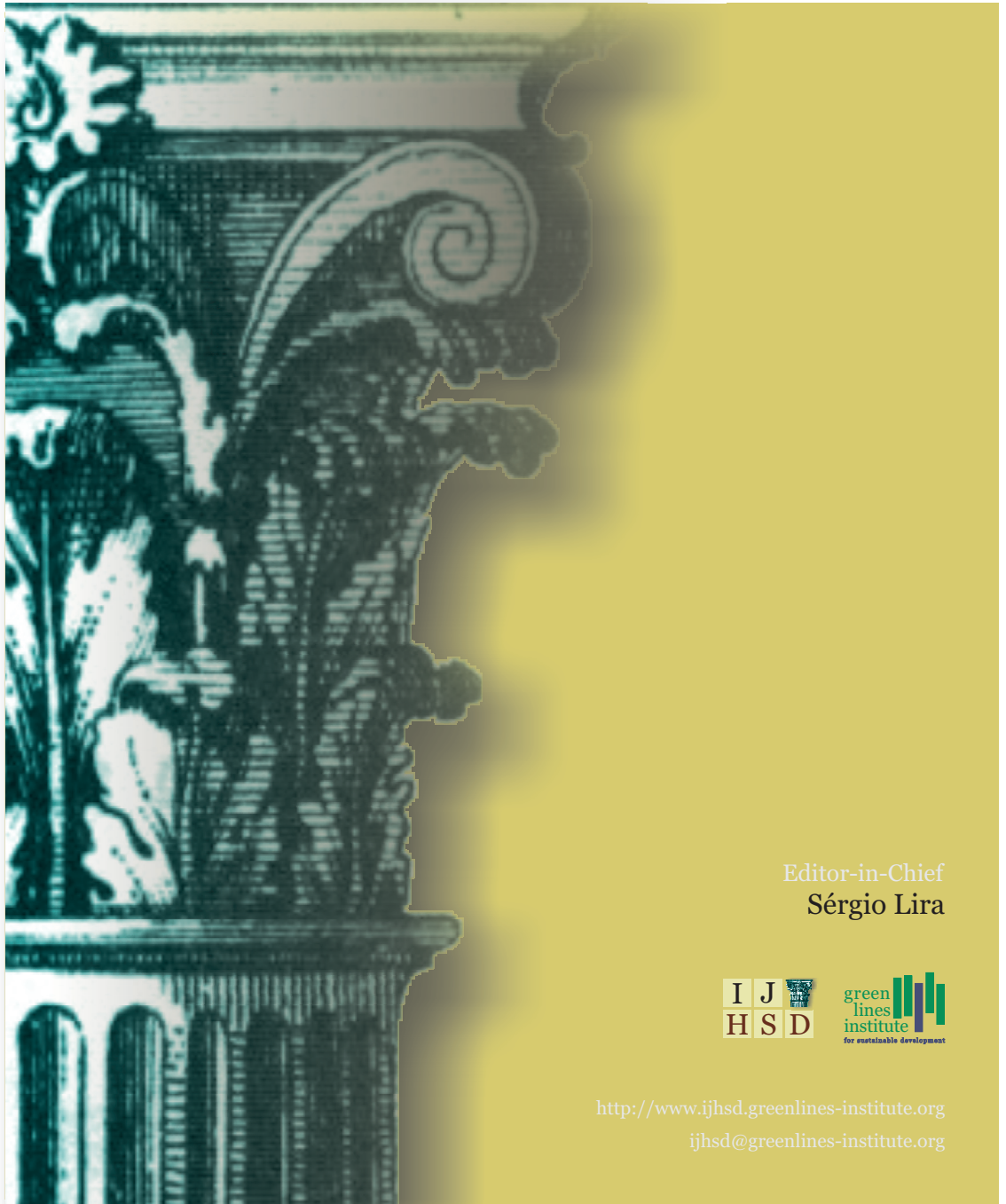


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IJHSD is a non-political and non-religious scientific Journal, independent and dedicated solely to academic work and scientific research.

IJHSD aims at publishing original scientific contributions in the field of heritage and sustainable development, making these two sometimes separated subjects a common object of analysis and research. There is already a number of highly prestigious Journals and similar publications on heritage and on sustainability - nevertheless, IJHSD core and innovative subject is the deep relationship between the two. The conceptual basis upon which this Journal stands is precisely that: heritage is/will not be relevant without sustainability. There is no such thing as "sustainability" without proper care and proper use of heritage, reason why IJHSD seeks for original contributions from academics, scholars and researchers who pursue a broad perspective on the subject, placing heritage and sustainability as the focus of their research. Normally the IJHSD will publish one issue each year but special issues may also be published as a result of workshops or seminars organised in the specific field of heritage and sustainable development. Thematic issues may also be published, under a focused editorial orientation. All research articles in the Journal will undergo peer review, based on initial Editor's screening and anonymous refereeing by two members of the Editorial Board.



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## Editorial

Sérgio Lira

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Following the path established by the first issue of the IJHSD, Green Lines Institute now publishes the second issue of the Journal, persisting in the aim of publishing original scientific contributes in the field of heritage and sustainable development. One of the objectives originally presented when the Journal was created (i.e. “making these two sometimes separated subjects [*heritage and sustainable development*] a common object of analysis and research”) is reinforced with this new issue. In reading throughout the articles, the relationship between sustainable development and heritage becomes ever more significant and the interdependence between both proven – this was indeed one of the points the Journal aimed at establishing. Main areas of research and discussion covered by the Journal also remained the same, for their research worthiness and thematic coherence: [a) heritage and sustainable economics, b) heritage and governance for sustainable development, c) sustainable preservation of natural heritage, d) sustainable preservation of cultural heritage, e) heritage and communities development, f) heritage and sustainable tourism and g) sustainable preservation of built heritage].

This second issue covers a vast area of research and the articles discuss some major points concerning both theoretical and field research on heritage and sustainable development. The sequence of the papers was organised on author's first name alphabetic order. Starting with Alison McCleery's paper, the author presents the complex paradox emerging from the promotion of tourism (ecotourism and cultural tourism) and the preservation of ICH. Tourism is seen as a possible means to promoting and therefore preserving ICH, but the fact is that uncontrolled tourism will most certainly affect (or even destroy) essential aspects of ICH. The case of Scotland is presented, in order to discuss these critical issues concerning ICH and its role in sustainable development. Another issue of analysis is presented in Diane Hafner's paper, where material culture plays a primordial role. The paper discusses the conceptual meaning of “objects” and their interconnections with meanings and emotions; the role of museums is naturally one of the major points under discussion. The case presented is that of the Lamalama people, closely connected with the marine environment of the eastern side of Cape York Peninsula (Australian state of Queensland). The case of Orvieto (a medieval Italian town) is the object of analysis of Gabriella Duca's paper. The author discusses the sustainability of ancient settlements arguing that identity is built on both tangible and intangible elements and thus proposing a methodological approach to the research on built environment identities. James Verinis describes the complex circumstances of heritage in Greek rural areas: “Heritage is a complex good in rural areas – a new multifaceted commodity”. In Greece unsuccessful attempts to protect and promote traditional cultures (as olives for example) and the frustrated initiatives of agritourism gave room to a new kind of migration to rural areas. The author discusses the case of the Laconia region, as a significant example to understanding this new phenomenon in Greece. Laima Nomeikaitė's paper aims at analysing how local actors can use cultural heritage resources as a strategy for socio-economic revitalisation, in order to sustain local development. The paper is based on a theoretical model of “organising capacity” and presents the case of the town of Allariz (Spain). Furthermore, L. Nomeikaitė argues that the judicious use of organizing capacity tools (such as vision, strategy, leadership, societal and political support and strategic networks) becomes a critical factor for local sustainable development strategies. The protection of identities and the control of transformations are key-aspects of Paola de Joanna's paper, where she argues that “the rehabilitation of cultural heritage is closely linked to the concept of sustainable development and sustainable use of resources”. The paper presents a methodology for assessing the impact of transformations upon built heritage, which considers both the need for conservation and the necessity of heritage protection. Sabina Lima presents the case of the historic centre of Pelotas (Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil) contextualising it in the “monumenta” programme (running in Brazil since 1999), which aims at promoting the rehabilitation and sustainability of historic centres. The economic activity of the years 2002 and 2007 is extensively analysed and data is thoroughly

presented. Finally, Aboriginal art and cultural centres are under analysis in Tod Jones' paper. Departing from the identification of a 10 years long trend to create Aboriginal cultural centres across Australia, the paper focus on their role and differentiates this "second wave" from a first one, that had occurred in the beginning of the 1970's. The paper argues that this (possible) second wave can be characterised as a state-defined strategy for sustainable development and presents as case-study the Gwoondwardu Mia, the Gascoyne Aboriginal Heritage and Cultural Centre in Carnarvon, Western Australia.

The Editor wishes to thank all Authors who contributed to this second issue and hopes that its publication will contribute to foster the discussion on significant issues linking heritage and sustainable development, given the relevance of the contributions being published. The Editor also wishes to thank all members of the Editorial Board who peer-reviewd the papers, for their kind and proficient contribution.

The IJHSD will be, from this issue onwards, published in electronic format (under e.ISSN) and open access via the web-site [<http://ijhdsd.greenines-institute.org>]. A printed version (under ISSN) will also be available as "print-on-demand" option, for all those wishing to purchase a hard copy. The call for papers for future issues of the IJHSD remains open and the Journal very much welcomes further original contributions to the theme.



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## Intangible heritage and sustainable tourism: impossible clash of cultures or essential meeting of minds?

Alison McCleery

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It is more than a decade since the term 'sustainable tourism' entered the economic development lexicon. That concept – whether referring to ecotourism in the context of the natural environment or cultural tourism in the context of the human environment – embodies an essential paradox. Just as fostering 'green' attitudes and promulgating 'green' behaviours is about protecting the physical environment from damage, so is transmitting knowledge and understanding of cultural heritage about safeguarding that heritage; tourism, on the other hand, is about consumption. The questions which are addressed in this article are, generally, whether such consumption and conservation can coexist; and, specifically, whether the safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) can be combined with its exposure to and exploitation by tourists. In exploring these challenges, the article will consider such issues as ownership of ICH, and rights and responsibilities in respect of ICH, drawing mainly from experience in Scotland.

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### Introduction and context

At every meeting of tourism with ICH, in spaces where tourists and practitioners of ICH come together, there is potential for socio-cultural conflict. This arises because of different agendas in respect of particular and peculiar ICH, and its meanings for different individuals and groups practicing it, experiencing it, or consuming it. Essentially, these agendas may be distilled into the ethics and economics of the safeguarding, recording, promotion and exploitation of ICH as distinctive cultural and social practices. As an external-facing phenomenon, ICH becomes economically viable but risks distortion to the point of destruction; as an internal-facing phenomenon, ICH remains pure and undefiled but risks imperceptibility and obscurity to the point of extinction. If the foregoing premises are accepted, it behoves us to enquire whether sustainable tourism's close relative 'responsible tourism' – an even more recent, similarly paradoxical and politically correct neologism – is capable of balancing the requirements of both ethical frameworks and economic imperatives.

To do so, it is necessary to go back to first principles and the paper begins by examining both aspects of the economics of ICH as a vehicle for regional development and approaches to the sociology of tourism. The transactional nature of tourism is investigated, as is the role in that transaction of ICH, which is first defined and explored. The discussion then extends into an examination of psychological and anthropological aspects of the complex relationship between the hosts who are ICH practitioners and providers, and the guests who are ICH customers and consumers. Issues such as commodification and (in)authenticity are highlighted, as well as the role of the complicity and collusion-in-duplicity existing between hosts and guests. In pursuing these themes, a case study approach is adopted, which draws primarily but not exclusively upon a UNESCO-endorsed project investigating ICH in Scotland.

### Defining and placing ICH

The profile of ICH in the UK has been raised recently by the above project led by the author to identify, develop and test a method of recording and safeguarding ICH in Scotland in line with best practice for ICH conservation<sup>1</sup>. The "domain definitions" of Article 2.2 of the UNESCO *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* (2003a) comprise: oral traditions and expressions, including language as a

vehicle of the ICH; performing arts; social practices, rituals and festive events; knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe; and traditional craftsmanship. However, UNESCO – which consulted extensively with member states and ICH experts globally in arriving at definitional workability – does not regard these definitions as either comprehensive or prescriptive, insisting that forms of ICH are defined by the communities themselves that participate in them. Thus the ICH in Scotland Project was able to define ICH as broadly or as narrowly as deemed appropriate. The approach ultimately adopted avoided any attempt to define a Scottish essentialism, allowing ICH in Scotland to be celebrated for its remarkable diversity. That diversity promotes the image and actuality of a cosmopolitan multi-cultural Scotland, and arises from a variety of sources including: a persistent sense of regionalism within Scotland; the existence of distinct linguistic communities within Scotland; and a long history of immigration as well as diasporic emigration (McCleery et al., 2010). The scope for the adoption and adaptation of the ICH of incoming settler groups is evident.

Cultural heritage, as is implicit from the definitional discussion above, is not limited to material manifestations, such as artefacts, monuments and other objects that have been preserved over time. It also encompasses living expressions and traditions that countless groups and communities worldwide have inherited from their ancestors and transmit to their descendants, in most cases orally (McCleery et al., 2008). Many years of research undertaken on behalf of UNESCO on the functions and values of cultural expressions and practices have opened the door to new approaches to the understanding and protection of, and respect for, the cultural heritage of humanity. This living heritage that is ICH provides each bearer of such expressions with a sense of identity and continuity, insofar as he or she takes ownership of them and constantly recreates them. Indeed, in the context of Scotland, it is the ICH of new Scots<sup>2</sup> – rather than that associated with material products such as the ‘tat’ too often promoted to tourists that masquerades for Scotland’s material heritage in the shape of tartan trinkets or ‘Nessie’ (the mythical monster of Loch Ness) – that has done most to change the nature of Scottish culture as a whole, providing a new Scottish cultural identity. This is well expressed and neatly encapsulated in the Edinburgh International Festival’s ‘Festival Fringe’ activities which take place annually around the main festival in August in Scotland’s capital city.

As a driving force of a unique blend of cultural expression and sense of identity, living heritage is also fragile. In recent years, this fragility has received international recognition and its safeguarding has become one of the priorities of international cooperation, owing much to UNESCO’s adoption and subsequent promotion of its Convention on ICH. The UK is not (yet) a signatory to the Convention, and Scotland must accommodate itself to this state of affairs as best it can for as long as it remains a constituent part of the UK. Indeed, this very fact may have prompted a particularly positive response to the ICH in Scotland Project, exemplified in the warm reception of the project across all parties of the devolved Scottish Parliament<sup>3</sup>. This is both fortunate and timely given the unprecedented commercial interest of late – in the wake of the surge in popularity of things ‘green’ (as opposed to artificial/chemical) and of the genuine article (as opposed to artificial/superficial) – in the potential for ICH to be employed as a vehicle for economic development. While many would regard commercialisation of ICH as an impossible contradiction in terms, this paper is open to the perspective that it is at least reasonable to explore whether ICH, in carefully controlled circumstances, can be exploited (i.e. used and developed) for economic ends without being exploited (i.e. reduced and diminished) from a cultural perspective.

### **Economic and ethical imperatives for cultural tourism**

In the OECD area, tourism accounts for up to 11% of GDP and even more in terms of employment (OECD, 2010). It represents serious work for those supplying tourist services; serious play for the holidaymakers consuming tourist services and a serious economic development tool for all kinds of intermediaries. As far as cultural tourism is concerned, even before the end of the twentieth century, the World Tourism Organization (WTO) acknowledged that heritage and culture were components of almost 40% of international trips (Timothy and Boyd, 2003). Sigala and Leslie (2005) quote similar statistics to evidence the increasing centrality of heritage and cultural attractions in modern, knowledge-based societies. They elaborate: “it is not surprising that in recent years the cultural heritage sector has gained much political attention owing to its economic potential and its importance for market development in the information society”, given both that culture is a major driver of tourism demand and flows, and cultural heritage resources are routinely placed at the centre of both urban and rural development and rejuvenation strategies. The result is that “every country, region or locale has viewed or is viewing its cultural resources in terms of tourism potential”, most markedly in the post-industrialised western nations which have been losing market share as traditional visitors go elsewhere (Sigala and Leslie, 2005: xii). Tourist development, in other words, is acknowledged as a legitimate economic development tool by agencies at every level, from local authorities, through regional development agencies and branches of central government, right up to supra-national organisations. As long ago as 1983, Grassie was describing tourism as the ‘soft option’ seized upon by desperate regional development authorities as a quick-fix tool for the promotion of economic growth. Nothing has changed; nearly thirty years later Greece is looking to tourism to rescue her parlous economy from the catastrophic local effects of world-wide recession.

This is not to deny that the true value delivered by cultural institutions to society is indirect and non-financial, given that they strive primarily to provide intellectual enjoyment and raise awareness of the importance of cultural and historical knowledge. Yet, as Sigala and Leslie (2005: xii-xiii), point out, “this

does not mean that market opportunities are to be ignored, but it implies that cultural institutions and governments need to maintain a realistic view on the exploitability and management of cultural heritage resources, as well as a return on investment in supporting the continuity of these resources". This is where 'responsible tourism' enters the picture, with the balancing of what McCleery (2011a) encapsulates as an ethical framework for safeguarding cultural heritage, against an economic imperative for its exploitation. In respect of ICH, doing nothing may be as morally reprehensible as doing something. Furthermore, doing something may rescue and revitalise ICH which has become stale and anachronistic (or even socially and morally unacceptable in a world which values equality and diversity). While it is obvious that, as an external-facing phenomenon, ICH risks adulteration and dilution, it is less obvious that as an internal-facing phenomenon, in remaining pure and unadulterated, ICH may also become so fragile as to die out altogether. Viewed thus, it stands to reason that evolution is not invariably 'bad', especially if it can simultaneously protect and promote, sustain and support, not only the ICH itself but the ICH ownership community. It bears repetition that non-exploitation may have ethical implications as far-reaching as those of exploitation. Besides, bringing ICH and tourism together under the label of responsible tourism constitutes a conveniently pragmatic and politically correct move.

### **The sociology underlying the economics of ICH for tourism**

According to Urry (2002), tourists may be construed as modern-day pilgrims, searching for an authenticity which is absent from their own everyday lives. What they anticipate in their destinations is not holiness or divine visions which induce feelings of peace and contentment, but something even more miraculous, namely the opportunity to feel different from the way they feel at home (Chaline, 2002). The pursuit of happiness apparently necessitates a requirement for a contrast between home and away, and the representation in the real lives of others of a reality hard to discover in one's own mundane everyday experiences. As MacCannell (1999) observes, "Modern Man is losing his attachments to the work bench, the neighbourhood ... which he once called 'his own' but, at the same time, he is developing an interest in the 'real lives' of others." Smith and Kelly (2006), too, note the search for a sense of community. It is not hard to identify the fundamental incongruity here; tourists' real lives at home are grey and unreal, whereas the everyday lives of others in their homes are not similarly mundane, but somehow interesting and vibrant.

