WORLD HERITAGE AND
IDENTITY: THREE
WORLDS MEET

A workshop arranged during the VII
International Conference on
Easter Island and the Pacific

Migration, Identity, and Cultural Heritage

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World Heritage Workshop
Three Worlds Meet

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WORLD HERITAGE AND IDENTITY: THREE WORLDS MEET

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The workshop “World Heritage and Identity: Three Worlds Meet” was arranged as a part of the VII International Conference on Easter Island and the Pacific; Migration, Identity and Cultural Heritage. This conference was hosted by Gotland University the 20-25th of August 2007. The idea was to arrange meetings between scholars and professionals’ who represented World Heritage sites from three Island communities. These sites are the National Park on Rapa Nui (Easter Island), Visby Medieval Town on Gotland and Stone Town in Zanzibar. They all share a special aura of an exotic and glorious past, and in the present these communities rely heavily on cultural tourism where the past tangible heritage is promoted. These sites have disparate historical trajectories, cultural settings and backgrounds, but in one way or another they share colonial, postcolonial and neo-colonial experiences. The agenda at this workshop was to discuss local and global issues in relation to World Heritages and identity from collective and individual perspectives, and to share experiences.

The meetings that were created were not just between people representing these “Three Worlds” but c. twenty individuals who in one way or another have ties to the discourse of cultural heritage and some also have personal experience of living in a World Heritage site. Yet, another participant was representing and discussing WH sites in Egypt and participants from Samoa, a State that do not yet have a WH-site, had input on the perspective of nomination to the tentative list. In the following papers several stories are told from a variety of perspectives but in common for all is that heritage and belonging/identity is essential to all of us. These issues engage and continue to engage people all around the globe at various levels. Heritage and identity is about relations of power, sense of place and belonging where the global and local sometimes interact and sometimes stand in conflict with each other.

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I’m also grateful to the Gotland based foundation “De Badande Vännerna” (DBW) for providing me with a grant which have sponsored a two months leave of absence for research during the end of 2011 when this publication could be finalised. I would also like to thank all participants who made this workshop into an interesting a fruitful event. Especially thanks goes to Anna Karlström and Olaug Andreassen who with their expertise working with Heritage and Identity in Laos and on Rapa Nui, was invited to lead the discussions. They made this workshop to a dynamic event where the participants learned much from each other.

I would also like to thank Easter Island Foundation aiding in the language editing of the original drafts and of the papers from the workshop participants. I’m also grateful to Britt-Marie Martinsson for reviewing the English of my Foreword and the first paper on Global and local perspectives. My gratitude also goes to Paul Wallin for transferring the major part of the texts from a hard copy to a digital version, editing the figures, for having input on the content and designing the front cover “turtles”.

Figure 1. Workshop participants at the entrance to Gotland University.
Background to the establishment of World Heritages

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) was created after the Second World War in 1945. Their mission is to contribute to peace and security by promoting international collaboration through education, science and culture in order to further universal respect for justice, the rule of law, and the human rights and fundamental freedoms proclaimed in the UN Charter. The idea behind to create World Heritages was discussed by the UNESCO organisation during the 1950s and 1960s. This discussion based in that many archaeological sites and ancient monuments was facing threats of destruction due to urban development, large-scale agriculture, mining activities, looting and erosions due to extensive use by tourism and pollution. An important starting point was a large scale rescue operation during the mid-1950s of the Abu Simbel temple in Egypt due to the Aswan dam building. This rescue work was organised by UNESCO, with participation from 50 countries, and it was followed by other international rescue projects.

In conjunction with International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), UNESCO worked out a draft for a convention to protect and preserve pristine sites. The World Heritage Convention was adopted the 16th of November 1972. It contains 38 articles under eight themes. Broadly the Convention defines what could be considered as World Heritages (WH) and how to nominate, protect and preserve such sites. Both natural and cultural sites and a mix of both can be nominated. According to the Convention cultural sites (Figure 1) are defined as:

- “monuments: architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and painting, elements or structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings and combinations of features, which are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science;
• groups of buildings: groups of separate or connected buildings which, because of their architecture, their homogeneity or their place in the landscape, are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science;

• sites: works of man or the combined works of nature and man, and areas including archaeological sites which are of outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological point of view”.

Figure 1. Ceremonial site Ahu Nau Nau on RapNui (Photo: Helene Martinsson-Wallin).

Natural heritages (Figure 2) are defined as:

• “natural features consisting of physical and biological formations or groups of such formations, which are of outstanding universal value from the aesthetic or scientific point of view;

• geological and physiographical formations and precisely delineated areas which constitute the habitat of threatened species of animals and plants of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science or conservation”

• natural sites or precisely delineated natural areas of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science, conservation or natural beauty.

(http://whc.unesco.org/en/conventiontext)
In 1978 was the first eight WH nominated with L’Anse aux Meadows and Nahanni National Park in Canada as no. one. The Conversion has so far (2010) been ratified/accepted by 188 nations. A little less than thousand (936) are inscribed as WH (2011) of which c.77% are cultural, 20% natural and 3% mixed sites (http://whc.unesco.org/en/). The largest number of WH has been nominated in Europe and Italy is the state with the largest number of WH sites. The nomination process is a lengthy procedure and a first step is for states to nominate potential sites to the WH tentative list. These are handled by the WH office in Paris and evaluated by three consultative international bodies; ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites), IUCN (International Union of Conservation of nature), ICCROM (International Centre of the Study of Preservation and Restoration of Cultural property). Subsequently the WH committee, which consists of representatives of 21 elected nations (in office for 4-6 years), have the final say if the site can be inscribed to the WH list. This committee is also responsible to implement the WH Convention and to define, use and allocate funds from the WH Fund to State parties.
Perspectives on World Heritage

The Global Perspective

The general concept of WH, which is to manage, preserve cultural and natural sites which are outstanding and considered to belong to mankind on a global scale, is attractive but also problematic. The notion of that these selective sites belong to, and therefore are a common responsibility to all, could be a way to create understanding and an in-common heritage platform for individuals, groups of people and nations. However, the theory and praxis of the WH convention are disparate and the various listed WH sites are in reality the responsibility of the State Parties. There are really no legal means that UNESCO can use if a WH site is mistreated or destroyed. A State Party that mistreat or destroy a site could be placed on the UNESCO “black list” and international pressure could be placed on the member state. In the worst case scenario, a site can be demoted, e.g. it loses the WH status.

Even if the convention today is ratified/accepted by a majority of the states in the World, its content and design has been criticised. The WH convention base on materialistic and tangible values, and have centred on to nominate European sites and as such dictated by Western World values. It is also centred on cultural heritages and material culture which gives very little room to nominate natural sites or immaterial cultural heritages. There is still today an imbalance between cultural (77%) and natural (20%) heritages and heritages sites in the Western World, wealthy and large countries are overrepresented. It has been noted by UNESCO that the problems of the biases are “structural – relating to the World Heritage nomination process, and to managing and protecting cultural properties; and qualitative – relating to the way properties are identified, assessed and evaluated”.

To meet this imbalance was a Global strategy for a Representative, Balanced and Credible World Heritage List launched by the World Heritage Committee in 1994. The intention was to promote a balance been cultural and natural sites and encourage countries from regions that was underrepresented to ratify the convention and become State Parties, and as such be able to nominate sites to the WH tentative list. The outcomes of the Global strategy are that an increasing number of states ratified/accepted the convention and more sites have been nominated from underrepresented areas. It has also led to that the number of nominated sites from each State Party has been limited but new categories of sites have been promoted, as for example cultural landscapes. However, there are still structural and qualitative problems and for example the immaterial heritage values have so far not been included in any major way. In the Operational Guidelines from 2008 under the section;
II E., **Integrity and/or authenticity**; it is stated in paragraph 83 and 84 that; “Attributes such as spirit and feeling do not lend themselves easily to practical applications of the conditions of authenticity, but nevertheless are important indicators of character and sense of place, for example, in communities maintaining tradition and cultural continuity. The use of all these sources permits elaboration of the specific artistic, historic, social, and scientific dimensions of the cultural heritage being examined. "Information sources" are defined as all physical, written, oral, and figurative sources, which make it possible to know the nature, specificities, meaning, and history of the cultural heritage”.

The critique that immaterial values have not been considered have led to that a WH convention on the safeguarding of the intangible heritage was launched by UNESCO in 2003. So far there are 139 State Parties that have ratified or accepted the convention. Among the first State Party to ratify this convention was Mauritius in 2004 and small and developing countries are in majority both when it concerns elements that have been nominated and in ratifying/accepting the convention. The knowledge about the intangible World Heritages are so far not extensive and the status not as high as the tangible WH sites. Sweden ratified the convention as late as in 2011, Tanzania, Egypt and Samoa have not yet ratified the convention of intangible heritage.

![Figure 3. Lungshan buddhist temple in Taipei (Helene Martinsson-Wallin).](image-url)
When it concern the WH-tangible heritage the concept of preservation and management are issues that are problematic. Since the concept of preservation and/or the finances to preserve and manage sites are not shared and equal worldwide, these are also points of negotiation. To preserve material culture can be seen as static and contrary to development and movement and the concept of preservation is for example alien to Buddhist thinking (Figure 3) (Karlström 2005, 2010). She also notes (2005:4-5), that in relation to the UNESCO World Heritage convention: “The question is – how a global organisation, which operates according to general guidelines, can recognize and appreciate the complexity and diversity of the cultural expression that it seeks to protect”.

Local perspectives
It is the State Party that suggests which sites they want to nominate for the tentative WH list. However, UNESCO provides support of various kinds during the nomination process. Often are the nominated sites already important National cultural and natural heritages sites. Certain regions and groups might lobby for a site to obtain a status as national cultural and natural heritage but if it for various reasons will not meet the WH standard the State might choose other sites that are adapted to the standards. There could also be internal conflicts on national or local levels and various agendas might prevail, which can bring about difficulties to agree on what site that should be promoted for nomination. Local land disputes or ethical, social and political conflicts could have an influence on the decision on what site that should be prepared by the State Party to be promoted for nomination. From a perspective of equality and democracy the selection of some WH sites can sometimes be seen as ambiguous since they could be product of oppression and slave labour tied to ruling elites.

Karlström (2005) points out that it is important to remember that there is an extensive diversity of what types of sites and cultural expressions that should be considered to be worth to protect. A problem could be that UNESCO provides a frame work and generalised templates that do not fit all. The general idea is that the site should be a concern for the whole world but in praxis very few of the WH sites are known and cared for outside the State borders or even sometimes known mainly at a local level. It could also be the other way around that the nomination to WH by the State is not supported by the local community since it brings on constraints and new standards to meet that might not be in tune with the prevailing local cultural, social and economical norms, and situations. The global, national and local interest could be in conflict with one another.
This is for example the case with Rapa Nui (Easter Island) National Park that was inscribed as a WH site in 1995 (Martinsson-Wallin 2004, 2007, Ramirez 2000). According to the local community, the nomination was carried out without consulting them. Rapa Nui was annexed by Chile in 1888 and the document of annexation is still disputed today (Figure 4), (Martinsson-Wallin 2007). Many Islanders consider that the annexation documents support more independence from Chile than is current state of affairs. The group of Rapanui who consider themselves as indigenous to the Island (c. 1400 of around 4000 inhabitants) have protested of the poor treatment of them and many do not accept the legality of the rule from the State of Chile (Martinsson-Wallin 2004, 2007, Ramirez 2000). The land claim has been and still is the most important issue. The major part of the Island is under the ownership of the Chilean State. Around 40% of the land consists of a National Park which is the responsibility of CONAF (Corporacion National Forestal de Chile) and around 90% of the rest of the land is a State owned farm under the responsibility of SASIPA (Sociedad Agricola y Servicios Isla de Pascua Limitada) (Martinsson-Wallin 2004, 2007). To meet the protests from the Rapanui population and ensure that the people should have access to more land the Chilean state suggested in 1997 that land should be alienated from the National Park (Figure 5) and be distributed to the people who was to be considered as indigenous. Since the National Park is
When it concerns one of the first inscribed WH, namely the Galapagos Islands, there have been recent local protests concerning the restrictions and poverty that local people face in favour for the protection of the wildlife and environment. The local human population are growing in numbers and the standard of living is low. This has created a tension between the local human community and the environment protected by the Charles Darwin Research Station. Even so, in 2010 UNESCO voted on to remove Galapagos from the list of endangered WH, but the vote was not unanimous (UNESCO meeting in Brazil). The State of Ecuador now has to walk a narrow path to make this site work both for humans and the environment. From these two examples we can see that local perspectives can stand in conflict with the global WH status and local

**Figure 5.** Map of Rapa Nui with National Park (indicated as darker areas) with locations of restored ceremonial sites.
perspectives can also be multifaceted containing many “voices” of individuals and groups which might not be promoted within the WH structure. A WH site history is many times a generalized story of the tangible values and risk to be reduces to a representation rather than a dynamic flexible site created and re-created by human actions.

The Tourism Perspective
Some of the WH sites, as for example Stonehenge, The Giza Pyramids etc., have been major tourist attractions also prior to becoming WH sites. In these cases the WH status has generally little effect on the tourist numbers visiting the sites but the primarily WH mission is to conserve and protect the site. The WH status alone is seldom the decisive factor for the popularity of a site but less well know sites can often show an increasing number of tourists when they become such heritages. The WH framework and status can aid to facilitate funding to manage the site and the WH certification bring about and an aura of specialness. This is generally an advantage when the site is promoted as a tourist attraction. However, the Director of UNESCO’s WH Centre; Francesco Bandarin writes that (2005:v); “Tourism is a double-edged sword which both confers economic benefits but also place a stress on the site and the local community”. He also states that incorporated into the organisation’s mission, is a responsibility to reconsider the relationship of tourism and cultural and environmental integrity, intercultural dialogue and development (Bandarin 2005 vi) (Figure 6).
Since the issues of WH and tourism are important and sometimes problematic, a manual on “Sustainable Tourism; Documents Managing Tourism at World Heritage Sites” (Pedersen 2002) have been prepared. At least 12% of the world total GNP is tied to tourism and it is a growing sector. Tourism is an important factor in the planning and management at the WH sites. Lately there have been debates about the “authentic” and the “fake” and that “heritage” is a form of performance (Harrison 2005:3). Tourism development often promotes a process of commoditisation and revival of arts and crafts. This is something I have experienced myself in Rapa Nui. When I came there first time in 1987 the arts and crafts were not as good quality and the vending of the products not well organised as it has become later on. A shift can be seen especially after the Kevin Costner Hollywood adventure shooting the Movie Rapa Nui on Rapa Nui in 1994 and due to the WH status in 1995. If this trend can be seen as promoting something “authentic” or “fake” is not so easy to tell but most of the souvenirs are probably still made on the island and so far the main bulk are made in traditional style and from traditional patterns. Hybridisation and “new” art and crafts can also be seen as variations on traditional themes (Figure 7).

