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Global concerns – local responsibilities – global and local benefits: The growing business of world heritage

Lead

More than 700 world heritage sites have been inscribed since the adoption of the World Heritage Convention in 1972. There are global concerns about the skewed distribution, but also national and local issues of adequately managing the sites that are increasingly considered big tourism business. This raises serious questions of sustainability.

1. Introduction

The 30th anniversary of the World Heritage Convention in 2002 has brought the issues of heritage management to the attention of many groups that would have been uninterested in this particular dimension of global developments. However, this is in fact global-scale business, apart from its national and local dimensions. The global aspect begins with the fact that the World Heritage Convention has been signed by more nations than any other United Nations agreement. Furthermore, lobbying for nomination for world heritage status is a global activity, as well as the politics of inscription, the marketing, and the (expected) benefits, whereas most of the management issues, costs and the risks of the more than 700 sites are local or national issues. This includes the risk of one-sided exploitation for tourism, with an unequal share of global and local benefits and costs. In a way, the growing international interest in heritage is paradoxical, because it appears to emphasize the specificity of highly localized conditions of "protecting the past for the future" while clearly the movement as a whole has become some kind of global business.

The paper is designed to look into the conceptual background and the global as well as local issues of heritage site creation and management, with an emphasis on developing countries. Saskia Sassen's collection titled *Globalization and its Discontents* (1998) does not explicitly include the issues of heritage conservation, but – as the paper will show – heritage has become part of the global flows of capital and people, with threats and opportunities. Obviously, "integrated conservation" – in the context of urban development or cultural landscapes – is a field where planners have a legitimate role to play. From this angle, the paper would fit into the interests of ISoCaRP as a whole, but it would also add a specific dimension to the theme of the congress which is of great relevance to the host country.

2. The World Heritage Convention at 30

The World Heritage Convention of 1972 is the most widely recognized United Nations document, and it remains the only international legal instrument for the protection of both cultural and natural heritage. The promulgation of the Convention is a milestone in the history of the United Nations (Albert, 2002). Its existence and implementation during the past 30 years has strengthened the global awareness of the threats to the finite heritage resources (hence the sense of urgency that 'something must be done' about this issue), along with the growing confidence that 'something can be done'. The relative emphasis on culture and nature has changed since the time when the first World Heritage sites were nominated in the early 1970s: More and more natural sites have been recognized, and many of them are classified as combined cultural and natural sites. This reflects the trend of converging views of the factors and mechanisms of 'sustainable development', as social and cultural concerns have become part of the broad global sustainability agenda. The UNEP summit in Johannesburg in November 2002 (which marked the tenth anniversary of the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro) confirmed that view, while it also emphasized the importance of management at local and national levels.

In English, the term 'conservation' is used for the restoration of historical buildings or towns as well as for the prudent use of limited natural resources. The agenda for 'environmental management' tends to be related to the natural environment only, but it has increasingly included an emphasis on the social and institutional framework that determines management capabilities. As well, 'conservation' nowadays emphasizes the great importance of local-level management. There are thus two previously independent movements that would jointly contribute to the good cause of heritage conservation. The prevailing view of future urban development in the 21st century is aptly expressed by Hall and Pfeiffer (2000) – "sustainable urban development as central policy, and local empowerment as means of delivery". The same motto applies to the management of heritage sites (with or without the 'world class' label).

Many developing countries have now become aware that both culture and nature are finite resources that need protection and management. On the other hand, even the poorest countries are well aware of their historical and natural heritage as tourist attractions, hoping to harness that potential to capture a greater share of the international tourism industry. From this point of view, it is understandable that at present and in the near future, scope and objectives of heritage management in developing countries differ considerably from those in industrialized Western countries.

In the West, public opinions and managerial capacities have changed and developed considerably over the past thirty years or more, in response to the negative impacts of rapid technological and economic change. In contrast, public awareness in the developing countries has begun to emerge much later, correlated with the much closer historical distance, or even overlap, of traditions and modern development (in economic conditions, technology and social structure). Based on that, there tends to be a much greater and often un-reflected trust in the (real or expected) progress created by modernization, which is however, increasingly mixed with a pride of the indigenous culture, a growing scepticism vis-à-vis the rapid change, and an increasing awareness of the inherent losses of identity.

It is obvious that other pressing development needs require priority, ahead of looking after cultural and natural heritage resources. Such development constraints result from rapid population growth, combined with dramatic socio-economic change processes and severely limited resources. In the field of urban planning, urgent problems absorb almost all of the limited financial and managerial resources available. This explains why slum-upgrading, traffic planning and basic infrastructure provision always take priority, well before even thinking about 'monument protection' (the conventional approach) or 'integrated area conservation' (which is the innovative concept). It is thus not surprising to see that the issues of conservation (of both cultural and natural resources) have only recently taken a more prominent position on the agenda of the poorer countries.

The decisions of the World Heritage Commission, in conjunction with the designation of more and more new sites, have exerted a considerable influence on the changes in public awareness in the countries in the developing regions of the world, probably much more than in Europe where national monument protection statutes have been in existence for decades.

3. The skewed global distribution of sites

The distribution of heritage sites is extremely skewed in favour of economically developed countries, no matter whether the cultural sites are considered, or the relatively few natural ones, or the growing number of mixed sites.