The drawback here is that, because 'real lives' are found only backstage, the gaze of the tourist involves intrusion into domestic life (Urry, 2002). Because of, at best, the inconvenience and, at worst, the unacceptability which this entails, the people being observed and also the local tourist entrepreneurs ultimately come to construct a variety of contrived backstages; in an effort by the host community both to protect itself from intrusions into the privacy of family life and also to take advantage of the commercial opportunities presented, tourist spaces become organised around what MacCannell (1973) refers to as 'staged authenticity'. The result is that ICH pivots round from being inward facing for the benefit of local people, to being outward facing for the benefit of visitors. Furthermore, as reported by Boorstin as long ago as 1964, in order to protect sacred or otherwise precious ICH from disrespect and damage – albeit caused mostly inadvertently by insouciant visitors descending 'en masse' – 'pseudo-events' are staged specifically for the benefit of the visitors. In consequence, the 'real' experience which tourists crave has become unreal, no matter that it may actually constitute a genuine, commercial initiative which defines the reality of the service provider's current work and life experience. Inevitably, entrepreneurs are induced (or reduced) to manufacturing ever more extravagant displays, effectively removing the observer even further from local people.

It was also suggested by Boorstin (1964) that tourists deliberately seek out inauthentic or 'unreal' experiences. However, a different perspective is taken here and it is proposed that pseudo-events are more likely to result from the increasingly complex and sophisticated social relations of tourism; as explained above, tourists are actually involved in a search for a perceived authenticity which is lacking in their own lives which seem ordinary (boring) and superficial (modern-day) by comparison. These same people would be aghast if, upon their return to their offices and factories, it was decided to replace all computers and automated assembly lines with typewriters and manual processes. Yet, in the context of the physical and psychological dislocation of their holiday, 'traditional' is associated with genuineness and anything 'modern' is eschewed. (That having been said, there is something of a blind spot in respect of 'en suite' hotel rooms, refrigeration in the kitchen and bar. As will be demonstrated later, post-modernity demands complicity and collusion between host and guest). Thus, as MacCannell (1999) observes, almost any sort of [manual] work – from the backbreaking toil of the Welsh [or Scottish] miner to the distasteful work of the Parisian sewerage operative, because these are imbued with the patina of age and tradition and are unencumbered by the artificiality and deceitfulness of automation – can be the object of the tourist gaze and the function of the service provider to supply.

In such circumstances, it does not take much, as Urry (2002) observes, for 'pseudo-reality' to tend towards 'hyper-reality', with the perverse corollary that both the aesthetic sense and the sensuality of the visitors is rendered as restricted as it is at home. This is not helped by the relatively superficial way in which indigenous cultures necessarily have to be (re)presented to the tourist. What may once have been exotic is reduced to the banal. Over time, via advertising and the media, the images generated of the tourist gaze and the tourists' own expectation of that gaze, come to constitute a closed self-perpetuating system of fakery and illusion. Just as the economy of the household cannot be considered in isolation from

the wider regional, national and global economic contexts in which it exists, so the individual guest or host is hostage to the wider social relations of tourism which, themselves, are largely driven by economic considerations on a variety of scales. Boorstin's take on these matters has been superseded in the half-century which has since elapsed, and it is proposed here that pseudo-reality and even hyper-reality is not (or no longer) the 'fault' of either the consumer of such images or the provider, but has its roots in complex macro-socio-cultural and macro-socio-economic influences and relationships.

### **Ownership, rights and responsibilities in respect of ICH**

Whichever theoretical perspective is preferred, curiously, as far as ICH is concerned, such fakery and hyper-reality may constitute either the ultimate strategy for its careful conservation or the immediate possibility of its dilution, diminution and eventual destruction. Creating a pseudo-event specifically for visitors to enjoy protects 'real' ICH from potential adulteration, although this is not without its ethical implications. It is impossible not to question the legitimacy of offering the visitor an inauthentic experience; nor the validity of construing the external visitor as lacking the cultural context to be able fully to appreciate and benefit from the authentic experience; nor, finally, the reprehensibility of allowing the authentic event to be contaminated, diluted or diminished in some other way by exposure to metropolitan values and mores. Whether through coercion by regulatory prescription or the desire to preserve or promote political or environmental reputation, tourism providers now pay at least lip service to potential environmental impacts of tourism. Arguably the cultural landscape deserves to be accorded as much protection as the physical landscape from invasion by tourist hordes. Indeed, it can be argued that damaged vegetation re-grows, whereas damaged cultural assets, whether constructed in stone or created in song, are less amenable to restoration. Whatever the economic or ethical justification, or lack of it, for inauthenticity and pseudo-reality, the fakery of modern market-economy tourism is today universal.

This not only promotes what Urry (2002) refers to as 'trinketisation' of local crafts, but may also pervert local customs and insinuate itself into and corrupt family life, however well-meant the substitution of the pseudo-event for the 'authentic' one. As already indicated, the relationship between guest and host is no longer an uncomplicated one and both tourist and service provider are subject not only to quasi-managerial nomenclature but also to a raft of professional intermediaries waiting in the wings, namely the tourist authorities and central and local government departments in whose jurisdiction the host communities fall. Ownership is control and – as if unthinking public bureaucracy is not sufficiently hostile to fragile ICH – many tourist sites remain in private hands, but in the rapacious and unsympathetic hands of larger corporations or commercial cowboys without local connections. Nash (1989) dubs these intermediaries – who interpose themselves between grass-roots producers (in this case ICH practitioners) and their potential clients (ICH consumers) – 'culture-brokers'. The degree to which the state, central or local, or arm's length body, or commercial enterprise actively seeks to promote ICH through tourism (or endeavours to prevent it) is highly significant. Thus is ownership of ICH diluted and diverted away from the indigenous population which has practised it for reasons of shared enjoyment in a familiar and traditional context, and which should properly enjoy moral rights over any decision to exploit it. Whether the intermediary is a state or a commercial organisation matters little, as both are promoting ICH for outward-facing reasons of generating income streams and sustaining not local community and identity, but metropolitan economy and society.

The counter-argument is that local community is all well and good, but if the economic viability of, say, a rural community on the North Atlantic periphery, is not sustainable, both the community and its ICH disappear. If generating tourist income from ICH changes the nature of that ICH but maintains the community more or less intact, is that too high a price to pay? It is suggested that the issue of 'ownership' of ICH and rights and responsibilities in respect of ICH – particularly when dealing not only with fragile ICH but also with the fragile communities in which that ICH resides and which are 'marginal' in both geographical and economic terms – is almost indistinguishable from ownership and control of the means of production, where the latter can be arranged with the specific objective of retaining local control of assets. This is entirely typical of resource-based peripheral economies, which are historically vulnerable to absentee owners and boom and bust. The issue is seen to relate to the mode of incorporation of the marginal regional economy within the metropolitan core economy, for which one late twentieth century solution in both the Irish and Scottish Gaeltachts<sup>4</sup> has been to establish area-based multi-functional community cooperatives, set up with the specific objective of wresting control back into local hands and rebalancing the terms of advantage vis-a-vis the political and economic centre (Johnson, 1979; (Hetherington, 1981). This is a theme which is worthy of reconsideration below. Meanwhile, the comments of an official of the regional development agency responsible for the establishment of the community co-operative scheme in the Scottish Highlands are noteworthy, underlining as they do that "co-operatives are subject to most of the difficulties that beset small scale enterprises in remote locations, to the extent that it has been questioned whether many would survive without protracted state assistance" (Storey, 1982: 71).

The issue of fragile cultures is inevitably complicated by the difficulty, noted by Smith (1989), in differentiating between the roles of modernisation and tourism in the process of culture change. Urry (2002) reiterates that some local objections to tourism are in fact objections to 'modernity' itself. Not only is there the possibility of dilution or diminution of any ICH on display; there is also the reality of devastating change as a direct result of over-exposure to global metropolitan culture. Nepalese children

living not only in urban Katmandu, but also in the Himalayan foothills in proximity to the Annapurna trekkers' circuit, are not shy of demanding money from western visitors in the appropriate language and currency. Traders in Turkish markets raise smiles from UK visitors with their less than traditional cry of "cheaper than Asda, cheaper than Primark, cheaper than shoplifting!" (McCleery, 2011a). Festival organisers the world over begin to give their offer an outward-facing commercial veneer as opposed to an inward-facing indigenous appeal; and pre-existing traditional activities such as weaving, originally carried out as elements of a subsistence economy, with often limited potential for commercial gain, translate into the identical activities performed as a tertiary sector performative activity with disproportionately enhanced potential for profit.

'Edinburgh's Hogmanay' (New Year's Eve celebration) is a commercially driven 'festival' or collection of events taking place over the New Year period. Initiated through collaboration between the private sector and the local authority, this event now attracts thousands of visitors and their spending to the city. However, other than 'seeing in the bells' at midnight on 31 December, the Edinburgh mass entertainment bears no relation to traditional Scottish New Year customs such as 'first-footing', that is, being the first person to cross the host's threshold bearing traditional food, drink and fuel (black bun, whisky and a lump of coal). 'Edinburgh's Hogmanay' may have become an example of ICH itself, but it is legitimate to consider whether local traditions have been overtaken by the event, or whether 'ownership' of this representation of 'Hogmanay' has been removed from 'local' practitioners (McCleery, 2011b). Similarly, we may also enquire about the effect of commodification upon what is now the heavily income-generating phenomenon of Up Helly Aa, the Viking winter fire festival in the North Atlantic Shetland Islands, which has become a high-profile visitor attraction, having featured in, among other things, Lonely Planet's *Bluelist* (McCleery et al., 2008). On a more local level, but with a global reach, there is the example of Burns suppers.

Scotland's national poet, Robert Burns, is celebrated widely in Scotland on the anniversary of his birth, 25 January. Haggis and neaps – a savoury pudding containing sheep's offal minced with oatmeal and spices and all contained within the animal's stomach and served with mashed turnip – is traditionally eaten at Burns suppers. Burns poetry is read aloud and in particular there is an address to the haggis – a Burns poem – which is ceremonially piped into the dining hall and toasted by all present with a dram – a glass of whisky. However, the detail and character of this event has changed with the changing times so that ladies are now admitted and there is toast to the lassies and a reply to the laddies. There are vegetarian alternatives as well as non-alcoholic beverages for those with dietary preferences. Notably, the custom of Burns suppers has been exported abroad along with the poverty-induced diaspora which dispersed Scots to the four corners of the world. Whether in the English university town of Oxford – where there is an informal Burns week when the colleges celebrate Burns night with a dinner and a ceilidh (an evening of Scottish dancing) – or in the United States, Canada and Australia – where Burns celebrations have been adopted, assimilated and adapted beyond diaspora and beyond all recognition – there is a certain inevitability that where living culture is concerned, evolution is inevitable and not inevitably bad.

### The host-guest relationship as theatre

ICH is not frozen in aspic and nor should it be. Yet, the requirement for it to evolve, as for example in the Burns Supper example to meet modern social norms, should be distinguished from its potential diminution and dilution as a result of over-exposure to external influence. The essence of tourism is defined by its transactional nature and the peculiar nature of the inter-group contact involved. Because that contact frequently involves groups differing in degree of productivity and power who find themselves in very unequal positions relative to each other, with the tourist area invariably being the less productive and powerful, early investigations focussed upon the related topics of modernisation, urbanisation, and the effects of exploitation by the dominant metropolitan centre (Nash, 1989). This is merely a variant of the dual economy thesis which informed seminal regional economics texts of the 1960s and 1970s, such as Robinson's *Backward Areas in Advanced Countries* (1969). The dual economy thesis, however, constitutes too superficial an explanation of the relationship of the periphery with the core and was largely discredited in the 1970s when Pratts (1977) argued that so-called 'backwardness' was not a primitive condition capable of being defined as the opposite of modernity, resulting from isolation from the metropolitan core; rather, it was the consequence of a mode of incorporation within the modern sector on terms of disadvantage. What was required, and what the Gaeltacht co-operatives mentioned above sought to achieve – even if it was privately acknowledged to be virtually impossible – was not to attempt to foster further integration of the periphery with the core, but instead to alter fundamentally the terms of the relationship between them.

In the case of a tourism-based relationship, this means rebalancing the relationship between destination region and region of origin, by correcting the imbalance in status between host and guest. In this regard, a paper by Hollowell, published over half a century ago, contains the germ of an idea which Nash (1989) found worthy of exploration and development. Hollowell was concerned with the frontier effects of host and guest communities rubbing shoulders and, as Nash (1989) emphasises, it is the fact of the two-way nature of the tourist transaction that is significant. Viewed superficially, the consequences of tourism in the destination area may appear to derive from the introduction from outside of a new socio-cultural reality, but especially in today's world of virtual/electronic connectivity, both parties are in fact performing a self-conscious dance with a known and accepted choreography. Urry and Sheller's sub-title is

instructive. *Places to play, Places in play* encapsulates the way in which “places are shown to ‘move’ as they are put into play in relation to other places ... made and remade by the mobilities and performances of tourists and workers, images and heritage” (Urry and Sheller, 2004). Crang (1997) notes the ‘performative’ nature of the host’s role as service provider, and Gabriel (1988) and Callan (1989) the intangible elements of that service provision. Each party has a role to play and this is acted out as a piece of theatre in which the actors are partners who know their respective lines which harmonise perfectly. When a capable and cheery ‘madame la fermière’ welcomes visitors to her rural gîte, and offers them a tantalising sample of a regional delicacy on her best china plates in the formal oak dining-room, she studiously avoids showing them the business end of the farm where her gruff and awkward spouse is dealing as best he can with the leaking slurry heap behind the redundant pile of rusting machinery (McCleery, 2004). Equally, visitors know better than to look, and conveniently and self-consciously avert their gaze so as not either to spoil the view or break the unspoken compact. In the post-modern world in which we live, there is knowing complicity, connivance and collusion between host and guest, accepting that in many non-western tourist destinations the former may (have to) arrive at the attitudes of post-modernity before achieving the actuality of modernity.

Where does this leave us? The guest returns to his or her office or workshop, refreshed, re-energised and re-vitalised; paradoxically, the dirty and dangerous farm cleanses, while the clean and contained office sullies. Hosts are hardly less sophisticated in their duplicity. Yet, just because of this, it is either naïve or insulting to imagine that the commercialisation of ICH for purposes of economic development inevitably leads to disaster. It is equally plausible that hosts, in understanding the significance of their performance – and in identifying the importance of the ‘intangible’ in the delivery of their service – cannot conceivably fail to discern the essential difference between outward- and inward-facing ICH. The one is for guests; the other represents a heritage which they or others in their community cherish for its special meaning and value for their private consumption. Arguably, where danger actually lies, is in the real possibility that if ICH is not being delivered for the benefit of visitors, it may not be being practiced at all, so that outward-facing ICH, far from being a risk factor for community ICH, is in fact a pre-requisite for its survival.

### Cultural policy for development

UNESCO has not been slow in identifying cultural policy as a main component of endogenous and sustainable development policy. Specifically, the 1998 Stockholm Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies for Development highlighted the emergence of new approaches to the protection and enhancement of the cultural heritage, reflecting a broader definition of culture, with certain parallels with the now classic WHO definition of health (see, e.g., Saracci, 1997). “Culture ... should be seen as the whole complex of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features that characterise a society or social group. Hence, in addition to the arts and literature, it includes life styles, fundamental human rights, value systems, traditions and beliefs” (Barré, 2000). Unsurprisingly, this summarised re-statement of the Stockholm definition of culture, by the then head of research and development in the cultural heritage division of UNESCO, has echoes in the definition of Intangible Cultural Heritage subsequently adopted by UNESCO in its 2003 ICH Convention (UNESCO, 2003a). Barré, expressing a personal view, is prepared to go further, stating that “cultural heritage cannot be adequately protected for future generations unless protection is carried out in harmony with the economic, social and cultural development of current generations” (Barré, 2000: 26). It is legitimate to enquire as to whether this constitutes an early argument in favour of cultural policy being perceived as a vehicle not only for protecting the cultural heritage for future generations but also for achieving the economic, social and cultural development of current generations.

That question has to remain unanswered even if Barré’s perspective upon other dimensions of cultural policy is distinctly and distinctively liberal. For he argues that in today’s world of constant and rapid change, societies must ask themselves what kind of heritage they should be preserving for future generations and how properly to guard the memory of a people and a geographical area. Cultural policy, he concludes, can answer such questions and show that solutions do exist somewhere between the extremes of homogenisation and erosion of cultures on the one hand and nationalist, ethnocentric, futile and violent tensions on the other. Reflecting this position, the approach to ICH in Scotland ultimately adopted by the Edinburgh Napier University team avoids any attempt to define a Scottish essentialism, allowing ICH *in* Scotland to be celebrated for its remarkable diversity (McCleery et al., 2008). A key reason for defining the scope of ICH in Scotland broadly was in order to ensure that the definition resonates with the Scottish Government’s commitment “to serve all the people of Scotland, regardless of a person’s race, religion, culture, ethnicity, or other background” (Scottish Government, 2008). In the words of the ICH team, Scotland, as an outward-facing, cosmopolitan nation deserves, and must demonstrate, an inclusive and comprehensive ICH which reflects the essential diversity deriving from its many cultures (McCleery et al., 2010).

Against the framework for cultural policy sketched out above and drawing upon Barré’s logic, it does not seem impossible to this author that ICH could be pro-actively employed as a deliberate policy for economic, social and cultural development which achieves the desired social inclusion and integration by providing links between certain key objectives, namely: protection of the heritage and cultural identities, on which tourism depends; understanding of and search for cultural interaction by tourists; and

contribution to the economic, social and cultural development of local populations. As Barré (2000) notes, tourists' reasons for travelling and cultural expectations are at the very source of tourism, and the services which support them in turn depend upon the job and income creation which is associated with enhancement of cultural identity and of the numerous artistic, craft, agricultural and industrial skills which constitute the backbone of ICH. Strategies are all very well, but policies are necessary to deliver them, so that, for example, as this author has observed elsewhere, the sort of admirable words which comprise the rhetoric of the high-minded guiding principles of UNESCO also need to be translated into action on the ground (McCleery, 2011b).

To be fair to UNESCO, it also assists, through a number of specific (pilot) projects such as its cultural tourism thematic routes (e.g. in Andalusia and the castles route in Central Europe), in implementing cultural tourism policies which pursue these objectives (UNESCO, 2008). At the field level, promoting improved tourism practices is a concern at many World Heritage sites and biosphere reserves (UNESCO, 2003b). In addition UNESCO sets out practical principles for a kind of tourism which guarantees the sustainability of cultural assets, such as: supporting the concept of cultural and economic enhancement of local areas; understanding that tourists today are well informed and search for fulfillment through enriching activities; recognising that civic awareness needs to be developed among local inhabitants as well as among tourists through education and awareness-raising; accepting that tourism policies cannot be drawn up separately from cultural policies, so that festivals and events are planned taking account of envisaged/expected tourism; acknowledging and evaluating the economic, cultural and social costs of tourism, as much as the environmental costs, in potentially fragile situations and spaces, whether of the tangible or intangible variety. Barré is right to assert that we need to know that destructive tourism can be avoided while we also need to be convinced that there is a 'responsible tourism' alternative to badly planned tourist development which harms the environment, the cultural heritage and the balance of societies.