**Figure 7.** Pisco bottles in the shape of Easter Island Statues. Souvenirs in Rapa Nui (Photo: Helene Martinsson-Wallin).
Tourism and the WH status may also led to that “difficult” heritages are polished up and glossed over and for example the hardship of farming or mining might be depicted as rustic and idyllic (Harrison 2005:4). I have experienced this myself when visiting a UNESCO conference at the WH site Røros Old Town in Norway in 1998. We got a tour of the picturesque thriving town and our UNESCO guide commented on the importance of the “authentic” look concerning signs and outside surface of houses. The UNESCO representative was appalled to see the “ugly” modern vending signs, which “destroyed” the site and this was noted on the lists of management issues. In the end of the tour we came to the copper mining debris heaps in the outskirts of the town, this area was glossed over rather quickly since it was just some heaps, but standing there I realised that this town once had been a place full of “ugly” hardships. Afterwards I “scratched” the surface and found a not so pretty story for example told by the proletarian writer Johan Falkberget. I can still picture horses and small children, who had to risk their life bringing the copper ore to the surface and the unhealthy treatment process covering the town in a cloud of yellowish dust and stench...

This is a perfect example of that narratives about any site are elements of selection which tend to be a mix of glocalised, nationalised, and individualised perspectives depending on who narrates and who listens. Harrison writes that (2005:7) “Class status, power and nationalism are involved in presentation and re-presentation of ‘heritage’ as groups and classes rise and fall”. Even if the intention could be to embrace “all” in the story it is doubtful if the ones with the least power have a voice and if taking a historical view, where in the “story” are the people from the past to be heard? Culture could be seen as linked to the market and the power and in many respects UNESCO sets the agenda, especially at WH sites. Historical places will be presented and re-presented to suit the demands of the present (Harrison 2005:9). A paradox is that in the will to promote and protect more sites the annual increase of the WH sites risk to decrease the specialness of what it is to be a WH site. This opens up for a possibility that the status and economic value of the site decrease. The question then is if the WH status loses its specialness will the State Parties be interested in to continue to nominate sites? What will the benefits be? Other tools to measure the qualitative status of a heritage site have started to appear as for example something called Herity. This concept was worked out and launched in Italy and could be called a “tool box” to evaluate the quality at any heritage site.
World Heritage and Identity

Heritage and identity goes hand in hand but neither concept, or the relationship between them, is straightforward to fully describe or distinguish. To feel a belonging to all WH site on general terms is probably difficult but to identify with a heritage, specially a localised one is easier and might even form an important part of the sense of belonging and sense of place. However, sometimes this can become more complex when a heritage site is turned into a WH site.

Globalisation has created a multitude of spheres of identities. The shift from traditional societies to modern societies seems to have widened the ranges of belongings. We can belong to or have our identity tied to place, gender, a group of people, work, religious sects, social norms, a local community, nations, face book groups etc. Our identity generally shifts in relationship to whom we interact with, and whom we address. In modern society the collective belongings are been played down and the individual relationships have become more in focus. In traditional societies it is the other way around. Identities are negotiated and confirmed by meetings between people and our cultural belongings set the frames through which the content and meaning of the meeting is evaluated by each part (Goffman 1959;1967). This pertains to what is said up front by also what is said and done “in-between the lines”.

Identity has a strong relationship to culture. A culture can be defined as a system of in-common ideas, actions and norms which is acquired by a member/actor of a society and is the sum of the meaning relations that constantly are defined and redefined when people meet and interact and influence each other (Hylland Eriksen 1995). Olaug Andreassen and I carried out an interview project on Rapa Nui in 2004. We asked questions about people’s relationship to, and meaning of, the large stone statues (moai), for which the Island is famous. The majority did not consider them as a spiritual or meaningful beyond the economic value. The sense of place and belonging was rather related to the living people and the Rapa Nui language (Martinsson-Wallin 2007, Andreassen 2008).

To visit a WH site is generally to visit the “other”. The “other” range from past communities and people who built and used the site in the first place to the present community and people who live their everyday life here. The latter sometimes make use of the WH status for economic benefits, deal with constraints, and large tourist numbers, to the site.
Final Remarks

Much have been said and done on the World Heritage arena. The concept of WH could be seen as a product of globalisation and modernisation but with its roots in traditional societies use and re-use of historical material culture. Even if UNESCO adapted a Global Strategy to promote new underrepresented areas this have not really changed the organisation to allow “multi-vocal” heritages to be promoted or problematised about. The discussions and analyses of content, and the relationship of World Heritages, Cultural Heritages, Identity/Belonging and Tourism will no doubt continue on a global and local scale.

References


MEETING WORLDS OF WORLD HERITAGE
-AN INTRODUCTION TO THE WORKSHOP PAPERS

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What connections can there be between world heritage and identity? How can such connections be different or similar depending on where in the world the heritage site in question is located?

The title of this conference workshop "World Heritage and Identity - Three Worlds Meet" (Figure 1) can seem ambitious, but when seeing the immediate connection between the participants and now looking at the papers resulting from it, the workshop seems to have succeeded in its intention to be a meeting place for different experiences with World Heritage.
The papers of the Gotland delegation have a theoretical and historical focus, whereas the Zanzibar paper is especially concerned with gender issues and the Rapa Nui article is a general critique of heritage management. These different approaches might be influenced by the various professional backgrounds of the workshop participants, as well as the different heritage sites they have experience with.

In the paper "The Old Stone Town of Zanzibar and the Struggle for Reclaiming Women’s Space in World Heritage", Munira Hamoud has, as her natural starting point, the gender project that all the three workshop participants from Zanzibar are part of at home. This project "(Re)-claim Women's Space in World Heritage" has, since 2005, motivated women of Stone Town to express experiences of living in a World Heritage site and to raise awareness of changes accompanying the World Heritage status (Figure 2).

![Figure 2. Workshop participants Munira Said Hamoud, Zubeida Thani Filfil, and Nadyah Mwinyi Aboud in Visby (photo Steven Percival).](image-url)
Being women in a Muslim society, they might be seen as confined to the private spheres of family and children, but as Hamoud shows in her paper and as the powerful presence of the Zanzibar delegation in the workshop bear witness to, these Zanzibar women are reclaiming their spaces. By using something as apparently innocent as childhood memories of now destroyed playgrounds, they show how the quality of life in Stone Town in some aspects has changed for the worse after becoming a tourist destination. At the same time the women use such narratives to raise their voices in heritage politics and to show that becoming a World Heritage site can mean neglecting other parts of the culture and history of the place in question.

Tiare Aguilera and Hetereki Huke also have a focus on neglect and the importance of educating the local population in their paper for the Rapa Nui delegation, "Consequences and Challenges for the Rapa Nui World Heritage Site". They show how the designation of Rapa Nui as a World Heritage site was, like in the case of Stone Town, a national initiative with little involvement of the people living in the place. Since the World Heritage designation of Rapa Nui in 1995, the management and preservation of the site has suffered from lack of interest of the Chilean government and the tourist industry — entities that both benefit from the World Heritage status. The Rapa Nui delegation thus argues for the need of educating and empowering the local population in order to give them a sense of ownership and responsibility for their heritage. At the same time they, like the Zanzibar delegation, pinpoint World Heritage status should allow continued development of the local community and not arrest it in its tourist destination image as a representation of a certain time and culture.

The paper "World Heritage, Memories and the Thematizing Effects" by Tony Oscarsson and Carina Johansson participants from the Visby delegation, explores more theoretically this possible influence of the World Heritage status. It evolves from the paper "A Short History of the World Heritage Site of Visby", by Pär Malmros and Maria Hallberg, in which the urban development of Visby, and the historical background to its World Heritage nomination in 1995 are accounted for. As experienced in Stone Town, Rapa Nui and Visby, the process of becoming recognized as a World Heritage site — and in other words recognized as "unique" — has meant focusing on one certain time or aspect of the culture and neglecting others. This is part of what Oscarsson and Johansson refer to as "thematizing effects" and it is probably influenced by UNESCO's stress on thematic displays. In Visby it is visible in the massive restoration of Middle-Age buildings in order to fit the tourist image - at the same time, this made the town look almost too old, cute and surreal in the eyes of some of its inhabitants. These inhabitants, on the other hand, are made almost invisible in the thematic display, as
contemporary Visby citizens do not fit the image of the Middle-Age Hanseatic port. Yet, like Oscarsson and Johansson also point out, cultural analysis nowadays sees people as agents that act upon places, at the same time as places also act upon the people. There are differences between how Stone Town, Rapa Nui and Visby appear in the memories of the inhabitants compared to their public World Heritage images and the Visby delegation concludes that the people living in these sites should become more visible — both in the image of the places and in the management of the sites.

In addition to these three examples from Zanzibar, Rapa Nui and Visby, the workshop also included participants who represented New Zealand, Samoa, and Egypt. In his article "The Egyptian World Heritage Cities: The Search for a Relevant Context", Ayman G. Abdel Tawab links the Egyptian World Heritage cities of Cairo, Alexandria, and Rosetta/Rachid with other inscribed properties in Europe. He identifies similarities and differences between these sites, as a common discussion platform, which is important when exploring the complexity of the World Heritage phenomenon in general and the challenges the different sites face in particular. Abdel Tawab shows that the structure of the urban environment and the government's limited efforts concerning management and preservation of the different sites are common themes for Zanzibar, Rapa Nui, Visby and Egypt. The lack of financial resources and priorities, the lack of connections between various institutions and of control of new urban development threaten the authenticity and integrity of these historical contexts and overall values of the sites. The dependence on tourism as a major source of income is another common theme, so is the need for awareness and further community participation in the management and preservation of the cultural heritage.

Are there further important and interesting similarities and differences between the sites? And how is World Heritage status influenced by and influencing political and economic interests. Is it possible to balance these interests with heritage and identity issues?

In an attempt to answer these general questions, the workshop formed discussion groups (Figure 3), each one focusing on one of the following aspects: World Heritage and politics, World Heritage and economics, and World Heritage and cultural identity. It was difficult to reach a general conclusion, but several ideas were suggested as possible ways to increase the balance between economic development and heritage management.

Among these were:

• Implement more efficient laws for protection and maintenance.
• Include the World Heritage Convention in the National Heritage Protection Law in the
concerned countries.

- Establish management plans for tourism.
- Involve the whole community in decisions regarding local heritage.
- Educate the local population about its heritage, especially children and young people.
- Create meeting points between communities and politicians.

When the workshop discussions came to an end, the participants all agreed that despite problems and challenges there are still lots of things that can be changed and ideas that can be implemented to make the World Heritage management better. Initiating a dialogue is crucial for the identification of the problems and challenges. Exchanging ideas helps to come up with suggestions about how these challenges should best be met and problems solved. After all, the most fruitful result from this workshop was that it became a forum in which such discussions and dialogues could grow. And hopefully these discussions will reach and continue in the local communities of these heritage sites.

![Figure 3. Workshop participants Hetereki Huke, Carina Johansson, Munira Said Hamoud and Iosefa Persival (Photo: Steven Percival).](image)

Invited Workshop participants were:
From Gotland participated Carina Johansson and Tony Oscarsson (Gotland University), Pär Malmros (Gotland County Museum), and Maria Hallberg (Gotland Municipality). The
workshop participants from Zanzibar were Munira Said Hamoud, Zubeida Thani Filfil, and Nadyah Mwinyi Aboud (all three representing the project "(Re)claim Women's Space in World Heritage"). Participants from Rapa Nui included Hetereki Huke (Universidad Catolica, Santiago), Tiare Aguilera (Universidadf Andres Bello, Santiago), and Susana Nahoe (Universidad de Chile, Santiago). Additional participants were: Kevin Jones (New Zealand Department of Conservation) and Catherine Turk (University of Edinburgh) who represented World Heritage sites and cases on New Zealand in the discussions, and Iosefa Percival, John Kalolo, and Va’a Unasa (National University of Samoa) and Steve Percival (Tiapapata Art Center) from Samoa (Figure 4).

Figure 4. Workshop participants at guided tour in Visby (Photo: Steven Percival).
THE OLD TOWN OF ZANZIBAR
AND THE STRUGGLE FOR RECLAIMING WOMEN’S SPACE IN WORLD HERITAGE

Munira Hamoud
(Re)claim Women's Space in World Heritage

Background

At the invitation to participate in the workshop, "World Heritage and Identity" August 2007, three members of the women's narration group from the project (Re)claim Women's Space in World Heritage (Figure 1) came to realize that this forum created an invaluable opportunity to establish and share values. The workshop was a manifestation of how heritage can act as an instrument for peace, reconciliation, and a struggle for human rights. It was undeniably an inspiration for dialogue on matters of heritage in relation to one's identity.

Figure 1. Some members of the (Re)claim Women Space project with counterpart Elisabet Edlund from Gotland University/GIG, in front of the Women and Heritage Centre in Stone Town (Source: Birgitta Svensk, GIG).

The workshop, "World Heritage and Identity - Three Worlds Meet: Zanzibar, Gotland, Rapa Nui", connecting the theme with the actual context of the main conference ("Migration, Identity and Cultural Heritage"), was a rare opportunity for the women from Stone Town in Zanzibar not only to look back at what has been realized by their project within the twinning relationship between Stone Town and Visby, but for the unparalleled attention that the workshop offered for participants to discuss their experiences and share well researched
knowledge of World Heritage Sites.

Rapa Nui National Park (Chile/The Pacific), Stone Town on Zanzibar (Tanzania), and Visby on Gotland (Sweden) are found on islands with different historical and religious background, yet as islands have many things in common including an economy closely tied to cultural tourism. The workshop, therefore, offered a forum for the representatives of the women's group from Stone Town to express to the world an unpretentious and down-to-earth perception of what it feels like for a woman from Stone Town witnessing decades of fragmentation of her heritage and deterioration of the once-remarkable town.

The representatives of the group were determined to learn the various heritage aspects and socio-political settings inhibiting or favouring development of the sites in the expectation of returning home with knowledge of the best practices offered by Rapa Nui and Visby. The memorable encounters afforded a new beginning by becoming part of that inspirational network!

To be successful in the conservation and development of the heritage values of the town, there is a need to stress the potential of heritage rather than obligations, to develop material, to supervise and coordinate investment and coordination activities (STCDA Plan of Operation 2004-2006).

It was awesome to learn about Rapa Nui, whether from the workshop group discussions, the beautiful dance performed by Susana from Rapa Nui at the grand opening of the conference, watching the film Being Rapa Nui by Santo Hitorangi, or the warm reception by everyone as much as learning about the Vikings, the Medieval period, or taking a tour of the Hanseatic Town of Visby.

**The unique architecture of Stone Town**

The "Stone Town" is built on a triangular peninsula of land and, unlike the rest of the island, it consists predominantly of Arab architecture, with a blend of Indian and European elements (Figure 2). The most impressive architectural structures are large Arab houses usually two to three stories high, generally quadrangular in plan, having a central courtyard and a flat roof, surmounted by a low parapet.