The status of World Heritage Site has become a 'trade mark' which lends itself to marketing for the site itself and the host city or region, and even the whole country. Having recognized the economic attraction of heritage, many poor countries are eager to add the coveted label to their cultural or natural assets. On the other hand, the host regions are aware of the commitments that come with the acceptance of a new site to the World Heritage List. Countries with greater resources and longer managerial experience have an advantage over poorer cousins; the annual rounds of new nominations, and the increasingly long waiting list (the 'tentative list' of World Heritage Sites) are the results of competitive lobbying behind the scene.

As of 2002, there were 730 sites in about 120 states, but most of them are in Europe. In all of Asia, there are only about 130 of them. Expectedly, the largest numbers are in China (28) and India (23), followed by Japan (11). In comparison, all European countries are much better represented, with the largest numbers of sites in Spain (35) and Italy (33), followed by France (26) and Germany (24).

As the absolute values are quite irrelevant, it is better to show the differences on the basis of relative values, for example related to national population. The global ratio (mean value) is about one site to 8.5 million people. In Europe, the average lies at about 1:2.8, which is ten times higher than the average for Asia (1:28). Small countries like Malta, Norway, or Austria are particularly well endowed with World Heritage Sites, but that is merely the statistical result of small population numbers in relation to rather few (three or four) sites per country. The exercise may only be statistically significant as soon as larger countries (with say, more than 20 million inhabitants) are considered.

Present population is a very crude indicator, but it may be good enough as a first attempt at illustrating the imbalances. It would be an attractive research topic to find indicators for the relative frequency of outstanding monuments worthy of World Heritage status. On the whole, one may assume cultural values to be represented by national population size, plus a number of relevant factors, including documented history, while natural sites would tend to correlate with national area size, plus a number of geophysical factors. The increasingly popular mixed nominations, sites with cultural and natural properties, may then reflect the expected frequency based on a mix of factors.

Table 1 below shows some absurd distortions of what is supposed to be a global representation of cultural and natural heritage sites. Especially the very large countries (China and India), with their important cultural history, are poorly represented. China, for instance, would have to have between 375 and 750 (!), instead of the existing 28 sites, if it were similarly well represented as Germany or Italy. The other way around, Spain would barely have one site (instead of 35), if it were as poorly represented as India.

Table 1: Relative Frequency of World Heritage Sites in Europe and Asia

(population numbers in million, 2001)

Europe	Value (1: x mill)	Asia	Value (1: x mill)
Malta	0.1	South Korea	6.5
Greece	0.7	Japan	11
Czech Republic (or Portugal)	1.0	Thailand	15
Spain (or Norway)	1.1	Bangladesh	43
Austria	1.3	India	45
Italy	1.7	China	47
Germany	3.4	Australia (which often counts itself as an Asian economy) is equally well represented as Austria(!)	1.3

Data sources: Population statistics 2000 (United Nations), and World Heritage Centre, *Properties inscribed on the World Heritage List,* Paris: UNESCO, January 2001 (and Internet-based list of July 2002). As of the time of writing this paper (August 2003), there are about 750 sites, but the distribution does not differ from the one presented here.

All this is just a little number game, but it provides a perspective for future policies aiming at a more equitable distribution. It also suggests some serious considerations. First of all, it reflects the much greater awareness of the European (and Australian) national efforts to get into the world heritage list. Besides, the numbers implicitly betray the very different national possibilities for meeting the considerable management commitments they do have to enter when a site is inscribed in the list. Indirectly, the drastically different numbers also reflect the lacking public awareness of heritage values, a lack of confidence in pursuing possible nominations, and the much poorer availability of professional know-how in developing countries.

In recent years, UNESCO decided on a new policy for limiting the admission of new applications for nomination, in order to slow down the expected inflation of 1,000 or more World Heritage Sites. At

the same time, UNESCO has been trying to enforce a global strategy for overcoming the imbalance and to increase the representativeness of sites. To prevent inflationary use of the coveted quality label, the World Heritage Commission of UNESCO has now rationed the number of annual inscriptions, but – somehow bypassing the definition of a 'site' – there are now multiple-site nominations (for example, several French Gothic cathedrals defined as one new "site").

Nevertheless, it will not be easy for the latecomers among the nations that wish to have their heritage sites recognized, to catch up with the European domination of the List. On the other hand, it may be expected that the aspiring nations wish to make themselves heard and seen in this comparatively less important field of global competition, in the same context as unequal global resource consumption and distribution of environmental pollution. Therefore, a new policy for truly recognizing "universally significant" sites may have to be developed, with new rational criteria and politically acceptable procedures, where (present and future) management capability is as important as the site itself and its properties. Such a new policy would also have to include the enforcement of the policy of "de-commissioning" certain sites that no longer meet the requirements. The possibility of removing a site from the List is stipulated in the *Operational Guidelines of the World Heritage Convention* (1999), but it has hardly been used.

4. Cultural traditions and modern development: Definitions and contradictions

Living traditions that are still in frequent use tend to be unpretentious, self evident, and even robust. Therefore, no particular protective measures are needed because every community member is part of the traditional way of life. However, all over the world, traditions are subject to change from modern economic development and its concomitant social changes. As soon as such traditions begin to be rare and unusual events, the value of traditional festivals, habits or building styles are noted as something special by many people (inside and outside the community), some time after cultural connoisseurs and critics would have noticed and described them. Special care and protection seem to be required only when materials begin to crumble, traditions begin to be forgotten and living handicraft products turn into museum pieces.