### **Operationalising responsible tourism**

Responsible tourism, like reducing, re-using and recycling, is generally regarded with approval except when it comes to the matter of resourcing it, whether with money or time. Inculcating new behaviours, however, demands more than simply personal effort. Children can be informed and educated, and all can be exhorted. But for responsible tourism to assume more than a superficial role in sustaining ICH, crucially, there needs to be initial consensus that action is needed, and a way of demonstrating that costs which currently fall externally are in fact collective global costs which are the responsibility of us all. Tax regimes need to reflect this, although, realistically, the possibility of success in this aspect is as remote as reaching international agreement over aviation fuel duty. Furthermore, the operationalisation of any strategy requires to be managed and co-ordinated, as well as monitored and evaluated. This is no less true of tourism than of any other area, if the responsibilities of those at the geographical, economic and political centre are to be accepted and discharged and the rights of people who, whether regionally, nationally or globally, may be physically, economically and politically marginalised are to be recognised and upheld.

In the case of the tourist industry, the former are too often synonymous with these same consumers from the metropolitan core who wield political and economic power, but lack global vision. The latter equate with the providers at the destination who are, comparatively speaking, downtrodden and destitute. And yet, as the practitioners of distinctive cultural and social practices, they are also the unseen and unheard guardians of ICH. However, to support individual practitioners in that role, it is essential that the responsible tourism movement takes a lead by establishing a balance sheet of externalities which specifically includes the risk to ICH, which is currently much less visible and much less taken into account than the materiality of the physical environment. 'Ecotourism' and 'Heritage Tourism' are well understood terms which include coasts and castles, mountains and museums, but not so readily understood are matters immaterial. 'Ethnic Tourism' exists as a term in academic journals, but rather less, if at all, in tourist brochures, and is too redolent of the new age pilgrims of yesteryear. Urry (2002) discusses the rationale of treating tourism as a positional good. What is needed is for ICH, too, to be elevated to its proper status as a positional good, which requires to be handled with care but also regarded as offering potential as a development tool.

Consumption of ICH must be acknowledged as being inherently relational and dependent upon the position of one group's consumption vis-à-vis that of other groups, including providers and practitioners. But it must be acknowledged as such not only by UNESCO and its worthy but largely ineffectual pronouncements from on high, but also at the level of national and local governments, tourist authorities and other intermediaries – the 'culture-brokers' who are interacting with providers, mediating between interested parties and frequently either funding or part-funding tourist-facing events for profit or for wider economic development purposes on the ground. As ever, the problem is financial and in the present era of global economic downturn and constrained public funds, there is only limited scope for immediate initiatives. Yet there is also reason to be optimistic; for hosts are quick learners when it comes to distinguishing between outward-facing and inward-facing ICH; and post-modern tourists are wise enough to be complicit in providers' pretences where these are necessary to sustain mutual myth and expectation.

## ICH, empowerment and identity

As Scheyvens (2002: 244) observes, tourism brings myriad pitfalls and yet also offers considerable potential for local development and what Chambers (1997: xiv) calls 'good change'. "Ultimately, it is vital to find ways in which tourism is able to work for regional economic development because it is the world's largest industry. Furthermore, as well as promoting economic development, tourism can help meet social and political goals such as building capacity, strengthening community-level institutions, reinforcing cultural integrity and ideally, self-determination." This perspective upon [cultural] tourism is curiously similar to a perspective from Scotland upon ICH, which concludes that "the Scottish Government ... has certainly appreciated the potential advantage of an approach to ICH which, by promoting inclusivity and diversity, can simultaneously foster a coherent and cohesive national identity" (McCleery et al., 2009: 149). If the objectives of tourism and ICH are genuinely so similar, it is worthwhile spending time and energy developing models of good practice which can be followed by local development agencies and other stakeholders, in both the public and private sector, to ensure that exploitation of heritage and culture occurs in an equitable and sustainable manner.

As already noted, UNESCO already promulgates tourism strategies based on principles which serve the organisation's twin aims of protecting the cultural and natural heritage and promoting development. But, as also noted, it is important that high-level objectives are translated into action on the ground. In situations where tourism is a strategy of community development Scheyvens (2002) emphasises: active participation fostering control over form and function of tourism; empowerment of community members through training courses, information sharing and participation on decision-making bodies; following up immediate tangible benefits with intangible benefits such as skills development and team-building; implementing mechanisms to achieve wide dispersal of benefits as well as costs; pursuing tourism alongside a range of livelihood options; and developing partnerships between communities and other tourism stakeholders in order to maximise benefits. Others have attempted to produce community-focused best practice guidelines to assist stakeholders in addressing the main operationalisation issues facing destinations wishing to develop tourism sensitively. Walker (2003) has developed a 'locality profiling' stage and step modelling methodology as a tool to promote sustainable approaches to tourism development, while Inskip (1994) proposed a balanced and methodical application of socio-economic impact control measures in order to maximise the benefits of tourism.

## Conclusion

In assessing whether there can be a role for tourism in sustaining ICH, this paper has reviewed rights, responsibilities and realities in respect of distinctive cultural and social practices in the context of spaces where tourism and ICH come together. Accepting that purists will hesitate to accept that ICH should intentionally be employed as an economic development tool, it is equally necessary to issue a warning that much ICH may be doomed, precisely because of a well-intentioned unwillingness to expose arguably fragile cultural and social practices to a wider audience. It is recognised that, even in circumstances where safeguards are assiduously applied, there are risks with such strategies, as for example where delivery is at local level by tourism intermediaries not accustomed to that role or attuned to that agenda. Specifically, the transactional nature of tourism has been noted and the essential delicacy of and potential inequity in that relationship, with all the possible adverse outcomes for ICH and its practitioners, as well as the role of complicity between host and guest and duplicity on both their parts.

Having rehearsed these various themes, the disappointing but realistic conclusion must be that, to date, the case for cultural heritage as a tool for economic development is not yet fully proven. There remains work to be done in respect of both hosts and guests, and of the all-important intermediary 'culture-brokers', before it is certain that heritage consumption and conservation are not, quite simply, antithetical to each other. A key condition must pertain before it is possible to arrive at that desired outcome: namely, that it is ordinary people themselves within their communities on the ground who must take the initiative and be facilitated to take the initiative. Beyond this, existing models can provide a baseline for a future pilot project commissioned from the present authors by Creative Scotland. This will seek to design good practice guidelines for communities, initially in Scotland, seeking to operationalise promotion of the traditional arts and crafts subset of ICH as a sustainable development option. If a way can be found for ICH in outward-facing expression to retain its intrinsic internal values, it may not be unreasonable to envisage a role for tourism in remaking cultural heritage.

As Smith (2003) observes, tourism need not be perceived as a last chance. Indeed, some of the more intangible benefits of responsible tourism may include the renewal of cultural pride, the revitalisation of customs and traditions, and opportunities for cross-cultural exchange and integration. This perspective resonates with the ICH in Scotland Project team view that it is possible to exploit ICH sensitively to benefit the economy through cultural tourism, with the result that "the creation of funding streams through such economic exploitation is itself a key factor in the long-term safeguarding of the diversity of ICH practices in Scotland" (McCleery et al., 2011). Indeed, it may be not so much a question of tourism constituting a last chance, as the absence of tourism constituting a lost opportunity.

## Endnotes

- <sup>1</sup> *Implementation of an online inventory of ICH in Scotland*, funded by 3-year Arts and Humanities Research Council Knowledge Transfer Award, AH/G010102/1 2008-11
- <sup>2</sup> The story of an early group of in-migrants to Scotland is told by Bashir Maan in *The New Scots: The Story of Asians in Scotland*. Edinburgh: John Donald (1992). Subsequently, there have been successive waves of arrivals from different origins, each contributing to the diversity and vibrancy of Scotland's evolving culture and identity.
- <sup>3</sup> While the matter of signing international conventions is reserved to the Westminster Parliament in London, cultural matters are devolved to the Holyrood Parliament in Edinburgh.
- <sup>4</sup> 'Gaeltacht' is an Irish-language word which refers to that western part of Ireland where Irish is commonly spoken. The corresponding Scottish Gaelic 'Gaidhealtachd' while properly denoting a linguistic and not a geographical region, is commonly taken to refer to the Scottish Highlands and Islands.

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## Lamalama people and objects: the location and sustainability of indigenous heritage

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The paper discusses ways of thinking about heritage, and draws on research undertaken between Australian Indigenous people, the Lamalama of Cape York Peninsula and Museum Victoria in the city of Melbourne. It argues for a view of heritage in which emotions play a primary part. In current conceptualizations, heritage is thought to include the intangible investments and associations people make in relation to objects, and in this paper museum artifacts are invoked as part of its corpus. The role of museums and their relationship to source communities is thus considered, along with the idea that heritage is not a singular entity, but able to be thought of as inclusive of collaborations towards shared meaning. The paper suggests the human investments that create heritage status around objects may be localized and specific, but temporal, spatial and historical transitions further condition how such status is interpreted. In this context affective responses to objects are shown to be important to conceptualizations of heritage. Museums, broadly understood, are shown to provide a significant site for these reformulations of meaning and status. Finally, the paper briefly comments on the importance of both practice and interpretation to the sustainability of cultural heritage and heritage management regimes.

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**Keywords:** indigenous heritage, objects, emotions.

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### Introduction

The discussion in this paper argues for a view of heritage that includes both the emotional investments made in objects as well as the contexts and processes through which these occur, and draws on evidence from a recent Australian museum-based research project. It focuses on 'heritage' as a set of values embedded in cultural practice, and is not primarily concerned with the array of state-sanctioned professional practices through which a variety of objects might be conserved (Harrison 2010; 2012). It considers the cultural practices and responses of a group of Australian Aboriginal people, with particular regard to their participation in a project by which they were able to extend their relationship to their past through access to certain museum materials of cultural importance to them. These objects can be described as heritage materials, but the current framing of 'heritage' as expressed through globally-applied conventions for the management of cultural materials and practices continues to raise questions about the nature of such cultural property. Smith (2007, cited in Candlin 2012) has argued that heritage is not confined to objects but involves negotiations of value and identity, and that museums are among the places such processes occur. I similarly argue the ways in which people interact with and use museums can be seen as an incontrovertible part of cultural practice, incorporating a diverse range of activities and attachments to what both we and they interpret as heritage objects. Clearly, museums have been part of the colonial endeavour and Pratt's (1992) idea of the contact zone, when applied to such spaces of imperial encounter, emphasizes the way in which "subjects get constituted in and by their relations to each other". Yet as Clifford (1997) has demonstrated, they are also sites for reworking the cultural disjunctions that have resulted from colonialism. This notion has been expanded by Kratz and Karp (2006) who developed the concept of "museum frictions" as the social technology which "incorporates the idea of the museum as a varied and often changing set of practices, processes and interactions". Kratz and Karp's intention was to shift the analytical focus away from the institutional boundaries implied in the idea of the museum as an emplaced zone (Kratz and Karp 2006, p.2).

The paper is therefore most concerned with both heritage as a matter of dynamic practice, and ways in which this was revealed through research into the Donald Thomson Collection held by Museum Victoria in Melbourne, Australia. The particular group of Indigenous people involved are the Lamalama of

Cape York Peninsula, and I provide a short introduction to them below, which describes something of their history and experience as explanation for their interest in the Thomson Collection. The paper argues for a view of heritage as pertaining to specific cultural practice, as well as the broader set of meanings and processes evoked in the interaction between people and their interpretations of varying kinds of objects of significance to them. The argument of this paper is therefore that heritage is a result of meaning-making by people in collaboration with each other, whereas the objects that are the focus of these processes are its manifest tokens: without their human investments, they are simply objects, and as demonstrated in this discussion and in reflection of Harrison's (2012) views, do not represent a fixed canon of universal values. Even within a single source community, their value can be mutable. In general, the notion of heritage implies the existence of multiple layers of meaning and importance, and I therefore also suggest the importance the Lamalama invest in tokens of their past and their broader significance as part of the national estate are not competing values. In this context, the role played by the museum is one of mediating across categories of meaning as part of the work of management and curation.

### **Heritage, Museums and Memory**

The idea of heritage is also bound to notions of memory and memorialisation, and the literature on memory has shown that remembering and forgetting are complementary processes in human experience (e.g., Forty and Küchler 1999; Harrison 2012). By actively cultivating some memories, we choose to forget others, and it is this process of revisiting and re-evaluating the past that assists us to make sense of our lives. Linked to these ideas also is how we deal with absence. Mack (2003, p.115) has made the point that "in absence memory finds its most impassioned and most fertile ground": the lack of things makes the memory of them more important. Museums provide us with the opportunity to revisit the absent places of memory and experience, and to make sense of the present. These ideas are fundamental to Lamalama experience, as they are currently undergoing significant social change as a result of loss, while seeking ways to retain and continue cultural practices of importance to them.

This raises questions about the representational nature of heritage, which as Harrison notes (2012) is connected to ideas about universal value and what is being categorized when we talk about heritage. In pointing out that heritage values are ascribed, not intrinsic, a fact brought to our attention over recent decades by the increased recognition of a diversity of social and cultural voices, Harrison has suggested that approaches to heritage must "be flexible and change with time" (Harrison 2012, p.8-9). Indigenous people and other source communities are among the diverse voices that have contributed to our current re-evaluations of the meaning of heritage and the cultural practice of such groups more recently encapsulated as 'intangible heritage' in global approaches to its management. Museums are among the institutions that have participated in this reformulation of meaning and purpose. Museums typically contain heritage materials of various kinds and have historically been seen, at least popularly, as cultural storehouses whose primary purpose is to perform a public education function (Conaty, 2003). This perception of the role of museums is changing, and certainly with regard to Indigenous<sup>1</sup> cultural heritage in Australia, museum curators and others have embraced a broader view of the role and functions of museums.

The project I discuss here brought together the Lamalama, curators at Museum Victoria (MV), Melbourne, and university-based researchers to work on materials from the Donald Thomson Collection, the most important collection of materials of heritage significance to the Lamalama held by an Australian museum. The Lamalama have sustained an interest in the collection over several decades. This interest continues despite the deaths of a number of significant, knowledgeable community leaders over the last few years, placing younger people somewhat unexpectedly into positions of cultural authority. The sharpening of focus caused by this current intergenerational change has demonstrated that for the Lamalama, heritage is a matter of everyday practice. It resides in the history, memory and experience of individuals as much as in material objects, although differentially interpreted at times. The paper therefore goes on to discuss the implications of research on heritage materials in the cultural context of perceptions of the world as a humanised landscape, as it is understood by Australian Indigenous people such as the Lamalama (Rigsby, 1981), replete with associations and meanings that transcend any separation between the natural features of the environment and the sentience that exists within it. This includes ancestors, regionally referred to in English as the Old People, who inhabit the landscape and interact with the living, as well as a variety of other supernatural forms of being. In this context, objects made and used by the Old People make transitions across time and place, assuming differing categories of meaning that depend on their cultural and temporal location. While perhaps never entirely losing their status as cultural tokens, the associations that accrue across these transitions result in a range of affective responses.

### **Australian Indigenous people and heritage**

The objects in the Donald Thomson Collection range from artefacts and photographic images and documents, including Thomson's field notes. How we understand and value their status as heritage is enriched by the views of people such as the Lamalama, for whom their representative power is both complex and changeable. Many of the artefacts in the Thomson Collection that were central to the project were once mundane objects, the original purposes and functions of which have been modified by their duration within the museum. Lamalama people expressed the view that the project offered them an opportunity to interact with the artefacts, thus in the process instigating a fresh set of meanings and

memories, and new contexts of association with them. By examining these transitions, I hope to offer some insight into the role of museums in maintaining the complex sets of heritage value of objects in their collections. I suggest these values are firstly ones of personal connection for the Lamalama, but also include their perceptions of the value of the museum in its continuing role as a repository of Indigenous cultural materials. This first requires consideration of current usage of the concept of intangible heritage and why it is important in Australian experience, particularly that of Aboriginal people; as Candlin (2012) has shown with regard to experience in the UK, ideas about the nature and value of heritage may vary considerably.

Notions of heritage no longer simply reference emplaced, monumental, or immovable objects, evidenced in 2003 through supplementation of the relevant United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) convention, the World Heritage Convention. Hafstein (2004, p. iii) notes this instrument, the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (CSICH) was "a long time coming", with calls for this kind of instrument occurring from at least the early 1970s. The Convention defines intangible cultural heritage, in part, as:

the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity... (UNESCO, 2003).

This heritage, the CSICH notes, is manifested in phenomena such as oral traditions and expressions, including language; social practices, including rituals; "knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe"; and traditional craftsmanship (UNESCO 2003). Given this, Indigenous cultures around the world are obviously subject to the protective terms of the Convention, and as Smith (2010, p.11) notes about countries with Indigenous populations such as the United States, Canada, New Zealand and Australia, heritage values are of vital importance to both national identity and international perceptions of those identities. So much so, she suggests, that the Indigenous heritage of these countries acts as "a fundamental draw for international tourism". For example, in Australia this results in around 80 per cent of international visitors who leave the country having had "some kind of experience or interaction with Indigenous culture" (Smith 2010, p.11). Quite apart from any localised issues of heritage management that are implicated in that scenario, this fairly startling fact does frame contemporary perceptions of Australian Indigenous culture.

One obvious question that arises is the percentage of Australia's resident national population that could claim to also have had some "experience or interaction" with Indigenous culture. Australia's history as a former British colony and the attendant impacts on its Indigenous populations is well-documented (e.g., Rowley, 1970; Broome, 1982; Reynolds, 1982). Although Indigenous people are residents of cities and towns across the country, they constitute a small part of the national population (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2008). Currently, the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) estimates the total Indigenous population at 517,000 people, or 2.5% of the total Australian population of over 22 million people, based on data from the 2006 national census.<sup>11</sup> This contrasts with estimates of Australia's Indigenous population as being at around one million people at the time of British contact in the late eighteenth century, and is a sobering reminder of the impacts of colonisation, which historically included officially enforced removals of children from their families and numerous other forms of mistreatment.

In 2008, the Labor Prime Minister of the day, Kevin Rudd, formally apologised to the "Stolen Generations" – those Indigenous people forcibly removed as a result of government policy – which brought Indigenous people once more into the national imagination, after a little over a decade of conservative federal governance in which Indigenous issues were often regarded as deeply problematical. During that time, hard-fought Indigenous rights and institutions were whittled away. Despite a national policy of reconciliation with its Indigenous people, bi-partisan support for racial tolerance<sup>12</sup> and recognition of native title rights, this period effectively pushed back Indigenous rights at the federal level (exemplified in Australia's initial response to the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples on its referral to the United Nations General Assembly in 2007), and broader acceptance of their position as fundamentally significant in the cultural and social life of the nation. Other events, such as the nationally celebrated Sorry Day which has occurred every year since 1998, and the Walk for Reconciliation which resulted in almost half a million people participating in a march across the Sydney Harbour Bridge in that city alone, do however express something of the emotion attached to Indigenous experience nationally.