The old town has an area of 125 ha with a population of about 16,000 residents (8.2% of Zanzibar’s population) while other people come to work in the town. The total area of Zanzibar (Unguja and Pemba Islands) is 2,654 km²; Unguja is 1,666 km² and Pemba is 988 km². The society is cosmopolitan with 80% Africans, 15% Arabs, and 5% an ethnic mixture
of Indian, Chinese, and others. Ancestors originated from Africa, Persia, Oman, and Asia. Kiswahili is a native and national language, but English is commonly spoken around towns and in tourist areas.

Historical literature often described the islands as places of magic, mystery, and myth. However, recent anthropological (Askew 2002, Fair 2001) and historical (Sheriff 1987) research describe them not only as exceptionally beautiful islands but also as important sites for international trade and cultural exchange.

Declared as a World Heritage Site in 2000, the most visible element of Zanzibar's cultural heritage is represented in some of its outstanding architectural and historical landmarks in the Stone Town. To mention but some are Hamamni Baths, the Portuguese Fort (also known as "Old Fort") (Figure 4), the House of Wonders (Beit-el-Ajaib), the Palace Museum (formerly the Sultan's Palace), the Ithnaasheri Dispensary (the Old Dispensary), Bahnara Mosque, Bhamal building, the High Court, the Peace Memorial Museum, the Roman Catholic Cathedral and the Anglican Cathedral, the High Court, the Peace Memorial Museum, Bhamal Building and Stone Town's unique market. These mostly reflect British Colonial taste blended with Arabic and Indian architecture.

The doors are of various curvatures (Figure 3) and one can explore the intricately carved balconies of the Ithnaasheri dispensary that for instance reflect colonial and Indian architecture while the Roman Catholic Cathedral reflects European Architecture. The Anglican Cathedral/ standing on grounds of the former slave market closed down in 1873, has a combination of elements of Gothic and Islamic architecture. There is also, for instance the
ZSTC Building overlooking the sea, which housed the offices of Smith, Mackenzie and Co. Ltd. from 1874 to 1974. It was also the first British Consulate (opened in 1841) before it was moved to the Mambo Msiige building in 1874. The first British Consul to Zanzibar, Captain Hamerton (1841-1857) lived in this building. The explorers Burton and Speke resided here for a short period before beginning their expedition to the mainland. It was to this building, that David Livingstone's body was taken for identification, on its arrival at Zanzibar after a long journey from the country then known as Rhodesia.

The Arab Fort, or The Old Fort, is one of the few stone buildings. Founded by Seyyid Said in 1829, on his arrival from Oman, it stands on the site occupied in 1710 by a ruined Portuguese church and residential quarters, which were converted by the Arabs into a primitive fort for the town garrison. Mazrui Arabs from Mombasa unsuccessfully attacked the primitive fort in 1754. Up and until 1928 it was the depot for the Bububu railway, Zanzibar's first Railway, now no longer in existence. The Fort has a quadrilateral plan with circular towers at its corners and interconnecting defence walls. The original fortified entrance gate facing the sea was replaced in 1949. The beautifully carved Arab door, at the main entrance, was formerly in a house belonging to Sultan Seyyid Khaled bin Mohammed. It has two small subsidiary doors, cut into the two larger door sections, for the use of children.

Although it is not the intention of the author to explore deeply of the history of each of the buildings and historical landscape of the town, it would be to the interest of all potential visitors to the town to say at least something of one building that is first noticed approaching the passenger terminal coming down to Zanzibar by ferry boat from Dar es Salaam, the capital city of Tanzania, or ships elsewhere. This building located along the seafront, is none
other than the House of Wonders/Beit-el-Ajaib.

The House of Wonders was, for its grand scale and architecture, one of the first buildings on the island to have electric lights and was built by Sultan Seyyid Barghash (1870-1888) for ceremonial purposes. It is said that a marine engineer designed the building. It was bombarded by a British fleet in 1896 during the brief usurpation of the Sultan's throne by Seyyid Khalid and recorded as the shortest war in history as it lasted only forty-five minutes. The building suffered minor damages, although the freestanding lighthouse at the top of the building was severely damaged and was later replaced by a clock tower. Both Seyyid Hamoud (1896-1902) and Seyyid Ali bin Hamoud (1902-1911) resided in the House of Wonders, before accommodating the Government offices in 1911.

In 1976, it was converted into an Ideological College of Politics for the members of the Chama Cha Mapinduzi (the ruling party then and now). At the entrance stood two fine Portuguese bronze cannons made during the sixteenth century. The Persians, assisted by the British Navy, captured the cannons from the Portuguese during the fall of Ormuz in 1622. They were probably recaptured from the Persians by the Omani Arabs and brought to Zanzibar by Seyyid Said (1807-1856). The larger gun had the Portuguese Royal Arms, the cipher and standard of King John III, and a plan sphere of the world. Other buildings visible from the port are the Palace Museum and the Old Custom House.

The experience of Stone Town being a World Heritage site

At Gotland University, where both the workshop session and conference sessions "World Heritage International and Pacific Perspectives" ran parallel, participants from Rapa Nui, Visby, and Zanzibar presented their sites.

It was amazing to see well-researched evidence of what was presented as well as complimented by a tour of the Hanseatic town of Visby. Through the course of discussion, it was argued that the World Heritage status of the three Islands - Rapa Nui, Gotland, and Zanzibar has experienced political and economic changes. In Rapa Nui, the World Heritage status has led to a political interest not necessarily displayed in real and affirmative actions because of lack of tax laws. In Visby the awareness about the heritage was already an important issue even before the nomination as a World Heritage site.

It was expressed by participating colleagues from Visby that the nomination itself was a political intent to increase the number and kinds of visitors; though to focus the city in the medieval times could be a problem when it comes to the issue of development of other
aspects. In Zanzibar, tourism has expanded, bringing a lot more jobs to the local population due to the increasing number of hotels, tourism offices, and increasing number of tour operators and shops. Current average international tourist arrivals are 76,000 per year. On the negative side, commercializing the town is compromising better heritage management, especially in a situation where for many years the government abandoned the area. It was not until 1985 that Stone Town Conservation Development Authority (STCDA) was established but became legally stronger only in 1994 when Stone Town Act was enacted. Moreover, STCDA operates in a web of reinforcing institutions overlapping, if not otherwise conflicting, including the Zanzibar Municipal Council, WAKF, Trust Commission, and others.

The awareness that Stone Town is a heritage site allows for political decisions in support of actions to preserve the town. It is becoming once again a centre of events, associations, and situations not popular before that strengthen competition for political and economic initiatives. For instance, festivals are politically exposed and need to be near national leadership. Community mobilization to safeguard tangible heritage is becoming more organized; e.g., the non-governmental Zanzibar Stone Town Heritage Society (ZSTHS), which gains more members around the town every day. However, the international and local awareness focus on World Heritage, to a large extent, excludes the intangible heritage, oral history and the contemporary culture.

At present the Stone Town is coming upon strong competition for individuals to do business, thus politics is fostered at household level. On the other side intellectuals participate in politics for their outspokenness and take advantage of the situation. Awareness of Stone Town is thus realized and with political decision it is given priority as manifested in a growing number of events like the Festival of the Dhow cultures celebrated in July every year.

On the economic front, changes are even more open resulting in increasing number of tourists, increasing number of economic transactions, increasing number of tour operators and the like.

**Identity and a sense of belonging**

The Stone Town is a cultural hotspot for all of East Africa especially for the young generation. By listening to people viewing their concerns about cleanliness, unplanned constructions and potential threat of being taken off the World Heritage list, it shows that people are proud of their town, and the sense of belonging is there. For sentimental reasons
the older generation are proud that the Stone Town is being conserved as World Heritage site. Stone Town has a lot of contributions from Arabia but with equal reference to standard Swahili.

In Zanzibar, as well as in Rapa Nui, there is a lack of publications in the original languages, producing a big distance between the knowledge and the local people. Unlike Visby, where the medieval era appears so strong, it is very difficult to develop some other contemporary ways of expressions. Apparently there is an equally rich intangible heritage in Rapa Nui and Zanzibar that is not being properly maintained. Lack of studies about the cultural manifestations and the contemporary heritage in certain ways, is producing a loss of the recent history. One could go even further and make the assumption that culture in developing countries is not a priority. One needs to carefully explore and look into the contributing factors.

It is possible to balance the economic interests with heritage and identity issues by involving the local people in a more active way in the decisions as to what needs to be preserved or developed for economic gain. Furthermore, it is also fundamental to encourage the local initiatives for them to have a share of the income to enhance growth of the local communities. In other words, national policies for economic growth should benefit local communities. The aspects of economic gains as opposed to preserving heritage can be antagonistic. Whereas Visby is successful because it also promotes local tourism, the situation is not so with Zanzibar and should therefore aim for top class tourism with its potential as 5-star destination.

Whether exchanging views on tangible or intangible heritage, it is obvious that there are interesting similarities between these three sites related to the fact that they are all situated on islands that have experienced colonialism. While Stone Town has gone through the Zenj Empire, Visby passed an era of Hanseatic city. There is a sense of religious commitment as can be seen in the number of churches in Visby and Mosques in Stone Town. The discussion, however, showed that these three Islands demand more autonomy as regarding the decisions that affects their territory. Gotland and Zanzibar are relatively close to the mainland and Rapa Nui is geographically very remote but to the mainlanders all these places represent something remote and share an aura of being mysterious and exotic. The islands, especially Rapa Nui and Zanzibar, have particular relationships with the mainland and there is somehow a sense of political impassiveness.

I would like to explore some experiences of some of the women of the project in Stone
Town represented in the workshop. One should not fail to notice the importance that narration carries in the various aspects of what constitutes the women's lives and their place in today's world and in history in order to understand and overcome their limiting factors. And it is for this reason that I would like to connect the workshop theme to some community initiatives carried out by women in Stone Town.

Based on a Joint Action Plan (2005-2007) under SIDA support, (Re)claim Women's Space in World Heritage project is a sub-component of the Twinning program with the World Heritage city of Visby through the Municipality of Gotland/Gender Institute of Gotland (GIG), the Stone Town Conservation Development Authority (STCDA), and Municipality in Zanzibar Stone Town. The purpose of the (Re)claim Women's Space in World Heritage project from the outset was to enable women living in the heritage sites (Zanzibar and Gotland) to draw from and nurture the responsibilities of being World Heritage and to augment the prospects of both regions being centres of best practice of cultural conservation.

In Stone Town Zanzibar, this is an opportunity for women and stakeholders to archive women's experiences in order to share them broadly situate the women's spaces and establish mechanisms by which these cultures can be reflected upon for answer. These lobbying for policy and legal framework to support the efforts while conveying the values not only for which the Stone Town has been declared a World Heritage site, but for them to participate in the development process and make decisions that bear gender dimensions.

The creative encounters and meetings through compilation of narrations and the history of women in Stone Town are derived from imaginative resources and memories of women in the form of research material and narrations.

*The goal is to develop knowledge and to visualize women's space in history and at present to:*  
- Share and exchange information.  
- Establish and run joint programs.  
- Raise awareness and increase knowledge-based skills  
- Strategize on women networking and establishing a Women Center in Stone Town.  
- Integrate the gender aspects in conservation, narrations and entrepreneurship plans.  
- Deepen knowledge of women's situations globally and locally both past and present.

*The activities are gathered within the following areas:*  
- Women History / Women Narration.
• Women entrepreneurship / small scale production.
• Gender perspective in building conservation and management of World Heritage.
• Research.
• Gender studies.

Creation of women's narration, conservation and small producer groups within the project can be considered as entry points to better position women and to agree on issues to discuss. Establishing a women's group around mid 2005, at the inception of the project the group began to tell their stories by memory mapping and representation to validate personal experience. Narrations can come from experiences, events, media, dreams, and imaginations or handed below by parents or great grandparents (Figure 5 and 6).

In telling a story, whether it is from a general point of view or related to a specific question raised by the women, an important aspect is to begin first looking at one inner self:

• Who am I?
• What makes me a person?
  – Same as others – Different from others
• What do I leave to be inherited (my contribution to the "culture")?
  – Family – Relatives – Race/tribe – Nation – The world

The response to these questions would somehow lead to defining identity in history, present situation and visions for the future. The project is quite sensitive in giving a gender perspective interpretation.

Figure 5. Children playing near a fallen building in lack of playgrounds (Source: Reclaim Women Space Project).

Figure 6. Drawing by group member – Childhood memories of ‘Sweet Meat Platter’ (Source: Reclaim Women Space Project).
The women's stories often explore areas such as social and cultural life, education and traditions, political and economic life, and conservation. The various and diversified ways of life for women as described by invited or represented "real life models" contributed significantly to understanding the changes and types of influence in the historical development. They envision a mindset unleashed not necessarily to abandon all past lessons and experiences but to find ways to discard what represents oppression and marginalization and integrate gender aspects to engage in and support economic and other activities that conserve values in the context to which they exist and with the realization that dialogues and sharing stories among women establishes a mechanism by which narration becomes an opportunity for women stakeholders to voice many concepts such as:

- Mobilize to improve the inscribed conservation environment.
- Archive women experiences to be shared broadly.
- Situate the women spaces within our cultures in the contemporary era and establish mechanisms to face problems affecting their well-being.
- Mobilize women and society to monitor and mitigate activities contrary to the spirit of conservation and preservation.
- Lobby for policy and legal framework to support the efforts of women in heritage and culture conservation of the inscribed sites.
- Publicize the sites in order to support their sustainability while conveying the values for which they have been declared World Heritage Sites.

Narration needs a widespread network with deep insight into women concerns to inspire and empower. Narration encourages women to have confidence to participate in the development process and to shape their own destinies and mould their identities.

Among the techniques used to extract women stories is to begin a memory mapping exercise with some common starting-point leading theme like "the value of the place/spot/space" or "childhood memories". These are issues with a wide spectrum of interpretations, associations and meanings. But in the case of Stone Town, some of these interviews unfolded sentiments of having lost something. It is up to the women to strategies to advocate on determination to make decisions, what to hold on to and what to work for.

Here is one narration from a member of the narration group expressing childhood memories under the theme "my Best Place in Stone Town":

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The oval like junction with a fountain at Malindi called "Kombe la haluwa" (Lit: "Sweet meat platter") because of its oval shape held sweet memories of my childhood. The joy of the place going round it and serving us as playground to learn riding bicycles in turn, and other games with clove aroma from a nearby clove distiller scenting the place was wonderful. Girls and boys took turns in using the place. The junction and the fountain beside it are now demolished and clove aroma has been replaced by smell of fish as the place is now surrounded by illicit fish vendors!

In the last two years or so, the group has improved their skills in digital narrations and knowledge on the meaning, benefits and responsibilities of living in a heritage site. It has been internally agreed that our discourse should be used for engagement and empowerment. But to be able to engage this way, given how we operate, we must therefore look for partnerships that would enable this to happen – mainly to provide knowhow to well deserving groups at the lowest levels in the communities.