Successful coffee table books with titles like "Vanishing Asia", "Heritage Trails", "Bangkok then and now", or the pretty illustrated in-flight magazines show this trend. Heritage has been discovered as a special commodity that lends itself to sometimes lucrative tourist marketing. As soon as culture becomes an object of consumption (by other than the local people, who have already begun to abandon their traditional culture), it is not quite alive anymore, and it tends to be threatened by commerce. A little later, cultural sites and habits may turn into mere tourism objects, no matter whether protected by world heritage status or local monument legislation. At that stage, commerce and consumption would most likely take the upper hand over genuine culture.

'Tradition' may be used here as shorthand for pre-industrial settlement and social organization. In this context, the 'intangible' or immaterial values and functions of heritage are considered together with the material ones, i.e., religious and secular rites, folk life and dance, together with the material or tangible values that are more commonly discussed (buildings, sites, cultural landscapes). Without any doubt, in 'developing' countries, traditions and modern developments are much closer, or much less divided by long time periods, as they are in most parts of Europe. There, local and regional traditions have been increasingly pushed into geographic and societal niches, or into folk museums. However, even in those countries where "modern" development began only 50 years ago, similar trends of increasing separation, and contradiction, between tradition and modernization can now be observed.

There is a great range of conditions, from complete separation (and alienation) of the 'traditional' and 'modern' components of the urban fabric, to at least partial integration. Explanatory factors (to be further explored) for the degree of segregation appear to be: Pace of economic growth and social changee, time passed since the first development push, degree of contrast and contradiction of indigenous culture (including religion) and liberal market economy (as the prevailing mode of 'modernization'). As a result of the mix of such factors, there would be more or less adaptation, conservation, integration, as illustrated by several typical examples.

The Middle East countries exemplify the separation of tradition and modern development in a very drastic way, because of the rapid modernization process fuelled by exorbitant financial resources. As a result, it is virtually impossible to find a common denominator for the four typical urban patterns that may be distinguished in most of the rich Middle East cities:

? the central business district is alien in design and spirit to traditional urban concepts,

? most of the new residential quarters are well designed and functional but few of them use traditional design "quotations",

? some of the very affluent residences, shopping malls (modern *souk*) and especially the upmarket resort hotels, freely borrow local design features,

? whereas only the newly established 'heritage villages' (such as the one in Dubai) makes an attempt at integrated conservation, although this really is a 'living museum'.

Note on Cairo: Owing to my limited personal knowledge of Cairo, the host city of the ISOCARP congress, I would refrain from observations until after the congress (in the final edited version of the paper).

Japan is a case in point for the separation of tradition and modern development – or does it appear to be a separation while in actual fact, both are well integrated in modern Japan? As the first Asian country to modernize (since the Meiji reforms of the late 19th century) as well as being a global economic power, Japan has developed modern "Western" business structures while also retaining its distinct historical identity in the social organization. However, vestiges of the material heritage have become so rare that they are largely found in museums only, or in a few historic cities like Nara and Kyoto.

The city states of Singapore and Hong Kong have prospered for a long time; during the past three or four decades, they have lost much of their "typical Asian" flavour, even though the tourist brochures are full of those exotic details (buildings, vehicles, colourfully dressed people) that travellers expect to find in front of their cameras. In actual fact, however, such "progressive" metropolitan centres increasingly resemble Chicago or Frankfurt or Sydney. Cities like Shanghai, Beijing or Nanjing follow suit, although the Chinese version of socialist market economy is barely 25 years old. Even Kuala Lumpur, Bangkok and Jakarta have lost much of their specific local flavour, albeit less than Singapore where, nevertheless, conservation has been added to the impressive array of urban development policies (Yuen and Ng, 2001).

Genuine traditional Asian urban ambience can still be found in Delhi, Calcutta or Bombay, but traces of gentle or rather heavy modernization and global levelling are visible there as well. The label of 'typical Asian (or African or Latin American) environment' does not only comprise of the colourful tourism adverts, but also the visible signs of widespread poverty and misery – evidence of old (and new) social dichotomy, which is included in the definition of 'traditions' that is intended here.

As a somewhat sweeping generalization, it can be said that the mix of public awareness, opinions, legal conditions and actual implementation in developing countries is at a stage that compares with the one in Europe about a hundred years ago. In some countries, the time lag may be fifty or perhaps thirty years only. Moreover, compared with Europe and North America, the severe constraints in financial resources correspond to shortages in trained staff for this particular field as well as many others in environmental management.

People's perceptions of history, of values, and hence, of conservation efforts, would differ, by age, by social group, and education. Young and uneducated people might not appreciate traditional urban images (or habits, or vernacular techniques, or materials and processes), because their general fascination with "progress" tends to be stronger than their cultural awareness. A few years later, however, they would begin to view lost traditions as something beautiful and even more fashionable than modern things. Older people would not necessarily hold the same views, nor would they easily agree on what is genuine and therefore worth protecting, what was falsified, and which period in the history of a city quarter should be emphasized in the restoration. Which values, whose values, and

how to deal with the vestiges of the past – popular views on such questions tend to be less unified than in most Western countries.