Laudable as that is mainstream participation in such events does not necessarily indicate great familiarity, experience with or understanding of the complexity and diversity of Indigenous culture and society. Instead, most non-Indigenous citizens of Australia draw on other than first-hand experience with Indigenous people and cultures, and considerable misunderstanding continues to prevail. Davis (2007) suggests one of the reasons for this as being the long-standing perception of Indigenous heritage as a remnant of a bygone era, interpreted as associated with the "primitiveness" of an "extinct or near-extinct people". He (Davis 2007, p. xx) suggests that in the consciousness of many non-Indigenous Australians, Indigenous people have been "absent as intentional actors ... engaging with their own heritage". They have thus been marginalised by a popular discourse that presents Indigenous heritage as a curiosity and a relic rather than the living force of a dynamic culture.

As a result, one of the most readily accessible sources of information about Indigenous culture is public museums. Most of these in Australia are administered at the State rather than the Federal level, and tend to present Indigenous culture to the Australian public through a concentration on either regional cultures, major ethnographic holdings or both. The sustainability of this cultural heritage is ethically to be regarded as the right and responsibility of Indigenous people, but is also implicated in the investiture of Indigenous culture as part of the national estate, frequently located within and managed by such public museums. As part of that estate, its sustainability includes more than concerns about sympathetic exhibition of Indigenous material culture in their collections, and is now more likely to include ways of positively reinforcing the linkages between museums, curators and the source or descendant communities relevant to the materials they contain. For example, curators in what was previously Museum Victoria's Indigenous Cultures Section and external researchers have worked jointly for at least twenty years with Indigenous people in various locations in Australia, on projects focusing on ethnographic materials collected by Donald Thomson in the late 1920-30s.

Thomson worked in Arnhem Land in the Northern Territory as well as Cape York Peninsula, and the Lamalama material constitutes only one part of the Cape York Peninsula materials he collected. In the Lamalama project discussed here, those manifestations of heritage noted by the CSICH have all been important, particularly the elements of oral tradition and cultural practice expressed through both tangible and intangible elements of culture. Important though the role of outsiders has been, from Thomson through to contemporary researchers, the fields of practice broadly captured by the CSICH's concept of intangible heritage as "knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe" (UNESCO, 2003) are expressed by and embodied in Lamalama perceptions of the landscape and where they fit within it. This approach to heritage indicates that it exists within individuals, where it is expressed through personal memory, collective remembering (Wertsch, 2002), and knowledge of history and traditional practice, as well as embedded in objects. Such intangible expressions of heritage might therefore be perceived as ephemeral, and undoubtedly are in some senses. However, rather than challenging more static notions of heritage as the substantive evidence of the past, viewing it as dynamic and part of human engagement with the environment, broadly understood, allows us to focus more on ways in which any relics may be used to create the continuing associations between people and their past that we understand as having the status of heritage. As Turkle (2007, p.6-8) notes, objects have power and life roles that are "multiple and fluid", and these sometimes include moments of transition. Turkle's interest is in the evocative power of objects, as is this paper's. It is concerned with the ways in which meanings shift according to their temporal and spatial circumstances, and to clarify this requires some exploration of key events in the life of the Lamalama community.

## Overview of the Lamalama and their history

The Lamalama are the southernmost of the people described by Thomson (1933; 1934; Rigsby and Chase, 1998, p. 192) as the "Sandbeach People", indicating their close connection with the marine environment of the eastern side of Cape York Peninsula, in the northern Australian state of Queensland. In common with many other Indigenous people in Australia, the Lamalama have been subject to dispossession and removal by the state. In 1961, a group of around 20-30 people were forcibly removed from their country at Port Stewart (see Figure 1) and transported to Cowal Creek (now Bamaga), a mission some hundreds of kilometres to the north. This group represented a core set of families still resident on their land at a time when most Indigenous people in Queensland had already been removed to missions and reserves or were otherwise subject to state control. The Lamalama are today a small group of perhaps 200 people, mostly residing in and around the town of Coen, a small service centre in the middle of the Peninsula. Like other remote-dwelling Indigenous people the Lamalama live close to their "country" or traditional land, which includes offshore waters and islands and is located in the hinterland of Princess Charlotte Bay approximately 100 kilometres to the east of Coen.

Lamalama lands are thus centred around the estuary of the Stewart River (Fig. 1). This area, known in Lamalama clan languages as Yintjingga (Rigsby and Hafner, 2011; Rigsby 1992, p.354; Hafner 1999, p.112-114), is the location of a few small settlements maintained by the Lamalama, which they visit as their circumstances permit - few Lamalama people own the four-wheel drive vehicles required to traverse the distance over unsealed roads. There is nonetheless a small group of people who are permanent or semi-permanent residents there. They are able to support their incomes from welfare payments through subsistence activities, particularly fishing. Since 1991 the Lamalama have engaged in state-sanctioned processes that resulted in formal acquisition of title to now considerable parts of their traditional estate. Such processes have however resulted in some fragmentation of their interests, and the division of their country into separate land parcels and forms of title.

However, the implementation of a Ranger program is a recent development that allows people to live and work on their country, and attend to some of its heritage values. This project is federally funded and employs around half a dozen Lamalama people as Rangers, with responsibility for assessing and documenting the natural and cultural heritage values of their country (Commonwealth of Australia). This program has coincided with the deaths of some significant senior community members or elders over the period from 2008-2012. These elders actively promoted Lamalama engagement with the Thomson materials in Museum Victoria. One man in particular, Sunlight Bassani who died in 2008, hoped that coming into direct contact with objects made, used or depicting their ancestors going about their daily

activities would instil a renewed sense of pride in the Lamalama. The specific context for Sunlight Bassani's and other elders<sup>49</sup> concern was a continuing misuse of alcohol and instances of violence within their community, resulting in court orders and imprisonment. Along with poor levels of education, health status and unemployment, these remain part of the daily experience of the Lamalama. Although Sunlight Bassani did not live to see the outcomes of the project, the younger Lamalama people now thrust into leadership roles have used the Ranger program and their interest in the Thomson materials to continue his struggle to create a better future.

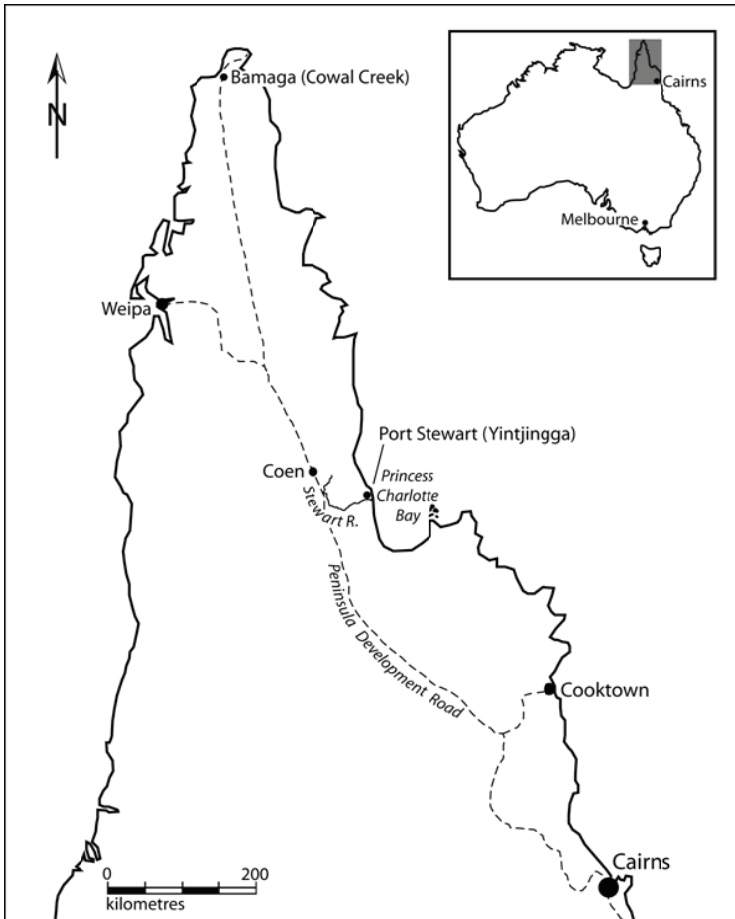


Figure 1. Map of Cape York Peninsula, Australia indicating key locations mentioned in text (c. K. Quirk).

### The research project: Lamalama cultural expressions and the Thomson Collection

As well as having its own separate intellectual goals, the project can thus be seen as an expression of Lamalama cultural identity with heritage outcomes. Donald F. Thomson was a scholar of natural science as well as anthropology, and the Thomson Collection contains ethnographic and botanical materials, as well as field notes, papers and numerous photographic images taken by him. Between 1928, as a Diploma of Anthropology student at Sydney University and on subsequent trips until 1933, he visited Port Stewart and other regions of Cape York Peninsula, where he collected specimens of plant life and material culture, and took black-and-white images of people engaged in their daily activities using glass-plate cameras (Allen, 2008; Rigsby and Peterson, 2005). Thomson's widow, Mrs Dorita Thomson, gifted the collection to the University of Melbourne after his death, and it was subsequently placed on loan to Museum Victoria. It can be surmised that it was not Thomson's primary concern that the materials enter the national heritage estate, but their location within the public space of the museum potentially increases their importance by allowing for broader public engagement with them through exhibitions and research, and for deeper and more specific interactions by source communities of relevance such as the Lamalama. Our research sought to test the latter assumption through the methodological design of the project.<sup>5</sup>

The research thus had a number of goals regarding the Thomson artefacts and their potential to revitalise cultural practice. Central to this was Sunlight Bassani's belief that exposure to images and artefacts would provide a window onto the life of their forebears and lead to positive social change, and our varied interests as researchers in facilitating and recording these processes. The project was conducted between 2006 and 2010, and brought small groups of Lamalama people down to Melbourne to visit MV, view the Collection, and advise curators on its management. Groups ranged in size from three to eleven people. We also made visits to the Lamalama at home in Cape York Peninsula, taking artefacts from the Museum when we visited there in July-August 2008. Bush twine, hunting implements, bags, grass skirts, the raw materials for making these implements and items, bush toys and fishing nets were included in the array of artefacts. Some of these objects were returning 'home' for the first time in almost 80 years, having been collected by Thomson in 1929, and decisions about which artefacts to include were a crucial part of the research design. Objects that would be most meaningful to current Lamalama people were an important consideration. However, the inherent difficulties in transporting artefacts over such large distances (more than 3500 kilometres by air and land) and varied conditions including exposure to dust and potentially humid conditions dictated the selection of objects to some extent.

Our priorities as researchers were differentially shared with the Lamalama. Our shared goals centred on re-connecting them with their heritage in the Donald Thomson Collection. We were also interested in collaborative approaches to curation and management of this heritage, and the degree to which contact with some of the less familiar parts of the Collection would be likely to impact on contemporary identity and behaviour. We were therefore interested in observing and understanding the operations of memory, and the reciprocal processes and outcomes involved in facilitating Lamalama interactions with the materials. This process began well before we were able to acquire the necessary funding to conduct this research. Small groups of the Lamalama had previously visited the Collection, accompanied by the linguist and anthropologist Bruce Rigsby (Hafner, 2010) to work with senior curator Lindy Allen on aspects of its curation and management. These visits allowed them to familiarise themselves with objects made or used by their forebears, in some cases their own parents, and to view Thomson's images of these same people engaged in a variety of secular and ritual activities while living in the bush, largely free of the influence of pastoralists and other non-Indigenous neighbours. Thomson's images depict traditional ceremonies, ritual preparations as well as hunting and gathering activities, and everyday life in camp. Cultural activities such as traditional burial ceremonies and rain-making rituals were suppressed or ceased as the Lamalama became more and more subject to White control, and are not practised today. Over time exposure to this evidence of past practice through visits to the museum prompted an enduring interest in the materials, demonstrated in regular requests to MV for copies of the images. These interactions between the Lamalama and the Thomson materials ultimately led also to requests that we find sources of funding that would allow them to visit the Collection more frequently, leading directly to our collaboration with them on this project<sup>vi</sup>.

### Lamalama interactions with their heritage in the Thomson Collection

The part of the project of specific interest to the discussion involved separate events during fieldwork conducted in 2008. To provide context to this in the following sections, I first discuss Lamalama reactions to the museum artefacts in a variety of locations, then compare these with their responses to a location of specific cultural significance within the landscape. I then discuss differences in Lamalama responses to both objects and the landscape as compared to images, and argue that the particular material qualities of some objects permit of more interpretative possibilities, which therefore sheds some light on the more spontaneous emotional attachment demonstrated in relation to them. Across the stages of the project, we found Lamalama responses to the materials both within the museum and when removed to Cape York Peninsula to be both expected and unexpected. Previous experience of bringing Lamalama people to MV led us to expect high levels of interest and engagement with the artefacts.

When visiting the Collection in Melbourne, Lamalama people had willingly engaged in an exchange of information with curators. They viewed the objects on the storeroom shelves, handled them and discussed their qualities with curators, and viewed an installation of Indigenous materials, *Bunjilaka*<sup>vii</sup> that included a backlit wall containing Thomson's images of their forebears engaged in the activities described above. As people who live in a remote part of the country, they do not commonly enter what is in fact the privileged space traditionally encapsulated by the museum. In this space, or contact zone (Clifford 1997), objects once culturally ordinary and everyday are invested with meanings that are foreign to the people who produced them, and potentially impact on their sustainability as objects of specific cultural heritage, becoming instead objects of the national or even international<sup>viii</sup> heritage estate. The interests of the Lamalama, by contrast, are primarily to do with recollection and retrieval of their very specific past, and this was differentially reflected through the stages of the project. Museums, on the other hand, have been concerned with iconographic expressions of humanity, and by virtue of their mandate to seek and display a common history, have long been positioned as institutions of public education. The authority vested in museums is based on certain assumptions, and ethnologically these included that collecting the material culture of colonised peoples would ensure its preservation as the people themselves succumbed to pressure from more dominant culture (Peers and Brown 2003, p.1).

This institutional authority has been challenged in the changing world of museum practice by the more recent approaches to museology and curation that incorporate the perspectives of such

communities. Peers and Brown (2003, p.1) assert there has been a shift in museum practice to “a much more two-way process” of working with source communities to incorporate their knowledge and perspectives on the ethnographic materials contained within their collections, and much more collaborative engagements. As Phillips has argued (2003, p.161), “the museum is being renewed as a site for the production of new knowledge”, which places collaborative relationships and the development of new meaning at the forefront of its endeavours. Museums are now more likely to see their mission as concerned with engagement, and the agendas of both museums and the communities they service and support have over time moved closer to each other. Here in Australia, the active engagement of Indigenous peoples with museums has been a vital part of this process of decolonisation of museum spaces and practices. Yet as Herle (2003) also argues, the presence of objects in museums does not necessarily alienate them from their original cultural contexts; it may instead provide the agency required to facilitate contemporary community members’ interests in coming to grips with their past. In view of this, the degree of social distance between source community members and museum objects of relevance to them becomes important to consider.

On their visits to MV, the Lamalama took the opportunity to view its exhibitions as well as to work with curators in its storerooms. They have expressed pride in the fact their culture is on display and being viewed by international and other visitors (Hafner, Rigsby and Allen 2007), and have been willing participants in the time-consuming and emotionally demanding process of travelling the several thousand kilometres from their home in remote Coen, to Museum Victoria in the urban environment of Melbourne. This deep engagement with the artefacts on visits to the museum therefore seemed to indicate a similar level of interest and engagement would be demonstrated when we extended the contact zone of the museum and returned objects to Cape York Peninsula in 2008, at the mid-point in the project. To some degree this was the case, but not entirely so. Once in Coen, we first arranged for viewing of the objects within the township in response to requests from some individuals. There is limited public space available in the town, and the state-run health clinic generously loaned us their meeting room for a few hours. Lamalama people visited in small groups throughout the morning, and given our previous experience of their engagement with the objects in the museum and through their viewing of Thomson’s photographic images, we thought it likely the material presence of the objects would evoke a similar response when outside the formal walls of the museum. This, however, was not quite the case.

Although a number of people came and looked at them, their response to the objects seemed less enthusiastic than we had expected. We speculated this might reflect the site, which while not hostile, was not exclusively a Lamalama or even an Aboriginal one, in which they perhaps did not feel secure enough to engage in Lamalama “business” too freely. Yet this was also the case at Yintjingga, where a mixed group of adults interacted with the objects. While most people were clearly interested in them, their responses could be characterised as interested and mildly curious rather than a significant emotional engagement.

In consultation with Lamalama representatives, we organised a trip to Ngawal, a Story Place (that is, a sacred site) and historically important location a little south of Yintjingga, in order to allow the Lamalama to further interact with the artefacts on country. This trip proved to be of considerable interest, but again not necessarily in ways we had expected, and the reasons for this are speculated on in the following section. In discussing the differing attachments encapsulated in Lamalama responses to the museum-based artefacts versus elements of the humanised landscape I seek to demonstrate that conceptualisations of heritage should include affect and cognition. Intangible heritage in particular can be expressed through what is felt and known, but not necessarily able to be touched or held: the sometimes intensely felt and intangible associations of personal experience that inform human interactions with the material world.

### **The trip to Ngawal: objects and meanings**

Around 20 adults and children accompanied us on the drive to Ngawal. We camped overnight, then drove back to Coen the next day, stopping on the beach for lunch near the Shark Story place, and visiting nearby Wayaamaw, the slightly inland location of another Story Place. Wayaamaw is located on land that forms part of a pastoral lease, and has been dammed to provide water for cattle; physically, the site is a cleared area containing a fairly large lagoon covered in waterlilies. This was the first visit to this site by some members of the party despite its cultural significance and proximity to Yintjingga (little more than an hour’s drive along bush roads). Wayaamaw is also historically important as a place where members of one of the most important Lamalama families of this area, the Liddy family, regularly camped before their removal to Cowal Creek in 1961. A senior member of this family, one of the now recently deceased elders, took the opportunity to introduce this place to family members who had not been there before. This was a highly emotional moment, with some of them quickly breaking into tears.

Story Places are not necessarily visually or topographically spectacular, and while very attractive, the cultural importance of Wayaamaw does not reside in its evident aesthetic qualities. That is to say, the aesthetic qualities of such sites in Indigenous perceptions differ to those that might be ascribed by non-Indigenous people, and are connected to the cultural, social and historical values that are invested in them by their traditional owners. For example, Lamalama people express their aesthetic appreciation of the landscape in terms of its environmental qualities or value as a resource, commenting on the loveliness of the water in a rapidly-flowing creek, the beauty of the shade provided by trees on a hot summer day, or

its intrinsic value as a sacred location. While Wayaamaw is important as a Story Place, on this occasion their response to it incorporated both aesthetic and emotional elements that contrasted with their earlier interactions with the objects from the Thomson collection.

