for interpretation of the "paradoxes" of the landscape (juxtaposing the ugliness of convictism with the beauty of the landscape) and of the different interpretations of Port Arthur's past over time, as opposed to focusing on the straight chapter-and-verse of convictism history. The plan also specifies interpretation of "crime and punishment" at Port Arthur in terms of how society deals with these issues today.

The amended [interpretation] policy is as follows:⁷¹

- Interpretation of the Port Arthur Historic Site will be undertaken in accordance with this Plan.
- Interpretation programs and messages will have primary regard to the significance of the site.
- The approach to interpretation will extend beyond the Port Arthur Historic Site itself, providing an understanding of the place in its historical, geographical and social context. [this brings the interpretation in alignment with the Conservation Plan's regional strategy—regionalism is one way that all the policies line up]
- Messages to be conveyed in interpretation will be developed in consultation with all involved in developing, managing and delivering that interpretation.
- Interpretation will be based only on sound, contemporary and scholarly research.
- Interpretation programs and initiatives will be undertaken in a manner that minimises impact on the fabric of significant elements.
- Interpretation will extend to historic activities, structures, places and landscapes and will, where possible, focus on real

historic elements. The introduction of new, purpose-built interpretive elements will be minimised.

- Regular evaluation will continue to inform our interpretive activities.

The interpretive policies form a robust strategy that does not suggest prioritizing some heritage values over others. Rather, the policies mandate development of a number of specialized messages, programs, and products based on specific values and oriented to a correspondingly wide range of general and specialist audiences.

THE SECONDARY 2001 LANDSCAPE PLAN

As of this writing, the Landscape Plan is the second of the Conservation Plan's secondary plans.⁷² It follows the basic conservation planning methodology (understanding the landscape's natural and cultural features, codifying significance, identifying issues and threats to significance, and formulating policies) in addressing the interaction of landscape and cultural significance at Port Arthur. Broadly, it reinforces the cultural values articulated in the Conservation Plan and asserted in the statement of significance. It adds the notion of natural (environmental-ecological) values to the mix and examines them in detail. Ultimately, the Landscape Plan focuses on the cultural landscape aspects of Port Arthur, with the intention of conserving natural and cultural values and preserving their visual impact on the significance of the site.

One goal of the Landscape Plan is to describe the cultural and natural values of the Port Arthur landscape, and how the landscape (as a whole entity, not only as a collection of elements) contributes particularly to the values articulated in the Conservation Plan. This document gives a more detailed history and background of the cultural features of the landscape. It describes how the values identified in the Conservation Plan are expressed in the various landscape elements (cultural and natural) that have been inventoried. The plan also includes a more detailed analysis of the "paradox" in values of comforting pastoral landscape images juxtaposed with the uncomfortable historic values of convictism. In general, the inventories and significance assessments reinforce the quality of Port Arthur as a site with a deeply layered, eclectic landscape—a place with many values, none of which predominates.

But the Landscape Plan is not merely an analysis of already-articulated values. By articulating natural values, the plan in effect adds a set of ecological values to the Conservation Plan. The Landscape Plan encourages

the preservation and re-creation of more native plant ecology and identifies landscaping measures to prevent the erosion of the natural environmental qualities. It also asserts the historic and aesthetic values related to (or even stemming from) topography and other aspects of the natural environment.

Another departure from the system of value accounting is reflected in the Landscape Plan's five-page "Statement of significance for the landscape," which articulates site values by describing the values and significance of individual, physical areas (i.e., Mason Cove, Point Puer, Isle of the Dead, Garden Point, and Carnarvon Bay). Specifying values in this manner is one way in which the secondary plans advance the articulation of value. A similar level of specification is evident in the other secondary plans that have been undertaken for the Separate Prison, the asylum/town hall, and the harborside area.

THE 2001/2002 CORPORATE PLAN

PAHSMA's Corporate Plans are the strategic programs for comprehensive site management. Done annually, they set each year's policies and, to a lesser extent, specific project priorities. In devising the Corporate Plan, the board uses the Conservation Plan and its secondary plans as guides. The board also takes into account government requirements and relevant documents such as human resources plans; financial, visitor numbers, and commercial operations targets; and community obligations, as long as these do not conflict with policies in the Conservation Plan. The Corporate Plans imply values without articulating them, and spell out how values are to be realized and cultivated through management decisions and priorities. The plans record the results of PAHSMA decisions but give little insight into the process by which the decisions were made.

For a given year, the Corporate Plan communicates to the Tasmanian Minister of State Development how all the activities of PAHSMA, commercial and conservation, will be carried out. "The Conservation Plan is a broad overriding document of general policy: the Corporate Plan is a yearly statement of what will be achieved. Every year as more secondary plans are completed the Corporate Plan grows more detailed."⁷³ In practice, the Conservation and Corporate Plans together define and capture the strategic direction of PAHSMA. They could also be interpreted as addressing two different audiences: the Conservation Plan relating to internally focused decisions about matters inside the site boundaries (conservation and development decisions about site elements); and

the Corporate Plan relating to externally focused matters, such as partnerships with government, the local community, and Port Arthur Region Marketing Ltd. (PARM).

Although the Corporate Plan describes the goals and priorities of the same organization as the Conservation Plan does, it takes a different approach, envisioning PAHSMA as an organization to be run or as a business, rather than as a set of conservation projects. Nothing is included about specific historic, aesthetic, social, or scientific values other than clarifying that “conserving the cultural value of the site” is the first point in the statement of purpose.⁷⁴ (These values are articulated in the Conservation Plan.)

Striking a balance between these two sets of values, these two institutional mandates, these two perspectives, is left to the collaborative work of the management team and the board. The Corporate Plan’s strategies and statements are expressions of how different aspects of site management, opportunities, and constraints are integrated. These annual documents report on how the site is managed to ensure that the overriding goal of PAHSMA—conservation—is met, and to ensure that PAHSMA holds itself accountable for the many aspects of its mandate—financial accountability, commercial performance, community engagement, and transparency of decision making, all necessary means to achieving the goal.

In the Conservation Plan and in many other discussions and documents, PAHSMA clearly states that conservation of cultural values is the central goal of its site management. The Corporate Plan does not contradict this, but it views PAHSMA more as a business, creating the possibility that the priority of conservation and the focus on cultural values could be hedged in favor of generating revenue. PAHSMA works actively to prevent this. Whatever disconnects might potentially exist between the Conservation Plan and the Corporate Plan are resolved through managers’ deliberations. The means of resolving such hypothetical conflicts are not outlined on paper. The site’s leaders and managers have great confidence in the management culture instilled and cultivated in recent years (“the Port Arthur way”⁷⁵), and in managers’ commitment to consultation and truly collaborative problem solving.

The 2001/2002 Corporate Plan is organized around six “strategic drivers of [PAHSMA’s] business”:

STRATEGIC DRIVER	OBJECTIVE
management of heritage values	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • conserve cultural and natural fabric and landscape • enhance understanding of cultural meaning and value • establish PA as a centre for research and expertise in cultural management
increased visitation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • increase visitor numbers to PA by 2%
developing quality visitor experience	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • improve visitor experience and increase perception of “value for money” and customer satisfaction
improve organisational capability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • improve financial outcomes of PAHSMA • continue to develop human resource function and staff development • improve opportunities for education and training on site • increase/improve utilisation of IT opportunities on site • [improve] corporate governance
maintain government support	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • increasing awareness and support for PAHSMA endeavors at Government level
strengthening community interaction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • increasing awareness and support for PAHSMA endeavors in the broader community

As PAHSMA’s organizational goals, the strategic drivers are meant to define, connect, orient, and integrate conservation work and the development of tourism. These two spheres are seen by management as inter-related: additional tourism revenue is sought to fund conservation work; conservation work is intended, among other goals, to create a better visitor experience and thereby increase tourism. The extent to which this cycle changes how site values are assessed and acted upon is not addressed in the Corporate Plan and is covered in the last section of this study (see, for instance, the sidebar on the Historic Ghost Tours). In some cases, investments are

made to improve visitor experience, which could be seen as pre-empting investing in conservation. In a short-term time frame, some might view such decisions as contrary to the Conservation Plan's conservation-first policy. However, PAHSMA clearly sees them as long-term investments to guarantee the conservation of the site (a vision of conservation that integrates tourism and access as one ingredient of successful, sustainable conservation). The Corporate Plan recognizes the need to think carefully about these relationships by pointing out, for instance, the need to "ensure commercial activities on site are consistent with interpretive objectives."⁷⁶

SUMMARY

Based on the foregoing analysis, the findings regarding how different site values are represented in Port Arthur policies are summarized below.

Aboriginal values are acknowledged but not considered a key management issue. This group of stakeholders is absent (attention to these values is legislated), and little material is available to curate. Being either archaeological or ethnographic, the material is more difficult to access. Aboriginal values are not detailed, and their management is not discussed in site documents in deference to the Tasmanian Aboriginal community, which does not wish outside management to be undertaken and prefers to carry out this work itself in the future.

Historic values are well represented and dominated by convictism. There is acknowledgment that layers of meaning are still accumulating, and that post-convict-era layers are significant alongside the values directly related to convictism.

Aesthetic values are considered in policies that call for the perpetuation of the existing aesthetic landscape, and thus the paradox of convictism in an Arcadian landscape.

Social values are described and listed in the Conservation Plan, and a range of policies in the plan relate to their conservation, though they do not seem to attract as much attention as historic values do. Social values emerge as strong factors in specific circumstances, the most striking instance being the Broad Arrow Café tragedy. In the sense that the Conservation Plan defines the economic concerns of the local community and the state as social values, they are omnipresent and enter into many of the decisions about the site. Social values related to specific stakeholder groups also factor into site management of specific site elements, such as the desire of veterans'

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Historic Ghost Tours

Port Arthur's nighttime Historic Ghost Tours are a long-standing part of the site's offerings. As an alternative form of interpretation—distinct from the more scholarly, canonical forms of site interpretation—and a commercial activity, the ghost tours depart from the Conservation Plan and Interpretation Plan. The tours highlight a number of issues related to site interpretation: how commercial and cultural values are balanced, how site values are communicated to visitors, the variety of interpretive forms used to reach diverse audiences, how the forms of communication shape the perceived values of the site.¹

On a ghost tour, visitors are led in the dark by flashlight or torch through the site and several of its buildings, entertained with scary stories of "ghosts" who have been spotted at the site. Guides convey some historical information about the place, and the "ghost" characters take their cues from site history, but the content is driven more by entertainment than by Port Arthur's well-researched cultural significance. Ghost tour interpretation is not focused on the significance and values of the site as currently defined in the Conservation Plan, but instead complements the standard daytime offerings of Port Arthur.

Formally organized since 1988, the tours are a popular interpretive program for visitors. They harken back to the immediate post-convict era, when local residents (some of them former inmates) guided visitors around the ruins, regaling them with stories of the convict days.² Because they take place in the evening, the tours encourage nonlocal visitors to stay overnight in the area, thus increasing economic impact. The tours have become central to the commercial strategies of PAHSMA and PARM: they attract and retain overnight visitors, which contributes to the local and state economies. Priced at A\$14 per adult, the Historic Ghost Tours attracted 46,000 visitors in 2001, producing nearly A\$600,000 in direct revenue. The ghost tours also advance the cultural values of the site. They represent a different approach to interpretation from that outlined in the Interpretation Plan—less scholarly or informed by theories of education, more entertainment- and commercially-driven, cued to the emotional connections that are more accessible in a nighttime visit. PAHSMA's research suggests that the tours are an important means by which visitors learn about the site and its significance. One-third of the evening visitors overlap with the 200,000 annual visitors to the site and thus have additional exposure. For more than 30,500 evening visitors, the ghost tour is their only contact with the site. Even though they are a de facto form of inter-

pretation, the tours are managed not as part of the interpretive offerings of PAHSMA but by Visitor Services, a separate unit in the Conservation Department. In effect, the tours are a separate, independent interpretative operation. The board has begun reviewing the Historic Ghost Tours program, consulting with the various stakeholders (including the guides who created and continue to deliver the tours) and incorporating their feedback into the site's other interpretation policies and activities. The tours also represent social values. Some PAHSMA staff (particularly those who created the tours and have managed them over the years) identify with the tours as a tradition and feel strongly about allowing them to continue. Indeed, the tours represent the contributions of staff who have worked on the site for years, well before the 1996 tragedy and the changes that followed, and whose interpretations of Port Arthur's history are a de facto part of the site's significance.