5. Concepts of authenticity and their reflection in conservation practice

The issue of authenticity which has interested the specialists in Europe for a long time, seems to be posed, or answered, in a different way in other continents. Authenticity becomes a centrally important issue when a single building is to be protected and restored, but especially so when entire city quarters, towns or regions are considered.

As long as culture is alive and not (yet) part of a museum, it does not matter too much what is more or less genuine (or authentic), what is centrally important and what is peripheral in the mixture that adds up to a culturally significant place. It is the ensemble (of buildings and open spaces), the city quarter as a whole, or the "naturally grown" landscape – that are considered as a historical unit with specific societal values. The question of authenticity arises primarily when buildings and facilities begin to reach an end stage of their usefulness. Over the many years of their existence, they would have been modified and adjusted to several new uses. Finally, however, the economic use value tends to be zero, even though other types of value (emotional, symbolic, historical, artistic, e.g.) would still be significant enough to warrant conservation instead of demolition. At this final stage, priorities have to be set as to which parts of a historic town, or which features of a cultural landscape, deserve greater attention (and with it, more funding) than others. Here, authenticity becomes an issue in the decision-making.

The internationally recognized Charter of Venice (1966) primarily aimed at authentic materials and their treatment. The individual building was in the foreground, although the setting was also considered, but in both, material rather than spiritual authenticity were most important. This is a professional practice well known by the Western conservators, but it does not seem to conform to time-honoured practice in other cultures, where continuous renewal of a spiritually important place is the rule. The material integrity appears to count much less than the spiritual content or the symbolic value of the building or monument.

A UNESCO conference that took place in Nara (Japan) in 1994 resulted in the Nara Document on Authenticity which goes well beyond the scope of the Venice Charter. The conference tried to re-define authenticity for Asian countries. In one of his papers presented at the conference, David Lowenthal (1995) demonstrated the historical changes in the European interpretation of authenticity that would also help to understand current non-European views. The prevailing medieval concept of authenticity was a matter of faith rather than proof of material originality. Lowenthal demonstrates how authenticity was redefined in the 18th century, before it became some kind of a cult in the 19th. The search for an actual original as well as the imaginary ideal condition of a building became the yardstick for its restoration. It was only in the 20th century that the continuous process of change is supposed to be made visible, the palimpsest is to be read, instead of striving for a single ideal stage in the history of a building.

Is it true that authenticity is defined in a different way in Asia (and other parts of the "developing world")? In fact all stages of Lowenthal's series of definitions of historical truth are found in current heritage management in Asia as well as Africa or Latin America. Three versions seem to occur simultaneously:

> **Spiritual, rather than material authenticity and continuity:** This model exists in practice but is not found much as a tradition in dealing with historical truth. The example of the famous Ise shrine in Japan is world famous, as an age old monument (dating back to the 7th century AD) that is rebuilt every 20 years in identical fashion. The process does not only use identically crafted timber components but also repeats the never changing traditional techniques and rituals. In this way, the traditional functions and the spirit of the Ise shrine are retained even though the material is renewed every 20 years. There seem to be a few comparable examples elsewhere, but the Ise shrine remains an exceptional case although especially in religious buildings, spirit and symbolic meaning would always be more important than material identity.

Restoration according to imaginary ideals that are actually fakes - the frequently encountered complete misunderstanding of correct conservation practice (although this was also practiced in Europe in the 19th century). On the basis of a vague or stereotype image of an "ideal" built form (of a Thai temple, or a Chinese courtyard house, e.g.), existing buildings are not carefully repaired and restored, but rebuilt according to the fake "ideal".Chinese cities have re-constructed complete inner-city streets in a style vaguely resembling 17th or 18th century forms, in concrete – while the remnants of the real historic core disappeared in favour of new arterial roads or high-rise blocks.

In China as well as other Asian countries, the tourist attraction and with it, the economic potential, of historical places is well recognized but this has often led to new fake-history buildings and other naive or incompatible Disneyland creations, while the real historic old town was neglected and finally demolished because it happened to be in the wrong location.

The search for historic truth, translated into successful restorations: This professionally preferred practice is as yet relatively rare but it is being increasingly accepted and has resulted in good examples. In this context, the World Heritage Sites that have contributed demonstrations of good practice and exemplary methods have an important role to play. However, area-wide conservation (in contrast with the restoration of a single building or monument) is as yet very rare, and the professional skills as well as the social attitudes are only beginning to appear.

It should be obvious that the first of the three options constitutes and interesting but exceptional direction, the second one is simply wrong and misleading, but the third one shows the way towards correct and future-oriented projects that should be further encouraged. However, good practices require more publicity. One of the best examples in Asia is the association of planners and conservators under the name of *Asia and West Pacific Network for Urban Conservation (AWPNUC).* For about ten years, it has provided valuable services by means of a newsletter.

The international discussion often refers to the exemplary document of 1999 which has been known for about 20 years as "Burra Charter". The guidelines of the Australian ICOMOS are equally important for good practice and professional education in Australia, but also for an increasing number of countries that use the comprehensive but flexible Burra process as a guideline for developing their own conservation frameworks.

The national legislation on monument protection in most countries lags behind the requirements for modern policies for conservation of monuments and ensembles. In conjunction with weak laws in environmental management and urban planning, this leads to a mix of neglect, incompetence and unawareness in dealing with the heritage that is massively threatened by many factors.