At the Shark Story Place, we had found although people were prepared to look at and pick up individual objects laid out on tarpaulins on the ground, to reminisce about having seen them being used by their parents and so on, they did not engage with them as they had with Wayaamaw, a physical manifestation of their culture and history, and a place the Lamalama had all heard about but not all had previously visited. While familiar with the Shark Story Place, having visited it relatively often before, Wayaamaw was not part of their previous physical experience of the landscape. Their reactions to it can be contrasted with their reactions to the Thomson photographic images and the collection as whole, which consists of different kinds of materials through which they can interpret their heritage.

### **Other journeys: the images and transitions in meaning**

As already noted Museum Victoria curators receive regular requests for copies of Thomson images from community members. I had previously concluded (Hafner, 2010) that people felt a lesser attachment to the objects, but on reflection I have come to believe that for some of the Lamalama there is a kind of nostalgia that attaches to the objects when they are out of their museum context, while for others they take on an identity of almost sacred importance. Both responses indicate the social distance the artefacts have acquired in their journey from mundane objects of everyday usage to their ethnological purposes as anthropological specimens and museum artefacts, before their return to their place of origin as "museum objects" and vestiges of the Lamalama past. After so long in the museum, there is a sense in which the objects have effectively become "institutionalised", and while still perceived as culturally relevant, the investments of meaning made in them seem to change according to their spatial location. While recognised by the Lamalama as having primary connection with their history, the objects do not have the same intimate and immediate emotional weight as they would if they were in fact keepsakes given by a parent or grandparent. While nonetheless recognised by the Lamalama as important remnants of their heritage, their long sequestering as part of a distant museum collection has removed their mundane purposes, which renders them as exotic in Lamalama perceptions.

This should not be taken to indicate the objects are now devoid of emotional connections. Yet by contrast, Thomson's photographic images were perceived differently, and I see this as related to the differing material qualities of the images in comparison to the objects, and the interpretive possibilities they therefore allow. While the objects are clearly viewed by the Lamalama as evidence from their past, the images allow them to revisit their ancestors and familiarise themselves with the practices that produced these objects. The people they see in the images are for the most part individuals whose names they have heard, but who they have mostly not known through personal experience. Through the images they are able acquaint themselves with these Old People (a term used to describe deceased relatives, and ancestors generally, remembered or not) and to examine the culture of their past.<sup>ix</sup>

The images therefore provide a ready means for personal engagement with their heritage. Individuals have acquired their own collections of Thomson images, and will openly discuss the people, activities and locations they depict with each other. We found younger people would ask their older relatives about the kin relationships between the people depicted, and how they were related to themselves, or comment on evident changes in the landscape in the time since the images were taken by Thomson. I have elsewhere suggested (Hafner, 2010) that the value of the images as part of the heritage of the Lamalama resides in the fact they contain multiple cues in terms of information about people, practices, objects and locations within the Lamalama landscape, and so make it easier for the Lamalama to develop a narrative about their past than is achieved by interactions with the objects alone. Edwards (2003, p.84) has pointed out that photographic images allow the past to be transported seemingly in entirety to the present, but that the meanings contained within such images shift across time and space, becoming re-classified with each shift. New meanings are read into them, and they therefore become identity documents, which their particular materiality allows in the way that contact with the objects, their solidity and meanings do not. Edwards and Hart (2004) point out that photographs are also three-dimensional objects, not simply two-dimensional traces of the past on paper, and this allows for a more complete engagement with them – they can be handled, collected, and importantly, owned, and through this process the past can be interpreted and even completely retrieved.

This point was also demonstrated by Lamalama interactions with the objects. While they did engage with the artefacts in interpretive ways when they were on country, for example discussing the manner in which a stone axe head would have been fitted to a wooden shaft, or the type of fibre used for the making of fishing nets, the possibilities for their interpretation were limited by their material reality. In terms of our research goals, we had wondered whether taking objects to Lamalama country rather than bringing the Lamalama to the Museum storerooms would result in information that was new to us emerging through the process. We did record some additional information, but by contrast, the images contain multiple levels of meaning that seemed to be more easily read by their viewers. While it is interesting, for example, to know that one's grandfather made a particular tool, there is less room for imaginative wondering than seeing an image of him engaged in the task. The image allows for questions: "Where was he? Why was he making this implement? Was he about to go hunting?" or even, "Did he have children at the time he was doing this?" Images thus allow contemporary people to enter into the past and

make sense of it in ways that contribute dynamically to constructions of identity. In this sense, the Thomson images form an important part of the cultural heritage of the Lamalama. This poses questions about the differences between its tangible and intangible dimensions.

### **Intangible heritage: the meanings in objects**

Lamalama responses to artefacts, images and landscape differed, but both on country and within the institutional walls of the museum, they demonstrated emotional attachments to objects of their heritage. Story Places such as Wayaamaw are of central cultural importance, while objects residing in the museum have the power to strengthen their connections to such places through the possibilities they offer for interpreting a past otherwise lost to memory. For present generations, Thomson's images represent something valuable about themselves that is not otherwise available, and it seems it is the interpretive possibilities offered by the Thomson image that particularly resonates with them. Graham and Howard (2008, p.5) have suggested that heritage "can be envisaged as a knowledge, simultaneously a cultural product and a political resource", thus set in particular circumstances and always subject to negotiation:

If heritage knowledges are situated in particular social and intellectual circumstances, they are time-specific and thus their meanings can be altered as texts and re-read in changing times, circumstances and constructs of place and scale (Graham and Howard 2008, p.5).

In these senses, the meanings and knowledge invested in the Thomson images and the objects he collected from people in the early twentieth century constitute intangible elements of Lamalama heritage, linked to places and people as well as to objects, through memories and understandings that develop over generations, and form the continuities understood as culture and tradition. In this sense the symbolic value of the Thomson materials resides in the dynamism they impart to contemporary Lamalama people as they work through the loss of loved and respected leaders in a continuing situation of poverty and social and economic marginalisation. Both the images and objects in the Thomson Collection need to be considered in terms of their materiality as well as their intangible qualities for the Lamalama, however.

Whilst it has seemed there is a qualitative difference in their responses to the images versus the artefacts, as photographs or copies of photographs the former are themselves material objects, able to be viewed, collected, handled and interpreted (Edwards, 2004). In this way they have a social life (Appadurai, 1986), although their trajectory towards an interpretive destination as determined by the Lamalama has been different to that of the objects. Whereas the objects seem to have been subject to greater alienation from collective emotional response through their continuing repose within the museum, the images seem to be perceived as the sites of contemporary emotional connection and identification, and provoke a similar level of engagement as certain places within the landscape, such as Wayaamaw. They constitute a visually perceptible historical record, and are therefore open to personal interpretation and attachment; because they are tactile objects they are not bound to the museum and are able to be owned, shared, stored and interpreted according to differing circumstances of time, place and interest. Similarly, places within the landscape are locations of personal narrative and interpretation that contribute to the collective associations constituting the heritage associations of a people. Wayaamaw, for example, provoked intense emotions among those who had not visited it before, while for those already familiar with the place, it was of more passing interest – their reactions were more mundane, concerned with the evident changes in the landscape as a result of its conversion to a dam for cattle.

It is important therefore to acknowledge that intangible aspects of their heritage constitute a significant part of their contemporary identity as a people and significantly inform their daily practice. Their heritage is invested in objects produced by their ancestors, but also in the knowledge and memories of contemporary individuals. It exists in the information these now ageing people can impart to younger relatives about the lives and activities of their Old People depicted in the Thomson images, and which circulates in their conversation, memories and recollections. It has also been evident in the loss of knowledge associated with the recent deaths of elders such as Sunlight Bassani, who represent, to a large extent, the last generation who remember or participated in the cultural world portrayed in the Thomson images. These events highlight questions about cultural practice and the sustainability of the heritage associated with them. Given the generational transitions taking place mean that people just entering early middle age are already being placed in leadership roles as a result of deaths among their elders, it is worth considering the potential impacts of a project such as ours, which has brought younger people into closer contact with objects of their heritage over recent years than had previously been the case.

### **Conclusion**

It is tempting to assert the significance of the link between the reconnection to heritage occasioned by this project and the impetus to return to country through the Ranger program for this middle generation of Lamalama individuals. Yet there have been a number of other equally significant processes involved. These include the acquisition of formal title to their homelands and other events not discussed here, such as their engagement with innovative programs in justice and changes to local educational practices. This middle generation of the Lamalama are now in the process of becoming the elders themselves, and this fact is not lost on them. They are also acutely aware they have lost significant resources of knowledge and experience as a consequence of the recent deaths in their community, and their actions represent a moral

response to this situation. A central organising principle in Lamalama social relations is the concept of respect, demonstrated in behaviour towards one's various categories of kin, the use of appropriate terms to designate kinship and observation of the rules for behaviour on country. Beyond this, some of the recently-deceased elders are highly respected and honoured for their dedication to the struggle to win back the land, as well as for their leadership and personal qualities. The emerging category of people who will take over Lamalama leadership view individuals such as Sunlight Bassani as embodying the qualities of a "proper Lamalama" person, and have been inspired by his memory to carry on his fight. His loss, and that of other elders, has been a catalyst for current actions.

The Lamalama have now re-acquired as much land as they are ever likely to receive through statutory processes, and this means carrying out the work of further re-establishing themselves on their country through community development projects. Part of their training as Rangers involves cultural activities, and their experience with the Thomson materials has already prompted some initial ideas about ways to showcase their culture in the Ranger headquarters at Yintjingga. For the Lamalama, therefore, the Thomson materials do not simply provide an historical record – what they see in the images is also guidance about culturally appropriate ways to interact with their country. As a sentient landscape it is peopled by the same Old People who are shown in the Thomson images. While these social actors might no longer behave as they did in life, they remind the current generations of their responsibilities towards the land and each other. It is these intangible elements of interpretive possibility offered by the Thomson materials that have been so important in contributing to current re-assertions of Lamalama cultural identity.

The sustainability and value of heritage can be seen as residing at least in part in how it links the past and present identities of a people. Initiatives such as the Ranger program assist the Lamalama to foster a continuing relationship with their heritage. They, like their forebears, must now find ways to work with and maintain both its tangible and intangible elements. Their current experience includes significant intergenerational change and few opportunities to document the history and memory that tie intangible heritage to places and objects. The long-term sustainability of Lamalama heritage will therefore depend not only on the existence of significant cultural material (objects, and also history, memories, customs and knowledge and understanding of how these are invested in objects), but also on the choices the Lamalama continue to make about the ways they will participate in, and sustain, their own cultural traditions.

Any concept of effective cultural management would thus accommodate and value the intangible expressions of such cultural heritage. These expressions are constituted of varied negotiations, interactions and investments, including the emotional investments that have the power to address the absent places of memory. It is therefore perhaps important to remember something of the history of museums. Museums in Australia were developed within the British tradition, and as Conaty (2003, p.228) has described, this involved making them accessible to a broader public than the gentry, in a nineteenth-century process of democratisation intended to create a "general improvement in the nature of the working class". Given the opportunity to ponder the wonders of Western civilisation held in British museums, it was thought that workers would "eschew the local tavern" and "character reformation" would result. One hundred and fifty years later, Sunlight Bassani expressed a similar aspiration, when he worked to bring his people into a closer relationship with the museum. He also hoped that closer contact would result in eschewing of the tavern, and a deepened sense of cultural identity as a result of recovering evidence it contains of some of the absent places of Lamalama memory. It is somewhat ironic, but heartening, that peoples who were formerly the object of the museum project are now able to stake their claims on its resources to reformulate negative public perceptions of their culture (Davis, 2007). Through projects such as the one described in this paper, they have at the same time been able to retain its functionalities as the repository of their heritage, in the process contributing to its reshaping to their own purposes.

## Endnotes

<sup>i</sup> Indigenous populations in Australia include both Torres Strait Islander peoples, and the many mainland groups referred to as Aboriginal peoples.

<sup>ii</sup> While the ABS notes: "The estimates of the Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander (Indigenous) and non-Indigenous populations presented in this product are experimental. The inherent uncertainty in Indigenous census counts as well as the method of estimating net census undercount of the Indigenous population means the estimates should be interpreted with caution", it seems nonetheless historically consistent with previous estimates about the size of Australia's Indigenous population.

<sup>iii</sup> The Parliamentary Statement on Racial Tolerance affirmed Australia's commitment to racial respect and received bipartisan support in Australia's federal government. It was adopted in October 1996.

<sup>iv</sup> This included Sunlight's wife, who died less than a year ago at the time of writing. Out of respect for Lamalama tradition, I do not mention the names of other more recently deceased elders such as her.

<sup>v</sup> The project drew on theorising about the ecomuseum and museological approaches that expand the museum beyond the institutional space of its buildings. Museum Victoria has a history of engaging in similar curatorial and research activities with other Indigenous peoples. Museum Victoria curatorial staff, led by Senior Curator Lindy Allen, were members of the five-member research team.

<sup>vi</sup> This project, LP 0667418 Oral Tradition, Memory and Social Change: Indigenous Participation in the Curation and Use of Museum Collections was funded by the Australian Research Council, under its nationally competitive Linkage Projects grants scheme.

<sup>vii</sup> At the time, the Aboriginal Centre at Melbourne Museum, a campus of Museum Victoria.

<sup>viii</sup> In 2008, the Donald Thomson Collection was inscribed on the Australian listing of the UNESCO Memory of the World Register as the Donald Thomson Ethnohistory Collection.

<sup>ix</sup> Like many other Australian Indigenous groups, the Lamalama do not mention the name of deceased individuals after their death, usually for a full seasonal cycle or longer. This proscription also applies to the viewing of images of deceased persons but in the case of the Thomson images, it does not seem to apply, perhaps because the images depict people unknown personally to contemporary Lamalama people. The Old People depicted in the images are individuals who in Lamalama belief have through death acquired levels of supernatural power and authority beyond that of their mortal relatives.

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## The implicit sustainability of ancient settlements: a case study

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Identity of traditional settlements results from the combination of tangible and intangible factors that, over the time, has made a place significant for individuals or a community. The full understanding of such factors is strategic for the implementation of built heritage management policies that are really compliant with the contemporary, broad, idea of sustainability. On the other hand, the investigation of built environment under the local identity perspective allows the comprehension of the linkages between the built and the natural environment. In fact, it can unveil the sustainable working of some technical elements that, as single items or in their whole, are significant drivers of the place identity. The paper proposes a methodological approach to the investigation of built environment identity and presents the results of its application to Orvieto, a medieval Italian town. As conclusion, potential benefits from this approach in the field of built heritage sustainable management are discussed.

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**Keywords:** local identity, built heritage, methodological approach.

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### Introduction

The need for reducing resource wasting, and then the goal to optimize the use of any kind of resources in built environment, can be considered one of the main characters of vernacular or, more in general, traditional architecture. Under this perspective, it can be often observed that sites with very strong identity, generally characterized by an image or a physical structure persisting over the time, are very good example of built environments fitting characteristics of natural environment in a given site. This means that construction masters or so-called "empirical builders" from the past have produced a sustainable combination of human-built-natural environment, that needs to be preserved in order to implement today sustainable policies for use, management and rehabilitation of built heritage.

On the other hand, rehabilitation of built environment is considered a sustainable practice as itself (Pearce et al., 1996), but success factors of interventions on traditional settlements cannot neglect the consideration of all tangible and intangible factors that constitute local identity, being the mere achievement of new performance/functional requirements insufficient under the contemporary, broader, sustainability approach (Lutzkendorf and Lorenz, 2007).

### Local identity and the sustainable management of built heritage

#### The broad meaning of local identity

Identity can be defined as something making an entity definable and recognizable, thanks to the whole of characteristics determining that item as distinguished from any other entity.

Applied to built environment, the concept of identity recalls (Lynch, 1984) the set of qualities and characteristics that we can consider as permanent features in buildings or places, since it is able to resist to changes during the passing of time. Also, identity is the sensations aroused by places in people of more generations (Loewental, 1981) keeping or enhancing the space-inhabitants linkage or, under a more

technical perspective, it can be meant as a, "total phenomenon, which we cannot reduce to any of its properties, such as spatial relationships, without losing its concrete nature" (Norberg-Schulz, 1979).

Focusing on traditional settlements, this concrete reality is constituted by a special combination of constructive, environmental, physical factors that, in their whole, form the identity of built environment. There, a set of technical features is the tangible framework where the sense of identity can rise, as it is easily understandable from typical vernacular contexts. An example is given by the case of agricultural court houses in Figure 1, that are a sample of implicit sustainability of traditional settlement identity, since similar needs have been fulfilled with different technical solutions, strongly linked to local climate and resources.



Figure 1. Italian rural court houses: a) Valtellina, b) Campania region.

On the other hand, it has to be considered that built environment management is a really wide field of action, since rehabilitation is applicable at any scale, with a broad range of scopes, in every site human inhabited. For that reason, acting on traditional settlements or buildings may easily bring to unwished sustainability implications due to inappropriate transformations of built environment, that can lead to a loss of local identity and alienation of local cultures (Moffatt and Kohler, 2008) with the consequent disruption in the continuity of places experience. All that will finally impede future generations experiencing local identity, as the past generations did, depriving them of the availability of both tangible and intangible resources they have right.

Therefore, traditional settlements are sensitive contexts, where rehabilitation design implies that any technical choice can represent a potential trigger for the loss of local identity comprehension or preservation. Under this perspective, a sustainable approach to built environment management and rehabilitation is given by the full understanding of tangible and intangible components of local identity.

### **A methodological approach to identity understanding**

Built environment policies for traditional settlements must be provided with adequate data, suitable to feed a decision making process resulting in conservation/transformation choices that are able to preserve tangible and intangible factors constituting the place identity.

Technical factors concerned with the material culture can be either technical elements, either functioning mechanisms and can be considered as "stand alone" and in their whole.

A possible, practical, approach for unveiling technical factors significant for identity comprehension and preservation should be addressed to many heterogeneous aspects of built environment, considering ethnic complexity, historical architectural and natural significance, space functions, places fruition and people behaviors over the time. Technical factors relevant to those issues can convey built environment values under cultural-perceptive, morpho-dimensional and constructive perspective. Moreover, those factors play a key role in identity comprehension and preservation, due to the fact that they can be paradigmatic or originally manufactured in a context. For instance, technical elements that may be significant as local identity drivers are elements evidencing a) original function; b) modifications, substitutions, extensions and any other transformation; c) features or constructive techniques typical in a place; d) features or constructive techniques outstanding from the traditional context because of their

originality or particularity; e) features or constructive techniques still unchanged from the past; f) features having aesthetic value (Attaianese et al., 2007).

## The sustainability of a settlement unveiled by its identity: the Orvieto case study

### The town of Orvieto

The analysis approach here proposed was applied to the case study of the town of Orvieto. More in detail, investigation was addressed to the physical structure of the urban fabric and its evolution over the time, the representations of urban features over the time and, finally, the link between local identity characters and environment.

Orvieto is an Etruscan settlement (the ancient Velzna) on a tuff rock, that reached its maximum development as commercial and religious centre during VI century b.C. After the destruction by Romans in 264 b.C., the rock was abandoned and settlement was rebuilt as Volsinii Novi (Bolsena). In the Middle Age, inhabitants came back to the tuff rock and established the new town that today we know. Still today, this town is a sort of tuff and basalt stronghold, made up with (and upon) a network of underground caves and tunnels.