Despite the tours' popularity and financial success, some heritage professionals criticize their lack of interpretive rigor and question their relation to the cultural significance and values of the site as identified in the Conservation Plan. While the tours deliver some information about the site itself, confirming with the main interpretive themes, the tours seem tooled to elicit emotional reactions to the place. Some see the ghost tours as potentially undermining

the cultural values of the site by representing them to the public as entertainment rather than as complex historical issues. Such a critique undervalues the real benefits of the tours. PAHSMA's board and staff express strong support for the tours as an alternative means for engaging visitors with the site's cultural significance, as well as their economic contributions.

The Historic Ghost Tours fill a valuable and idiosyncratic niche in the management of Port Arthur's many values. They simultaneously advance the cultural significance, social, and economic values of the site, though their operation is not fully integrated with other site activities.

Notes

1. This assessment is admittedly anecdotal and based on limited exposure to the ghost tours.
2. Young 1996.

groups to preserve the World War I memorial avenue of trees.

Scientific values are behind the well-articulated policies dealing with archaeological activities.

Economic values are recognized implicitly in site decisions, policies, and planning documents—through wide recognition of the tension between commercial and conservation uses of the site's values—and explicitly documented in a supporting study (the University of Tasmania's economic impact study). In keeping with the Burra Charter process, however, they remain on a separate plane from the cultural significance values that form the basis of the Conservation Plan's policies.

There is no one document in which all of the site values are articulated. Values tend to be dealt with separately—usually according to the main Burra Charter categories—with little formal analysis of the trade-offs that must occur in practice. Holistic treatment of all site values is addressed in the Conservation Plan only at a general level; the secondary plans (Interpretation, Landscape, Separate Prison, etc.) do achieve a good deal of integration vis-à-vis the specific activities or resources to which they pertain. The integration of values is achieved analytically in work such as the Landscape Plan's statement of significance written for different geographic areas of the site. The board's decisions rely on secondary plans to a large extent. Regarding areas or issues for which no secondary plan is yet completed, informal means of integrating site values are more important and flow from the input and expertise of site managers, a topic discussed further in the last section of the study.

Impact of Management Policies and Decisions on the Site's Values and Their Preservation

This section addresses the following questions: How are values considered in decision making? What have been the implications of decisions and policies on the values of the site? Are there discrepancies between what is stated in the documents and what actions are actually taken? What effects do institutional arrangements have on the management of site values?

GENERAL POLICIES AND DECISION MAKING

The management of Port Arthur, in general and in its details, is carried out according to PAHSMA's plans and policies. It seems well served by the plans themselves, and more so by the planning processes (collaborative, inclusive, and exhaustive).

One of the overriding themes in this section is PAHSMA's focus on formulating general policies that set strategic direction, while carrying out (over time) a series of more detailed secondary plans and leaving specific decisions about fabric to informal processes managed on an ad hoc basis by the executive team. This approach is in keeping with the nature of management plans as guidance documents rather than as specific work plans. One could call this a principles-based approach as opposed to a rules-based approach.

Port Arthur's Conservation Plan, for instance, establishes the range of values of the site and states clearly that conservation is more important than attracting and serving visitors. But it does not specify, for example, how the fabric of the Separate Prison should be handled; this is the subject of its own Secondary Plan. Nor does the Conservation Plan specify exactly what conservation projects should be undertaken and in what order. Such specifics are left (1) to the actions called for in the secondary and tertiary plans, and (2) to the day-to-day, year-to-year judgment of the managers themselves—abiding by the overall policy of conserving the site's cultural significance value first—as to which actions to take and in what order.⁷⁷

These arrangements, within the limits agreed to as overall policies, allow the managers to react according to circumstances and seize opportunities as they present themselves. The decentralized, somewhat privatized institutional setup of PAHSMA, and its Conservation Plan scheme, embodies this approach. Constant consideration is given to what actions are most urgent, most relevant, and most suitable for implementation, given the ever-shifting availability of funding and partners. The Conservation Plan policies and statement of significance orient the decisions, and the secondary plans provide the detail for both policy and physical work. Managers are given latitude to strike a balance between conservation and commercial development “within the context of the Conservation and Secondary Plan policies and specifications, and taking into account the overarching policy which requires that no action be taken which would jeopardise the conservation of the site.”⁷⁸

It is important to emphasize this aspect since it impacts many of the specific issues regarding management policy and their effects on site values, several of which are discussed below.

THE EFFECTS OF GOVERNMENT POLICY

PAHSMA's fairly independent status has a significant effect on how site values are managed. In general, state and Commonwealth bodies have become less influential as PAHSMA has become more independent, well funded, and professionally staffed. PAHSMA has clearly won the confidence and support of the Tasmanian Heritage Council and the Australian Heritage Commission for its policies and programs, and hence is seen not to warrant the detailed scrutiny previously necessary. The exception is the enormously influential role of PAHSMA's home ministry, which is providing the A\$10 million of funding (over five years) for the site's conservation program. This and other Tasmanian State policies—such as investing in the new Bass Strait ferry service between Tasmania and mainland Australia—continue to be important influences on the management of site values.

Policy changes at the state and Commonwealth government levels can have a great effect on site values and their management. In the case of Port Arthur, these effects can be summarized as (1) shaping the institutional setup of the managing entity (PAHSMA's status as a GBE, a quasi-governmental corporation),⁷⁹ (2) providing/controlling access to financial resources (direct state funding, subsidiary funding of tourism development as one of the preferred means of post-industrial public investment in economic development), and, flowing out of this, (3) creating expectations and even performance targets for the benefits created by these public investments.

The institutional setup directly affects values by setting the general goals of the organization and enabling it to undertake certain activities. Quasi-public corporations enjoy latitude in specifying how institutional goals are to be pursued, and PAHSMA's, for example, are quite broad and diverse. By design, it operates as a business and as a government stewardship agency to pursue both economic and conservation goals in managing the site, in contrast to the institutional setup of a straightforward government agency, which is often constrained by bureaucratic structures and interagency relationships. Traditional government agencies have fairly narrow (if extensive) mandates (e.g., conservation of cultural heritage) and often rely on other government entities and rules in order to perform functions outside that mandate (procurement, personnel, tourism promotion, forming partnerships with the private sector; in other words, the separation of sectoral responsibilities in different agencies works against holistic management). Quasi-government

corporations are more flexible and can be opportunistic and responsive to external conditions.

Changes in membership of the governing body and external conditions can also have a strong impact on such relatively small, relatively independent organizations. The management troubles at Port Arthur by the time of the 1997 Doyle Inquiry were brought on in part by attempts to respond to external factors. They were also symptomatic, however, of what can happen in a small, freestanding management group in which the impact of individuals is strong and susceptibility to external funding and other factors is high.

Another major effect on Port Arthur's values in the recent past has been the state government's shift in thinking about the resources it provides to Port Arthur and the benefits it expects from the site. Continuing the pendulum swings between conservation and commercial orientations at the site from the 1970s through the 1990s, government policies have led the most recent shift, which started in 1998. The chief executive of the Department of State Development stated the government's expectations of getting returns on their investment were "not simply economic."⁸⁰ The state government and the PAHSMA Board work on the assumption that the site has a variety of economic and cultural values—or, aspects of significance—and that investment in these different values yields different kinds of returns. In other words, the government supports the emphasis on conservation as long as the "returns" continue to be both cultural (good conservation work, excellence of visitor experience, plenty of visitors, maintenance of Australian and Tasmanian identity) and economic (reasonable economic performance of PAHSMA, and economic benefits of Port Arthur activities to the peninsula and the state).

The investment of Tasmanian authorities in Port Arthur is part of the state's decision to eliminate reliance on extractive and agricultural industry (the export of timber and apples) and become more of a green, tourist-oriented state. Port Arthur's management, a linchpin of this strategy, is key to the broader marketing of Tasmania for tourism. This change in government policy—raising the profile of Port Arthur as an economic development resource—shapes the de facto prioritization of site values. The economic values realized on site through commercial activities, as well as the positive economic externalities to the region, are more explicitly recognized. Government policy is further reflected in the handling of values through site management: the economic values are dependent on the conservation, protection, and presenta-

tion of the site's cultural significance values, which puts everything in alignment for the managers. Conserving cultural values enables the realization of economic values.

The Corporate Plans and Conservation Plan provide a clear mandate: Do not sacrifice conservation to commerce. Nevertheless, the board has shown that it is also willing to respond to opportunities and carry out such initiatives within the guidelines of the Conservation Plan. Measures are in place to gauge the impact of individual projects such as the new ferry service and harborside plan. However, there are no established processes to monitor the cumulative impact of all projects, nor have limits of acceptable change been articulated. Either one would allow the board and management to assess impact on the whole site over time.

PAHSMA must continue to prove that state funds are needed and well spent, and that this government investment yields benefits beyond the site itself. PAHSMA has demonstrated the social and economic benefits of a well-conserved and interpreted heritage site to the local and wider community.

DEALING WITH CONFLICTING VALUES

Dealing with conflicting values is a major issue in values-based management and of major interest to the didactic purposes of this case study. The potential for economic values to trump or undermine cultural values, and the potential for different cultural values to compete, is an issue faced at many sites.

The planning and conservation work carried out between 1979 and 1986 put cultural values squarely at the center of Port Arthur's site management policies. By the mid-nineties, the emphasis had turned toward economic values in response to changes in government resources. With the 1997 Doyle Inquiry, the pendulum swung back toward conservation: state legislation was revised, de-emphasizing the economic performance of PAHSMA, and the Conservation Plan ushered in a new era of site management focused on conservation and values. History would suggest that the pendulum will next swing toward achieving a balance between cultural and economic values. One staff member stated, "Absolutely, the challenge everyone recognizes now is to integrate economic and cultural values."

As is made clear in the Conservation Plan, the Corporate Plans, and in conversations with PAHSMA Board and staff, the primary goals and values for Port Arthur's site management are conservation and cultural significance. Yet the financial requirements for managing

the site require a fairly aggressive courting of economic values through commercial and tourism activities and courting political-governmental sources of funding. The policy documents for Port Arthur do not detail specifically how to achieve a balance when the realization of economic and cultural values seems to conflict. Because these documents address different sets of site values, gaps may appear when they are put together. To the extent that such gaps raise uncertainty about value priorities, conflict and competition can crop up.

There is not a strict separation, though, between commercial and conservation policies. Staff and board appear to share a clear working understanding about how PAHSMA is supposed to perform as a commercial operation and government economic-development investment, and also as a paragon of conservation work—standards set out in the Corporate and Conservation Plans. The only specified decision regarding the relation of these two sectors and site values is the Conservation Plan’s philosophy/policy that conservation takes priority when commercial activities are in conflict.