The regional UNESCO office in Bangkok organized an international meeting on authenticity concepts and their in practice in March 2001. As a result, the 'Hoi An Protocols' were launched, a series of pragmatic but conceptually clear guidelines for various fields of conservation. A set of "Do's and Don't's" on urban conservation are in **Annex 1** of this paper.

In this context, another important regional initiative is to be mentioned – the UNESCO Asia-Pacific Heritage Awards for Culture Heritage Conservation. For the fourth time in 2003, prizes were awarded for well designed and maintained privately funded projects. This annual competition constitutes an increasingly recognized and prestigious incentive for privately financed projects where investors and architects from many countries can participate. The increasing participation by countries like Uzbekistan, Mongolia and Iran is particularly encouraging because they have not done much in this field although their heritage resources are rich and they are threatened by modern development.

6. Management issues in poor countries: Selected examples

Management responsibilities for world heritage sites are with the "state parties" and especially with the local stakeholder bodies who often find it difficult to agree on objectives, boundaries, cost sharing and maintenance. More than in Western countries, the benefits of newly inscribed sites are centred around tourism development, which is understandable, because tourism is the biggest "industry" on

earth. All kinds of tourism need to be managed wisely, and heritage tourism must to avoid the two most questionable outcomes –

(1) **Unequal share of benefits:** International tourism agencies tend to reap the bulk of the profits, rather than local interest groups, while many of the costs are local (such as infrastructure investments, maintenance of historic resources and tourist facilities), but it is possible to develop more balanced economic strategies for heritage destinations; and

(2) **Carrying capacity of sites ignored:** Too many tourists turn a historic site – natural or cultural – into some kind of freak show for foreign visitors, rather than preserving the spirit of the place. 'Too many' obviously has to be quantified for each site. Small historic towns and fragile natural environments require strict flow limitations while larger places can cope with much larger flows.

In the framework of this paper, it is neither possible nor intended to present an extensive number of sites that represent the wide range of specific local and national conditions of heritage management in the natural and built environment. The series of notes presented here is primarily on Asia, and the related **Annex 2** contains some annotated illustrations.

A possible simple typology is suggested as a basis for discussion. The existing heritage resources are the result of the many factors in the past, while the chances of their survival into the future is largely determined by the institutional and managerial strengths of the cities and regions concerned. In particular, there must be appropriate policies in place that have to combine the seemingly contradictory principles of protection and development. Table 2 shows the suggested typology for cultural or natural heritage sites.

Table 2: A Typology of 'Living' Heritage Sites

Primary area character-istics	Factors of the more distant past that contributed to the creation of outstanding places and structures			Factors of the more recent past that contributed to the continuing use of otherwise obsolescent structures, fabrics, and habits *
	Outstanding natural properties	Economic prosperity	Specific cultural achievements	
Rural settings; rural- urban continuum; urban settings with specific local features; places of historic importance, often with symbolic qualities	Evolution of **cultural landscapes** with remarkable qualities reflecting the use of natural conditions by society, sometimes in the form of associative landscapes with highly symbolic characteristics			✎ Periods of relative neglect at a regional/national scale, because rapid economic and technical progress and change would have by-passed this region or site, as it was relatively remote (far away from a new seaport or railway line, e.g.) ✎ Continuing importance and use of single monuments (such as churches, castles, public buildings) ✎ Special socio-economic conditions (strong community spirit, ethnic minorities, e.g.) supporting the continuing use of otherwise obsolescent structures and habits
	Special **rural-urban fringe areas** (as a special category of cultural landscape) reflecting the socio-cultural achievements of the past			
	Unique landscape features, usually with associative qualities	Outstanding **monuments or settlements** reflecting specific socio-cultural qualities of one or more historic period(s), generated by periods of economic growth and political strength which generated long-lasting buildings and fabrics – usually in the inner core area of a large modern city or as an isolated smaller town		

* Continuous periods of destruction and neglect may have led to the permanent abandoning of previously important places, thus creating archaeological sites ('dead' in the sense of not being used anymore – i.e., ruins or buried archaeological sites), sometimes overlapping with living sites

The selection of cases from Asian countries is based on both the suggested typology and the observations on successful heritage management concepts. Beginning with the rapidly expanding and generally prosperous metropolitan cities, the cause of heritage conservation is threatened by rapid and often uncontrolled processes with direct impact of global economic changes. At the same time, however, metropolitan areas would also stand a good chance to be pioneers in exemplary policies, because changing public awareness tends to be in favour of conservation, and because the economic means for innovative policies are available. Smaller cities, especially those away from rapid economic

progress, may be better preserved, but often neither the managerial capability nor the public awareness are as highly developed as in larger cities. However, conditions would tend to differ widely, and it is next to impossible to make firm predictions as to the expected local managerial capability. Table 3 schematically summarizes the determinants of success in site management.