The town is built over a tuff table, with precipitous cliff faces, outstanding from the mild valley of the Paglia river. The physical limit of the tuff table has never allowed the urban growth with a simple expansion of the built area on the rock, but space need was fulfilled, over the time, producing a high density, stratified, urban fabric.

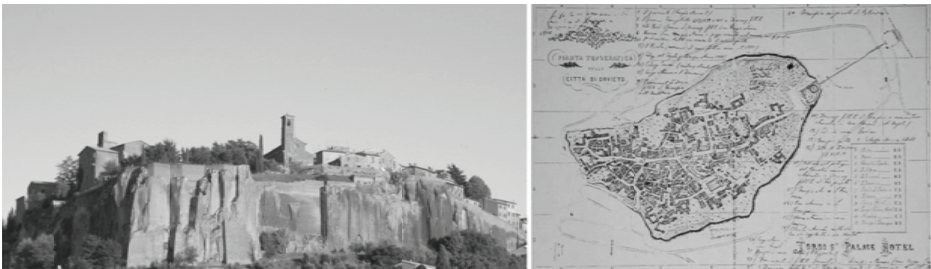


Figure 2. The Orvieto tuff rock, representing a physical boundary to resources purchasing and urban development.

### Factors relevant to local identity

In any medieval town, urban space is limited by defense needs, so that surfaces available for buildings were very valuable. In the case of Orvieto (Ricetti, 1992), this limitation has persisted over the time, since physical limit is given by the tuff table rather than by man artifacts, like town walls. The great attention paid to the optimal use of the space produced buildings quite tall for the age, with narrow fronts on the street and organized in long, continuous, street fronts. This narrow and deep lots, that combined together constitute big urban blocks, derive from the rather standardized length of nearest available tree trunks, from which resulted the regular pace of wood beams and then the regular width of dwelling units. Such as technical module allowed to set-up the sinuous streets and the characteristic pattern in Orvieto urban fabric and fronts (Satolli, 1983).

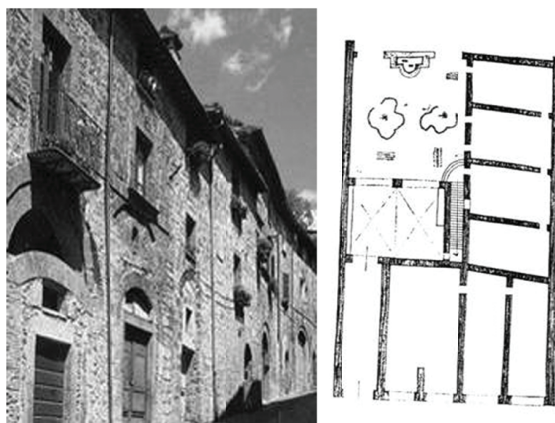


Figure 3. Street fronts and internal layout of dwelling units in San Giovenale quarter.

Another aspect of the built environment identity is the internal layout of urban blocks, characterized by a number of internal courts. In fact, block morphology and width require a layout arrangement suitable to provide with sufficient air and light the rooms that do not look onto the main street front.

On the other hand, the isolation and distance from fertile ground as well as the use of the settlement as a "natural" walled town by popes raised the need to make the town self-sufficient for food production; for that reason all internal courts were used as vegetable gardens.

A further technical element of Orvieto local identity is given by the major building material and its origin. In fact, the rock inaccessibility and the unavailability of suitable rough materials in the surrounding valley constituted an ineluctable drive for using at the best the material constituting the rock table itself: the tuff stone. Therefore since ancient ages, building material was extracted from the tuff bed, realizing a wide network of underground passages and spaces, characterized by the constant temperature of 16°C. Since the rock has not water springs, this complex system of underground spaces performs the key function of draining and collecting water in a great number of wells. In this way, water did not need to be carried out from the outside of tuff table and town would have been self-sufficient in case of siege. Second use is very relevant from an economic and cultural point of view, since vineyard is the main cultivation in the area and temperature of underground environments is particularly suitable for cellar use. At the end, this technical aspect has produced a relevant aspects of the territorial identity, the Orvieto wine "brand", that is known all over the world.

Under the perspective of construction techniques (Chiovelli, 2006), it has to be noticed that tuff walls are characterized by a bricklaying technique showing a reduced use of mortar and plaster (due to the unavailability of needed materials and water shortage on the rock) and well squared tuff blocks. Over the time, blocks dimension became standardized on the basis of maximum dimension allowed for quarries and caves, that was under regulations since Middle Ages in order to preserve tuff rock stability. On the other hand, non-use of plaster determined other technical elements relevant for the local identity point of view, such the need for an alternative protection of the tuff walls by roofs more protruding than usual and façade decoration made mainly in carved tuff rather in stucco, plaster or finer materials to be transported from rock outside.

Last point concerns the image and perception of the town over the time, by both visitors and inhabitants (Satolli, 1974a, 1974b). On one hand, the relationship of the built rock outstanding from the valley and the wide surrounding landscape creates a unique skyline, whose pattern allows Orvieto to represent Italian imaginary in people from every part of the world. At the same time, it can be considered that the overall working of the urban settlement is perceived as a nature-humans combined organism and this, together with the landscape relevance, makes arise a strong sense of ownership in inhabitants.

### **The implicit sustainability of Orvieto local identity factors**

The focus on technical elements playing a role in built environment identity allows the comprehension of how resources use was optimized in the past in terms of urban layout, construction mastery and traditions as well as social and economic organization.

The specific case of Orvieto shows that technical aspects of local identity bring multifaceted sustainability implications. At urban scale, it can be observed that the whole pattern of irregular and wide

urban blocks assures a minimum of fresh air and daylight for all buildings, shields the settlement from strong winds, produces shadowed street lengths alternating with sunny ones. The presence of many small vegetable gardens provides all the hygiene and psychological benefits linked with green areas in a compact urban fabric, bringing also thermal benefits during hot periods. Furthermore the green use of the soil is strategically helpful in water drainage with consequent hydrogeological benefits for rock stability.

Under the point of view of resource saving, it can be observed that many dwelling units are joined together in large fronts, and this brings a considerable reduction of used materials, since adjacent built units share a common wall. On the other side, indoor comfort for building units is assured by the so-called "courtyard effect": during summer period lower parts of the inner court are almost always shadowed, so that tuff walls basement keeps a temperature lower than the upper part. During the day, this difference of temperature causes refreshing flows or air masses whilst, in the night, the heat accumulated by the soil is released, mitigating the night fresh.

Finally, the system of cellars and caves represents a valuable, tangible, heritage to be recalled in territorial marketing, that gives a strong impulse to wine industry and care of landscape.

In the whole, Orvieto technical and socio-economical organization shows a general optimization in use of resources, having created a system that saves materials, reduces transportation, assigns a key role to territory maintenance activities.

Thus, all described technical factors represent significant sustainability aspects, worthy to be kept and taken into account for today built environment management and rehabilitation. Finally, the respect of so relevant factors for local identity supports the fully application of social and intangible components of sustainability (Tiesdell, 1996).

## Conclusions

The paper has presented a survey methodology for investigation of technical factors in local identity. The case study has evidenced that understanding of perceptual, emotional or functional interaction of people with built environment needs to take into account any type of technical feature, as single component or in its wider context. In fact it can be observed how some simple technical factors concerned with the material culture play a key role in identity comprehension and preservation, being particularly significant for a socio-culture and its related built environment.

This approach is able to provide useful inputs for sustainable management and rehabilitation practices, since awareness about technical elements constituting the built environment identity supports the understanding of the extent on which built environment is able to provide expected performances within the main goal to assure the handover of built environment identity from today to future users. This approach can also support all involved stakeholders in recognizing technical factors making up place's identity so that use and management of built environment is based on a sustainable preservation/transformation balance (UNESCO, 2008).

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## Non-Greek farmers and heritage in the sustainable development of the Greek countryside

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Heritage is a complex good in rural areas- a new multifaceted commodity. In many Greek countrysides heritage is desperately sought to counter senses of inferiority, depopulation, and general malaise. Centuries-old olive groves and related practices face extinction. Initiatives to protect them are few and largely unsuccessful. Organic methods, products of designated origin and geographic indication, and agritourist enterprises are haphazardly pursued. In the spaces created by this dissonance, various socio-economic roles have been allotted to new immigrants. Immigrant farmers in Laconia prefecture in particular, based on their engagements with struggling Greek farm families, small-scale agriculture, and rural life in general inadvertently co-construct the few emergent possibilities for heritage and sustainable development. Due to the overall support they provide for multifunctional land use activities, they should be seen as potential resources with regard to these possibilities and the paths contemporary ethnocological adaptations might take there.

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**Keywords:** olive farming, immigrants, sustainable agriculture, rural heritage.

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### Introduction

Anthropologists, amongst other scholars, have long been enamored with the rural (Kertzer, 71). We are still drawn to villages such as Gower-Chapman's Milocca and Friedl's Vasilika as well as rural notions and tropes like honor and shame or amoral familism. Archaeologist Paul Halstead has written; "ethno-archaeological study of the last vestiges of traditional rural economy in the Mediterranean is a matter of the greatest urgency" (86). What 'vestiges' truly exist within supposed village boundaries is debatable. Raymond Williams admits that the 'rural' is merely a charade. Yet he also notes that it requires demystification. Beyond the study of agricultural productions regimes, the lavish attention paid to fisherwomen or 'herring lassies' in Scotland by painters in order to evoke a countryside unsullied by industrialization for example (Nadel-Kline, 33, 68), or the imagination of other ideal rural types such as 'pastoralists' or 'farmers' points to a complex intermingling of the forces of production and consumption in and of rural countrysides, perhaps especially those European. Whatever the rural is, it deserves our attention.

I occasionally also use the term 'countryside' to highlight the shift from production to consumption regimes in rural areas and the multiple types of activities and stakeholders that now make it what it is- those who use the rural as well as those who relate to it as a form of exchange value (Hirsch and O'Hanlon, 22). A new focus on ecological balance in the 1998 EC Commission Report entitled 'The Future of Rural Society' described new areas of leisure and environmental preservation, eldercare, etc- a shift from sector-based price supports to regionally based schemes, economic diversification, infrastructural improvements, rural heritage protection, environmental protection, and restoration of landscapes. This essentially entails a shift from agricultural space to local policy places of rural development; "the multiple functions of agriculture include products (goods and services, marketable or public) but also less tangible elements of rural development, such as social inclusion, cultural heritage and landscape value, which may not be easily entangled" (Fleskens et. al., 142). Thus social categories are considered alongside biology or

topography as a socio-ecological domain we might refer to as the neo rural European countryside. The development of new European national parks is particularly interesting (Schwartz, Heatherington) signaling a diversification of places that perhaps even challenges European cohesion (Gray). In any case, rural landscape scientists, anthropologists, and other scholars struggle to characterize the conflicts inherent in the Community Agricultural Policy (CAP) which attempts to the account for the new and vast array of complex issues. Some places have emerged as embodiments of both agriculture and cultural heritage. The productive, ecological, and touristic values of vineyard landscapes on the island of Santorini are rare examples in Greece. Despite the fact that agriculture is wrongly assumed to have reached its limits (van der Ploeg, 1993) and an environmental or agricultural heritage perspective has the capacity to revive traditional local markets, much of rural Europe remains neither successfully integrated nor diversified.

The LEADER initiatives, the EC's re-territorializing and neo-endogenous approach to development introduced by the Directorate General of Agriculture and Rural Development (DGVI) in 1991, have been seen by some as supporting a "category of flow" as opposed to a fixed category of rural representations such as 'peasants' and 'farmers' (Ray, 279). Traditional foods, regional languages, crafts, folklore, local visual arts and drama, literary references, historical and pre-historical sites, landscape systems and their associated flora and fauna potentially become more fully integrated with less static or more neo-rural approaches. As Ingold has written, this is the dwelt-in world, a focus on the "active, perceptual engagement with the practical business of life, rather than on the detached, disinterested observation of a world apart" (40). Neo-rural trends might lead us to believe that southern Europe is in advantageous position. Heatherington notes that the very poverty of highland Sardinia has allowed the region to conserve the natural resources now being reevaluated. Green has written of a reservoir of 'tradition' in Albania: "If Hoxja kept those people 'backward', this is turning out to be a most useful resource for Epirus's postmodern future" (277). Sleepy villages and burned areas are now "sites for exploring local meanings of sustainable rural development" (Schwartz 138) or for the "greening of backwardness" (Heatherington, 130). Yet authors regard the future in many rural regions of Spain and Italy and virtually all of Portugal and Greece as rather bleak (Hoggart et. al.).

Farmers, like artisans, are "exemplars of national virtue and tradition", a "repository of ancient skills and qualities" (Herzfeld, 4). Yet the "global hierarchy of values" inherent in high modernism's invention of tradition has been unkind and duplicitous to many exemplars (16). Miller (1987) refers to craft traditions as nostalgic products of disenchantment- that handmade products ironically reproduce hierarchies separating elites from peasants. Demetra Gefou-Madianou has written of a "double dialectic of tradition" in Greece. While tradition creates opportunities for claims by marginalized groups it also renders them subject to its hegemonic subordination. The experiences of retsina winemakers in Gefou-Madianou's case study have much in common with olive farmers, especially in Laconia prefecture where I conducted most of my fieldwork over the past few years. To be the national virtue and tradition- the heritage- or to know it, that has been the question (Green, 245). Recobbling old harbor areas in Scotland in order to make villages look more traditional is an obstacle to actual working fisherman as Nadel-Kline has pointed out (188). As rural Greeks similarly plaster over traditional stone facades of buildings and then uncover them again in an attempt to keep up with aesthetic trends, we again see the disconnect in modernity's multiple relationships with its rural areas: "however genuine the affection of residents in renovated villages for Mediterranean art and landscapes- even if this affection is tinged with snobbery- rural people, whether farmers or not, generally do not share it, partly because they cannot afford it, but also because their cultural standards are so low that they can no longer appreciate the values of their own country" (Chevalier, 178); "the essential paradox of rurality within developed nations is that while the existence of specific and exclusive rurality is increasingly contested at one level, the traditional components of rural areas (farmers, peasants, rural landscapes, fields, and forests, etc.) continue to occupy a central and growing place in many national, regional, local, and personal representations" (Hoggart et. al., 91).

Expensive raw milk, aesthetically modern in the extreme, is dispensed by state-of-the-art Italian-made machines in many parts of northern Europe. In Lithuania, by contrast, cheap raw milk is peddled by old women who straddle the shifting lines between tradition and modernity, benefiting little from neo-rural hierarchies of value (Mincyte). How to remain small-scale and 'natural' in Europe without diversifying to the point of extinction, intensifying in an unsustainable manner, or getting out like the 1998 EC Commission Report has suggested- how to know and *be* the heritage- remains the question for many farmers. Greek and non-Geek farmers in Laconia are together developing practices and strategies to address these questions. LEADER-backed Transnational Cooperation Projects are supposed to reconfigure power relations across Europe, potentially grouping minority cultures such as small-scale farmers with other such socio-economic groups in other areas. Ray suggests that there may even be ways to insert extra-local objectives regarding the environment or immigrants into the agenda of such endogenous development initiatives and that agriculture might also be reinserted into rural areas vis-à-vis the settlement of marginalized people (169-170). In 1976, in *Regional Variation in Modern Greece and Cyprus* (Dimen and Schein), Greek sociologist Constantine Tsoucalas (423) wrote that 'deformities' have always accompanied Greece into the international community and market. This remained the case after EC accession in 1981, as it does today. Yet non-Greek farmers and farmworkers, in conjunction with a small group of Greek entrepreneurs, have provided impetus for a reappraisal of rural Greek life, its deformities as well as the potential for sustainability and heritage value there.

## Agriculture, development, and rural landscape heritage in Europe

The CAP, instituted in 1957, signaled the reemergence of a European agricultural space that had been compromised by the nationalizing processes. It is one of the first truly transnational agricultural and rural development policies and therefore can address food security as well as global environmental concerns, consumption regimes and rural heritage; "sufficient numbers of farmers must be kept on the land. There is no other way to preserve the natural environment, traditional landscapes, and a model of agriculture based on the family farm as favored by society generally" (CEC 1991). The third Community Support Framework (CSF) of the CAP (2000-2006) was to intervene at the local and regional level with a the focus on younger farmers, introduce further training and services, develop and protect natural resources, encourage agritourism, etc. Yet the ease of global transport has brought about a significant decline in European agriculture. The massive modernization project from the 1950's and 1960's now "bites its own tail" (van der Ploeg, 2008:143). *Agricoltura de salto*, the 'hit and run agriculture' of certain EU policies and market conditions as described by Italians, premises only profit and provides little in the way of true investment. Debates about genetically modified organisms have brought about disharmony in European agriculture. Organic production is also seen by some as questionable in its support for local economies (Fonte). Vagaries surrounding notions of 'sustainability' have created further conflict. As a consequence, "in the rural regions of Europe the ageing of the rural and farm population and the need to accommodate or reduce the flow of young people out of the countryside is a serious challenge to their sustainability" (Kasimis, 2009a).

In the neo-rural context, 'highly productive land' must now include historical landscapes known for traditional cultivations or ecological characteristics such as Santorini's vineyards according to EC Act 1337/83 in order to survive. The EU's EucaLand Project (European Culture expressed in Agricultural Landscapes) has focused on specialized agricultural techniques. Similar initiatives such as those identifying Products of Designated Origin (PDO's), of Geographic Indication (PGI's), and Traditional Speciality Guaranteed (TSG's) supposedly also consider local landscapes and traditions as tangible and intangible forms of rural heritages. Yet they only protect market opportunities. The inscription of Spanish *huerta* landscapes of irrigated agriculture, the first agriculturally-based landscapes on UNESCO's list of intangible heritage, signals other possibilities. Amfissa olive groves near Delphi, Masticha groves on Chios, and peat soils of the Philippi wetlands in Greece fit this criteria as well (Louloudis and Arahoviti). Yet they, along with centuries-old terraced olive groves all over the Mediterranean are largely overlooked by landscape classifications and policies despite their historical significance; "Notwithstanding their importance, specialized crops and the landscapes they produce do not appear in most landscape classifications and landscape descriptions on national and European levels. Therefore, they are non-existent in many national and certainly in European landscape policies" (Renes, 41).

## Heritage and stagnation in the Mediterranean region

Braudel and many others have written of the Mediterranean triad of grapes, grains, and olives. The cultural identity of 'Mediterranean' people is largely expressed through related rural/agricultural pursuits in these landscapes. According to van der Ploeg (2008), a landscape is "ecosystems, buildings, types of land use, ecological values, patterns of opening up areas, visual experience, accessibility, town-countryside relations, transitions, water management systems, history and so on".