A case in point was the decision not to privatize and outsource commercial operations on the site (e.g., restaurants, gift shop). This decision stemmed in part from the state government’s commitment (related to its political position not to privatize the Tasmanian State hydro company) and has been part of the CEO’s mandate from the board. Privatization might have been more lucrative, but it would have taken quality control out of PAHSMA’s hands and would not have been in accord with the Conservation Plan’s values and policies, which put conservation first. “We often make decisions a private business would not,” one executive said, citing examples such as not putting a McDonald’s restaurant in the Separate Prison, or not stocking certain products in the gift shop that the conservation staff would consider inappropriate. Conflicts arise between commercial and conservation mandates from time to time—such as those regarding special events and the ghost tours—but the conflicts were worse when private operators and contractors were on site. Fewer conflicts crop up now that PAHSMA controls all decision making and implements these decisions through its management team—a “whole-of-site” approach.

The “tension between conservation and tourism management objectives” is acknowledged in the Conservation Plan as among the factors shaping Port Arthur’s management.⁸¹ The real and potential conflicts between economic and cultural values are quite apparent in Port

Arthur. The whole history of Port Arthur as a historic site revolves around balancing concerns for conservation with desires (and requirements) for the economic benefits of tourism development and economic use.⁸² Many of the most notable recent issues in the management of the site fall under this theme—for example, the location and design of the Visitor Centre, choosing appropriate conservation treatments for major buildings, interpreting a landscape of ruins and convict themes, and, of course, the changes in management structure including PAHSMA’s GBE status.

In interviews, board members and staff communicated clearly that conservation is the fundamental goal of management, and that achieving this goal requires integrating management of tourism with other economic aspects and commercial activities of the site. This integration, or trading-off, happens not through structured planning or according to routinized decision making but “around the table” in board and executive deliberations. Integration of economic and cultural values is handled informally and guided by general policies—it is left not to chance but to the managers. For instance, the staff heading different departments (commercial as well as conservation operations) work well together as a team. This executive group, representing all management areas and different values, meets weekly and ensures that there is collaboration between conservation and commercial entities. The importance of this integration process was acknowledged and addressed more formally through the workshops presented to the staff, and specifically the scenarios used to train staff. Staff were asked to consider, for example, what would happen if someone proposed staging a rock concert on the site, or if someone donated funds for reroofing the church. These exercises were in effect management “practice” for the process-based solutions (as opposed to prescribed plan-based solutions) on which PAHSMA relies to resolve conflicts and set priorities vis-à-vis site values.

The executive staff are quite clear about their duty of confronting and heading off potential conflicts between conservation and commerce, dealing with them “around the table” guided by the “general conservation policy.” This model of decision making depends a great deal on the personalities sitting at the table. As the people change, the “Port Arthur way” is intended to be the system for educating and integrating newcomers and sustaining the management practices set in place by the Conservation Plan and the board. The Port Arthur way is described by board vice chairperson Sharon Sullivan:

“The Port Arthur way is the way in which the Conservation Plan was developed with full staff input, including the workshops which continually reinforce the conservation planning process and in which conservation plan policies are worked through as they apply to particular issues. It is not an accident that the Port Arthur staff act the way they do. It is an intended outcome of the conservation planning process and it is intended to ensure that priority is given to long-term site conservation in every issue which is considered by the Executive and the staff.”⁸³

In setting PAHSMA’s course, the Corporate Plan leaves room for political maneuvering and opportunistic development decisions on the part of the board. Any gaps perceived between the strategic Corporate Plan and the more specific Conservation Plan (including the secondary plans) appear to be by design. This gives the board and executive flexibility in setting priorities, allocating resources, and so forth, and enables them to respond more effectively to opportunities, disasters or other unexpected events, changing macroeconomic conditions, and changing political fortunes.

The leadership of the board continues to recognize the importance not only of integrating the management of different values but also of continually revising Port Arthur’s statement of significance and reexamining the relation between commercial and conservation strategies. One board member stated, “If we were doing the Conservation Plan starting now, we would integrate commercial and conservation activities/policies in the same plan.” Other members explained that the Burra Charter methodology and the dominance of economic values during the previous administrations are reasons why economic values are not a more explicit part of the Conservation Plan.

THE CONSERVATION PLAN’S EFFECT ON SITE VALUES

“The Conservation Plan is the basis for all our decision-making.”⁸⁴

The philosophy behind the Conservation Plan, mirrored in PAHSMA policies overall, is the primacy of conservation and, by extension, the cultural values comprising the site’s cultural significance. As reported by several interviewees, the single most important moment in the Conservation Plan process was the approval of this philosophy by the PAHSMA board and Tasmanian State government. The adoption of this philosophy, and the policies flowing from it, has had the strong, positive effect of swinging the

pendulum of management strategies squarely to the side of putting conservation of cultural values first. When heritage values and economic values and opportunities come into conflict, the guiding ethic is clear: conflicts are resolved through discussion, with a clear understanding of the values of the site and the objectives of the Conservation Plan.

Economically, the plan helped secure the \$10 million in state funding for Port Arthur (along with the Tasmanian State government’s confidence in PAHSMA’s board and management). The political objectives of the process were successfully addressed: a targeted effort was made to shape state policy and gain financial and political support. In this material sense, the Conservation Plan obviously advances all the values of the site.

The balance of this section explores issues related specifically to management of cultural values.

Articulating values according to type

By employing the heritage value typology of the Burra Charter process, the Conservation Plan privileges those value types. This approach yields benefits in exhaustively dealing with the four canonical types of cultural significance value—historic, social, scientific, and aesthetic—backed by an established process of research, consultation, and synthesis into an overall statement of significance. At the same time, the process raises some potential difficulties by, for instance, excluding economic values, and handles Aboriginal values awkwardly by segregating them into a different category while including them in all other categories.

Merely by describing the site’s values, the Conservation Plan is not only defining but also shaping them. Value articulation is not a simple act of recording or valuation but a complex act of valorization, and it is an inescapable step in values-based conservation planning.

The Conservation Plan’s method of examining values by type and not by chronology may work against the understanding of Port Arthur as a deeply layered site. Contrast this with a way of assessing values (historic or “conservation” values at least) according to the periods or layers of the site (Aboriginal, convict-era, Carnarvon, SPB, Parks/PACDP, PAHSMA, post-1996). A value elicitation framework based on historic periods can lead to a different management strategy, privileging the values related to a particular era, which may have a beneficial effect on the scientific value related to it.

The idea of chronological layers is central to visitors’ understanding of the site and has been the tradi-

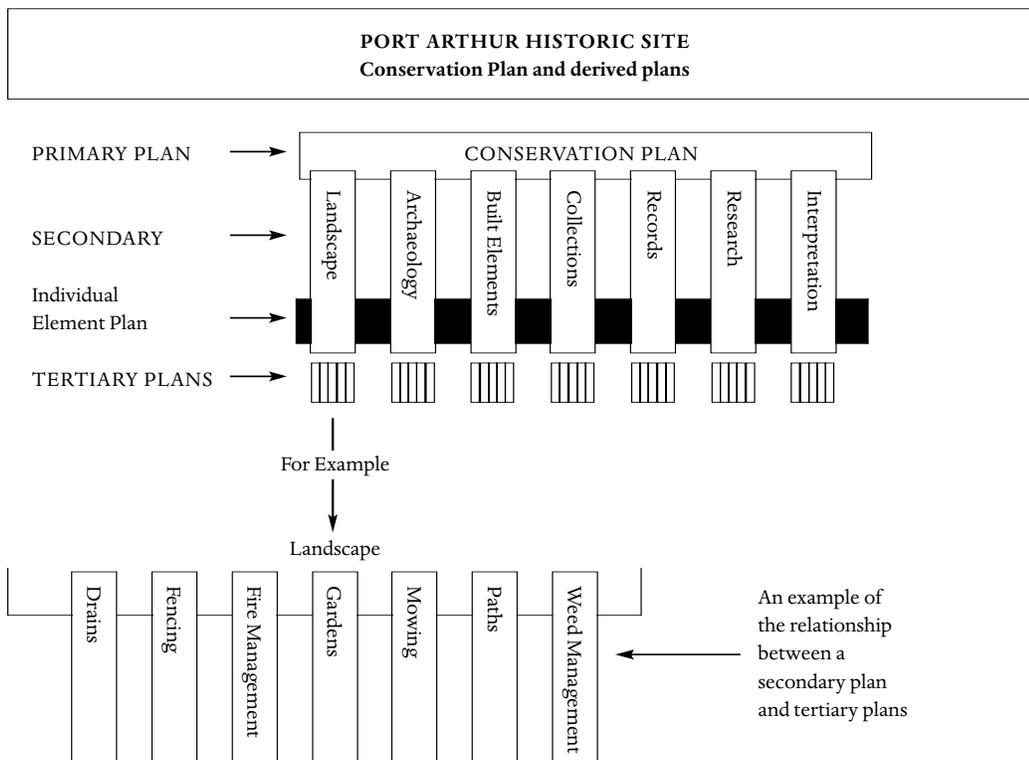


Figure 12. Port Arthur Historic Site conservation plan and derived plans. (Source: Adapted from Richard Mackay, “Conservation Planning Presentation,” January 2001)

tional way of looking at the site’s significance and conservation.⁸⁵ How are values of different periods prioritized when they coexist in a particular building? In the penitentiary, for instance, future conservation to allow reading of the 1840s fabric and create performance space may sacrifice the integrity of the 1970s conservation work. Ideally, values would be organized both by type and by historical layer, so that one way of valorization does not dominate.

Port Arthur conservation planning efforts respond to this issue by trying to mitigate this kind of unavoidable, chronological valorization of value types. Different value schemes are used in secondary plans—organized, for instance, around geographic areas as in the Landscape Plan, around interpretive themes as in the Interpretation Plan, or around eras in built-element plans. These “alternative” value schemes cut across the main typology and enrich the articulation of values without undermining the values-based rigor of the Burra Charter framework.

Assigning priorities among cultural values

The Conservation Plan articulates the wide range of cultural values, yet assigns no priority or hierarchy to them. When decisions must be made between, hypothetically, a project centered on conserving research values (documenting archaeological resources) and a project to stabilize reconstructed built fabric, the value articulation and significance statements provide little guidance. The Separate Prison (see sidebar on page 27) presents the option of removing earlier conservation work (from the twentieth century) to restore the nineteenth-century convict experience.

Section 6.3.10 of the Conservation Plan offers general guidance (first, work on things that are dangerous or that threaten operations, then prioritize according to the significance of the specific elements in question), and individual site elements are rated in broad categories for their significance.⁸⁶ The decisions are left in the hands of PAHSMA managers and their annual works budget. Yet PAHSMA policy for spending \$10 million in government funds on conservation works has not been codified; it is

decided on a rolling, year-to-year basis. A scheme for phasing of conservation and development projects has been drafted as an internal planning tool, identifying planning projects and major and minor works, and scheduling these projects over a five-year period. This document provides a guideline for decisions and is continually rethought and refined.

Tying values to fabric

Values articulated in the Conservation Plan are not tied to specific elements of fabric. Formulated at a strategic level, the plan is not designed to address specific treatments to fabric. It is left to the secondary plans to establish the more detailed policies about conservation and operational priorities and treatment of fabric, and to set out steps for implementation. The tertiary plans spell out actual works procedures. The secondary and tertiary plans are not actually hierarchical, even though their names suggest they are. They are intended to cut across one another, enabling project planning to focus either on subject areas (e.g., archaeology) or on specific site elements (e.g., the Separate Prison).

Instances arise, however, when the general policies—in concert with the specific value assessments—seem to prefigure a decision regarding the conservation of a site resource. For example, the church, like many site elements, has several kinds of value. Given the overall value assessments and conservation policies, the scenic (aesthetic) qualities of the church as a roofless ruin seem to take precedent over the historic values that would be realized by roofing and reconstructing it. (Such reconstruction would also raise the issue of adversely affecting the authenticity of the structure.)