Since then, there is appreciation of the recognition that both STCDA and the municipality have bestowed to the group. The group is invited to participate in some of the ongoing consultations to improve the legal platform of STCDA and to set efficient contacts regionally and internationally such as the twinning program with Visby, which are now extending beyond. Awareness of Stone Town as a heritage site is slowly being realised.

**A final observation**

In keeping with underlying spirit of both the workshop and the conference, both the women in the (Re)claim Women's Space in World Heritage project and their colleagues in GIG who are looked upon as mentors to the whole exchange progress for their undying commitment to share skills, we are more determined to develop additional narration techniques, build the capacity of the women small producers and continue to strategies in order to revisit values and plan how best to arrest the situation.

Obviously it has become a society that lacks cultural maintenance at a household to national level – a major contribution to the deterioration. Society has to be made aware that our unique natural and social history depends a lot on what we actively select, what we produce and what we choose to abandon. Culture relates to the various ways we define others and ourselves and we should always look positively at heritage as global phenomena. Much heritage is about producing the local for the global market (Kirschenblatt-Gimblett 1998).
It is strongly urged that institutions mandated in heritage management should invest in collective and individual imagination as well as focusing on important players in dialogue on conservation, cultural preservation, heritage, and identity. For the cosmopolitan society of Zanzibar and Stone Town, intercultural dialogue and cultural diversity in particular can cause a certain kind of identity to be over-represented, modified, or inhibited. For this to be well managed, it is important for the authorities to reform and establish clear mechanisms, systems, and structures to reconstruct and bridge the gaps. While in the process of structuring and reforming the legal and policy framework, intersecting processes and global trends are paramount towards "heritagization" of Stone Town, Zanzibar, and what is becoming of national or societal identity.

References


(Re)claim Women Space in World Heritage, 2005 & 2006 Annual Reports.


Introduction

This paper presents the views and recommendations of the Rapa Nui participants in the World Heritage workshop at the VII Conference on Easter Island and the Pacific Islands held at Gotland University, Visby.

The aim of the workshop was to carry out a comparative analysis of three World Heritage sites: the Hanseatic city of Visby, the Stone Town of Zanzibar, and the National Park of Rapa Nui (Easter Island). Ideas that were discussed and compared at the workshop included the following: How conservation is approached once the World Heritage designation has been allocated, the advantages and disadvantages that accompany such a designation, and the projects that the authorities and inhabitants of the respective places can carry out.

Despite the cultural, geographical and social differences that these three island sites present, we managed to find common themes that could be useful for all three. Nevertheless, before presenting the final conclusions of the workshop, we felt it important to lay out the circumstances in which Rapa Nui applied for and received World Heritage status, as well as the current situation on the island, all of which give a better sense of understanding of the conclusions of the paper.

Designation Process

On November 16, 1972, the Convention for the Protection of UNESCO World Heritage Sites was signed, highlighting the commitments that countries must adhere to in relation to the cultural and natural heritage found within their borders (http://whc.unesco.org/en/conventiontext).
It is important to mention that each country that applies for a site to be included in the World Heritage list thus commits itself to identify, protect, conserve and develop the site for future generations. The individual State Party commits to act under its own initiative for as much as its resources permit, after which international cooperation is considered, depending on the case. Furthermore, the State Party commits to present an inventory of the cultural and natural patrimonial riches that it possesses, with the aim of having them included in the list of World Heritage sites.

In order for a site to be considered, the nomination from the State Party is necessary, while an independent commission evaluates whether or not the site possesses exceptional universal value. Furthermore, the applying site must consider the following basic requirements:

- Possess an exceptional value.
- Have authenticity and integrity.
- Be the subject of judicial, contractual or traditional jurisdiction.
- Have the suitable processes in place in order to guarantee its conservation.

The implications of the designation of a World Heritage Site can be summarized as the commitment of the host nation to the international community to protect, preserve and transmit the heritage to future generations, all in recognition of the fact that the site is of universal value to the national and international community. Indirectly the designation produces an increase in tourist numbers, as well as increased investment in cultural and patrimonial activities has strengthened the identity of the Rapa Nui people.

In the case of Chile, the Government signed the World Heritage Convention in 1980, ratifying it as Chilean law No. 259 in the Department of Foreign Affairs. On June 13th 1994 Chile applied for the Rapa Nui National Park to be considered as a World Heritage site, highlighting the Park’s exceptional archaeological value, principally its megalithic statues, houses, ceremonial villages, petroglyphs and ancient paintings (Figure 1).

The application document was presented to the World Heritage Committee, indicating that the National Park is property of Chile, created in 1935 under the name "National Park of Easter Island" as per the Supreme Decree No. 103 of the Ministry of Land and Colonization. However, the limits of the Park were later modified in 1976 under the Supreme Decree No.
213 of the Ministry of Agriculture, and again in 1983 by the Supreme Decree No. 781 of the Ministry of National Possessions. Finally, during the 19th World Heritage Committee Session, that took place in Berlin in 1995, the Rapa Nui National Park was designated as a World Heritage Site, to be included in the list of Universal Heritage.

The decision of the WH Committee was based on the fact that the Park fulfilled three of the six criteria laid out in the Convention for inclusion in the list, namely:

- To be a masterpiece of human creation (i).
- To offer a unique, or at least exceptional, testament to a cultural tradition or a civilization, whether they be still in existence or extinct (iii).
- To be an eminent example of a tradition of human settlement, by sea or land, representative of a culture (or cultures), or an example of human interaction with the environment, especially when the latter is threatened by the impact of irreversible changes (v).

(http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/715)
Organizations Involved in the Conservation of the Heritage of Easter Island

Responsibility for the day-to-day management and conservation of the National Park lies with the Chilean National Forestry Corporation (CONAF), which is in charge of all of the country's National Parks and protected woodland areas. In the World Heritage application document the role that the National Park plays in the protection of the island's natural and archaeological heritage is mentioned. Furthermore, the document recognizes the lack of resources available to the National park, namely in personnel and funds, as well as deficiencies in the execution of the protection plan. Nevertheless the conservation of cultural heritage is not just the responsibility of CONAF, but rather that of multiple organizations who are involved, directly or indirectly, in the handling of this responsibility, the most important of which are described below.

The Council of National Monuments of Chile (CMN) is the main institution in charge of protecting the national heritage in Rapa Nui, covering not only the National Park, but the entire island. This is due to the fact that Chile designated Easter Island a National Historic Monument in 1935. However, in 2007 the CMN did not have an office or any staff based on Easter Island, forcing them to work through the Provincial Government, with little control or information regarding the monuments under its control, nor any available funds for the above conservation. (*Editor’s note: After 2007 CMN have nominated archaeologist Sra. Sonia Haoa Cardinale as coordinator for Rapa Nui with an office on the island) (Figure 2). A second organization involved is the National Council of Conservation and Restoration (CNCR).

![Figure 2. Rapa Nui cultural landscape and CM representative Sonia Haoa Cardinale (photo Helene Martinsson-Wallin).]
In the application document presented to the World Heritage Committee, the work carried out by the Department of Libraries, Archives, and Museums (DIBAM) in conservation projects together with CONAF, is mentioned. DIBAM's indirect presence on the island is made through the Museo Antropológico Padre Sebastián Englert (MAPSE).

Many other national and local institutions exist that in some way contribute to the conservation cause, such as the Provincial Government, Council of Elders, Development Council, or the Town Hall. It is our opinion that these institutions would be much more effective and focus their efforts in the same direction, with clear aims and the necessary funds to fulfil their goals.

Also included in the application document to the World Heritage Committee were educational institutions such as the University of Chile, although given the amount of time that they have been on the island, we consider their contribution has been minimal and the level of professionalism expected from such an institution has been disappointing.

**Protective Legislation**

When looking at the protective legislation that covers the Rapa Nui National Park, it is worth beginning by mentioning that the National Park is property of the Republic of Chile, ever since Rapa Nui was included as State property in 1933, signed in Valparaiso.

In the application document to the World Heritage Committee, reference is made to the Woodlands Law of 1925, revised in 1931, as well as to the International Conventions for the Protection of Nature in 1967 and the National Possessions Law of 1979.

Chilean Laws permit the President of Chile to establish National Parks for tourism on State land, on which CONAF can carry out all types of contracts, such as charging entrance fees and enforcing rules for visitors. The Law states that CONAF is in charge of the running of the park. However, given that the park was declared a World Heritage site based on its considerable cultural value as opposed to its natural value, it would make more sense if it was run by the Council of National Monuments, who looks after the country’s cultural heritage under Law No. 17288. As for the National Monuments Law, in our opinion it contains imperfections, loop-holes and obsolete sections that offer inadequate protection of the island’s historic, archaeological and natural heritage.

In practice, it is difficult to control and supervise the island's monuments, when the institution have weak representation on the Island (editors note: this have improved since 2007 when coordinator with a permanent office on the island was nominated from CMN)
Furthermore, the authorization needed in order to carry out excavations, conservation or restoration work only involves a small amount of paperwork, and requires that the applicant possesses a professional degree, resulting in many cases in irreparable damage to the island (*Editor’s note: the application procedure have since 2007 become more strict and the evaluation of the archaeological or restoration work previously carried out on the Island is an expressed opinion from the authors is not based on an empirical study). 

As it stands in 2007 numerous laws and sheer number of institutions involved with the Rapa Nui National Park (Ramirez 2000) give rise to various problems for Chile in the conservation of the heritage:

- Isolated ideas and little coordination between institutions. Decisions regarding the heritage tend to be made case by case, rather than within a structured plan. (*Editor’s note: this have become improved after 2007)
- Confusion regarding facilities due to the large number of parties involved.
- Lack of resources. Aside from their scarcity, they are also designated to each institution on a pro rata basis.
- Lack of concrete and clear goals regarding the handling of the heritage.
- The lack of an adequate technical organization to evaluate and carry out the various projects.
- Lack of transparency and little control over the actions carried out regarding the heritage.

The authors suggest that in 2007 it was urgent that a central organization based on the island is created, with suitable qualities to be able to control the island's conservation, and which possesses the sufficient material and technical funds to fulfil this role. In this way the organization would lead, control and promote the conservation and restoration projects, while at the same time bringing them nearer to the local community (editor’s note: this have improved since 2007).

World Heritage Workshop - Ideas for a better Handling of World Heritage

The problems facing the three islands of Visby, Zanzibar, and Rapa Nui regarding the handling of their respective heritage were extremely varied, given their differing political and
administrative systems, as well as their contrasting economic situations that define the use and the conservation of the cultural heritage (Figure 3).

![Figure 3. Hetereke, Susana and Tiare, presenting their paper at the workshop in Gotland (Photo: Helene Martinsson-Wallin).](image)

The intensive use of the sites as tourist destinations due to their exceptional cultural value is a problem that affects all three sites. Tourism is an important industry for all three islands, and large-scale tourist development has had varying side effects, particularly concerning the future of the communities living there, as well as the effects on the maltreatment of the heritage and the changes in lifestyles.

In Zanzibar, for example, multiple social demands converge on Stone Town, mainly because the city is in the heart of a densely populated area. The construction of numerous hotels has led to the loss of public spaces, resulting in radical changes in the lifestyles of its inhabitants.

While the understanding that the heritage must be conserved and restored certainly exists, the economic reality for Zanzibar often doesn't allow for it. Furthermore there are demands for public and social spaces, and for a better quality of life, work and human rights.
Tourism in Rapa Nui is, like Zanzibar, a fundamental part of the economy. However, the deficiencies basically focus on the lack of coordination in the handling of the heritage.

Another point to mention is that of the intensive use of the archaeological sites for tourist activity, yet at the same time there is little contribution to the maintenance and preservation of the Park. An example of this is that the most significant restorations carried out, and the ones from which tourism most profits, have only been possible thanks to the financial contributions of private organizations.

Finally, with respect to Visby, it was declared a World Heritage site in 1995, the same year as the Rapa Nui National Park. It differs from Zanzibar and Rapa Nui in two clear aspects:

- There are important preservation programs already in place with sufficient funds to carry them out.
- Tourism is not their main source of income.

The point that all three sites highlight is that of the imbalance produced indirectly by the tangible and intangible heritage, and in the case of Rapa Nui, the often-heard phrase is that "the moai prevent people from seeing the inhabitants" (Figure 4).

![Figure 4. Young Rapa Nui girl in Hangaroa with restored ahu Tautira in the background (Photo: Olaug Rösvik Andreassen).](image)
The problems are not so much to do with the necessity to conserve the heritage, but rather to do with the interaction between the local community and the large flow of tourists that they receive.

These three geographically separate examples served to focus on several challenges regarding the conservation and distinction of World Heritage Sites, well beyond a mere recognition:

- If the World Heritage Site declaration really refers to monuments and specific territorial boundaries, it is important to consider that these sites are immersed within a cultural, social and historic context that enriches and enlightens them, and whose preservation is equally important.
- Tourism, aside from being one of the tools that encourages knowledge, produces both benefits and also risks. It is therefore vital that a plan is drawn up that minimizes the damage, and also generates income for the local communities.
- Conservation should begin with the work that the inhabitants of each heritage carry out, regardless of the resources made available. It is fundamental that the local population be educated about the heritage that they possess and get them involved.
- The declaration of a World Heritage Site cannot create a “freezing” of the sites, but rather must encourage them to evolve in accordance with the circumstances and needs of the local population, with the aim of transforming them into something different. For this reason it is necessary to recognize the natural dynamics of these sites and their communities (Figure 5).

![Figure 5. Traditional gardening, plant protected within a circular enclosure (Manavai), in the National Park area (Photo: Helene Martinsson-Wallin).](image)
The development of the tourist industry ought to be reflected in the economic development of local communities, which ultimately is one of the fundamental purposes. This development should be accompanied by investment policies and greater opportunities for local businesses.

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http://whc.unesco.org/en/conventiontext
A SHORT HISTORY OF THE WORLD HERITAGE SITE OF VISBY

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Maria Hallberg
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During the Stone Age, at the site where the town of Visby now is located, was a small settlement along the coast (Janzon 1974). In the east there were rock formations that gave protection against winds and there was a good natural harbour protected by reefs. Later, in the Vendel-Viking period (AD 550-1050), the inhabitants of the neighbouring farms built small wooden houses in parallel rows stretching from the harbour and towards the inland (Svensson 2001) (Figure 1). These buildings were used for seasonal fishing and possibly also used in trading activities.

Figure 1. A model of the Viking town with its wooden houses and harbour. The archives of the County museum of Gotland.

Towards the end of the 11th century, Gotland dominated the lucrative long distance
trade with Russian goods, directed towards Western Europe (Månsson 2002). During this time the first church was built and the pagan Gotlandic people started to adopt Christianity (Figure 2). The recovering of hoards and valuable artefacts and coins from this period indicates that Gotland and Visby was a wealthy society (Svensson 2001). During this period the small community became a marketplace. During the 12th century Russian, Baltic, Danish, and Swedish, and above all, German merchants moved to Visby (Månsson 2002). Visby became the chief town of the island and at the beginning of the 13th century the town was the most important meeting place in the Baltic Sea for the extensive trading of goods between east and west. It created a prosperous economy on the island, which resulted in the building of more than 90 large medieval churches all around the island.