Table 3: Determinants of Heritage Site Management

Spatial scale of relevant factors	Assessment of main threats and opportunities as a basis for future policies and measures *		Innovative policies and measures
	Threats	Opportunities	
Global	✍ Mass tourism without carefully balanced local profit share ✍ Global industrial development in the vicinity	✍ Special-purpose tourism shared by global and local players ✍ Links with ecological and other initiatives conducive to balanced heritage management	✍ Sustainable tourism management models ✍ Exchange of international experience ✍ Good advice from international bodies ✍ International funding support
National / regional	✍ Uncontrolled and rapid metropolitan growth overrunning historic places and landscapes ✍ Inappropriate monument protection policies / practices	✍ Public awareness of heritage issues and policies ✍ National financial assistance schemes	✍ Development of national legislation ✍ Development of national financing schemes ✍ Competitions ("best practices")
Local	✍ Misguided local entrepreneurship and profit-making ✍ Unbalanced local politics exploiting minority groups	✍ Strong community organization and leadership; ✍ Local sources of finance (such as entrance fees); ✍ Local marketing efforts ✍ Innovative local handicraft production combined with special-purpose tourism	✍ Public-private partnerships ✍ Protective zoning (e.g.) combined with incentives ✍ Appropriate local economic development ✍ City-to-city information and experience sharing

* In strategic planning, the analysis would include also internal 'strengths and weaknesses' (of the main stakeholders) in addition to the threats and opportunities that are seen as external factors. In this context, refer to Hall and Mc Arthur (1998)

Bangkok may serve as an interesting example of the mixed success of conservation policies in metropolitan areas. Bangkok is a relatively young city (founded in 1782) with a beautiful traditional city core and remarkable monuments, on the one hand, while, on the other hand, the extremely rapid economic development of the past 40 years has hardly been accompanied by responsive public planning capability, so much so that the city is often cited as the chaotic result of laissez-faire policies. This includes a great number of opportunities missed, such as properly integrating the canal network and preserving more open space. During The last ten years, however, there has been a remarkable change in environmental consciousness, along with the respective policies and programmes, such as city-greening, solid waste management and traffic calming (in some parts of the city). Especially from this angle, the urban conservation cause has begun to receive considerable public support. Therefore, there are now several interesting conservation areas, and more action of combined environmental and historical conservation is expected.

Among the metropolitan cities of Southeast Asia, **Saigon (Ho Chi Minh City) and Hanoi** provide an interesting contrast. Saigon resembles the laissez-faire conditions in Bangkok in many respects, although the 12 years of strict socialist rule (1975 – 1986) after the Vietnamese unification have left some marks. The capital city of Hanoi still differs from the – highly generalized – picture of Asian metropolitan development, as the impact of economic globalization is still less visible than in Bangkok or any of the major Chinese cities (in particular Shanghai). Nevertheless, the image of the city has dramatically changed within the past 16 years, since the beginning of the *Doi Moi* reforms in 1986. This change process has been associated with a considerable loss in visible traditions. The city would hardly have a chance to have the city core listed as a world heritage site, even if this were a politically viable aim. Less than 20 years ago, the vestiges of 1000 years of urban history, especially

the influences of 60 years of colonial domination, were much more visible than the socialist period since 1953. Before 1990, it might have been possible for Hanoi to adopt a much stronger policy of linking heritage protection with new developments, rather than accepting much destruction and dismantling of the past in the name of progress (Nguyen and Kammeier, 2002).

Smaller cities and 'hidden' landscapes: As is well known from the past 50 years on Europe, times of economic growth are much more destructive to historical continuity than times of stagnation (and even war). For this simple reason, we find the best preserved examples of former splendour in smaller towns and 'hidden' landscapes, in Asia as well as anywhere else in the world. After their heyday way back in history, such places would typically have been in a long phase of slow development, away from the mew economic hubs. Some of the newly created Asian World Heritage Sites would prove this point - Hoi An (Vietnam), Lijang (China), Bhaktapur (Nepal), or Luang Prabang (Laos), as well as other similarly structured places. This series may be continued. However, after their 're-discovery', such formerly unknown places and their history and tradition have become lucrative arguments of national tourism marketing.

Archaeological sites without a living settlement in the vicinity might be called "dead" cities. They are comparatively easier to protect than living ones because there the competition from modern uses is so much stronger. In Southeast Asia, the former capitals of Angkor (Cambodia), Ayutthaya and Sukothai (Thailand), and My Son (Vietnam) have in common that they are primarily archaeological sites where the modern settlements are small enough or at a reasonable distance.

Cambodia has received support from many countries for decades in order to carry out archaeological analyses as well as restoration works of the ancient settlements and monuments in the vast area of Angkor (Angkor Tom, the ancient city, and Angkor Wat, the main temple complex). The Angkor-bound tourism is by far the most lucrative "export commodity" of the poor country. The small provincial town on Siem Reap, next to Angkor, takes considerable benefits from the tourists, but is hardly able to meet the associated urban development challenges. The ancient capitals of Thailand that had been declared World Heritage Sites (WHS) in 1991 are important tourism magnets, but their management also demonstrates the growing capability of the Fine Arts Department. My Son (Vietnam) is too new as a WHS (1999), and it is too small and not spectacular enough, in comparison with the two other sites in the same region, Hué (the ancient imperial capital) and Hoi An (an ancient trade port), to create a tourist bazaar.

Living cities are under a double threat that results, firstly, from the competition of ancient structures (that are to be protected) and modern urban development (which needs to be guided). Later on, when the WHS status becomes an important factor in local economic development, it will be required to guide and channel the tourist flows in such a way that the historic place does not turn into a trade fair. Luang Prabang (Laos) has had unexpectedly rapid development soon after being inscribed as a WHS in 1995, where especially the direct international airline connections from Bangkok and brought in large numbers of tourists.