The Conservation Plan's effect on the process

The process of formulating and approving the Conservation Plan has had a very strong and salutary effect on management within PAHSMA. The process helped manage the huge post-1996 transition of staff; it helped manage and guide the recomposition of the board; and it helped reduce tension by improving communication among different stakeholders and within the PAHSMA organization.

In another sense, the Conservation Plan raises questions about the role of outside agencies vis-à-vis PAHSMA in managing the site, and what kinds of oversight are enabled. The flexibility of the decision-making process gives PAHSMA a significant amount of autonomy and oversight. The Conservation Plan has helped secure confidence and a priori buy-in by staff, local leaders, and state officials on PAHSMA site development and conserva-

tion decisions. Local council approval is still needed to approve physical projects, but this concerns mainly infrastructural issues (not heritage issues—on this the local council defers to the Tasmanian Heritage Council). The THC has statutory review responsibilities and sometimes attaches conditions to projects. But PAHSMA and the THC have a close working relationship,⁸⁷ and there has been discussion over granting PAHSMA blanket exemption from THC review on the basis that self-review would ensure the quality of conservation work. This independence could have an impact on how values are articulated and acted upon.

THE INTERPRETATION PLAN AND ITS EFFECTS ON VALUES

The Interpretation Plan will shape cultural values directly as it packages them for public understanding.⁸⁸ For the most part, the measures called for in the plan will build on the values and significance outlined in the Conservation Plan. There are some departures, though. Instead of seeing the values according to the categories used in the Conservation Plan, the Interpretation Plan views the site first as “a complex layered cultural landscape.” In this sense, it presents a different, more holistic way of looking at cultural values.⁸⁹

The main interpretation strategies remain those identified in the Conservation Plan, although their content has been significantly revised. The guided tour remains the most important interpretive activity, but the number and variety of offerings is to be increased to address niche audiences.

The Interpretation Plan amends the Conservation Plan policies in a couple of ways, at least one of which will likely affect the values of the site: dispensing with the idea of one “primary message” and in particular with a primary message “too fabric-focused” and centering on the physical evolution of the site. “[R]ather, Interpretation will aim to offer a range of presentations that will cater to audience types and interests” and the interpretation policies and activities will be more “visitor-focused.” This significant departure of interpretation strategy will likely affect how the values are managed. By catering to the interests of visitors, the interpretation policies are turning away from a consensus view of historic values (centered on convictism and national character) and toward the recognition that all visitors see the values of the site differently and should not be expected to accept a singular message. Such a strategy raises the potential for conflict with the notion of a single state-

ment of significance for the site—and indeed, the Port Arthur Statement of Significance (*see p. 21*) is lengthy and incorporates, in effect, a number of different “significances.”

The Interpretation Plan also builds in mechanisms of feedback and responsiveness to visitor experiences that, in time, may shift the kinds of values being presented. Hence there is an intentional reshaping of values—or at least an opening to different views—built in to the management strategy. Presumably, as visitors’ perceptions of value shift, interpretation policies would shift to address them, perhaps changing the priorities of the values being transmitted. Visitor feedback is a potential factor of change in which values are interpreted; another is research, which is intended to continually improve and update the specific values and messages available to visitors and the public.

In more specific terms of handling fabric, values, and interpretation strategy, one of the plan’s most interesting points is the notion that the stark contrast between two of the main cultural values of the site—the aesthetic values of the landscape juxtaposed with the historic and social values of convictism and its dreadful narratives—is singled out for interpretation. Also, reconstruction and reinstatement of missing but historic features is encouraged, as allowed within the boundaries of Conservation Plan policy. Such interpretation improvements have potential effects on the aesthetic values if yards, fences, fieldlines, pathways, and footprints are reinstated, for instance. This is a clear example of a secondary plan giving one type of cultural value priority over another in order to achieve the overall goals for the site.

THE TASMAN PENINSULA REGION AS RESOURCE AND AS STAKEHOLDER

The articulation of values and statement of significance in the Conservation Plan pave the way for this multifaceted approach to seeing the cultural significance of Port Arthur on a regional scale (including the peninsula, the island, and the waters). This rightly encompasses the peninsula-wide system of convict stations, probation stations, penal sites, and other sites of production to support the main convictism values. Like many others, the “regional” issue stems from the cultural significance of the site as well as from its economic values.

The significant cultural landscape being conserved and interpreted at Port Arthur is the Tasman Peninsula, not just the Port Arthur site itself. Plans and scholars going back at least to the PACDP years (1979–86)

agree that the peninsula, stretching to places like Saltwater River and the Coal Mines, is the true resource and is not confined to the boundaries of Port Arthur. The value of the historical probation relics has been recognized on the peninsula—the buildings and routes are protected under the Tasman Municipal Council planning scheme. Commercial activities and economic benefits being managed by PAHSMA are intended to encompass and spill over to the whole peninsula. To advance the commercial and conservation goals of PAHSMA, management has already begun adopting regional strategies and actions, including Port Arthur Region Marketing Ltd. (PARM) and the Convict Trail interpretive scheme. The site’s regional significance is being addressed proactively and successfully, largely through activities and organizations outside the Conservation Plan, and by strengthening informal relationships with the community and with owners of the other peninsular sites.

PARM was formed in 2000 to coordinate and advance efforts to market Port Arthur along with other tourism activities in the Tasman Peninsula region. It has forty-three members. PAHSMA is PARM’s primary benefactor and holds two of the group’s six seats on the board. The organization builds on the widely held notion that the Port Arthur site is the competitive advantage of the region in tourism marketing and should be marketed to benefit the entire region. Tourists experience the region as a whole; their satisfaction does not begin or end with the site experience. If the tourist experience in Port Arthur can be linked to other resources beyond the site, overnight visits to the region can be increased—a primary means of increasing economic benefits.

The character of the whole peninsula—its marketing, services, ownership, and land-use control—is out of PAHSMA’s control, yet the overall success of promoting Port Arthur depends on these regional/peninsular connections. Initiating and supporting PARM is a step toward managing these relationships/partnerships. Even the direct stewardship responsibilities of PAHSMA may soon extend to the secondary punishment station at Coal Mines.⁹⁰ What are the implications on values and their management of this multifaceted effort to treat Port Arthur as a regional entity as opposed to a strictly bounded site?

Apart from PARM, there are currently no formal relationships between PAHSMA and other owners and partners. Any strong assertion of PAHSMA control over the greater peninsula would be resented by locals, who have referred to PAHSMA and Port Arthur in the past as

“the Vatican,” though they seem to enjoy a productive relationship at present. Broader control would have to be achieved carefully, in a partnership framework and through a deliberate collaborative process. PAHSMA seems to be paving the way toward this—the Conservation Plan and PARM are two examples of effective collaborative processes.”⁹¹

Conclusions

The management of Port Arthur brings to light a number of important lessons and principles. A summary is offered here as didactic points and themes relevant to heritage site management in general.

Port Arthur provides an opportunity to observe a deliberate and thoughtful conservation planning framework—the pioneering Burra Charter process—applied to a site with varied cultural heritage significance, an extensive and complex set of physical resources, and a progressive set of institutional arrangements made for the site’s management. Port Arthur is of particular interest because it has been managed as a heritage site for more than one hundred years, much longer than the forty-seven years it was operated as a prison.

The ownership, control, and funding sources for Port Arthur have changed a great deal over its history, resulting in a variety and number of plans—each one completed not only to outline conservation strategies but to satisfy the goal of securing resources either from the governmental agency in control at the time or from the tourism market. The imperative to secure funding, in ever-changing political and administrative climates, explains in large part the shifts in valuing strategies over time—from the conservation-centered, government-funded priorities at one end of the spectrum to the commercial-centered, market-oriented strategies at the other. At present, PAHSMA has stopped the pendulum somewhere in the middle of the spectrum, balancing physical conservation and interpretive needs with tourism access and other revenue-generating activities that also contribute to the long-term conservation of the site.

The 1996 tragedy at the Broad Arrow Café added another significant layer of values to the site without obscuring the core cultural values related to convictism and its aftermath. Dealing with the impact of the tragedy was a major challenge for site management. It helped pave the way for the 2000 Conservation Plan and planning process, which turned the site around. The management philosophy changed to include true collaboration across management areas, incorporate lateral management, and focus on external partnerships, while simultaneously

emphasizing the conservation and presentation of core cultural significance values.

The recent history of Port Arthur disproves the idea that commerce is the bane of conservation, and that the separation of economic and cultural values is legitimate in dealing holistically with site management. The model of sustainable conservation practiced by PAHSMA advances both sets of the site’s values.

POLICY AND VALUES FRAMEWORK

Port Arthur has a well-developed policy framework. The overarching frameworks of the Conservation and Corporate Plans, plus the more detailed decisions worked out and recorded in the secondary and individual elements plans, give managers a good deal of latitude as well as sufficient levels of policy guidance and empirical information to make sound decisions.

Values are articulated completely and explicitly. Economic and cultural values are assessed differently and at different levels of detail. More important is how these values are integrated, and the management regime at Port Arthur—the “Port Arthur way”—has done this quite well. The current management clearly understands the primacy of conservation of cultural significance values, while fully recognizing the essential role of economic values and efforts to realize them (through direct tourism, business development related to tourism and site operations, and the positive economic externalities generated for the Tasmanian economy by visitation to Port Arthur).

MANAGEMENT ARRANGEMENTS AND INSTITUTIONAL ARCHITECTURE

The institutional arrangements of the site represent an important, emerging model in heritage management—a quasi-public corporate model.⁹² The salient feature of this institutional arrangement is that the primary management entity—PAHSMA, in the case of Port Arthur—enjoys the benefits of some government funding without the strictures (oversight, for instance) of operating as a governmental department nested within a large hierarchical bureaucracy. As a small, independent entity, decisions can be made more quickly and with more flexibility, and

with a larger range of public, private, or non-governmental organization (NGO) partners. These entities also bear responsibility for generating some of its revenue.

However, this independence is a double-edged sword. In its initial form, when annual profit was required, the GBE institutional format was found to be deeply flawed. It has been used to excellent effect in recent years, when, in response to post-1996 challenges and opportunities, PAHSMA mandate was modified to replace profit making with the more reasonable goal of ensuring the conservation and presentation of the site while pursuing a policy of commercial viability.

By relying on a mix of dedicated government funding and self-generated revenue, this kind of institutional setup exposes the site and its values to a level of risk. If visitation drops off, and/or if government support is threatened, the site would become vulnerable. There would likely be pressure to become more commercial at the expense of conservation values. The PAHSMA institutional framework enables the pendulum to swing either way in favor of commercial or cultural values. Port Arthur has less of a safety net to guard against overdevelopment, though it has the same exposure to public-sector disinvestment in conservation. Moreover, in its commitment to the 2000 Conservation Plan, PAHSMA has accepted the primacy of its obligation to protect the cultural significance of Port Arthur over all other considerations. The key, of course, is balancing certainty and risk taking to act entrepreneurially within the bounds of retaining cultural significance, a course PAHSMA has charted well.

THE PORT ARTHUR WAY, MANAGEMENT STYLE, AND PLANNING PROCESS

Port Arthur is a good example of the salutary effect of thoughtful, deliberate planning processes. The Conservation Plan process enabled and stoked collaboration among PAHSMA's departments and has positively shaped the ongoing, everyday management of the site. Establishment of the Port Arthur way is counted among the major accomplishments of the past few years. The collaboration of business and conservation staff at Port Arthur is remarkable. Developed as part of the Conservation Plan process, the Port Arthur way relies on flexible policies to guide day-to-day management, and on avid consultation and staff involvement.