![Figure 2. S:t Drotten one of nine medieval church ruins.](image)

The period between the mid-12th century and the early 14th century was Visby’s real era of glory (Svensson 2001). Alongside the Gotlandic urban community, a German one grew up. The town law was written in both languages and an equal share of both communities governed the city council.

In the 12th century the city wall started to be built with the Lamb Tower, later called
Kruttornet (gun powder tower) (Figure 3), as a protection for the harbour (Svensson 2001). In the 13th century a wall was built along the harbour and subsequently the town was completely surrounded by a wall with more than 20 towers. The foreign merchants built their own churches, monasteries and houses. In the area near the harbour along Strandgatan Street, the houses were built taller and taller, up to seven stores high, due to the lack of land (Figure 4). In a period of 75-100 years, a whole new town was built out of stone.

[Image: Figure 3. Kruttornet and the oldest part of the city wall.]

[Image: Figure 4. A typical medieval warehouse on Strandgatan.]

The wish to become a member of the merchant union, Hansan, led to a tense situation
between the city and the countryside (Svensson 2001). This led to the civil war in 1288, a war that the Visby community won.

From the late 14th century to the mid 17th century was a long period of stagnation and poverty. New larger ships, better navigation and change in the way trade was carried out led to an almost complete decline of trade in Gotland. For example, the city of Riga in Latvia became a new Hanseatic trade markets in the Baltic Sea area.

During this period, the houses of Visby decayed and in 1361, the Danish king Waldemar Atterdag invaded the island and thus Gotland came under Danish rule for about 300 years. During certain times pirates took their retreat to Gotland but in the late 14th century the German Order overtook the island. They also started to build a castle — Visborgs slott — that in the 16th century was one of Scandinavia’s largest castles.

In 1521 Lubeck attacked the city and destroyed the north part. Many houses, some churches and monasteries were burnt down. The Reformation accelerated the process of decay and ruin, and the churches and abbeys were deprived of their valuables. In the end only one church, St. Mary’s was spared.

After the peace treaty between the Danes and the Swedes at Brömsebro in 1645 the island once again came under Swedish rule. A substantial effort was made to start industries on the island. During the 18th century the island once more became quite wealthy (Figure 5).

The main income during this period was from producing timber and lime for the European
market, which needed these items after the destruction caused by wars.

Once again the Gotlandic people began to build their houses in stone after many years building wooden houses, and at the end of the 19th century, the city inside the wall became too small, and for the first time house constructions occurred outside the city wall. At first mostly industrial properties, hospitals and military buildings but soon to be followed by private houses. Today the main part of the city is situated outside the city wall (Figure 6).

![Figure 6. This picture shows place where the harbour used to be. Today it is a park, Almedalen.](image)

**Visby as a world heritage site**

The Hanseatic town of Visby was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1995:

*The Committee decided to inscribe this site on the basis of criteria (iv) and (v) considering its outstanding universal value, representing a unique example of a north European medieval walled trading town which preserves with remarkable completeness a townscape and assemblage of high-quality ancient buildings that illustrate graphically the form and function of this type of significant human settlement (ICOMOS September 1995).*

The legal protection of ancient monuments has been regulated in Sweden since 1666, but it was only in the late 19th century when the monuments in Visby started to be appreciated by a
wider range of people. During this time there was a small crowd of tourists visiting the island of Gotland. They came to enjoy the picturesque townscape of Visby with its small and narrow streets, great city wall and numerous ruins of churches and monasteries that date back to the medieval times. The community began to realize that the historic city of Visby was growing as a tourist attraction and more visitors also meant more income for the town. The connection between the financial value of the monuments and the importance of maintenance became apparent.

The government provided funds for conservation work. Old wooden buildings that were placed too close to the wall and ruins were torn down to facilitate proper maintenance and create more space around the monuments.

A committee started to work on a new General Plan in 1965, which resulted in a report, "Visby -Staden Inom Murarna" ("Visby - the Town within the Walls"), in 1973. On the basis of this report, the whole town was declared to be an area of historic and cultural value to which special consideration must be given.

In the mid 1980s the municipality of Gotland, the County Administrative Board and the Regional Museum started to work together for a nomination of Visby to the World Heritage List. It soon became clear that the town lacked the sufficient legal protection that was required from the World Heritage Committee and a substantial effort from the local authorities to guarantee the preservation of Visby on a long-term basis would be necessary.

On August 18, 1987 the Swedish National Heritage Board recognized Visby as an area of "national interest". According to the Environmental Code the area should be protected from changes that would have a negative impact on its cultural value. The problem was that Visby still didn't have a modern detailed town plan to assure preservation of the town.

Finally, in 1989 the "Advice and Guidelines" ("Råd och Riktlinjer") was produced in cooperation between the County Administration and the Municipality and it contains detailed advice for the various municipal bodies.

During some years in the 1990s the government provided financial support for the conservation and restoration of private owned properties. The County Administration classified almost 260 buildings as historic buildings protected under the Heritage Conservation Act. Every property under legal protection was fully documented and was provided with an individual maintenance plan. The regional museum did a historic building inventory including all the buildings inside the wall. Approximately 200 houses were identified as having medieval foundations, and about 65 houses were medieval in total. In addition to these interesting results, it was established, more surprisingly, that there were over
500 wooden buildings from the 18\textsuperscript{th} and 19\textsuperscript{th} centuries, built in a unique Gotlandic type of framework construction (Figure 7).

![Figure 7. Houses built in framework with horizontal planking (bulhus). These ones were built during the 18\textsuperscript{th} century.](image)

After a visit to the Hanseatic town of Lübeck, a World Heritage Site since 1987, important information was gathered and the town of Visby was encouraged to apply for World Heritage status in the early 1990s. The Municipality and County Administration wrote an Action Plan in 1993 and made an application to the government and the ministry of culture in May 1994. The application was accepted by the World Heritage Committee on December 6, 1995. The responsibility to maintain Visby World Heritage is shared between the Municipality of Gotland and the County Administration.

To follow up on the Action Plan, a Management Plan was created in 2003. It summarizes the most important conclusions and thoughts regarding how Visby World Heritage/should be preserved and developed in order to be competitive and attractive. The efforts to have the Hanseatic town of Visby inscribed on the World Heritage List were based on a view of the town as a strategic resource for the development of the island of Gotland as a
whole. Visby’s World Heritage status creates potentially both attention and prestige. To implement the plan it was necessary to create a shared forum, which also included the Regional Museum, house-owners, private businesses and the public sector and organizations. It was decided that the protection, preservation and development of buildings should be executed by the Planning and Building Act.

The work on the Management Plan was supported by European development funds through the so-called LODIS (Local Distinctiveness Strategies) and several projects have been carried out to make improvements on the streets and environment in the town within the wall.

Since the inscription in 1995 many projects of collaboration were completed and among the most successful was the twinning between the Hanseatic Town of Visby and the Stone Town of Zanzibar in 2003-2008. The project included components like Young People in World Heritage, Building Conservation, Environment (Traffic management, Waste management, Open Spaces) and (Re)Claim Women’s Space in World Heritage. The (Re)Claim project resulted in a Women’s Centre which was crucial for the women of Stone Town and their ability to function in the World Heritage environment.

Since 2005 the Municipality is working to implement the Planning and Building Act in Visby World Heritage to confirm the cultural-historic value. A detailed plan will regulate all building actions and enable general building-permit for changes to the exterior. The plan will be finished sometime during 2009.

A new organisation for the management of Visby World Heritage was formed in 2007. The organisation consists of a World Heritage Studio, a World Heritage Council and a World Heritage Forum. The Studio is responsible for the development of Visby World Heritage and has members from different administrations within the Municipality. The Studio is also responsible for coordinating the work on implementing the Management Plan. The Council consists of different experts with authorities from the Municipality, County Administration and the Regional Museum. It also has representatives from the Trade Organisation, the property owners and the Tourist Board. The Council works as an advisory board for the World Heritage Studio.

The World Heritage Forum is a broad group that consists of an interested public. At the Forum, discussions can take place and information on World Heritage be shared. Within the Municipality and the Planning Office there is a small office, which deals with planning, building permits and administration of the World Heritage site (Figure 8). Visby World Heritage is working together with the Organization of World Heritage Cities, OWHC North
European Region and is a member of the Swedish World Heritage Network VIS (Världsarv i Sverige). During the first Saturday in October every year, the Visby World Heritage Day is celebrated.

Figure 8. Map of Visby World Heritage Site.

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WORLD HERITAGE, MEMORIES, AND THEMATISING EFFECTS

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Professions, like nations, keep their shape by moulding their members’ citizens understanding of the past; causing them to forget those events which do not accord with a righteous image, while keeping alive those memories that do. — Leonie Sandercock, 1998

Introduction

As ethnologists, we are interested in folk life and people's perception and understanding of their surrounding world. We are taught to see the possibilities in changing perspectives, to understand the possibilities of seeing things from different vantage points. Ethnologists use to compare this to changing glasses. By shifting glasses, or perspectives, you will be able to perceive things in numerous ways. People don't always share the same values, but this method will allow us to explain and understand why we think differently about similar subjects.

Using ideas from anthropology and history, we will bring in some critical perspectives on cultural heritage. By critical we do not mean to criticize — but to see more possibilities and nuances. In this article, we will look upon world heritage sites in more than just one way. We could call these changing mindscapes.

The idea of mindscapes emphasizes an understanding of places as both physical and mental entities produced by two cooperating processes:

While some things are actively selected, placed in the foreground, others are neglected and overlooked /.../ Thus, mindscapes are set up by establishing a certain perspective or gaze, which makes us see a few things and overlook a whole lot more (Ronström 2005b:91).
According to the Swedish ethnologist Owe Ronström (2005b:91), “Mindscapes also point out actors, and that memory, experiences and visions play important roles in how we conceive places as tourist destinations and heritage sites.”

In her work, the American folklorist Barbara Kirschenblatt-Gimblett suggests (1998); that cultural heritage production is a new mode of production that has recourse to the past. While it looks old, heritage is actually something new. She means that heritage is a value added industry. By using the term production, she does not mean that the result is less authentic or "made up". Rather she emphasizes the importance of display in giving dead sites a second "chance" as exhibitions of themselves (Ibid. 1998).

**Heritage, a value adding industry**

Today you will find cultural heritage everywhere. An experience market with cultural heritage tourism arid a cultural heritage industry are stressed as reliable factors in creating economic growth (Silven 2004). The objects on the UNESCO World Heritage List are valued as something very special, something with great importance for the whole world and its inhabitants. Objects that are not qualified for the list are valued in different ways, as something less important. Nevertheless, at the same time, we must keep in mind that objects on the list have been chosen for representing certain actors' and groups' values. Objects on the list should fit in special discourses about aesthetic and authentic values necessary to protect and preserve for future generations.

Heritage not only gives buildings and a way of life that are no longer viable a second life as exhibits of themselves, it also produces something new. If heritage as we know it from the tourist industry were sustainable, it would not need protection according to Kirschenblatt-Gimblett (1998:7); "The process of protection and value adding, speaks in and to the present, even if it does so in terms of the past". What the heritage organizations do is to ensure survival to places and practices no longer valued or functioning. They do this by adding the value of “pastness” and difference.

**UNESCO and the thematising effect**

Heritage and tourism are collaborative industries converting locations into destinations. Locations become representations of themselves within a tourism economy. Time is stopped and the heritage objects reside outside the ongoing world, transformed through the movement
from the everyday life they were taken from. Decontextualising objects means that continuity and the everyday life is replaced by a ceremonial marking of the discontinuities of history. What heritage environments want us to reflect upon, is the difference between now and then (see Hansen2001).

Our way of expressing memories tells something about how we position ourselves in time and space. Memories deal with the past but are phenomena that are situated in the present as representations of past events and personal experiences. They point backwards but are contemporary activities that work towards the future. Heritage projects on Gotland address different mindscapes and foreign pasts by providing new uses for old farm houses and the Hanseatic town of Visby. But when competing for tourists’ attention, a location must become a destination. To obtain visibility in the competition with other sites, a destination must be distinguishable; this is why the tourism industry demands the production of difference.3 Sameness is one of the problems the industry faces. In the process of attaining distinctiveness, UNESCO stresses the importance of thematic displays. This is also how the Hanseatic town of Visby is described by UNESCO:

“A former Viking site on the island of Gotland, Visby was the main centre of the Hanseatic League in the Baltic from the 12th to the 14th century. Its 13th-century ramparts and more than 200 warehouses and wealthy merchants' dwellings from the same period make it the best-preserved fortified commercial city in northern Europe”.
(http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/731)

The main centre of trading in the Baltic during three centuries, approximately eight hundred years ago, is supposed to be represented by the thematised inner city of Visby. One result following this process is a cementing of the perception and understanding of places. Marketing regions through unique cultural heritage or traditions means, at the very same time, the conceptualisation of a finite unit is fortified with inherent qualities. Stressing specific cultural heritage themes leads to a deterministic understanding of places. According to human geographer Susanna Heldt-Cassel (2003), one reason is the meaning placed on the term” “culture” in these contexts. When using the term “culture” as a quality in places, it tends make the meaning un-flexible, instead of emphasising that places, as well as cultures, are socially constructed and changeable (Heldt-Cassel 2003, auth. transl.). The image of the place becomes simplified and arranged where certain environments, activities, and actors are highlighted.
The agency of display

When Visby became a World Heritage Site 1995, one aim was to make it a more attractive tourist resort. Since there are lots of cities on the World Heritage List, questions were raised as to why tourists should choose Visby instead of similar sites as Lübeck or Tallinn? One solution to the danger effacing sameness stressed at the time was the value of difference. Something had to be done to make Visby more distinctive. At that time, the Swedish state was quite generous in handing out allowances for restoring old buildings. The antiquarians in Visby wanted to produce something unique, and at the same time, something easy to grasp for inhabitants and tourists. They decided to restore some buildings situated in St. Hans Street. An alternative was to restore a number of buildings in different parts of the inner city, but when this was done it became obvious something had happened to the cultural heritage site of Visby. The buildings at St. Hans Street (Figure 1) went through a remarkable change. When a great deal of money is involved, things often happen very fast. There is no time for reflection. The buildings did not look the same afterwards; they got "older" and more aesthetic. Some people even say they look too cute, as if they were out of a fairytale.

The restored buildings were placed on display. You can see them in books and on web sites about World Heritage Sites. Prior to the restoration you hardly saw the buildings in pictures at all. Values had been added to them, now they looked "older", not as the modern shops they are. They were moved to different context and were displayed as something distinct and rare.

Heritage displays not only show and speak of and about different pasts, they also act and interact. Heritage productions tend to mix up their effects with the instruments for producing them (Kirschenblatt-Gimblett 1998). In the process, the interface becomes a critical site for the production of meanings. Message -other than heritage- are likely to be found in the interface. The fact that heritage is the result of a selective process containing different messages, means that heritage can he understood as politics, and should therefore be studied as politics (Kirschenblatt-Gimblett 1998; Gustafsson 2002).