Yet as Hadjimichalis (2003:109-110) points out, most of Greece, along with major portions of other Mediterranean countries like Spain, Italy and Portugal is becoming marginal to northern Europe through a refashioning of the rural/urban divide as opposed to an emphasis on its heritage landscapes. Not since the Roman era has the European south had significant political or economic sway, the exceptional aspects of the Italian or Spanish economies notwithstanding (the 'vital axis' from southern England to northern Italy as well as the 'new growth axis' from eastern Spain to northern Italy). Pomplini (in Hoggart et. al., 73) describes virtually all of Greece and many Portuguese regions as inherently marginal. In fact no one seems to disagree about the lack of potential in Greece for significant development; "studies identify [rural Greece] as possessing development problems on a major scale throughout the land" (Hoggart et. al. 74). In northern Greece some rural communities have found novel ways to cope with marginalization through new infrastructures based on information technologies for example (Hadjimichalis and Sadler). Nothing like this exists in the south. What is more, while farms in Greece are disproportionately small, 4.4 hectares on average (Papadopoulos, 250), farms in the Peloponnese are smaller still, leaving little choice but to premise cultural and ecological values in prefectures such as Laconia.

Less Favoured Areas (LFA's) are defined as areas above 800 meters, areas with a slope of 16% or greater and which are above 600 meters, areas with slopes greater than 20%, areas in danger of abandonment of land use, as well as areas with other specific handicaps such as with regard to soil quality, accessibility, limited growing seasons, weather, and lack of infrastructure (Kastanidi, Papadopoulos, and Xalkias). The designation was created in 1975 in conjunction with the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) and in response to the plight of upland livestock farmers in the UK. From Greece to Portugal such areas today include 56 million hectares of mountainous, semi-mountainous and arid plains (27 million inhabitants, 25% of the European continent, and 8% of the European population). LFA's make up 82% of the utilized agricultural area of Greece. Despite this special distinction intended to set aside aid and promote social stability and democracy, LFA's have become principal losers of EU accession (Louloudis et. al.). Despite the fact that the EU gives 2.5 billion euros in subsidies per year

for production diversity and multifunctionality of SMOPs (Sloping and Mountainous Olive Plantation Systems) common in Greek LFA's, there is limited collaboration amongst farmers, regional government, and environmental organizations. Much investment is wasted.

In Greece, minifundia areas such as those in Crete have gained some access to agricultural markets (Hadjimichalis and Papamichos, 194) but "generally speaking, systematic physical planning interventions have been restricted to the metropolitan and urbanized areas, whereas mobilization in matters pertaining to the agricultural landscape in Greece has only very recently been instigated through European Union legislation and subsidized interventions that enforce the protection and preservation of the rural landscape" (Terkleni and Kizos, 1). Conservation measures are perhaps least effective in Greece (applied to .08% of the national territory as opposed to 19% in Austria) (Hoggart et. al., 65) leading to the abandonment of many *paramethories perioxes*, or peripheral areas. Another main problem in Greece is the sale of products in bulk, such as *tenakethes* of olive oil- 17-liter tins containing more than 5 liters over the limit allowed by trade regulations. As Greece consumes more oil than any other European country, a significant market share is lost illegally at wholesale prices. Olive oil has historically been traded in such a way vis-à-vis social relations that often entail the direct payment for services. Consequently, national politicians are obliged to tolerate it. The Greek interest in bulk agricultural products can be seen in direct relation to its ignorance with regard to its own agricultural heritage and value-added niche products.

The link between subsidies and production has been severed within the parameters of the fourth CSF (2007-2013), known as the National Strategic Reference Framework. Few incentives to increase production capacity exist. Farmers must now be more marketed-oriented, consider the environment, support land management, improve the quality of life, and diversify the rural economy. Environmental groups like Birdlife International and the World Wildlife Federation as well as scholars concerned with resource conservation and or cultural heritage suggest a focus on traditional groves vis-à-vis the Olive Geographical Information System as well as cross compliance initiatives linking production incentives with EU environmental policies such as Agenda 2000 and Natura 2000. The LEADER axis would effectively transfer payments formerly made to farms more towards rural development initiatives like these. In general, the new axes provide assistance for new techniques and rural crafts, young farmers to set up farms, older farmers to retire, as well as value-added initiatives (such as setting up food processing technology on farms, farming in mountainous areas, renovations, tourism, heritage conservation, etc.). The first bottles of retsina wine with packaging resembling mainstream wines are now being sold. Markets for other Greek wine varieties such as xinomavro, stavrato, krassato, and moschofilero have also opened up. Wild and or heritage plants are of new interest- wild asparagus, thyme, lavender, oregano, mountain teas, capers, and local varieties/relatives such as finiki apples and kumara strawberries as well as indigenous breeds of animals. Some young people are moving to rural areas to take up farming as a response to increasing joblessness in urban areas due to the recent financial crisis (Cockburn, 2011). Yet the country's first truffle farmers still struggle for financial aid. Skepticism about farming aromatic herbs for their essential oils smotherers initiatives spurred on by Greek agricultural universities to help olive farmers diversify. Litsis Ecological Farm, pioneers of Community Supported Agriculture<sup>ii</sup> and care farms<sup>iii</sup> and preoccupied with reclaiming food quality and the dignity of land stewardship that has been lost in Greece have few partners. Frangiskos Karelias' biodynamic agritourist farm Evmelia can only be legally referred to as a 'visiting farm' due to the lack of any official distinction for agritourist businesses and is thus in many ways illegal. An overarching theme of sustainable best practices, heritage conservation, and ecological methods infuses the mission statement of Peliti, an alternative rural development and heirloom seed-saving initiative. Yet most who attended the 2009 Peleti festival were hobby farmers and urban dwellers, not the ruralites who desperately need the investment that interest in Greek rural/agricultural heritage might bring.

### **Diversification, branding, and marketing of the rural Greek environment**

Officials in the DGVI in Brussels stressed to me the need for Greece to focus on promotion, packaging, and *tipopisoi*, the branding or stylization of niche products (personal interviews, 2009). Greece should capitalize on UNESCO's Mediterranean Food Pyramid many said. They referred to ecodevelopment, a panacea like industrial development was not long ago (Heatherington, 66). Greece currently has 23 PGI's. As agricultural cooperatives and other rural corporations and municipal governments make similar attempts at branding, some officials suggest each municipality or prefecture have its own PGI. Others insist that the Peloponnese should be one, as a recognizable region throughout Europe. No one is certain.

While agritourism in Italy started in the 1960's, Greece has only one small agritourism body (To Βημα 2007). The fourth CSF has set out to promote investor interest, especially in fire-affected regions such as Laconia; "there's really no opportunities for tourism here. It's in a terrible state", complained a public school official in the Laconian town of Vlachiotis in 2010. "Everyone will eat each other. No one will protect the environment now" he predicted, despite such promotions.

At a more basic level, as an official at the ΠΕΠ in Tripolis (Περιφερειακό Επιχειρησιακό Προγραμμα Πελοποννήσου, Development office of the Peloponnese) explained in 2009 "we simply don't think like that". The ambiguities surrounding the etymology and translation of words like 'agricultural', 'rural', and 'wild' in Greek are representative of the difficulties encountered in attempting to multifunctionalize rural areas. As a representative at the Ministry of Rural Development and Food in Athens said to me, "we have a big problem with the meaning of the word agritourism here in Greece" (personal interview, 2009). The

word *agrotikos/agrotiki* (agrarian/agricultural/rural) or *agrotis* (farmer) shares roots with *agrios* (wild). Land where turtles breed on the island of Zakynthos, for example, thought of as empty and wild by many 'environmentalists' is conceptualized in quite another way by local fishermen (Theodossopoulos 2003:166). Nature (*fisi*) includes uninhabited wilderness as well as cultivated fields in the Greek imagination. Orders of inanimate and animate are more important than those stemming from a nature/culture (*fisi/politismos*) dichotomy. Theodossopoulos suggests we think in terms of cultivated nature, *kelliergimenei fisi* (175). In any case, the environment per se is seldom of primary concern. Migratory bird paths in the Southern Peloponnese identified by Natura 2000 are heavily hunted (Franzen). Nor do the designs of villages lend themselves to agritourism. The centripetal design of Greek villages, as opposed to the separation of farms in the North American countryside for example, was to provide protection against wild animals and predatory armies and facilitate the cultivation of the fields of neighbors (Sanders, 44). There is the potential to imagine wilderness in the spaces between isolated villages, accommodating eco-tourism (Heatherington, 68). For the time being however, these linguistic and demographic hurdles have served to undermine the application of the conventional European models of agritourism here.

### Laconia Prefecture

Laconia is the third largest producer of citrus and the fifth largest olive oil producer in Greece. Yet the profile for Laconia is stark. The vast majority of produce goes to bulk juice and oil companies across Europe and prices, over which Laconians enjoy little control, have steadily declined. Most areas in this prefecture rank low based on a correlation of natural and socio-economic indicators to determine favorability (Kastanidi, Papadopoulos, and Xalkias). Heavily farmed, the tourist sector is limited despite the great variety of natural, archaeological, historical, environmental, architectural, and cultural wealth. Stavros Nikoletos, the chief municipal agronomist in Therapnes municipality, notes the isolation, poor general infrastructure, absence of town planning, insufficient links to centers and poor road conditions as contributing to limited growth as well as the disinterest young people have in staying. Unemployment of those aged 22-29 hovers around 45%. In terms of savings, income, and numbers of students in schools (18% fewer students each year and a high drop out rate) Laconia ranks low. In 1999 its population decreased by 154. The average household income that year was 45,000 drachmas whereas the national average was 127,000, placing Laconia 48<sup>th</sup> out of 52 prefectures. There is a deficiency in the local circulation, standardization, packaging, and merchandising of agricultural products. Irrigation networks are inadequate, as are stockbreeding infrastructure and fishing refuges. In sum his report concludes that local economic development, the improvement of the general quality of life, and the curbing of desertion by young people depends on a synthesis between production and consumption trends and development of the first and third sectors through agritourism. The Greek Ministry of Rural Development and Food has sought to reestablish the training division of the extension service from the late 1990's by creating the Organization of Agricultural Education, Training, and Occupation (OGEKA- DIMITRA) and has set up an office in every *nomarcheio* or municipal center in order to address just such concerns. The bittersweet return of one representative, from Athens to his home in Sparta (the municipal center of Laconia prefecture) reflects the experiences of many; "oh the possibilities here in Laconia, between the mountains and the sea, are endless", he said to me before sighing to also acknowledge the lack of progress made towards these ends (personal interview, 2010).

### Olives and olive oil

From Homer to today's prosaic world, olives and olive oil- the gift of Athena, goddess of *texni*, craft and artisanship- have been the most significant agricultural products in Greece. Like the foustanela (Greece's national costume) certain food products, such as olive oil and feta cheese are artifacts of cultural continuity. Olive groves that stretch towards the Bulgarian border completely disappear once one crosses into Bulgaria. They are an important 'topography of Hellenism' (Leontis) with ecological, socio-cultural, as well as productive functions. Municipal workers typically get time off every year for the olive harvest.

The craft and artisanship surrounding the olive industry is largely seen in contrast with the industrialization of northern Europe. The flora and fauna in traditional olive grove ecosystems and the limited use of pesticides in them similarly represents high levels of biodiversity in these LFA's. The olive production regimes of the Mediterranean, according to Meneley (685), lie between "artisanal technes of aesthetic distinction and industrial technoscience". In this sense, farms here lie in a friction zone; "traditions are not just zones of temporal contestation but are multiple areas and levels of spatial and cultural contestation which, in the new Europe, are being exacerbated through the processes of EC building as well as state and empire dissolution in the Balkans and along the former Soviet nations" (Wilson and Smith, 13). PDO's of olive varieties are a "Latourian hybrid of nature, culture, land, techne, technology, and climate" (Meneley 683).

Theodossopoulos points out that the olive harvest is the sole area of local cultivation in Greece that is still immune to agricultural technology (1999:622). Mechanization, as opposed to the skill-oriented and sophisticated technologies in olive production, represents formalization, routine procedures, endless repetition, and standstill to many. Thus olive farmers are perhaps poised to capitalize on tangible as well as intangible forms of cultural heritage. The tasting rooms of Umbria and Tuscany and the hand-written expiration labels of Italian extra virgin olive oil are markers of the new distinction and prestige associated with traditionally produced olive oil- estate versus the mass-produced oils of Bertoli, Colavita, and

Carapelli. Yet Meneley points out that small-scale olive farmers have been largely unable to tap into the potential for heritage value, labelling this as a form of reverse orientalism. Using Herzfeld's global hierarchy of value, Gefou-Madianou's double dialectic of tradition, or Meneley's reverse orientalism as a theoretical tool, the point that one can either be the heritage or know it is made yet again.

A look at the wine industry in Greece provides some insight (Papadopoulos). Despite the fact that Greece has the longest wine-making history in Europe, 'class' issues and lack of investment still fragment this industry. Viticulture was entirely interrupted during the Ottoman period as France, for example, freely developed its prestige. What is more, as opposed to Spain, which produces approximately fifty million hectoliters of wine annually, Greece produces a paltry 3.5 million (less than 2% of Europe's total) largely due to a lack of state investment. As with olive oil, the vast majority of wine is consumed locally and fresh. Boutari, Kourtakis, and other large Greek wine producers purchase Greek grapes from all over the country to produce anonymous cheap wines for the mass market. Proportionally little can be described as having cultural value which can financially support the survival of quality wine production.

Despite the meager profits earned from maintaining groves on such small scales and at this point in history, "it's in their DNA", as Evangelos Vergos of the American Farm School in Thessaloniki explained to me (personal interview 2009); "there will always be olive oil here". Olive farming is the most widespread type of farming activity in Greece and families remain preoccupied with producing oil as well as wine for themselves. 50% of all Greek farms include some kind of olive farming (Tzouvelakas, et. al.). Yet, due to cheap wine imports from places like New Zealand and Australia, Europeans have begun tearing up old vines as they have become too expensive to maintain. Ancient olive trees, such as those in Xania celebrated in Peliti's 2008-2009 catalog and the subject of works by celebrated national poets like Kostis Palamas and Yiannis Ritsos are facing new risks.

Relative to Spain, Italy, as well as other European and North African countries in the Mediterranean, Greece has enjoyed a diminishing share of the world's olive production market since the 1960's. Cheaper seed oil imports have replaced the use of olive oil in many parts of the world. Small-scale olive farmers are also being put out of business by corruption. Opaque labeling practices, disguising harvesting and production techniques as well as chemical manipulation allows for the depression of pricing for high quality oil, as it enjoys burgeoning interest in the US, which only cheaters can withstand (Mueller). Subsidies have favored flat areas; "as a consequence [of unsupported traditional practices and the global market], any decline in the profitability levels of olive oil production will especially affect those production systems that depend less on irrigation, consume less fertilizers and pesticides, have less erosional impact, are configured by historical trees, have more labour requirements, and are able to follow strategies to produce more added value in rural areas" (Viladomiu and Rosell, 41). Traditional plantations in Spain received 97.50 euros per hectare while intensive plantations received 975. Even though costs for the former are significantly lower, sales were also disproportionately lower- 150 euros/ha versus 1,950 euros/ha annually. A study conducted by the Technical College of Agricultural Engineers in Madrid found that the smallest olive plantations in the southern EU states, those which were the most favorable to the health of local ecosystems, suffered a net annual loss of 402.50 euros per hectare while the farms that had the most negative impact had an annual profit of 1,378 (Euromed Sustainable Connections, 2008).

The abandonment of SMOPs which inevitably results increases the threat of flooding and fire as well as the consequent erosion from these natural calamities. Fire risk is especially high amongst abandoned groves due to the oil content of unpicked fruits and the steep slopes that encourage wildfire spread. The spontaneous establishment of fire-prone pine trees increases in abandoned areas, also making these areas less accessible to firefighters. Approximately 5,500,000 square meters of olive groves (100,000 trees), 500 hives, 300 sheep/goats, and 70,000,000 square meters of grazing land were lost in Laconia to the wildfires in 2007 (Tzintzina/com/history.goritsa). Some local residents believe that the subsequent lack of water management since the closing of water-powered grain mills has contributed to water scarcity and further encouraged the fires that severely damaged forests in the Paronias and Taigetos mountains that year. Few initiatives support traditional low-density olive groves with an understory used for growing cereals, vines, or for grazing, rain-fed terraces which reduce flooding and erosion or the effective water management hiding in these 'outmoded' practices.

The 'Routes of the Olive Tree', inspired by the work of George Karabatos, the executive director and president of the Messinia chamber of commerce in Greece, is a UNESCO 'major cultural route', like wine roads across Europe, and highlights cultural heritage embedded in traditional olive plantations. 'Routes' is seen as a tool for "intercultural dialogue, rapprochement of cultures, sustainable development, cultural tourism, and European integration" and to "repair Europe", "recover" or "restore memory" and "restore continuity" (culture-roots.lu/php/fo\_index.php?lng=en). Yet the nearly renovated *eliotrives*, or olive mills that one encounters across the Peloponnese remain so. The historical museum of Goritsa, once famous for its oil, never opened during the eighteen months my wife and I lived there. Despite the mention of olive roads in literature, on maps, and on the web, multifunctionality, heritage, and sustainable development lying along these roads remain largely unsupported and thus ostensibly mere rhetoric.

At the Goritsa *kafeneion* one day, some men were talking about how a few Greeks in the north were beginning to farm olives mechanically, in rows with mechanical harvesters like the Spanish. Due to the topography of the Peloponnese farmers generally don't have the option to farm in this manner, even if they had continuous non-fragmented fields and were willing to uproot old trees and plant new ones in formulaic rows. They laughed, referring to themselves as the shepherds of the olive industry, milking their

trees by hand and gestured as if they were masturbating. The craft value of the kalamata table olive is in high demand according to Phil Meldrum at FoodMatch, a mid-size importer of Mediterranean foods in New York City (personal interview, 2010). Greece is in a great position, globally, says Meldrum. And the buying trips he and his partners at supermarkets such as Wegmans and Whole Foods make to Laconia are typically the highlights of their European tours. Yet this craft value does not make its way to most olive farmers. While mechanization and production volume is certainly an obstacle to certain kinds of financial stability, Bourdieu's habitus is another, as goods not only reflect distinction but become instruments of it vis-à-vis a taste for 'unfiltered', 'organic', 'coldpressed', 'artisan', 'extra virgin' olive oil or 'kalamata' olives which benefit only those who define the economic parameters for their consumption.

### New immigrants in rural Europe

The Mediterranean countries have also been referred to as a caravanserai for migrant groups and flows (Ribas-Mateos). As the most 'underdeveloped' of the Southern EU countries, Greece also has the most immigrants. While hard to quantify, especially in rural areas, as the registrar at the former Molaios municipality explained to me; "there's a lot! That's not easy. It's like 50% now!" In fact, there have been approximately one hundred births per year in Molaios (almost 50%) to non-Greek parents for the past ten years. While xenophobia is admittedly a problem, the sentiment expressed to me in 2009 by one municipal school official in a nearby village is shared by many; 'how can we have development if we don't have any young people here? You'd think that given the fact that the population of children has been maintained largely by the influx of foreign families people would encourage them". Schools largely remain open due to the children of immigrants, in Crete and in Epirus (Kasimis, 2007) as well as in Laconia. While Greece consistently has the lowest naturalization rates in Europe, immigrant workers are increasingly integral to its cultural reproduction. Officials I've spoken with at the ΠΕΠ and other agencies believe that *laïkes* or farmers markets will remain, for example, but that Greeks will not be selling there in the near future. Immigrants will continue to move into these socioeconomic spaces as they become inherent constituents of rural Greece.