The managers of PAHSMA have succeeded in collaborating with external partners as well. They have been opportunistic, attracting the new ferry service from

Hobart and carrying out the successful Islands of Vanishment conference, and also have been avid partnership builders, forging relationships with the Tasmanian State government, the heritage community, and PARM. This collaborative approach is applied more generally throughout the site, and it is one of the primary ways in which decisions about economic and cultural values are integrated. The management style of the CEO has set an important tone: reaching consensus, building a management team, building ties to government, and breaking down barriers among the different levels of staff. All of these tools and habits comprise a management strategy that is not easily recorded or captured in documents, making them hard to study outside of case studies. Nevertheless, they are important to the effective, sustainable management of the site.

It is difficult to get a well-rounded view of the effect of this management and planning regime on site values. This is particularly so with Port Arthur, given the relatively short time the current management team has been in place. In recent years, however, PAHSMA has largely succeeded in creating a values-centered management regime in the sense that they have deliberately identified a range of site values, placed them at the center of policy, and managed flexibly and creatively to achieve overall goals within policy frameworks.

Ultimately, the question is, What benefits have stemmed from the use of values-based planning and management for Port Arthur? On the basis of this case study, one can conclude that the values orientation of Port Arthur's management has created a clear mandate of protection of a widely understood set of cultural values centered on convictism; flexible internal management habits and principles, allowing creativity and opportunism within the overall conservation-focused management policy; and good partnership building, leading to strong relations in the region and the creation of solid resources at the state government level.

Notes

1. This work has been reported in three publications: See Mason 1999; Avrami, Mason, and de la Torre 2000; and de la Torre 2002.
2. Pearson and Sullivan 1995, 7.
3. The Burra Charter is the popular name for *The Australia ICOMOS charter for the conservation of places of cultural significance*, which was adopted by Australia ICOMOS in

- 1979 at Burra, Australia. The charter has since been revised and updated, and the sole version now in force was approved in 1999.
4. For the purposes of this study, *value* and *significance* are given consistent meanings; if the organizations involved in the site use the terms differently, it will be clarified.
 5. Further details about the site's geography and features are available in the 2000 Conservation Plan, particularly Godden Mackay 2000b, vol. 2.
 6. See appendix A for a time line of Port Arthur from 1877 to the present.
 7. Simpson and Miller 1997, 15.
 8. Brand 1998; Godden Mackay 2000b; Design 5—Architects Pty. Ltd. 2001; and Young 1996 were used as sources of information for this section.
 9. Much of the information in this and the following sections was taken from Young 1996.
 10. Egloff 1986, 4.
 11. Egloff 1986, 19.
 12. Jane Lennon and Associates 1998.
 13. Briggs 1996.
 14. Michael 1997.
 15. AAP Information Services Pty. Ltd. 2000.
 16. For a full description of the role and responsibilities of the Australian Heritage Commission, please log on to <http://ahc.gov.au/> (8 May 2003).
 17. Marshall and Pearson 1997, 46.
 18. Government of Australia 1975, section 4(1).
 19. Australia ICOMOS 1999.
 20. In 1987 (the year PAHSMA was created), the NPWS (of Tasmania) merged with the Department of Lands to become the Department of Lands, Parks and Wildlife. Five years later, this department was subsumed within the Department of Environment and Land Management (DELM). After the Labor government was re-elected in August 2002, the Tasmanian premier created a new Department of Tourism, Parks, Heritage and the Arts, which reported to him. Source: Tasmania Parks and Wildlife Service 2000.
 21. The act became effective in early 1997. Tasmania was the last state in Australia to adopt such legislation.
 22. Government of Tasmania, *Historic Cultural Heritage Act* 1995.
 23. Tasmanian Premier's Local Government Council 2001, 5.
 24. Context 2001, 85–86.
 25. Context 2001, 87.
 26. Government of Tasmania 1987, 1995.
 27. Tasmanian Audit Office 1997.
 28. D. Young, "Re: Port Arthur," e-mail correspondence, 26 February 2002.
 29. Information for this box was gathered from the Site Tour section of the Port Arthur Historic Site Web site [<http://www.portarthur.org.au/site-tour.htm>] (8 May 2003) and from Temple 2000.
 30. The Bookings section of the Port Arthur Web site is found at <http://www.portarthur.org.au/bookings.htm> (8 May 2003).
 31. All prices are given in Australian dollars; current as of January 2002.
 32. Context 2001, 105.
 33. Information regarding transportation to Port Arthur and other areas in the vicinity can be found at <http://www.portarthurcruises.com.au/> (8 May 2003).
 34. All prices are given in Australian dollars; current as of January 2002.
 35. Port Arthur Historic Site Management Authority 2001a.
 36. Context 2001, 100.
 37. Use of the term values herein follows the precedents set by the Burra Charter unless otherwise noted.
 38. The ebb and flow of these many decades are carefully documented in Young 1996.
 39. Brian Egloff's work was a valuable source for this summary.
 40. In the context of this study, *commercial values* refers to a particular type of economic value, specifically the kind of economic use value realized by the commercial activities directly related to the site—user fees, food and other products purchased on site, and so on. Secondly, it also refers to the economic values generated as positive externalities to site activities, and again are realized through specific commercial operations—for instance, nearby restaurants and lodging.
 41. Tasmanian National Parks and Wildlife Service 1985, 22.
 42. Tasmanian National Parks and Wildlife Service 1985, 22.
 43. Tasmanian National Parks and Wildlife Service 1985, 1.
 44. Egloff 2002, 15.
 45. Port Arthur Historic Site Management Authority 1996, 1–2.
 46. Quoted from the Australian Heritage Places Inventory entry found at www.heritage.gov.au/cgi-bin/ahpi/record.pl?TASR1 (no date given). The statement of significance at Commonwealth-level Register of the National Estate is not considered current. It identifies, indirectly, the 1830s to the 1870s as the primary period of significance. It refers mainly to buildings of the main site, with only a passing reference to open spaces. The register's Web site notes that pre-1991 listings such as this are in need of updating.
 47. The Conservation Plan was developed by Godden Mackay for the Port Arthur Historic Site Management Authority.
 48. Godden Mackay 2000a, section 3.2.
 49. The summaries are derived from Godden Mackay 2000b, section 3.0.

50. "World Heritage" values cannot be articulated for Port Arthur because it has not been designated a UNESCO World Heritage Site. They are listed in the Conservation Plan because of an ongoing effort to nominate Port Arthur and other convict-related Australian sites for World Heritage status. Nevertheless, these values are shaped by the nomination criteria set out in the *World Heritage Convention and Operational Guidelines*.
51. Government of Australia 1999.
52. Economic values are, however, mentioned in passing in other parts of the Conservation Plan: for example, in section 5.9, volume 1, on policies for financing of conservation: "Recognising the economic value of the PAHS to the economies of Tasmania and Australia, State and Commonwealth Governments will be asked to commit to ongoing recurrent financial contributions." As noted elsewhere in this case, the site's economic values are recognized—often implicitly—in documents other than the Conservation Plan.
53. Godden Mackay 2000a, Section 3.3.
54. Jane Lennon and Associates 1998.
55. This social-value methodology is an outgrowth of the Burra Charter methodology. See Johnston 1992. The use of this methodology for the BAC study was advocated by the HAP.
56. Unitas Consulting Limited 1999. This work is an economic impact study based on input-output modeling.
57. For a full description of economists' frameworks for understanding and measuring the value of cultural heritage, see Frey 1997; Mason 1999; Throsby 2001.
58. Young 1996.
59. These tourism activities are classic examples of "valorization" of a heritage site, even in the absence of deliberate articulation and valuation of economic values.
60. The suggestion here is not that decisions or policies reached "informally" lack the qualities of formal decision-making processes. It would be useless to judge whether formal or informal processes are a priori "better." The point we wish to make here is that informal decision-making processes are important in the management of the values of any site and should not escape our attention or emphasis just because they are not formally specified or documented. As noted in the final section of this report, the informal aspects of PAHSMA's management are critical to its success.
61. The operations of the site, by contrast, are organized more by value-type. If this section were analyzing operations, not strategies, value-type would be a more sensible way to organize the discussion.
62. Tasmania National Parks and Wildlife Service 1985, 9–10.
63. Tasmania National Parks and Wildlife Service 1985, 22.
64. Tasmania National Parks and Wildlife Service 1985, 43.
65. Port Arthur Historic Site Management Authority 1996, 6.
66. Port Arthur Historic Site Management Authority 1996, 8.
67. This sequence of progressively more detailed policies—contained in the 2000 Conservation Plan and following into the secondary plans—is summarized in the diagram in figure 12 (*see p. 44*).
68. These are excerpted and/or paraphrased; for full text, see Godden Mackay 2000a, section 4.8.
69. Godden Mackay 2000a, section 5.14.
70. Port Arthur Historic Site Management Authority 2001b, 4–5.
71. Port Arthur Historic Site Management Authority 2001b, 4–5.
72. The latest draft does not include recommendations, and the policies have not yet been finalized. The Draft Landscape Plan was prepared by Context Pty., part of the team that created the Conservation Plan.
73. Sharon Sullivan, personal communication, February 2003.
74. Port Arthur Historic Site Management Authority n.d.(b), 24.
75. The collaborative process instilled during the management planning process, and cultivated assiduously by the board and executive since then.
76. Port Arthur Historic Site Management Authority n.d.(b), 24.
77. The Conservation Plan, for instance, does not contain a list of conservation projects to be undertaken over the life of the plan. Instead, the conservation manager keeps a list of projects phased over a five-year span but not ranked in order of priority. This list is revisited annually as the year's work program is devised—but not followed strictly—in deciding how to spend each year's A\$2 million of funding from the state.
78. Quoted from a clarification by a member of the PAHSMA Board.
79. The Conservation Plan calls for exempting PAHSMA from the GBE Act, leaving it an independent, quasi-governmental agency but giving it a statutory focus on conservation. PAHSMA was exempted in 1997 from providing a financial return to the government, although it remains a GBE. It was also recommended that PAHSMA be given delegation under the Tasmanian Heritage Act so that referral of conservation decisions to the THC is not necessary.
80. Personal communication, January 2002.
81. Godden Mackay 2000a, section 4.6.
82. The convict-era history of Port Arthur, when the site was both an industrial operation and a penal colony, parallels the mix of commercial and cultural motives behind today's heritage site. Thus the contemporary conflicts between economic and cultural values are quite in keeping with Port Arthur's past.
83. Sharon Sullivan to Marta de la Torre, e-mail correspondence, 13 January 2003.
84. Peter Romey, personal communication, January 2002.
85. Consider, for instance, the difference between the 1972 plan to conserve the convict era versus the PACDP philosophy to assess the Carnarvon-period values and site elements.

86. Godden Mackay 2000a, section 6.3.10.
87. Being that the Tasmanian heritage community is small, there is a membership overlap between the THC and PAHSMA.
88. The future tense is used in this section because few parts of the Interpretation Plan have been implemented to date. Any effects are projected, not actual.
89. The benefit of having different perspectives on cultural values is discussed in the section “How Management Policies and Strategies Take Values into Consideration,” noting reasons to have alternatives to the type-driven articulation of values in the Conservation Plan.
90. This transfer of stewardship to PAHSMA from the state parks and wildlife agency was under discussion at the time of the Getty team’s visit; it has since been agreed to.
91. It should be noted that the research team did not talk extensively with people in the community, related and/or unrelated to the site, who could give a different perspective.
92. Technically a government business enterprise in the case of Australia. Elsewhere they are known by such titles as public-benefit corporations and community development corporations.