From memory to history

Cultural heritage often focuses on buildings and artefacts, not people — especially not people of today. When you are looking at pictures produced by cultural heritage actors in the "Western World" you are not likely to find any people present. In Visby you can learn about
Figure 1. S:t Hans Street. Photo: Carina Johansson.
traders in the medieval times, not about our contemporary daily life. If someone is talking
about life today it's only about how to reuse history. Shouldn't heritage tell stories about life
today? Another interesting thing about Visby is when people talk about Visby; they often
refer to the inner city, the heritage site, not the whole city of Visby. Since the inner city is just
a small part of the town, the heritage project could be looked upon as an excluding practice,
excluding both environments as well as its inhabitants.

Another way of understanding heritage narratives is as expressions of differences
between memory and history, something the French historian Pierre Nora terms “milieu de
memoire”, and “lieux de memoire”. According to Nora, memory is a phenomenon that ties us
to the contemporary and to places whereas history is a representation of a past. While memory
is characterised by affection and rooted in the concrete, in places, gestures, expressions and
artefacts, history is related to development and abstract relations. With Nora you could
describe heritage productions as a movement in a certain direction, from milieux de memoire
to lieux de memoire; from memory to history.

A generalized critical history would no doubt preserve some museums, some medallions and
monuments — that is to say, the materials necessary for its work, — but it would empty them
of what, to us, would make them lieux de memoire. In the end, a society living, under the sign
of history could not, any more than could a traditional society conceive such sites for
anchoring its memory (Nora 1989:9).

Alternative local narratives, as well as people, are often excluded in a heritage context.
"While urban and regional researchers busy themselves studying the processes and
consequences of globalization, the planning profession around the world, finds itself
marginalized by urban political regimes rushing to embrace the global investors, terrified that
their city / region will be left out and drop off all the relevant maps" (Sandercock 1998). This
is why world heritage productions should be understood and studied as political projects.

**Memories and visions**

What are memories then? The ethnologist Owe Ronström points to an understanding of
memory production as social processes where the past, or the absent is represented through
expressive forms:
Much memory production is about presenting and representing not only the past, but the generally absent, in time or space or both. In a more general sense then, memory production is a form of shift (Ronström 1996).

This relate to what Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998) has called "re-coding operations" and what Richard Bauman and Charles Briggs (1992) has termed "decontextualisation", where something is actively shifted, moved, or brought, from one context to another (Ronström 2005a:8). He further suggests that central to our understanding, is the idea that memories are directed and made to move forward, not backwards:

...but since there are also memories that have never happened, the past must be understood as a more abstract and general category than simply "yesterdays" or "times gone by" (Ronström 2005a:8)

Understanding memories in this perspective would mean that memories also could be received and understood as launching pads against the future, like visions, or memories that have not still happened, like media, or as powerful engines of meaning.

Visions, as well as memories, are to be understood as ambiguous symbols, loaded with emotion and moral implications. Like visions, memories open doors to future objective and subjective worlds. We may speak of mindscapes in the meaning of cultural forms for advancing accepted ways of experiencing chosen sites, artefacts, or situations (Ronström 2005a:16).

Carina Johansson's interviews (2005) with three non-tourists in the town of Visby, points at the differences between the tourist industry's co-modified, custom-made mindscapes and the perception of the same places by local inhabitants. The local inhabitants in Visby are already present in the world of the mindscapes, but their memories of the ruins are probably more associated with childhood games than with medieval kings and knights (Ronström 2005:17).

**Alternative realms**

Referring to Edward S. Casey (1996), professor of philosophy, the Swedish ethnologist Anna Burstedt emphasises an understanding of place as fundamental, as the concrete where we walk, talk, stand and sit, as the reality we live in.
Places can also be understood as arenas where time and space are moulded, at the same time as time and space constitutes places. In opposition to place Casey puts the more abstract term space. If people are able to act on places, space is to be understood in a more conceptional way. Place would be the arena of agency while space defines ideas, notions and conceptions. (Burstedt 2001:78, auth. transl.).

Contemporary cultural analyses points at an understanding of people as agents. They are not free-floating intellectual creatures governed by their culture, which was a main thesis during the 1970s. The agency and construction of cultures always takes place somewhere. From this follows that people do not just act on places, places do something to us as well. All notions and interpretations are localised and not just accumulations of things, or just things in themselves. They are created in and by the interaction between human agency and the material surroundings. This highlights the material existence of places as parts of everyday life, lived coherence, or as the interplay that ties people and places together.

Past events are carved into places at the same time as places are contemporary materialisations of the past or possible futures. A place is formed by the social networks within it and the meetings that took place. The tendency to interpret space as adjacent but separated boulders, where space is understood as neutral containers, counteracts by an emphasising of relations and connections as well as an understanding of borders as porous and perforated. Emphasising the complex relations between the organising of space and social relations counteracts the essential understanding of place. According to the British geographer Doreen Massey, territorial boulders — as continents, regions or villages — could be understood as imaginative geographies. She stresses the importance of an understanding of space as something socially constructed where place is defined as a part, or a level in space (Massey 1999).

If space defines spatial ideas, concepts and notions, the island of Gotland constitutes a notion about a distinctive character and the local, whereas the heritage site of Visby constitutes the arena of concrete configurations. In the practice aiming at getting the demarcated space to appear, the heritage site works as a way to pin Visby and Gotland on to the map. The local qualifier of the globalisation, the heritage sites, always takes form in space at the same time as it is formed by the social networks and relations that exist. The relations at the heritage site of Visby could be understood as different forms of interplays, partly between different actors, but also between different forms of economies. On one level it is about attracting visitors' attention. In order to achieve the desired attention, the producers hope to
create a historical and cultural charging surrounding the area. In this way economic capital is attracted and tied to the area. At the same time, the process is characterized by inclusions and exclusions, where certain groups of people are made to feel a reflexive connection to the area, whereas other are excluded. On another level it is about interplays between economies. When it comes to heritage production, you must get product sales to cooperate with a trustworthy experience of the past. In the interplay between these two economies, an aesthetic escalation follows where the restrained and moderate are guiding terms (Oscarsson 2005).

When memories are related to landscapes or environments, landscapes as well as the meaning of memories are intensified. History is part of every meaning of place, but since there is not only one history, but many;

...the meaning of place depends on how the past is represented. Discussing the history of places would be to discuss the contemporary. Human situatedness in landscape together with the history surrounding landscapes implies that human activity is taking place in history as well as the contemporary at the very same time. (Svensson & Saltzman 1997, auth. Transl.).

One reason for conducting critical heritage studies is to examine the interface, the discrepancies between places in local memories and the official history represented through world heritage sites. Not only to point at differences, but to highlight alternative local history, as well as alternative, prospective and viable places and realms.

Notes

1 Other actors should perhaps choose other objects, or even refrain from protecting objects and let time pass by.

2 What separates destination from other spatial terms is that it contains not only a geographical demarcation towards its surrounding world, but also a specific functional relation. A destination is built upon an interaction with its, surrounding world. Destinations are places with order to receive and serve visitors from other places (Sarftrberg 2001:78, auth. transl).

3 But when producing and expressing difference, producers tend to use the same kind of expressive forms. It means that we are getting more alike in our differences, at the same time as we are getting more different in our similarities (Ronström 1995).

4 See Jonsson 2000. For a more adequate account of the term "attention economy" (see Goldhaber 1997).
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THE EGYPTIAN WORLD HERITAGE CITIES: THE SEARCH FOR A RELEVANT CONTEXT

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Introduction

World Heritage Cities, (WHCs) the well-established and well-represented form of World Heritage Sites, (WHSs) seem to largely share the complexity of the world heritage phenomenon. The complexity and the challenges associated with the world heritage experience have been the focus of the workshop that has accompanied the VII International Conference on Easter Island and the Pacific. I was interested in participating in the workshop because of the relevance of its adopted themes to my academic and research interests. The themes discussed during the workshop seemed to extend beyond the limits of my professional background as an architect and my academic interests in area-based conservation. The key objective of my participation in the workshop was to unearth the similar features and the common challenges that might interlink the Egyptian WHCs with the three properties that have been the focus of the workshop.

The following preview has addressed the various relevant subjects through an architectural and an urban perspective, consistent with my professional and academic interests. The workshop has been mainly concerned with the three inscribed properties of Hanseatic Town of Visby, Rapa Nui National Park, and Stone Town of Zanzibar. The analysis of the key features of the three properties (Table 1) indicates that only two properties, Hanseatic Town of Visby and Stone Town of Zanzibar represent WHCs (OWHC/Organization of World Heritage Cities 2007). The third property, which is Rapa Nui National Park, represents a cultural landscape (Rapa Nui National Park - UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2007). On the other hand, the Egyptian inscribed properties include only one WHC, which is Historic Cairo (Figure 1) (OWHC/Organization of World Heritage Cities 2007). Nevertheless, the Egyptian Tentative List still includes two potential WHCs, which are Historic quarters and monuments of Rosetta/Rachid (Figure 2) and Alexandria, ancient remains and the new library (Figure 3) (Egypt - UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2007). The description of the latter property does not confirm whether the extent of the site will
incorporate the Turkish quarter, or if it will only involve the Greek and Roman monuments of the city (Alexandria, ancient remains and the new library - UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2007).

Table 1. The key features of the adopted properties and the Egyptian WHC of "Historic Cairo".


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Property</th>
<th>State Party</th>
<th>Inscription date</th>
<th>Criteria for the inclusion on the World Heritage List(^1)</th>
<th>Official classification</th>
<th>Further classification</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hanseatic Town of Visby</td>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>1995</td>
<td>(iv), (v)</td>
<td>Cultural WHS</td>
<td>World Heritage City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historic Cairo</td>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>(i), (v), (vi)</td>
<td>Cultural WHS</td>
<td>World Heritage City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rapa Nui National Park</td>
<td>Chile</td>
<td>1995</td>
<td>(i), (iii), (v)</td>
<td>Cultural WHS</td>
<td>Cultural landscape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stone Town of Zanzibar</td>
<td>United Republic of Tanzania</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>(ii), (iii), (v)</td>
<td>Cultural WHS</td>
<td>World Heritage City</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) The criteria adopted for the inclusion of the properties on the World Heritage List, are as follows:
(i) represent a masterpiece of human creative genius;
(ii) exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design;
(iii) bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared;
(iv) be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history;
(v) be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change;
(vi) be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance. (The Committee considers that this criterion should preferably be used in conjunction with other criteria);

Figure 1. The Mosque of Mohammed Ali, which represents a key landmark of "Historic Cairo".
The identification of relevant answers to the urban challenges encountering the

Figure 2. The Fort of Qaytbay, as one of the major elements inside "Historic quarters and monuments of Rosetta/Rachid" potential WHC. The fort is the place where the Rosetta Stone has been unearthed whilst excavating inside it during the French campaign. The original stone is exhibited in the British Museum in London. The fort hosts a replica of the stone in the same place where the original one has been found.

Figure 3. The new library of Alexandria, which represents one of the key elements inside the potential WHC of "Alexandria, ancient remains and the new library".
Egyptian WHCs entails conducting comparative analyses by adopting case studies interlinked within a given context. My early trials to recognize the ideal approaches to such challenges have focused on the context incorporating the prosperous experiences in area-based conservation. This context might involve WHCs, such as the Old and New Towns of Edinburgh, in the United Kingdom (Figure 4), and Paris, Banks of the Seine, in France. The peaceful juxtaposition of the historic and the modern districts emphasizes the relevance of the previous two properties to Historic Cairo. The Haussmann’s plan, which led to the development of the then-modern districts incorporated within the previous French property, has had profound influences on the Khedive Ismail plan to modernize the historic districts in Cairo. This historic relationship emphasizes the relevance of the French property to Historic Cairo.

A cultural context might also incorporate the Egyptian WHCs with other inscribed properties, such as the Maltese WHCs. The profound historic influences of Arabic and Islamic cultures on the urban life in Malta emphasize the cultural linkage between Egyptian and Maltese WHCs. City of Valetta (Figure 5) is the only inscribed Maltese WHC. The Maltese Tentative List embraces another potential WHC, which is Mdina Citta Vecchia (Malta -
UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2007). The projecting gallariji in Valletta and the traditional urban pattern in Mdina still reflect this shared cultural heritage. The Maltese experience in area-based conservation, which is largely based on the British model, might provide some relevant answers to the urban challenges facing the Egyptian WHCs.

A political context might also link the Egyptian WHCs with other inscribed properties in Europe. Such context might allow examining the relevance of the Eastern European countries to the Egyptian experience. The emerging political changes in Egypt seem to echo the political and economic changes that took place in the Eastern European countries, following the collapse of communism. Such a collapse might represent the most significant change that took place in these European countries. These changes have had significant influences on urban conservation. Therefore, adopting a context incorporating these Eastern European countries with Egypt might provide relevant answers to the weaknesses of the Egyptian experience. Furthermore, Arnaud (1998) has cited another significant context that incorporates Cairo with the other Middle East capitals of Beirut, Damascus and Sanaa. This context is based on the common urban features interlinking the previous three capitals with Cairo. Nevertheless, the less developed experiences in the management of WHSs in the
Middle East as a whole seem to add more doubts on the ability of this context to provide efficient answers to the challenges facing the Egyptian WHCs.

The above is an endeavour to address the various contexts, incorporating the Egyptian WHCs, which can be adopted to conduct a comparative analysis. Nevertheless, the workshop adopted another geographical and political context. Being an island is the key feature of the geographical aspects of the adopted context. The other feature that characterizes the political aspects of this context is the growing demand for a further political autonomy in the three properties. The initial impression of the adopted context seemed to suggest its irrelevance to the Egyptian WHCs. Nevertheless, the arguments that took place during the workshop have revealed many common themes, challenges and thoughts, as well as some unique themes.

**The common themes**

**The urban aspects**

The physical structure of the urban settings inside two of the properties (Visby and Stone Town) and the Egyptian WHCs represent such common urban features. These features include the presence of the distinctive architectural elements, such as the walls, the gates, the landmarks and the traditional urban pattern. The Stone Town of Zanzibar seems to retain much of its traditional urban pattern (Abdullah 2001), as does the Hanseatic Town of Visby. In Egypt, Historic Cairo retains three of its gates; which are Bab al-Futuh, Bab al-Nasr and Bab Zuwayla (Figure 6); small sections of its walls, and much of its traditional street pattern. Al-Moezz and al-Gamaleya Streets represent the traditional Islamic pattern of the city.

**Figure 6.** "Bab Zuwayla", which is one of the surviving Fatimid gates inside "Historic Cairo" (to the left).

**Figure 7.** The Citadel, which represents the key landmark of "Historic Cairo".
The Citadel (Figure 7) visually dominates the urban settings of the site at the present time. In the past, the Fatimid original urban pattern of the site was dominated by the two palaces and their plaza occupying the area along al-Moezz Street (Sayyid 1997). Both places and their plaza are no longer existent present time the Alexandria, ancient remains and the new library property also retains small sections of its historic walls (Figure 8). On the other hand, the traditional urban pattern, and a large number of the scheduled antiquities, represents the key surviving elements of the physical structure of the Historic quarters and monuments of Rosetta/Rachid property.