Correct but affordable conservation practices: Although UNESCO in co-operation with international support money, has been successfully trying to promote traditional building technology for historically correct restoration works with local participation, there is some apprehension that the "fast buck" will become stronger than the efforts for authentic conservation and historic continuity. Similar observations apply to Lijang, which is a relatively new WHS (Yunnan Province, China), or about the ancient towns on the Erhai lake (just a few hours by car south of Lijang) that do not have WHS status but have nevertheless been tourist magnets for some time. The regional office of UNESCO in Bangkok has made considerable efforts to link heritage management and local economic development, including sustainable tourism concepts.

Entrance fees for visitors: In this context, the case of the management decision in the wonderful historic town of Bhaktapur in Nepal should be mentioned, where foreign visitors have to pay an entrance fee (which they happily do), in order to cover the considerable management costs for the WHS. While entrance fees at archaeological sites are common (but they may be unrealistically low), the example of Bhaktapur would be a good policy model for other living heritage towns that

otherwise have great difficulties in coping with the increasing costs of maintaining a historic town and the expected visitors' facilities.

Heritage tourism: Both governments and private investors use the World Heritage label for tourism advertisements. There are now special offers such as the one of Bangkok Airways, a small private airline, which links Sukothai (Thailand) with Luang Prabang (Laos) and Danang (Vietnam, with the World Heritage Sites of Hué, My Son und Hoi An). The heritage business seems to sell, but for the time being, this has aggravated the considerable management problems, especially in the living historic towns. However, such towns could introduce visitors' fees to offset the increasing maintenance costs.

Cultural landscapes: Cultural landscapes are the most complex objects of conservation efforts and policies. By definition, nature and culture are integrated in those landscapes that are the product of centuries of change and evolution. By necessity, historical values and future use of such landscapes must be guided by carefully balanced policies and programmes that permit or even encourage compatible degrees of re-interpretation and development. To be viable, such programmes must enlist the knowledge of the traditional local inhabitants whose values and skills are being threatened by modern development which would wipe out the extant heritage unless it is properly guided. In addition, the knowledge of various professionals should be utilized in drawing up viable management programmes - such as landscape planners, environmentalists, agricultural and social science analysts, as well as urban planners and conservation specialists.

Banaue (Philippines): Perhaps the most famous Asian cultural landscape is the site of Banaue in the Philippines where the rice terraces are the product of hundreds of years of continuous labour that was needed to shape the natural environment into a unique cultural one. Maintaining such rice terraces is increasingly difficult with economic growth and social change, because – in economic terms – the Banaue landscape is marginal agricultural land, occupied by an 'economically backward' minority. In this case, the decline of the local society threatens the very existence of the heritage site.

Nonthaburi (Thailand): A very different example of a traditional cultural landscape is the Chao Phraya River Plain in central Thailand. The landscape has for generations successfully combined drainage and flood protection management with thriving orchard agriculture and the traditional 'amphibian' culture of the settlements along those canals, with their beautiful timber houses and lush gardens. Its existence is heavily threatened by the growth of the metropolitan area of Bangkok. The land is subjected to massive speculation for suburban extension projects and major infrastructure, while the existing orchard agriculture is threatened by water pollution, social change (people do not want to continue as farmers) and prohibitively high labour costs. Only some parts of the landscape are protected by special national legislation, but much more needs to be done to safeguard its very existence.

Recent research (Kammeier, 2001) has focused on the analytical exploration of the essential components that give the landscape its unmistakable image (therefore, they need to be protected); the different types of private and public space; the essential dimensions of buildings, canal-side structures and open spaces; and the green spaces that define the character of the landscape. Based on this analysis, design guidelines have been drafted as part of an overall management system that includes the local authorities and the various stakeholder groups. The future land use is defined as "sympathetic infill" and adaptive re-use of the landscape, without necessarily preserving all of the fragile timber structures, but maintaining the essential character of the landscape in conjunction with the economic viability of sustainable further development. Interestingly, it is the environmental protection agency, but not the Fine Arts Department, that plays the most important policy role in safeguarding this and similar cultural landscapes in Thailand.

7. Education for heritage management

Asian countries must make much greater efforts for providing appropriate education and training in all those subject areas that contribute to heritage protection and management. Currently there is a lack of qualified personnel but also a lack of properly endowed positions. No wonder therefore that the

existing educational programmes limited and not well structured. It is possible to estimate the demand for professional staff that are needed for integrated heritage management, according to level of education (craftsmen, technicians, university graduates) and by specialization (conservator, archaeologist, urban planner, art historian, economist, sociologist). For some years, ICCROM (Rome) has offered a remarkable programme for post-graduate training of planners and managers in the field of urban and regional planning. The objective is to initiate regional programmes that will be carried out by appropriate institutions in the regions concerned. After Latin America and Northeast Europe, there are now efforts underway to launch a regional programme in Southeast Asia, based on existing institutions and curricula.

There are several international university programmes in the wider Asian region. All of them are qualified to accept students from other countries, apart from being engaged in collaborative research. The programme at Deakin University in Melbourne, Australia (centred around one of the UNESCO Chairs for Conservation) should be mentioned here. Japan has a number of relevant programmes, China has just begun to offer integrated urban conservation at Tongji University (Shanghai), in addition to the programme at he University of Hong Kong, and Indonesia and Thailand have a few fledgling programmes. The World Heritage Studies Programme at the University of Technology of Cottbus (Germany) should be mentioned here as a highly relevant new international programme in Europe, with students from all continents, collaborative research projects and considerable networking potential.