Appendix A: Time Line After the Closing of the Penal Colony

- 1877 Port Arthur penal settlement closed. The site almost immediately became a destination for interested tourists.
- 1881 The Whitehouse brothers began a biweekly steamer service between Hobart and Norfolk Bay to transport tourists to Port Arthur.
- 1883 The Whitehouse brothers opened the first hotel at the site in the former Commissariat Store to cater to visitors.
- 1884 A bushfire sets ablaze the church, leaving little save for its walls. The ruined remains, which became overgrown with ivy, added to the site's picturesque appearance.
- 1889 The Tasmanian government made plans to auction for demolition and salvage all Port Arthur buildings previously reserved from sale. Opposition from residents of Carnarvon and Hobart provided that the buildings could remain if converted into factories or showplaces. The Carnarvon town board was formed as well.
- 1890s The Port Arthur Museum, which included many photographs of the site, opened in Hobart at the photography studio of J. W. Beattie.
- 1890 Four-horse carriage service between Taranna and Carnarvon was initiated. Roads throughout the peninsula were generally upgraded, and work began on a new road between Carnarvon and Wedge Bay.¹
- 1891 The Union Steamship line launched Easter tours of Port Arthur and other Tasmanian penal settlements.
- 1892 Beattie published the first edition of *Port Arthur, Van Diemen's Land*, a collection of photographs.
- 1893 The volunteer Tasmanian Tourist Association was formed to promote and develop Tasmania as a destination of tourism. Its work was instrumental in promoting tourism in Tasmania, and included the preparation and distribution of leaflets about Port Arthur.²
- 1895 A bushfire spread into Carnarvon and burned the old asylum, then the town hall, the Model Prison, the hospital, the Government Cottage, and several houses. The hospital and town hall were rebuilt.
- 1898 Another bushfire blew into the settlement, destroying the roof and floor of the penitentiary and burning the rebuilt hospital, leaving only its stone walls.
- 1905 In response to increased demand for tourist visits to Port Arthur, the Whitehouse brothers increased the frequency of their steamer service between Hobart and Norfolk Bay, and later to Taranna, from two to three trips per week.³
- 1907 The Tasmanian Tourism Association began to organize overland and steamer trips to Port Arthur.
- 1908 The first film version of *For the Term of His Natural Life*, based on the Marcus Clarke convict tragedy novel of the same name, was filmed at the site. The overland route to the site was improved to make it accessible to motor vehicles.
- 1912 Motor bus service to Port Arthur began.
- 1913 The Tasmanian Tourist Association put forth the first proposal to the Tasmanian government for management of the ruins at the site.
- 1914 After an inquiry concerning financial deficiencies, the Tasmanian Tourist Association was replaced by the state Department of Tourism.
- 1915 The Scenery Preservation Board (SPB) was created through passage of the *Scenery Preservation Act* by the Tasmanian Parliament. This body represented the first Australian authority created for the management of parks and reserves, although its primary focus was protection of the natural environment.
- 1916 The SPB provided for the first formal protection of the ruins at Port Arthur through the creation of five reserves there—the sites of the church, the penitentiary, the Model Prison, Point Puer, and Dead Island. These reserves were Australia's first gazetted historic sites. The SPB gradually began to acquire land at the site.

- 1925 As the SPB's financial resources became scarce, it responded by accepting the Tasman Municipal Council's offer to take over management of the reserves at the site, subject to certain conditions set by the board. The council managed the site until 1937.
- 1926 The second version of *For the Term of His Natural Life* was filmed at the site. This film, which was a box-office success, had a significant impact in promoting tourism to the site.
- 1927 The community at the site changed its name from Carnarvon to Port Arthur, in large part due to the growing tourist industry there. The Port Arthur Tourist and Progress Association also was formed with the purpose of developing the site as a tourist center. The Launceston City Council also purchased the collection of J. W. Beattie's Port Arthur Museum in Hobart, and with much fanfare exhibited parts of it at a newly created museum.
- 1930 Tasmanian novelist Roy Bridges published in the Melbourne *Argus* a short essay arguing that the Port Arthur ruins were significant mainly for the convict suffering that had occurred there, rather than for aesthetic qualities.
- 1935 The Port Arthur Room was created at the Tasmanian Museum in Hobart to house relics as well as documents, photos, and other items related to the site from a second collection amassed by J. W. Beattie, who had died in 1930. The collection was purchased primarily for its economic value in terms of attracting tourists.
- 1938 Control over the site was taken away from the local Tasman Municipal Council and turned over to the Port Arthur and Eaglehawk Neck Board, a new sub-board of the SPB.
- 1939–40 The government acquired the Powder Magazine, the Government Cottage, the Commandant's House, and the cottage in which Irish political prisoner William Smith O'Brien was held in 1850.
- 1946 Following the recommendations of a document known as the McGowan Plan, the Tasmanian government purchased the town of Port Arthur to better preserve the site and to have control over its future development. In a stark change from the past, the McGowan Plan called for valuing the history and architecture of the site rather than focusing solely on its economic value.
- 1959 The first car ferry service from mainland Australia to Tasmania began, providing a significant boost to the number of tourists visiting the state.
- 1960 After years of construction delays, a motel was opened overlooking the site to the rear of the Model Prison and within the viewshed of the site.
- 1962 A new sub-board of the SPB, the Tasman Peninsula Board, assumed responsibility for site conservation.
- 1971 The SPB was dissolved and replaced by the newly created National Parks and Wildlife Service, which assumed responsibility for management of Port Arthur.
- 1974 The Tasman Municipal Council offices moved from the town hall/asylum building to Nubeena, marking the permanent removal of the local community from the site.
- 1979–86 Extensive conservation work was conducted through the Port Arthur Conservation and Development Project (PACDP) and was carried out through both Commonwealth and state funding. PACDP was a regional development project that provided for the conservation and development of historic resources throughout the Tasman Peninsula. PACDP also served as a significant training ground for Australian heritage professionals. In addition, it was involved in the relocation of the Port Arthur township and the construction of roads bypassing the site.
- 1983 Based on comments from Australia ICOMOS, the National Parks and Wildlife Service revised and expanded the official significance of Port Arthur as a historic site to include the township period (roughly 1880 to 1930).⁴
- 1986 In response to uncertainty concerning the future of Port Arthur as PACDP came to a close, members of the local community founded Friends of Port Arthur Historic Site. The organization was formed to promote the site and lobby the state and federal governments with the objective of ensuring sound management practices at Port Arthur.

1987 The Tasmanian Parliament passed the *Port Arthur Historic Site Management Authority Act*, which created and transferred authority over the site to the Port Arthur Historic Site Management Authority (PAHSMA). The act also erected a toll booth at the site to collect visitor entrance fees for the first time.

1996 In April, a lone gunman killed twenty people (and fifteen more in the vicinity) inside the Broad Arrow Café. Most of the victims were tourists, although a number of the remaining victims both worked and lived at Port Arthur.

In June, the Australian prime minister announced the provision of A\$2.5 million for the construction of a new Visitor Centre to replace the Broad Arrow Café.⁵

In December, the Broad Arrow Café was partially demolished in response to the tragedy.⁶

1997 The Doyle Inquiry, a state audit, investigated the management of Port Arthur since the establishment of PAHSMA and examined issues including the board's handling of the development of plans for the new Visitor Centre and parking area, its relations with PAHSMA employees in the aftermath of the 1996 tragedy, and the general handling of conservation and maintenance of historic resources at the site.⁷ The inquiry led to the reconstitution of the PAHSMA Board as well as amendments to the *PAHSMA Act*.

1998 The site's new Visitor Centre opens after much controversy.⁸

2000 The Tasmanian premier opened the Convict Trail, which connects the historic site at Port Arthur with the convict outstations at Eaglehawk Neck, Cascades, Impression Bay, Saltwater River, the Coal Mines, and Norfolk Bay. The premier simultaneously announced that PAHSMA would receive A\$10 million in funding for conservation over a five-year period.⁹

Conservation Plan completed and adopted by PAHSMA.

A memorial garden was created at the site of the former Broad Arrow Café.

Port Arthur Region Marketing Ltd. (PARM) began operations with the "overall objective to increase the economic input of tourism to the Port Arthur Region through an effective marketing and sales program."¹⁰ PAHSMA and the Tasman Municipal Council are the main financial contributors to PARM.

2001 Work was completed on the reconstruction of the Government Cottage gardens.

Notes

1. Young 1996, 73.
2. Young 1996, 62–63.
3. Young 1995, 76.
4. Egloff 1986, 19.
5. Briggs 1996.
6. Jane Lennon and Associates 1998, 5.
7. Michael 1997.
8. Bingham 1998, 18.
9. AAP Information Services Pty. Ltd. 2000; Stephen Large, to Marta de la Torre, e-mail correspondence, 6 November 2003.
10. Port Arthur Historic Site Management Authority 2001a, 5.

Appendix B: Port Arthur Historic Site Conservation Plan

(Conservation Policy—Section V, Volume 1¹)

- 5.1 General Conservation Policy
- 5.2 Landscape
- 5.3 Aboriginal Heritage
- 5.4 Archaeology
- 5.5 Built Elements
- 5.6 Collections
 - 5.6.1 *Curatorial Collection*
 - 5.6.2 *Archaeological Collection*
- 5.7 Records
- 5.8 Research
- 5.9 Financial Resources for Conservation
- 5.10 Human Resources for Conservation
- 5.11 Planning Processes
- 5.12 Use
- 5.13 Visitors
- 5.14 Interpretation
- 5.15 Associated Communities
- 5.16 Other Interested People
- 5.17 The Peninsula
- 5.18 Future Development
- 5.19 Monitoring
- 5.20 Land Holding

The following policy sets out a basis for the conservation of the Port Arthur Historic Site. Achievement of all policy requirements is consequent upon adequate resourcing and may be limited by resource constraints.

5.1 General Conservation Policy

Port Arthur Historic Site is a place of outstanding heritage significance, where excellence in heritage management is the primary aim.

The Port Arthur Historic Site Statement of Significance provides the basis for natural and cultural resource management at the site.

Retention of identified significance and conservation of the Port Arthur Historic Site has primacy over all other management objectives.

Port Arthur Historic Site will be managed and conserved in accordance with the following principles and guidelines:

- the Australia ICOMOS Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Significance (the Burra Charter and associated guidelines);
- the ICOMOS-IFLA International Committee for Historic Gardens Charter;
- the ICAHM Charter for the Protection and Management of Archaeological Heritage;
- the Australian Natural Heritage Charter and associated guidelines; and
- the Draft Guidelines for the Protection, Management and Use of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Cultural Heritage Places.

Conservation of the Port Arthur Historic Site will adopt a total resource approach and will extend to all areas and elements such as landscape, built structures, cultural deposits, artefacts, records, memories and associations along with uses and activities. Conservation will be directed at biodiversity as well as social values and cultural heritage, consistent with a commitment to ecological sensitivity.

Conservation of the Port Arthur historic site will make use of the full array of available expertise and knowledge and will adopt a scientific approach to materials conservation.

Caution will be applied in making decisions which may damage the natural or cultural environment over time. The precautionary principle will be adopted, where appropriate, in relation to management actions with potential to result in a loss of significance. If there is any threat of serious or irreversible environmental damage, lack

of full scientific certainty will not be used as the reason for postponing measures to prevent environmental degradation.

However, any actions which may result in a loss of cultural significance must be reversible.

The Port Arthur Historic Site will be protected from physical damage by appropriate security and maintenance measures.

The effectiveness of conservation management of the Port Arthur Historic Site will be monitored.