![Figure 8. The remaining small sections of the historic walls of Alexandria.](image)

The Egyptian WHCs share these distinctive urban features with the properties incorporated within the previously examined contexts. Old and New Towns of Edinburgh shares Historic Cairo the presence of a fortification element as the key landmark of the site. Edinburgh Castle (Figure 4) represents the key landmark that dominates the setting of the old town The Royal Mile, also known as High Street of Edinburgh, seems to share with al-Moezz Street in Historic Cairo the same role of linking the far ends of the site together.

The peaceful juxtaposition of the modern and the historic quarters is another common
feature that interlinks both properties. The traditional Arabic urban pattern of Mdina seems to be the only surviving feature that interlinks Mdina (Citta' Vecchia) with the Egyptian WHCs. The challenges encountering the urban setting of the adopted properties and the Egyptian WHCs represent another common theme. The lack of adequate urban spaces, which restrains the efficiency of the urban settings, represents a challenge that is relevant to all the Egyptian WHCs. The urban setting of Historic Cairo suffers from the lack of adequate urban spaces inside the Fatimid walls (Figure 9).
Outside the walls, larger urban space that help in enhancing the performance of the historic urban fabrics start to take place. Al-Qalaq Square (Figure 10), located to the south of Bab Zuwayla is an example of these urban spaces. The square, previously called Mohammad Ali Square, occupies the area that was known as Rumeyleh.

**Figure 10.** "Al-Qalaq Square", as an example of the urban spaces located outside the Fatimid walls of "Historic Cairo". The urban space is mainly defined by the two mosques of "al-Sultan Hassan" and "al-Rifaal".

**Figure 11.** "Al-Azhar Park" to the east of "Historic Cairo".
This area has been reshaped in accordance with the modernization plan for Cairo, carried out by Ali Mubarak during the Khedive Ismail era (Arnaila 1998). To enhance the quality of the urban fabrics and to increase the green areas inside Historic Cairo, the Aga Khan Trust for Culture has contributed towards the promotion of the new park, al-Azhar Park (Figure 11), to the east of the area.

The Political, Administrative, and Legislative Aspects

The government's very limited efforts concerning the management and preservation of the inscribed properties, is a common theme from which Historic Cairo suffers. Although the property was inscribed in 1979, the government has undertaken little effort concerning the preservation of the historic fabric and the management of the site. The restoration of many of the antiquities in the site is still underway. The urban contexts encompassed amid these antiquities are still changing without the application of any mechanism that controls the quality of the new urban development introduced in the area. The lack of such mechanisms might seriously threaten the authenticity and integrity of the historic contexts. The government has not submitted a detailed map identifying the boundaries and the buffer zone of the property to the World Heritage Committee. It has not responded efficiently to the recommendations provided for in the World Heritage Committee's report of 2002 to improve the management of the site, either (UNESCO 2006). Indifference and the lack of adequate financial resources might some of the causes of such a retrogressive situation.

Bureaucracy and the lack of adequate connection among the various institutions involved with the management of some of the adopted properties represent other common challenges. These challenges appear to be relevant to Historic Cairo. The management of the site has always suffered from the limited connection among the various relevant institutions. To confront such challenges and to enhance disconnections among the relevant authorities, the government has established a new entity, the Islamic Cairo Authority, incorporating representatives from these authorities.

The poor control of the new urban development introduced inside some of the adopted properties is another common challenge, relevant to Historic Cairo. Few available mechanisms can be adopted to control the quality of the new-urban development introduced inside Historic Cairo. The Egyptian Act No 117 (1983) on Safeguarding Antiquities has established two relevant mechanisms, which are Archaeological Site and Protected Perimeter (Department of the Legislative Affairs 2002). The other relevant mechanism, which can be called Streets and Areas of Special Building Regulations (S&As), has been established under
the Implementing Decree of the Egyptian Act No 106 (1976) on the Control of Building Works (Department of the Legislative Affairs 2007a).

The function of the previous mechanism is almost similar to that of the British Conservation Areas (CAs). S&As can be applied to control a group of aspects associated with the new urban development, such as building height, materials, setbacks and architectural styles. The earliest application of this mechanism goes back to 1996, when 16 S&As were designated in Cairo, Giza, and Alexandria. Recently, few other S&As were designated in Aswan, Abu Simbel, Idfu, al-Siba'iya, Luxor, and Suez. In almost all the previous cases, the S&As mechanism has been applied only to control building height inside the designated areas. The S&As mechanism has not been applied inside Historic Cairo yet (Department of the Legislative Affairs 1997; 2007a). As a result, the new urban development introduced inside Historic Cairo seems to be of a very poor quality.

Corruption in the administrative system is another common challenge that is relevant to some of the adopted properties. In Egypt, corruption represents one of the serious challenges facing the management of the urban environment inside the inscribed properties. Granting building permission and demolition permission is the process that suffers from corruption the most. Developers' desire for maximized revenues is the cause of their infringing the maximum allowed building height. The very high land price also motivates developers' attempts to demolish historic villas, even if they are listed under Act No 144 or the Act No 117, which are meant to protect and replace them by high-rise residential blocks. In both cases, corruption is the only mean for developers to achieve their objectives. The result of such overwhelming corruption is the government's poor control over the quality of the new urban development introduced inside the inscribed properties. This poor control of the new development might constitute a serious threat to the authenticity, integrity and the overall value of the inscribed properties, such as Historic Cairo.

The need for more developed heritage laws is another theme that is relevant to some of the adopted properties. Until a recent time in Egypt, the Egyptian Act No 117 (1983) on Safeguarding Antiquities has been the only law involved with the conservation of cultural Heritage. This Act is merely concerned with antiquities, which include both moveables and immovable. To be scheduled as an antiquity, the concerned object should be more than 100 years old. The Act imposes strong restrictions on any internal, external or minor alterations carried out to any antiquity. The ownership of antiquities is limited to the government, represented by the Supreme Council of Antiquities. The Act is also involved with two patterns of protected areas, called Archaeological Site and Protected Perimeter Department of the
Legislative Affairs 2002). In 2006, the parliament enacted a new Act, called the Egyptian Act No 144 (2006) on the Control of the Demolition of Buildings and Stable Structures and the Conservation of the Architectural Heritage. Act No 144 will provide protection for the buildings that enjoy a distinctive architectural style, and which are less than 100 years old, especially the historic villas that failed to gain such protection under Act No 117. It will also establish a new category of protected cultural heritage that is equivalent to the British "Listed Buildings" (Department of the Legislative Affairs 2007a). The lists of these protected buildings are still being compiled. The government has also prepared another Act that will be involved with combating the visual chaos that has infested most of the urban areas in Egypt. This Act is planned to include a chapter incorporating the materials needed to manipulate the distinctive a buildings and the urban and natural sites (Gharib 2005). The Act is expected to contribute towards the development of the Egyptian experience in area-based conservation.

The Economic Aspects and the Controversial Arguments on Gentrification

The dependence of the national economy on tourism, which largely targets these properties, is one of the common economic themes that are relevant to all the adopted properties. In Egypt, tourism represents a major source of income. Moreover, WHSs in Egypt represent the key tourism destinations. Table 2 compares the numbers of international tourist arrivals and the receipts of international tourism in Egypt with the other three relevant States Parties; which are Chile, Sweden and Tanzania. The table emphasizes the significance of tourism as a source of income in Egypt, in comparison with the other States Parties (Facts & Figures, Information, Analysis and Know-how 2007).

Table 2. The international tourist arrivals and the international tourism receipts in the relevant States Parties. Note: N/A= Not available. Data source: Facts & Figures, Information, analysis and know-how, 2007.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State Party</th>
<th>International tourist arrivals (1000)</th>
<th>International tourism receipts (US $ million)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chile</td>
<td>943</td>
<td>1540</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>2411</td>
<td>2871</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>2309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Republic of Tanzania</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>285</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3 illustrates the contribution of the travel and tourism economy Gross Domestic Product, GDP, to the total GDP in Egypt, and in the other three States Parties. The previous table emphasizes the considerable contribution of the travel and tourism economy GDP to the
total GDP in Egypt (16.3 %) (World Travel & Tourism Council 2007). The statistics on which the tables were based do not detail the contribution of the three properties to their correspondent national economy, nor to the economy of the relevant three islands.

**Table 3.** The contribution of the travel and tourism economy GDP to the total GDP in the relevant States Parties, in 2007. *Data source: World Travel & Tourism Council, 2007, pp. 24-26.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State Party</th>
<th>2007 travel and tourism economy GDP (% of total GDP)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chile</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>16.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Republic of Tanzania</td>
<td>9.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The need to emphasize the positive economic influences of urban conservation inside WHSSs is another common theme. Realizing such influences guarantees the positive participation of the whole community in the conservation of their cultural heritage. These economic influences are closely associated with the controversial arguments about gentrification. Gentrification represents one of the key economic consequences of urban conservation inside WHCs. Preservation of historic buildings, or environmental enhancement of historic districts, is expected to lead to a considerable increase in properties' rents. Local residents' failure to respond to this increase will consequently result in decanting them to other cheaper areas. Gradually, wealthier residents will substitute the local residents. This social change is referred to as "gentrification". From this point of view, gentrification seems to represent a negative consequence of urban conservation.

Nevertheless, other arguments consider this change as a return to these historic quarters' original character, since most of these areas have been dominated by wealthy merchants. From this point of view, this change should not be considered as a negative consequence of urban conservation (Skea 2001). On the other hand, other social arguments, which are in favour of maintaining the indigenous population, consider gentrification as a negative consequence of urban conservation. These arguments can be counteracted by adopting some tools that guarantee the survival of the indigenous population. The French experience in area-based conservation has been connected with the establishment of mechanism, known as Operations Programmers Pour l'Amélioration de l'Habitat (OP AH), which has been employed to limit such social changes. OP AH has been adopted to guarantee the survival of the indigenous population by channelling rent subsidies from various sources to confront the increase in the rents resulting from urban conservation (Kain 1982). Therefore, similar
mechanisms can be adopted to confront gentrification, and to allow the positive economic consequences of conservation.

**Awareness of Heritage, Community Participation, and the Need for Economic Incentives**

Raising awareness and knowledge about heritage is a common theme that is relevant to the Egyptian WHCs, and to the other three properties. Pre-university education in Egypt hardly involves any subjects concerned with the management of WHSs. The efficiency of heritage interpretation in the Egyptian WHSs seems to be relevant to the arguments on raising awareness of heritage. Heritage interpretation in Egypt, which is in a desperate need for a further development, is largely dependent on guides as the only method of interpretation. Publications concerned with sites interpretation are hardly available inside any WHS. Therefore, increasing the awareness and knowledge about heritage in Egypt requires promoting the quality of interpretation, and developing the pre-university education.

The further involvement of the whole community with the management and preservation of the cultural heritage inside WHSs is another common theme that is relevant to the Egyptian WHCs and the other three properties. The involvement of the whole Egyptian community in the management of WHCs requires a further support. The very limited financial resources, available at the disposal of the Supreme Council of Antiquities, might be one of the key causes for the need for further community participation. Because of these limited resources, restoration work inside Historic Cairo seems to progress very slowly. The Egyptian legislation involved with the conservation of the built heritage shares the responsibility for this situation. According to the "Egyptian Act No 117 (1983) on Safeguarding Antiquities", the responsibility to undertake restoration work to antiquities is limited to the Supreme Council of Antiquities (Department of the Legislative Affairs 2002). The restoration of any building listed under the Egyptian Act No 144 is also limited to the government (Department of the Legislative Affairs 2007a). Apart from the Endowments, the role of any quasi-autonomous entity, equivalent to the British preservation trusts, as well as the role of the private sector in the restoration of the scheduled built heritage is totally missing in Egypt.

The lack of any economic incentive seems to be one of the key causes of the reluctance of developers, private owners, civic societies and the community as a whole to participate in the conservation of the built heritage. The frozen rents problem might be one of the reasons for the private owners' reluctance to get involved with the maintenance of the historic
buildings that are leased under the old rental laws, and which seem to represent a considerable portion of the built heritage inside the Egyptian WHCs. Should the government endeavours to promote the participation of civic societies and individuals and to introduce the notion of preservation trusts, so as to compensate for the shortage of the available financial resources, it will be inevitable to resolve the frozen rents problem.

The unique challenges and themes

The Social Aspects and the Housing Challenges

The frozen rents problem represents one of the serious challenges confronting the management of the Egyptian WHCs. The consecutive Acts involved with controlling the relationship between the owners and the leaseholders of the residential units have determined fixed values for rents. These rents, which are much less than the actual values that the real estates market suggests, have been calculated depending on the original land price, and the actual construction costs. For social considerations, the relevant Acts have also deprived the owners the right to evacuate the leased residential units at the termination of the contract. These Acts involve the Martial Decree No 151/1941, the Act No 199/1952, the Act No 46/1962 and the Act No 136/1981 (Hanna 1996).

The huge increase in the land and building materials prices, which took place during the 1970s, is one of the key causes of the problem. The available residential units' failure in meeting the growing individuals and families' demands, on the quantitative and qualitative levels, is another cause. The government's decline to produce adequate affordable residential units for rental purposes, and its preference to provide low-interest loans aiming at supporting the ownership pattern, is another reason (Hanna 1996). The socially oriented political regime might be another cause of the problem.

The frozen rents problem has had some influence on the quality of the urban environment inside the Egyptian WHCs. This problem has mostly influenced old residential buildings located inside these historic areas. Because of the low rent the owners are no longer interested in getting financially involved with the maintenance of these buildings. The relevant legislation has not addressed any arrangements concerning the maintenance of the leased residential properties (Department of the Legislative Affairs 2007b). Consequently these buildings, many of which are more likely to be listed under the Act No 144 as Listed Buildings, have undergone serious deterioration. The listing of these buildings is expected to bring to light the problem of rent control and its influences on the built heritage. Promoting a
new tool known as the co-operative housing for the production of residential units, represents a governmental approach to the problem. However due to its many weaknesses, including corruption, the co-operative housing experience has come to a halt (Hanna 1996). Mechanisms similar to the French OPAH might be adopted to provide rental subsidies for owners within particular designated areas, leading to the gradual release of these frozen rents.

The Urban Challenges
The dominance of overcrowded, and rundown, reward residential areas, as well as squatting in the urban settings of the Egyptian WHCs, represents these unique challenges. The prevalence of these rundown areas, characterized by their poor architectural qualities, seriously threatens the authenticity and integrity of these WHCs., being overcrowded has increased the pressure on the dilapidated infrastructure inside these urban areas. The failure of the worn down sewage system and water supply networks in responding to these growing pressures has been responsible for the seepage of these networks, and the subsequently raised subterranean water level. These problems undoubtedly represent a serious threat to the historic environment inside these areas. The social political regime and the very limited financial resources available at the disposal of the government might be some of the causes that led to the failure in confronting such challenges.