It is important to mention the network of UNESCO Chairs of Heritage Management at selected universities. They are financed by the countries concerned but the UNESCO "quality label" helps strengthen the initially weak national programmes. With ICCROM and UNESCO support, and Asian Academy for Heritage Management has been founded in which the ten UNESCO chairs in the region participate, along with the relatively few specialists outside universities in practice and administration.

8.   Conclusions

Developing countries differ widely with regard to their economic potentials, degree of social change, and achievements in industrial development or infrastructure development. It is therefore not very meaningful to generalize beyond the scope of certain groups of countries that are defined by common socio-economic indicators or regional characteristics. The same can be said about urban conservation issues. While developing countries generally lag behind the prosperous Western countries that have gone through decades of change and re-thinking, many developing countries are beginning to catch up as far as individual heritage sites and their management are concerned, but also in terms of public appreciation and education in this particular field. Even though understaffed and under-financed, the situation of heritage management in Asia is now better than a decade ago. Even though perhaps only a minimum of public awareness has hardly been reached, respectful and appropriate heritage management is slowly gaining ground. It is obvious that the relatively few World Heritage Sites in Asia, Africa, and Latin America have contributed considerably to this improvement. The various national and international programmes in education as well as networks and award schemes are expected to support the UNESCO efforts further. Prosperous countries with rich traditions (like the UEA) stand a potential for contributing widely recognized good practices in this emerging field of urban and regional development.

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Annex 1
The Hoi An Protocols for Best Conservation in Asia (February 2001)

The following list of "Dos and Don'ts" is from the unpublished draft of the points discussed and presented by the working group on architectural ensembles and urban sites, at the Hoi An conference on authenticity and conservation policies, organized by the Regional Office of UNESCO (Bangkok).

"Dos and Don'ts"

Don't   redevelop heritage precincts and buildings
Do   rehabilitate, restore and improve their physical conditions

Don't   ignore the re-use potential of existing fabric
Do   encourage and search for adaptive re-use of under-used areas and buildings

Don't   give priority to monuments and listed buildings only
Do   recognize the total ensemble including less significant vernacular architecture

Don't   try to cram modern CBD functions into historical areas, beyond their carrying capacity
Do   direct heavy CBD requirements into new development areas and retain compatible
            functions in the historical areas

Don't   create artificial new theme parks
Do   utilize existing facilities and activities in real city quarters

Don't   allow decision-making to remain solely at higher administrative and political levels
Do   give stakeholders more power and listen to them

Don't   ignore less recognized places with a (hidden) potential for conservation
Do   identify areas of potential heritage value

Don't   separate little picturesque architectural ensembles from their larger context
Do   demarcate larger contiguous entities for conservation (using historical, social, economic
            contexts to define these entities)

Don't   treat each aspect (social, economic, physical) separately
Do   integrate physical, economic and social aspects

Don't   segregate trades from the quarters where they are located
Do   identify and actively promote traditional and endangered truly local trades and facilitate
            their continued viability

Don't   let tourist shops and facilities dominate the whole historical precinct
Do   retain a mix of commercial and other uses, including residential

Don't   let "McDonald-ism" take over (but perhaps integrate it)
Do   instill a strong sense of history and pride in the local culture

Don't   attempt to restore all buildings to a single historical period
Do   make the changes over time visible and recognize multiple layers of history

Annex 2
Illustrations

*Selected examples to be presented in a **block of illustrations** (not included in this file) with the following brief captions*

Angkor Wat (Cambodia), one million tourists a year, the most important export commodity of the country

Bhaktapur (Nepal)   Traditional pottery in the public street space, still the same as 500 years ago, but how much longer in the future?

Wat Xienthong, one of the most important temples in Luang Prabang, the ancient capital of Laos. The monks help with the restorations, using old half-forgotten techniques

Lijang (Yunnan Province, China)   The perfectly preserved pattern of old fashioned roofs confirms that the formerly prosperous town must have been bypassed by economic progress. Nowadays, tourism is he most important "industry", with a strong impact on town image and culture.

Ahhichatraghar, India   The many unused forts and palaces are typical components of smaller cities, but in most cases they are not well maintained as here, where a participatory process of rehabilitation and adaptive re-use is taking place, including a revival of traditional building techniques; in 2002, top UNESCO heritage award

Darjeeling (India)   The old steam railway, one of the very few modern technical elements among the WHS in Asia

Hoi An (Vietnam)   The small, formerly prosperous port town which had its peak about 300 years ago, was forgotten and run down when it became a WHS in 1995. Nowadays, many buildings have been restored, but some streets have become tourist bazaars.

Hanoi (Vietnam) Old and new buildings in the French colonial quarter: many of the new business buildings are out of scale, but there are also examples of successful adaptive re-use of former villas, although this is only possible with some re-gentrification

Karakorum (Northern Pakistan)   An unknown little mosque with a restoration project that has been carried out by the villagers in the historic settlements of Ganish. The project was recently given a UNESCO heritage award

Nuwara Eliya (Sri Lanka)   One of the early modern tea factories around Nuwara Eliya. The fresh tea leaves begin the production process from the top floor and leave it packed and sealed from the ground floor. The typical functional building has been remolded into a fabulous hotel where it is possible to observe the former tea production process. In 2001, the project was give a UNESCO heritage award.