Interpretation of the history and significance of the place is fundamental to its conservation.

Port Arthur Historic Site will set national and international standards in best practice conservation.

Ultimate responsibility for decision making in relation to the Port Arthur Historic Site is vested in the Port Arthur Historic Site Management Authority.

5.2 Landscape

The Port Arthur Historic Site will be managed as a complex cultural landscape. Landscape management decisions will recognise the contribution of all elements to the whole, and the inherent tension between the Arcadian qualities of the existing landscape and its significance and interpretation potential as an industrial penal site.

The existing topography and landform of the Port Arthur Historic Site, reflecting natural topography and layers of historic occupation and use, will be maintained.

Major alteration to the current landform will only occur where essential for conservation or operational reasons. In such cases, landform modification will be undertaken in a manner which is reversible.

Where existing intrusive elements are removed, former landform and topography may be reconstructed, provided that there is sufficient historical and archaeological evidence available. Where such evidence is not available, the physical evidence of the altered landform should remain.

Indigenous vegetation will be maintained. Plantings of indigenous species will be restricted to those present at the site, known to have been at the site previously, or present on the Tasman Peninsula.

Existing significant plantings will be maintained. Significant vegetation which dies or becomes senescent will be replaced with the same (or similar) species in the same (or similar) location, unless there are compelling operational management reasons for not doing so.

New plantings may be introduced provided that they:

- are consistent with the provisions of the Landscape Plan;
- are selected from species currently (or formerly) present on site;
- are not potentially invasive weed species;
- contribute to the overall interpretation of the site; and/or fulfil an important operational function and, in doing so, do not detract from the significance of the site.

Significant structural elements such as roads and paths will be maintained in their existing location. Former structural elements may be reconstructed if adequate evidence exists. Materials used in maintenance or reconstruction of structural landscape elements will be traditional materials, already used on site.

New materials may be introduced as part of structural landscape features only where:

- they are essential for operational or safety reasons;
- there is minimal adverse impact on the significance of the site; and/or
- their introduction is reversible; and
- there are no feasible alternatives.

Significant views and vistas within the site and to and from the site will be maintained. Former vistas may be reconstructed (where there is adequate evidence), by removal of visually intrusive elements (including vegetation), provided that such action does not have other adverse impact on the significance of the site.

5.3 Aboriginal Heritage

The management of the Port Arthur Historic Site will include management of the Aboriginal values of the place.

The right of Aboriginal people to be involved in making decisions that affect their cultural heritage and their concerns in this respect will be acknowledged. Provision will be made for ongoing consultation with relevant Aboriginal groups in relation to the management of the Aboriginal values of the site.

Management and interpretation of Aboriginal values at the site will be based on a detailed understanding of the Aboriginal resource and values of the site and the site context.

Identification assessment and physical intervention in the Aboriginal values of the site will be carried out or supervised by suitably qualified personnel.

The potential for encountering previously unknown Aboriginal cultural heritage in ground disturbing activities of the site is acknowledged. Appropriate protocols and procedures will be developed to ensure that such cultural heritage is not damaged, disturbed or concealed.

Aboriginal cultural material located on site will be brought to the attention of relevant authorities.

Interpretation of the site will include Aboriginal history of the site and relevant contextual history, and will be formulated in consultation with the Aboriginal community.

The management of collections of indigenous materials held at the site will be undertaken in accordance with current Australian museums policy, in consultation with the Aboriginal community.

5.4 Archaeology

The archaeological resources of the Port Arthur Historic Site (both above and below ground) will be managed in accordance with the Archaeology Plan.

The primary objective in archaeological management is in situ preservation of archaeological resources.

Management of the archaeological resources of the site will be undertaken in accordance with the ICOMOS International Committee on Archaeological Heritage Management Charter.

Archaeological management will involve the least possible physical intervention.

Archaeological management will address all aspects of significance (including the value of associated archival records and collections).

A comprehensive Archaeological Zoning Plan, which identifies the relative sensitivity of different areas of the site, will be prepared as a basis for archaeological heritage management. The following provisions will apply to zones within the plan:

- in areas of exceptional sensitivity, physical disturbance will be avoided. Where physical disturbance is essential, comprehensive archaeological investigation will be undertaken;
- in areas of considerable sensitivity, physical disturbance will be considered where required for conservation or operations. Physical disturbance will be preceded by site-specific archaeological assessment and appropriate archaeological investigation;
- in areas of some sensitivity, physical disturbance will be preceded by an assessment of potential impact and archaeological monitoring; and
- in areas of low sensitivity, procedures will be in place so that work will cease pending appropriate investigations if significant archaeological features are encountered.

Works at Port Arthur Historic Site will be designed in a manner that minimises impact on archaeological resources.

Development projects or other works which have potential to impact on archaeological resources will be investigated and assessed, in accordance with the provisions of the Archaeological Zoning Plan. The heritage impact and cost of required archaeological works will be addressed as part of the decision to proceed with such works.

Archaeological investigations will be carried out, with the following aims:

- to record information which is not available from historic records, maps, plans, photographs or other similar records;
- to test the accuracy or validity of existing historical documents; and/or
- to provide site-specific information which can assist in understanding the potential impact of proposed works.

While it is acknowledged that many archaeological investigations are conducted as part of the conservation works program, all such archaeological investigations at Port Arthur (both excavation and analysis of standing structures) will be undertaken within an overall research framework.

Specific archaeological investigations will be preceded by:

- archival research and field recording;
- site-specific evaluation of research potential and other significance; and
- formulation of relevant and worthwhile research questions, consistent with the overall research framework.

Archaeological investigations will use non-destructive techniques, in preference to invasive techniques, so as to maximise long-term preservation of the archaeological resource. Invasive archaeological investigations, where essential, will be partial so as to leave a portion of the site undisturbed for future research.

No archaeological excavation will leave in situ subsurface deposits exposed, without provision for ongoing maintenance.

Whenever archaeological investigation is undertaken, a report will be prepared.

Applications from external institutions or individuals to undertake research-based archaeological investigations may be considered where they:

- justify the excavation as part of a total research program (for the Port Arthur Historic Site);
- demonstrate that sufficient resources are available;

- provide an acceptable project program; and
- demonstrate a capacity to provide ongoing resources for professional documentation of results and curation and storage of artefacts recovered.

All historical archaeological artefacts recovered from works or investigations at Port Arthur will be retained on site, other than those loaned for temporary exhibitions, or those removed from the Port Arthur Historic Site collections in accordance with the collections policy.

The preservation, conservation and management of the archaeological resources of the Port Arthur Historic Site will be promoted through state, national and international co-operation, sharing of information and technical expertise, and education.

5.5 Built Elements

The built elements of the site will be managed in accordance with the Built Elements Plan.

All types of built elements including buildings, walls, ruins, and other structures contribute to the significance of the Port Arthur Historic Site.

Significant built elements will be retained and conserved.

Intrusive built elements may be removed, following archival recording.

Significant fabric of built elements will be preserved or restored.

Missing elements of original fabric may be reconstructed where:

- sufficient information is available (hypothetical reconstruction should not occur); and
- reconstruction is considered essential to the conservation of original fabric; or
- reconstruction is considered essential for operational purposes and is reversible; or
- reconstruction is required for interpretation purposes and is reversible.

Built elements may be adapted for new use, or through construction of new elements, provided that:

the adaptation work is reversible; and

adaptation is required for conservation, operational or interpretative purposes.

Adaptation of built elements will occur at places of lesser relative significance, in preference to those of greater significance.

Adaptation may also be permitted where essential to comply with relevant fire safety, health and building or other statutory controls.

Where built structures are adapted for new uses, these uses will be compatible with the significance of the element, and will not obscure important historical associations or the ability of the built element to demonstrate its historic use.

Intervention in significant fabric, including construction of conduits for provision of services, will always occur through elements or spaces of lesser significance in preference to those of greater significance. Activities such as introduction of services will be reversible.

New buildings will only be constructed within the Port Arthur Historic Site where they:

- do not have an adverse impact on the overall cultural significance of the site; and
- are essential for physical conservation of the site or individual elements; or
- are essential for operational requirements, can be removed and do not result in a negative impact on significance; or
- are part of a temporary, reversible, interpretation program.

Built elements introduced as part of an interpretation program will convey accurate information about the history and cultural significance of the site.

Ruins are recognised as a fundamental part of the history and significance of the Port Arthur Historic Site and will be conserved as ruins.

While the particular challenges associated with the physical conservation of ruins are recognised, intervention such as roofing will only occur where required for conservation of significant fabric.

Appropriate maintenance procedures will be developed, documented and implemented to ensure the ongoing long-term maintenance of the built elements of the site.

5.6 Collections

The Collections (curatorial and archaeological) are an essential element of the Port Arthur Historic Site.

Collections will be managed to professional museum standards in accordance with the Port Arthur Collections Plan.

All items in the Port Arthur Collections will be subject to selection, cataloguing and conservation processes to professional museum standards.

Appropriate security measures will be put in place to provide for protection of the Collections.

Collections will be catalogued to a high professional standard.

Access to the Collections will be provided to bona fide researchers and institutions.

Outward and inward loans to and from the Collections will be appropriately documented, monitored, insured and discharged.

5.6.1 Curatorial Collection

The curatorial collection will include both elements with provenance to the Port Arthur Historic Site and items acquired in accordance with the following criteria:

- the item illuminates specific people, places, industries or events associated with the site and/or contributes to the significance of the site;
- the provenance (origins and associations of the item) is known;
- the item is in good condition or conservation/restoration costs are affordable, so that obligations to maintain and conserve the item can be met;
- the item complements the existing collection;
- the item is best held by the Port Arthur Historic Site and no other institution.
- the copyright status of the item is known; and
- legal title to the item is available.

Items may be removed from the curatorial collection in the following circumstances:

- legislation prevents legal title;
- the item is to be returned to a particular community in accordance with the national or international convention in relation to restitution of cultural property;
- the item lacks supporting documentation preventing its identification or relevance to the collection;
- the object is duplicated in the collection and exceeds requirements;
- the item does not conform to current collection policy and would be more appropriate in another institution;
- the item lacks significance according to acquisition selection criteria;
- conservation and/or storage costs are prohibitive and disproportionate to the item's significance; or
- ownership is under dispute.

5.6.2 *Archaeological Collection*

The archaeological collection, including samples of fabric from significant buildings, is recognised as part of the total site archaeological resources.

The archaeological collection will contain only items/elements which are directly provenanced to Port Arthur.

All artefacts/samples or deposits recovered from archaeological contexts (either standing structures or subsurface) will be lodged in the archaeological collection, except where they meet the procedures set out below for disposal.

The archaeological collection will, in the long term, be reviewed, de-accessioned in part and catalogued.

Preference in resource allocation will be given to cataloguing and consolidating the research value of the existing collection rather than projects which may add further to the existing curatorial/cataloguing backlog.

External institutions and individuals will be encouraged to contribute to the curation and cataloguing of the archaeological collection.

Items may be removed from the archaeological collection if they:

- have no known provenance;
- are in such poor physical condition as to be rendered incapable of identification/scientific study;
- are duplicate representative samples; or
- are determined to be of no research potential, following a rigorous and comprehensive assessment of the collection.

5.7 **Records**

Historic records (including oral history) will be managed in accordance with the Records Plan.

Records are an important element of the Port Arthur Historic Site.

Copies of all known relevant records will be kept at the Port Arthur Historic Site. These will include records of cultural heritage management decisions and actions, as well as other archival material.

Records will be professionally catalogued.

Archival material will be curated to a high professional standard.

Record management will facilitate easy access by both site managers and researchers.