The Political Aspects and the Pattern of Heritage Ownership
The socially oriented political regime in Egypt seems to represent a unique feature related to the Egyptian WHCs. The situation in Egypt seems to echo that in previously communist countries. Recently, Egypt has witnessed a limited shift towards the western political regime. The extensive privatization program experienced during the last decade confirms this shift. This privatization program has allowed the private sector further access to many new economic fields. Promoting the role of civic societies in many humanitarian fields has also featured this political shift. Nevertheless, neither the private sector, nor any other form of civic societies, has achieved any further access to the fields of heritage management and ownership inside WHCs. The social centrally oriented political regime is closely associated with another problem, which is the local authorities’ inefficient performance. Act No 144 has tried to foster the role of local authorities in the conservation of built heritage. According to this Act, the process of listing the distinctive buildings should be the responsibility of the committees established on the local level (Department of the Legislative Affairs 2007a).

The private sector and the non-governmental entities’ limited access to the ownership of
the scheduled cultural heritage is another unique feature of the Egyptian experience. According to the Act No 117, the ownership of antiquities, and Archaeological Site, is limited to the government, represented by the Supreme Council of Antiquities. The Endowments are the only exception from these restrictions (Department of the Legislative Affairs 2002). Such properties are usually expropriated and owners are compensated. Kom al-Dikka in Alexandria, is an example of the Archaeological that the Supreme Council of Antiquities has expropriated (Center For Documentation of Cultural & Natural Heritage and the Supreme Council of Antiquities 2002). On the other hand, Wikala caravanserais, of Bazaraa represent a residential medieval antiquity that has been expropriated (The Supreme Council of Antiquities 2000). The leaseholders of the Wikala have been compensated, and the building will be converted to a cultural centre. Act No 144 will allow private ownership of a new category of cultural heritage equivalent to the British Listed Buildings. Nevertheless, the restoration of such buildings will be limited to the government (Department of the Legislative Affairs 2007a). Many residential buildings that belong to the Royal Family era, and which reflect the influences of Ismail plan for Cairo, will be listed under this Act. A large section of these residential buildings suffers from the frozen rents problem.

Conclusions

This preview suggests the need to confront the challenges encountering the Egyptian WHCs within a context incorporating other relevant properties. Such an approach of analysis allows the identification of relevant answers to these challenges. The previous study has revealed the broad spectrum of the relevant contexts that might incorporate the Egyptian WHCs with other properties. Previously examined traditional context has incorporated the properties that represent the prosperous experiences in area-based conservation, such as the Old and New Towns of Edinburgh in the United Kingdom. Previous studies have emphasized the success of this context in providing many relevant answers to the challenges encountering the Egyptian WHCs. The study has also endeavoured to examine the relevance of the Egyptian WHCs to the three properties of Hanseatic Town of Visby, Rapa Nui National Park and Stone Town of Zanzibar and to the workshop's adopted context.

The study seems to unveil the many common features, themes and challenges that interlink the Egyptian WHCs with the adopted properties. The structure of the urban environment inside most of the adopted properties seems to be one of these common features. Such common themes include the governments' limited efforts concerning the management of
WHSs and the lack of adequate connection among the institutions involved with the management of these properties. The inefficient control of the new urban development introduced inside most of these properties, the need for further developed heritage laws, and the dependence on tourism as a major source of income are other common themes. These common themes also include the need for the whole community's further participation in the management and the preservation of the cultural heritage. Diverse common features and themes emphasize the relevance of the Egyptian WHCs to the three properties and their adopted context. Nevertheless, the study has revealed some unique challenges and themes limited to the Egyptian WHCs. The frozen rents problem, the dominance of rundown overcrowded residential areas and the limited accessibility to heritage ownership represent some of these challenges and features.

References


ON THE TENTATIVE LIST
– TOWARDS WORLD HERITAGE IN SAMOA

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Introduction

Samoa joined UNESCO in 1981 and ratified the World Heritage Convention on the 28th of August 2001. Samoa is currently in the process of a World Heritage application since two sites were nominated to the tentative list in 2006. These two are mixed sites (cultural and natural heritage);

- Manono, Apolima and Nuulopa cultural landscape and
- Fagaloa Bay – Uafato Tiavea conservation Zone.

Manono, Apolima and Nuulopa cultural landscape

The Manono, Apolima and Nuulopa site (Figure 1) form a small group of islands off the western coast of Upolu island, the main political and commercial centre of the Samoan archipelago. Traditionally it is best known for its political and therefore cultural hegemony rather than for its natural beauty, though that also is to be found in these islands. According to the national faalupega (honorifics) of Independent Samoa, Manono is known as Aiga i le Tai (Family By the Sea), the collective name for Manono, Apolima and Nuulopa excels as a cultural centre of the faa-Samoa, and thus its claim for recognition as a heritage site. Manono Island is one of the smallest islands in the Samoan archipelago but throughout its history has been one of the most important political districts in Samoa. In fact, for much of the nineteenth century (c. 1820 to 1870), it was the seat of government (malo) in the group. In terms of size, Manono with its satellite island, Apolima, measure only 1.5 square miles and Nuulopa is just a small rock in the Sea. Through archaeological finds the history of Manono goes back to the
Figure 1. Overview Manono, Nuulope and Apolima (from left to right) (Photo: Helene Martinsson-Wallin).

Figure 2. Historical chiefley grave on Manano (Photo: Helene Martinsson-Wallin).
pioneer phase of human occupation of Samoa c. 2500 years ago (Jennings and Holmer 1980). Throughout the history of this Island external ties to other Samoan islands and beyond, are seen and therefore, it presents a very interesting picture of a genetic mixture of Tongan, Fijian and Samoan heritage. It is also rich in traditional flora and fauna, which needs to be preserved in the midst of social change. Above all it abounds with many historical sites and landmarks, for instance, the place where the Wesleyan mission was first introduced at Faleu and Utuagiagi and the palesoo, the uncompleted ring of stones to mark the many marriages of a high Manono chief. There are also traditional house sites and star mounds, plus many more sites of historical interest (Figure 2).

Fagaloa Bay – Uafato Tiavea conservation Zone
The conservation zone, which encompasses Uafato and Tiavea villages in Fagaloa Bay is an example of a mixed conservation area because it contains natural geological and environmental features unique to Samoa (Figure 3, 4) as well as an entrenched way of life based on Samoan traditional norms. “The combination of Uafato-Tiavea coastal rainforest, rugged topography, remarkable waterfalls, considerable species diversity, coral reefs and unique cultural features give the Fagaloa Bay and Uafato-Tiavea area great significance and potential for consideration as a possible nomination under the “mixed sites” for Samoa’s Tentative List” (Ministry 2006:3). The Uafato/Tiavea conservation zone covers 1400 hectares of land and includes one of the largest coastal rainforests in the Pacific.

Figure 3. Rainforest in Samoa (Mr. Mala Manusamoa) (Photo: Helene Martinsson-Wallin).
It contains some of Samoa’s endemic flora and fauna and marine resources as well as rare forest birds such as the national bird, the *manumea*, tooth-billed pigeon with at least seven other bird species.

The rainforest was rated by the most recent and comprehensive survey in Samoa as a grade 1 priority site for conservation (Park et al 1992) and this for two reasons: it is one of very few areas left in Samoa where there is an intact band of rainforest from the sea to the interior uplands, and it is regarded as one of the most viable areas in Samoa for a kind of conservation that can sustain natural ecosystems in perpetuity at the same time as traditional forms of resource use. The Fagaloa district stands out not just from its unique environment and beautiful landscape. It is also the locus of many myths and traditions. According to one
prominent myth, Fagaloa is the centre of the Samoan universe where the high god Tagaloalagi lived and worked. It was the place where the culture hero Lufasiaitu battled with the forces of Tagaloalagi who had stolen his chicken and where Tagaloalagi gave his daughter Amoa to Lufasiaitu to stop him from the massacre of his people.

The name SAMOA indeed originated in this incident when Lufasiaitu prohibited the heavenly people from killing his chicken. *Sa* means prohibited, and *moa* means chicken. Of course there are other versions of how Samoa came to be named, but that was the Fagaloa one. Other myths concern the resting place of the ancestral god Moso, called *tietiega o Moso*, his chair (*nofoa papa*), dining table (*laulau*), branching taro (*talo magamaga*), and ava bowl buried in the sand (*tanoa faiava*) all made of stone. The Fagaloa district is thus a place of exceptional uniqueness and beauty with a deep cultural history that is relived today in poetry, song and dance.

The nomination process

The process to become a World Heritage is generally a long and winding road since, besides that the site should be considered of *Universal Value to mankind* and meet the requirements set forth in the Convention, there are many other requirements to meet. Legislations, infrastructure, management plans and human resources are needed to protect and preserve these sites, which is the important mission to upgrade the tentative sites to WH sites. An investigation of the state of World Heritage in the Asian-Pacific region was published in 2004 here it is for example stated; “There is a gap in professional capacities of Australia and New Zealand... and those of the other Pacific Countries”(World Heritage report 12 2004:69). A concern was also that there were virtually no WH sites in the Pacific region. A Capacity-Building workshop was held at the UNESCO offices in Apia 2003, where it was stated that professional capacities needs to be strengthen in collaboration with local actors as SPREP (South Pacific Regional Environmental Program) and PIMA (Pacific Island Museum Association).

In line with the WH Global strategy was an Action Plan worked out at a meeting in New Zeeland in 2004 called; “World Heritage – 2009 Pacific program”. This would ensure and support the nomination of Pacific World Heritages. With this as a foundation and framework have several Pacific sites been nominated to the tentative list as well as making a study on cultural landscapes in the Pacific. The latter was carried out in an attempt to investigate a possibility for trans-boundary nomination (Smith and Jones 2007). Capacity-building workshops have been arranged, for example in at the UNESCO office in Apia 2006
and these actions also encouraged that World Heritage issues should be mediated to the young people. In Samoa this resulted in that MNRE created a “Heritage Awareness Day” with a drawing competition within the UNESCO framework “World Heritage in Young Hands”.

In the workshop on Gotland in 2007 three participants from Samoa, (among then the co-author of this paper) and one from Tokelau participated in the discussion on World Heritage in Island communities and shared their experiences of views on Heritage and its management from the Pacific region. Although Samoa does not yet have a World Heritage site, there is a growing awareness about the need to declare an interest in the cultural and natural heritage to promote further development of management plans and the continuations work on the dossier of the sites nominated to the tentative list in 2006, for them to be upgraded to World Heritage sites. This work is now being promoted and implemented by the Samoan Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment. The 2007 conference in Gotland aided in realising what kind of work that needs to be done at the national level to create an awareness of the importance of cultural heritage sites. Because such sites are visible signs of the past upon which the Samoan contemporary national identity is based.

The National Heritage Committee in Samoa is a government committee comprising of representatives mainly from government departments, civil society and the National University of Samoa. It was founded in 1990 by the Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment to identify cultural sites and find ways of preserving these. A score of these sites have been identified of which only two have been selected as Samoa’s choices for WH sites. These are the above-mentioned Uafato Conservation Area (mixed site) and Manono/Apolima islands, mainly a cultural landscape site. Applications for these sites have already been made to the World Heritage body, and according to a Ministry source, the response has been encouraging.

Several workshops have been carried out in the framework of the Action Plan for Pacific World Heritage 2009 and an important meeting “Pacific Island Heritage Workshop” was held in Maupiti, French Polynesia in 2009. At this workshop the outcomes of the Action Plan 2004-2009 was evaluated, and a fundament worked out for an Action Plan for 2010-2015 (http://whc.unesco.org/en/events/609 accessed 11/11/18). The outcomes of the AP 2004-2009 included that eleven of the thirteen Pacific states have ratified the WH Convention and nine states had submitted site nominations to the WH tentative list. Two properties of small island states parties had been inscribed as WH sites (Chief Roi Mata’s Domain in Vanuatu and Kuk agricultural site in Papua New Guinea), in addition to the East Rennell, Solomons that was
inscribed 1998. During this time have also one additional site belonging to Pacific territories of non-Pacific State Parties been inscribed on the World Heritage List, i.e. Lagoon of New Caledonia: Reef Diversity and Associated Ecosystem, France. This is in addition to the Pacific properties of Hawaiian Islands Volcanos, USA; Henderson Island, UK; Rapa Nui, Chile that were inscribed prior to 2004. A long-time vision on World Heritage for the region; “The Pacific Appeal” have been established and communicated. (http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2007/whc07-31com-11c.pdf accessed 11/11/18).

Independent CHM Capacity building efforts have been carried out in Samoa within the framework of the National University of Samoa in implementing an education in archaeology and heritage management (Figure 5). This effort has been sponsored by the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency and the Linnaeus-Palme educational exchange (2005-2014). This is an exchange both authors to this paper are involved in. So far the coordination of the UNESCO and World Heritage organisation and the National University of Samoa and Centre of Samoan Studies could have functioned better since we consider this an important link to the success of nominating World Heritage sites in Samoa.

Figure 5. NUS Field School in december 2010 at Laupele mound (Ms. Samanta Kwan and Mr. Lafaeli Eli) (Photo Helene Martinsson-Wallin).
A recent World Heritage workshop was held in Apia in September 2011, which included many stakeholders from the Samoan community, including the National University of Samoa. On the agenda for Samoa described in the 2010-2015 Action Plan, is to analyse and evaluate the sites potential to meet the Convention criteria and involve the local communities in the process to prepare a nomination dossier. It is also stated that the National University of Samoa should carry out further archaeological excavations at the tentative sites, and WH awareness materials should be developed for schools and communities.

When it concerns legislations there are several laws that safeguard the natural and cultural heritage in Samoa as the; Planning and Urban Management Act (2004), Samoan Antiquities Ordinance (1954 revised 1972), The National Park and Reserve Act (1974) and the Forest Act (1967) However, the praxis, infrastructure and human resources to reinforce these laws needs to be strengthen. A Heritage policy (2002-2005) have been worked out by The Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources (MNRE) and a Cultural policy (2008-2010) been worked out by the Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture (MESC). However, so far Natural and Cultural Heritages issues are handled under the MNRE. The authors of this paper have stated elsewhere (Va’a 2011, Martinsson-Wallin 2011) that; the management of the tangible heritage and archaeology have until now not been a priority in Samoa. Ideology is tied to the perception of culture and even if the view of the pagan past and its tangible and intangible representations are ambiguous in contemporary Samoa the education, awareness and interest about such heritage are increasing “if we are to succeed in promoting the education, welfare and history of our people we must find ways of coping successfully with the challenges.” (Va’a 2011:35).

Samoa is now in the process of preparing a dossier for the successful nomination of a first World Heritage site. Now it is vital to carry out evaluations of the need to strengthen legislation and praxis in managing and handling the heritage and also support and build up institutions and educate human resources who can handle and manage natural and cultural heritage in Samoa.

References


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