5.8 **Research**

The Port Arthur Historic Site will develop as a centre of historical research for both the site itself and related themes, through active facilitation of an ongoing research program, in accordance with the Research Plan.

The Port Arthur Historic Site will take a leading role in the development, assessment and dissemination of materials conservation technology at a national and international level.

The results of research are fundamental to achieving excellence in physical conservation and interpretation of the Port Arthur Historic Site.

Formal links will be established with relevant research institutions and individuals, so that research is encouraged and focused on priority areas.

Research regarding the site will be co-ordinated, so as to ensure use of available resources to maximum effect.

Ongoing research will provide a source of information that makes a regular, systemised contribution to both physical conservation activity and interpretation.

5.9 Financial Resources for Conservation

Recognising the prime conservation objective, both operating and capital programs for the Port Arthur Historic Site will identify and cost all activities and works which should be done, rather than being constrained by a predetermined spending limit (that is, required resources will be specified on the basis of need, rather than availability).

Capital works programs and budgets will be prepared and prioritised on a long-term basis, recognising the need for total management of the Port Arthur Historic Site resource.

Budgets for heritage capital works will be separate from other capital budgets.

The cultural landscape, built elements and other features that comprise the site will be treated as operating assets, so that an ongoing source (ie need for) funds is specified in the depreciation provision of operating budgets. Built elements will be maintained at their current level of integrity (that is, they will not be reconstructed).

Provision of adequate financial resources for the Port Arthur Historic Site is a shared responsibility between:

- the Port Arthur Historic Site itself;
- the Government of Tasmania;
- the Commonwealth Government (if World Heritage values are recognised); and
- the wider community.

Each of these parties will be encouraged to recognise this joint responsibility and to contribute to the resourcing of the site in an appropriate manner and at an appropriate level.

Recognising the economic value of the Port Arthur Historic Site to the economies of Tasmania and Australia, State and Commonwealth Gov-

ernments will be asked to commit to ongoing recurrent financial contributions.

Community contributions will be encouraged through appropriate mechanisms and programs such as the establishment of a Foundation.

Other opportunities for reasonable financial assistance (such as rate relief) will be pursued.

5.10 Human Resources for Conservation

The Port Arthur Historic Site requires access to a broad range of specialist conservation skills. These skill needs will be met through a combination of internal and external expertise, including:

- Board members with specific expertise in heritage conservation;
- specialist conservation staff;
- skilled tradespeople;
- advisory committees;
- liaison with university communities;
- liaison with other public sector agencies;
- external consultants; and
- community contributions.

The contribution of all of these parties and the need for a high level of expertise and experience is recognised.

Skills will be provided by:

- active retention through professional development and training of existing skilled staff;
- selective recruitment of specialists to achieve a multi-disciplinary team;
- local community training initiatives;
- development of community/professional links;
- relationships with external sites and institutions;
- selective use of expert consultants;
- development of effective and co-operative working relationships between internal and external contributors; and
- regular review of the appropriateness of the conservation expertise provided by Borland, staff and advisers.

5.11 Planning Processes

Planning processes at the Port Arthur Historic Site will adopt techniques and principles consistent with current 'best practice.'

Planning processes will be inclusive and transparent. Opportunities will be provided

for contribution and comment from interested people. Key planning documents will be publicly available.

Planning processes will identify, review and utilise existing resources including published works, previous reports and the knowledge of PAHSMA staff.

5.12 Use

The primary use of the Port Arthur Historic Site is as a conserved national monument which is available and promoted to visitors.

All other uses are subservient to this primary purpose.

The use of individual elements within the site will be compatible with the significance of the site itself and with the significance of individual elements.

The primary uses for all elements of significance will be conservation and, where appropriate, interpretation.

Site elements of significance may be used for other operational purposes, provided that these uses are not in conflict with the significance of the site or the individual element.

Use of site elements for commercial purposes may occur where these purposes are not in conflict with the significance of the site, the significance of the element concerned or with the site interpretation. Physical alterations to significant fabric must not occur simply to suit commercial activities.

Re-establishment of former/traditional site uses will be encouraged, where consistent with other policies.

The place, or individual elements, will be used for educational and community events, provided that there is no physical impact on significant site fabric.

Proposals for change of use to the site, parts of the site or individual elements will only be considered on the basis of a thorough understanding

of the impact of the proposal on the significance of the place.

5.13 Visitors

Visitation to the Port Arthur Historic Site will be actively encouraged.

The site will be marketed to a range of communities—Tasman Peninsula—Tasmania—Australia—International, as well as to identified special interest groups.

A primary objective of visitor management will be interpretation of the history and significance of the site.

Visitor management will also endeavour to provide high quality visitor experience, consistent with the conservation requirements and enabling visitors an understanding of the meanings and significance of Port Arthur.

Facilities for visitors will be provided consistent with industry best practice, recognising the specific conservation constraints and requirements and enabling visitors an understanding of the meanings and significance of Port Arthur.

Non-essential visitor facilities, attractions or activities which will have a negative impact on the cultural significance, character or feeling of Port Arthur will be avoided.

Controlled access for people with disabilities will be provided and will be designed in accordance with the forthcoming Commonwealth 'Access Guide to Heritage Buildings.' Owing to the primary requirement for conservation, it is recognised that it will not be possible, in every case, to provide comprehensive disabled access.

Visitor management should encourage an understanding of the special conservation requirements of the place, so that visitor expectations are adjusted accordingly.

Ongoing visitor evaluation will occur, to assess the effectiveness of interpretation and conservation measures, visitor access and visitor facilities.

5.14 Interpretation

Interpretation of the Port Arthur Historic Site will be undertaken in accordance with the Inter-

pretation Plan. (The 1996 Interpretation Plan requires revision in the light of this Conservation Plan.)

Selection of themes and messages to be interpreted on site will have primary regard to the significance of the site.

Messages to be conveyed in interpretation will be prioritised and communicated to all involved in the site management.

The primary message of on-site interpretation will convey the significance of the place and the physical evolution of the site including conservation processes.

Interpretation programs and initiatives will be undertaken in a manner which minimises impact on the fabric of significant elements.

Opportunities will be provided for visitor interaction with cultural heritage elements of the site—consistent with physical conservation requirements.

Interpretation will extend to historic activities, structures and landscapes and will, where possible, focus on real historic elements. The introduction of new, purpose-built interpretative elements will be minimised.

All works undertaken on site (involving both cultural fabric and infrastructure) should be consistent with the broad aim of interpreting significance.

The approach to interpretation will extend beyond the Port Arthur Historic Site itself, providing an understanding of the place in its historical, geographical and social context.

5.15 **Associated Communities**

People throughout the Australian community have an interest in the future management of the Historic Site, and consultation is a key component of this Plan. The social significance of the Port Arthur Historic Site will be managed in relation to the following identified communities:

- local Tasman Peninsula community, for whom it is a key element in their cultural identity;
- descendants of convicts, and of persons buried on the Isle of the Dead;

- the Tasmanian Aboriginal community; and those associated with the Tragedy at the site in April 1996, for whom the place is a symbol of tragedy and remembrance.

The nature of the significance that arises from these associations requires special protection.

The existence and interests of these associated communities is acknowledged, and their right to be involved in making decisions that affect the social significance of the Port Arthur Historic Site to each community is accepted.

Mechanisms for consultation with each associated community will be established.

For other communities with strong attachments to Port Arthur (such as the Tasmanian and Australian communities), broad consultation methods will allow for input.

Local Community

The importance of the Port Arthur Historic Site to the community as a central part of local cultural identity will be acknowledged.

Community activities and uses that help restore and reinforce past associations to Port Arthur Historic Site will be accommodated and encouraged (except where this conflicts with retention of the cultural significance of the Site).

Specific Port Arthur Historic Site features have been identified in the Plan as having particular importance to the local community. Decisions on the management of these features will involve extensive consultation.

The post-convict history of the Port Arthur Historic Site will be recognised and respected in interpretation programs.

Descendants of Convicts and of Persons Buried on the Isle of the Dead

The social value assessment for this important community has yet to be carried out and will be a priority for future work.

The database of these descendants will be maintained by PAHSMA. Key decisions about the Isle of the Dead will involve consultation with this community.

People Associated with April 1996 Tragedy

The tragic events that occurred on and near the Port Arthur Historic Site in April 1996 will be acknowledged in accordance with the evolving significance of the event.

Decisions about the Broad Arrow Café, the memorial cross and all other aspects of the remembrance of this event will involve consultation with this community.

5.16 Other Interested People

Opportunities will be provided for active involvement by other interested people in the conservation of the Port Arthur Historic Site.

In recognition of the strong personal and community attachments to Port Arthur, major decisions regarding conservation activity will employ a broadly based consultative/informative approach, so that interested people are informed and have an opportunity to express an opinion.

Mechanisms will be provided for consultation with an input from both the site staff and the community.

Opportunities for enabling site visitors to have more input into key directions for Port Arthur will be pursued. These include: expanded use of tourism surveys to seek views on conservation issues; focus groups and other forms of surveying the views of the wider community; and involving visitors in consultative processes on new plans and major issues.

Structured processes will also be put in place to facilitate involvement by other relevant stakeholders including:

- the Tasmanian community generally;
- the Tasmanian Government and government agencies;
- the Commonwealth Government and government agencies;
- the Tasmanian Aboriginal Land Council;
- Tourism Tasmania and tourism associations; and
- heritage organisations and conservation professionals.

5.17 The Peninsula

The pivotal relationship between the Port Arthur Historic Site and the Tasman Peninsula is acknowledged. The site will therefore be managed having regard to its historic/geographic/social and economic relationship with the Tasman Peninsula.

The history of the site will be interpreted, both on and off site, as part of the Peninsula.

Relations will be established or continued with associated historic sites on the Peninsula.

Opportunities will be pursued for initiatives which concurrently benefit the site and the Peninsula. These include:

- transfer of responsibility for some convict sites to PAHSMA;
- developing relationships with other convict sites;
- joint promotion;
- sharing of conservation resources;
- structured consultation; and
- employment and skills development.

5.18 Future Development

Future development within the Port Arthur Historic Site will be minimised.

There will be no new structures built within Mason Cove, Point Puer and the Isle of the Dead.

Proposals for new development will be evaluated through the preparation of a Heritage Impact Statement, which includes analysis of alternative options.

Development activity will focus on physical conservation and interpretation of significant elements of the site.

Intrusive elements will be removed where an opportunity presents to do so.

Future development beyond the boundaries of the site will be carefully considered in consultation with relevant authorities (for example, Tasman Council), so as to minimise visual and environmental impact on the Port Arthur Historic Site.

5.19 **Monitoring**

Ongoing monitoring is a basic conservation tool for the Port Arthur Historic Site, which will provide information needed for management decisions.

A program of regular monitoring will be instigated.

The monitoring program will focus on identification and measurement of indicators which provide useful data that is easily gathered.

Processes will be established to allow the results from the monitoring program to be taken into account in management decisions which affect natural or cultural resources, or the visitor experience.

Monitoring will cover both environmental (natural and cultural) and social (visitor interpretation and experience) issues.

The monitoring program will be documented in an annual 'State of the Environment' report, which complies with relevant State and/or Commonwealth State of Environment reporting guidelines.

5.20 **Land Holding**

The current land holding of the Port Arthur Historic Site Management Authority will be reviewed to identify:

- additional areas that are integral to the significance of the Port Arthur Historic Site;
- additional areas required for operational or management reasons; and
- areas within the Port Arthur Historic Site that are not required in view of their significance and function.

A program will be established to rationalise the Port Arthur Historic Site land holdings through strategic acquisition and/or disposal.

Note

- i. Godden Mackay 2000a, 65–81.

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Heritage professionals from across Tasmania
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