In Albania, a remittance country with the highest migration flow in Europe (five times the average for developed countries (Kosta)) many have chosen a strategy of ex-locality for survival. As parents were urged to give their children Illyrian<sup>iv</sup> sounding names during the communist period, it has since become common, especially amongst families in the south and who have historical connections with Greece to give children Hellenic or Greek-sounding names. Some aspects of historical, socio-economic, *kurbet*<sup>v</sup> ties with Greece and other Balkan countries have reemerged in the post-socialist period (Papailias, Nitsiakos). As jobs in Athens have become scarce, many immigrants have taken to the countryside. Most immigrants insist that accommodations in rural areas are better for non-Greeks.

S.B. Sutton (254) suggests that anthropologists build on concepts such as 'multiple ties' or 'many-stranded coalitions' (Wolf 81-85) in order to explain cultural reproduction in such a context. 'Neighborliness' or 'mutual help' (*allilovoithia*), friendliness, wedding sponsorship and the inclusion of non-kin in traditional practices, taken together, become significant. Favoring strangers over kin in agricultural areas becomes less problematic when there are no kin to distribute land to. Skills and work capacities immigrants possess can become more important than religion. Permanently settled families, regardless of their ethnic or national background, become preferable to seasonal residents and depopulation (Koutsouris, et. al.).

### Migrant entrepreneurship, sustainability, and heritage in Greek countryside

At least 10% of the seasonal agricultural workforce in Europe is made up of immigrants. That nearly 100% of agricultural labor in Greece is now done by immigrants is further testament of the need to incorporate migration policy more significantly into the CAP and its affiliates. Kasimis (2009b) notes that "most member states have few policies designed to attract, admit, and benefit systematically from the work of migrants". This is especially unfortunate as immigrants often pioneer entrepreneurship. Barth considers entrepreneurship a process unfolding between environmental constraints and the strategic implementation of actions that modify and change environmental conditions themselves, sometimes constituting 'resistance'. Niches are the entrepreneur's assets and immigrants have been drawn to them.

Latino farmers in the US often perceive landscapes, profit, farming, etc. in different ways than their Anglo counterparts. They typically grow a different set of crops, use less technology, and avoid USDA subsidized commodities like corn, soybean, wheat, and cotton. They can be more family-oriented, pluriactive, relying on exchanges between friends. They utilize unconventional information networks allowing for unconventional farm developments. As a result, social networks based on different kinds of socio-cultural, economic, and ethnic contexts emerge. Some have well-developed ties with Mexican and Mexican-American growers, brokers and clients, grow Mexican corn varieties as their principal crop, and handpick it. These divergent strategies have allowed many to make successful transitions from farm laborer to farm ownership. With less reliance on traditional lending systems and with less of a debt load, their presence in this industry is relatively secure (Vásquez-Leon). Despite certain vulnerabilities specific to them and while the overall number of farms in the US has declined, the number of Latino farmers has grown as have their ties to traditionally non-Latino farming communities (García-Pabón). Immigrants have long been considered capable of revitalizing socially 'dead' places and crippled economic industries

(Psimmenos). Greek refugees from Asia Minor in the early 1920's were more willing to use modern methods and fertilizers than local Greeks at the time. They improved seeds, introduced new crops to the mainland, and inaugurated malaria control in swamps they helped drain (Sanders, 293). In fact, olive terracing on the island of Lesbos, the kind of intangible heritage that today is at risk, began in 1923 with the Greek/Turkish population exchange and the plethora of working hands that suddenly arrived as a result. It is little wonder that such intangible rural landscape heritage survives today in the hands of new immigrants.

Amongst the many socio-economic roles that new migrants play in the Greek countryside today, we see the revival of collective shepherding (Kasimis, 2007), traditional stone building, the maintenance of historic olive groves- the provisions for the ability to maintain traditional ways of life in the face of fast capitalism, "contributing to the conservation of the rural landscape" (Kasimis, 2009a:55). Older Greeks complain that it has become hard to get traditional supplies, such as *fouski*, or manure. Albanians have recently begun selling *fouski* in Goritsa and elsewhere. In the municipality of Molaios there are approximately fifty immigrant farmers and sharecroppers. In the winter of 2010, four had submitted applications to the Young Farmer Program. Even they are careful, if also unable to expand like some of their Greek counterparts have in the past, not to implement wage labor and various inputs and become victims of the vulnerabilities associated with the costs of expansion (Kasimis, 2007).

As this entrepreneurship unfolds immigrants engage in 'exchanges of feeling', vis-à-vis structures of feeling, in agriculture (Seremetakis, 144). Southeastern European immigrants with prior experience with similar landscapes, crops, machinery and other rural artifacts develop significant ties with Greece and Greeks. Yiam, a new traditional Greek food company that specializes in the nascent interest in food heritage, pickles and sells *volvoi*, wild hyacinth bulbs imported from Italy as there is no comparable Greek supplier. Once avidly collected by Greeks, Greek *volvoi* are now being gathered by Eastern European or Balkan immigrants familiar with the wild crop and willing to undertake the difficult labor. It is now typical for Albanians to import and cultivate 'Greek' trees- olive trees from Chalkidiki and peach and apple trees from Pella. Some sell their products in their home countries as 'Greek' with added value. A transnational agriculture has developed as a result of these transnational rural livelihoods; "what we have observed up to the present is an interesting interdependence among repeated moves, remittances, the rural origins of workers in agriculture and the development of their agricultural holdings" (Labrianidis and Sykas, 49). Until recently, jokes often made by local Greek residents in Laconia- that they would all be eating Albanian olive oil in the future or that rural Laconia might become a 'little Albania'- were simply that; "learn Albanian now", people often say, "so that you'll know how to pronounce your boss's name". Such statements have taken on new meaning. Evangelos Vergos admitted that, while he laments selling his ancestral farmland to non-Greeks, most importantly it is back in cultivation.

As farming in Europe's future becomes based on ecological capital, migrant farmers in Greece offer a new and logical embedding of small-scale farming as part of a new rural development paradigm. The largest industrial farm operations in the most 'advanced' parts of Europe represent, to van der Ploeg (2008), the weakest links. Pluriactivity, once only for the periphery should now be seen as the new rural model and new forms of cooperation between local residents and immigrants must result. By virtue of being left out of conventional markets and pushed to look elsewhere rather than remain subject to traditional forms of economic dependency, immigrants are de facto entrepreneurs.

In the course of my fieldwork in Laconia prefecture, I met dozens of non-Greek farmers I consider in this entrepreneurial light, those who are undermining stereotypes of Greek xenophobia and myths of their own inability to integrate into Greek society as well as co-constructing an organic resistance to historical stagnation in the countryside. Having lived in Greece for approximately twenty years, most now have families and are establishing roots in many domains of social, economic, political, and cultural life. Some speak Greek at home with their children and are baptized by Greek neighbors. They increasingly own their own farms, tractors, and storerooms. Most are members of local agricultural cooperatives. Some sell at *laikes* while others have become merchants in their own right. They might supplement their incomes by opening up their own *kafeneia* or tending beehives. They reconstruct traditional buildings. They engage in *allaxies*, cooperative labor exchanges with Greeks which until recently only occurred between agnatic or cognatic kin. The exigencies of traditional agricultural system make these kinds of demands.



Figure 1. Ioannis, from Moldova, has diligently reconstructed the ipogeo, or wine cellar in the old house he has bought and restored. Ioannis' brother explained to me how Ioannis has accomplished so much; "the Greeks complain that things are so hard here. Whatever you want to do you can do. You just need the patience to do it".

Limited in their resources, immigrants typically harvest in the *palia tropos*, in the old way, handpicking without using pesticides and thus producing some of the best, organic, extra virgin olive oil in the country without any of the certification or 'distinction'. They tend to meticulously maintain the olive groves of families whose children have either died or moved away. Dimitris, an Albanian sharecropper who tended the fields of an old woman two doors down from us in Goritsa, often sat with her in the late afternoon. She viscerally expressed discontent with the current state of affairs between Greek people as compared to the context in which she grew up three quarters of a century ago; "they'll take your eyes out, one from the other". In the same breath she prized 'her Albanian'. While such linguistic phenomena certainly reflects the marginalization, persecution, or commodification of new Albanian immigrants, their relationship also represents well the phenomenon of replacement migration whereby new immigrants are becoming a large portion of the necessary population of new farmers.

Pioneers like Ioannis and Dimitris serve as role models for other immigrants looking to also take advantage of opportunities, those that exist as a result of Greek disinterest in rural agro-pastoral work and the relatively much worse state of affairs in their home countries. Steadfast in their work ethics, non-Greeks are often as capable of generating income that exceeds expenses, especially during a difficult year, as subsidized Greek farmers with more trees and technology to manage.



Figure 2. (Mitsos, an Albanian, with his son Danielle on his tractor) Mitsos believes that national irredentist campaigns such as Greece's Megali Ithea or a Greater Albania no longer have any meaning; "what do I care about these kinds of ideologies" he said to me in 2010. A place we often worked is called 'Mitsos tou Poros', as Mitsos' koumbaros, or spiritual kin explained. Poros was the generic name of the area. Noteworthy was the fact that it was the first time that I had heard mention of a placename which indicated possession by a new immigrant.

Many SMOP's of Laconian LFA's have become virtual forests over the years. Immigrant farmers typically prune to create light and airy groves so as to encourage fruit production, avoiding the need for increasing amounts of water, a scarce resource. Many burned groves from the fires in the village of Sellasia in 1988, as well as houses in this and other areas have been reclaimed from overgrown maquis by immigrants.



Figure 3. Nikos, from Ukraine, grafts new stock onto burned stumps in Sellasia while his granddaughter looks on. His son, Sergei is one of only ten young men currently farming in Sellasia.

While these individuals and their families contribute much towards Greek farming and rural heritage, they also help to establish a foundation for a European/transnational agrarian space, exporting not only *tenakethes* of oil to friends and family or product for sale, but olive trees themselves.



Figure 4. (Billis' business card identifying him, an Albanian, as a merchant of Laconian Olive oil produced from trees he has brought from employers in Greece to his home in Albania)

In sum these individuals are pluriactive and this fact makes them particularly suitable to the future of European countrysides, developing significant relations with shepherds and other ruralites, reconstructing the traditional *xorio* (village) in spiritual as well as material form. *Me xenia cheria then yinetai*, "with foreign hands, nothing happens", Nikos, my Ukrainian friend perhaps ironically explained to me one day on his farm. His are the new 'Greek' hands salvaging the tangible and intangible heritage of Laconian SMOPs for all of Europe. Some believe that, unlike Greeks, Albanians and other new immigrants have yet to learn how to emulate the West in an inferior manner, plastering over their own 'backwardness', be it embodied by stone building facades, manure, the labor entailed in the collection of wild hyacinth bulbs, or terraced olive groves (personal interview, Carole Barkas, 2011). Regardless, the time has come to green this backwardness cum heritage, striving to bridge the gaps between those who produce it and those who know it.

### Sustainable developments

On new global migrations and agriculture, Simard and Jentsch ask "what opportunities does the host country offer for the construction of a new rural multi-ethnic society?" (11). Here we also ask what opportunities do immigrant farmers offer the host country in the way of sustainable development and the protection of rural heritage? The exchange of skills, in farming in this case, can be considered an expression of core values, "less reciprocity than a reflection of the working flow of the social mechanism" (D. Sutton, 50). While Sutton refers to the bridge that is created through the handling of food in the kitchen amongst different generations of Greek women, I suggest that such a bridge between different ethnicities and nationalities is also emerging. I also suggest that a revitalization of European agricultural/rural space is taking place in the process.

Systems that synthesize restaurants, tourist sites, as well as agri-businesses and cooperatives for the purposes of rural development do not exist in Greece for the most part. Olive roads like the nascent wine roads have only recently begun to attract minor attention in the Peloponnese. 'Clusters' like these may make Greek countrysides more viable- a monoculture of isolated individual farmers and businesspeople is certainly doomed. More diverse kinds of agricultural production (focusing on different local olive varieties and organic methods for example) in conjunction with a general diversification of the countryside can dovetail with environmental programs that premise the ecological value of Laconia. The new national park of Parnonas Mountain, as with the mountainous terrain of Taigetos in this prefecture represents the newfound additional value that this particular rural area might some day enjoy. Future-oriented agronomists in municipal offices drive at these connections when asked what can be done. Unfortunately, in Laconia such agronomists are rare. Some farmers have begun organic cultivation and a

few now grow aromatic plants for essential oils as a diversification strategy. But the Greek countryside by and large remains caught between calls to intensify and multifunctionalize. Cutting down 2000-year-old olive trees undermines heritage and sustainability incentives as a hopeless attempt to find success within an ideology of the bygone era of modernization and development. Such was the case in Holland not too long ago, as illustrated by the poster slogan about certain orchard trees which once circulated in rural areas there- *te duuv om an te howden rooien*, 'too expensive to keep up: uproot them!' (van der Ploeg, 2003:131).

The costly removal of such historic trees and wooded banks in rural Holland has slowed as they now represent cultural and ecological capital (van der Ploeg, 2003:132). Some 'black swans', the small farms that had been considered dead and dying, have grown, van der Ploeg points out. They are now hidden novelties; "large farms come to a halt or stagnate at times too. No watershed exists in this respect. The notion of a farm that is too small, with no other option than closure is therefore a virtual image that does not correspond with the world as it is... [it] is an artefact, it is a construction created and reproduced by the Ministry of Agriculture as expert system" (2003:258, 263). Van der Ploeg predicts the overall demise of such 'expert systems', that people engaged in real innovation are increasingly forced to ignore them.

The question remains as to what Laconia's 'development repertoire' might be (Ray, 4), what the possibilities for resistance and opportunities for sustainable, endogenous, and non-exclusionary development might be. Most of Greece and parts of some other Mediterranean European countries still suffer from expert systems and global hierarchies of rural value. As immigrant integration continues, and as immigrant settlers in rural areas take up the entrepreneurial reigns in ignoring the institutions and systems of bygone eras, if also inadvertently by virtue of their marginalized positions, we have the opportunity to visualize Greek rural/agricultural heritage, one that celebrates a Greek rurality worthy of Athena or as in the time of Hesiod. These futures are envisioned by a few Greek entrepreneurs but also by some Albanians, Moldovans, and other non-Greek farmers who are pioneering unconventional perspectives. *Vis-à-vis* such visions, sustainable development emerges as a potential mediating ethno-ecological model for globalized yet 'stagnant' countrysides of the EU. Emplaced in the Greek environment (Hastrup, 2009) immigrants reap Greek heritage, tangible, edible, and intangible and implicitly ask us to bridge the gap between being and knowing.

## Endnotes

<sup>i</sup> Retsina wine is a pine resinated white or rose wine indigenous to Greece and protected as an EU PDO but not currently appreciated by mainstream wine connoisseurs.

<sup>ii</sup> Community supported Agriculture is a locally-based socio-economic model of agriculture and food distribution. Consumers pay local farms up front, providing farmers with necessary liquidity. Growers and consumers share the risks and benefits of food production.

<sup>iii</sup> Care farming reorients farms towards the inclusion of therapeutic care of vulnerable groups of people as a supplemental goal of farming practices.

<sup>iv</sup> Illyrians are the ancient tribe centered in the western Balkans to which modern Albanians have traditionally traced their ancient, and thus national origins.

<sup>v</sup> *Kurbet*, a Turkish word, refers to the temporary settlement in foreign lands. During the Ottoman period, Albanians were the most migratory of Ottoman subjects. As they still are the most migratory in the Balkans or Southeastern Europe, the word carries with it proportionate significance in contemporary Albania despite the fact that new terminology referring to new kinds of migration and refuge-seeking have also emerged.

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## Cultural heritage and organizing capacity: a case study of the town of Allariz, North-Western Spain

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Cultural heritage resources are increasingly being recognized as a development tool for local societies that are facing socio-economic difficulties. Despite the opportunities that cultural heritage resources can bring to local development, rapid changes taking place in the global environment are making it difficult for many rural and urban areas to produce and reproduce a culture economy. Recent organizing capacity theories assume that successful socio-economic revitalization and the achievement of sustainable development depend on organizational capacity. Based on a theoretical model of organizing capacity, the aim of this paper is to analyse how local actors can use cultural heritage resources as a strategy for socio-economic revitalization to sustain local development, based on the experience of the town of Allariz. This small town represents a unique example of how it is possible to revitalize a local economy by focusing on cultural heritage resources, with the involvement of local actors (such as local politicians, voluntary community groups, and locally-based experts). The critical factors behind this success and the sustainable outcomes of local development strategies were the judicious use of organizing capacity tools such as vision, strategy, leadership, societal and political support, and strategic networks. The conclusion this paper seeks to draw is that organizing capacity tools are required to successfully and sustainably develop a culture economy, and to achieve a competitive advantage in the global market.

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**Keywords:** cultural heritage, tourism, organizing capacity, socio-economic revitalization.

### Introduction

Globalization in terms of time- space compression (Harvey, 1989) has resulted in greater mobility of capital, investment, information and people, leading to the fundamental changes in economic, social, cultural and political spheres in rural and urban areas of Europe. One of these changes is rural restructuring: that is, the shift from a manufacturing, agrarian economy to a service economy in rural areas of Europe. This shift can be attributed to increased global competition and political liberalization, which have led to the polarization of rural areas. Some have faced the decline of the primary sector, out-migration and environmental degradation: in rural and urban areas that are experiencing economic difficulties, cultural heritage resources are increasingly being recognized as a tool for development (Loulanski, 2006a), with particular attention being paid to tourism. The increasing spatial mobility of tourists and the growing demand for experiencing places of culture and heritage have led many rural and urban areas in Europe and elsewhere to use their rich resources as a strategy for promoting tourism in order to revitalize their socio-economic base (Briedenhann and Wickens, 2004, Nel and Binns, 2002, Russo and Van Der Borg, 2002, Richards, 2000).

In spite of the opportunities that cultural heritage resources can offer for tourism or broader local development, many rural and urban areas experience difficulties when it comes to taking advantage of their potential resources and responding to global competition (Fonseca and Ramos, 2011, Sharpley, 2002, Ribeiro and Marques, 2002, Landorf, 2009). Russo et al. (2005) note the case of a number of marginalized areas that have seized the opportunity to develop tourism but have neglected the concept of sustainable use of their cultural heritage resources. A further limitation on the valorization of cultural

heritage for local development is imposed by a lack of expertise in the management and planning of cultural heritage resources (ibid.). Jansen-Verbeke (2007) makes the point that traditional patterns of supply and demand in cultural tourism are no longer adequate for the promotion of a cultural economy, due to rapidly changing global market segments.

There is general agreement among global organizations (UNESCO, 2002, 2004, ICOMOS, 1999) and other authors in the tourism and heritage fields of study (Aas et al., 2005, Getz and Jamal, 1994, Simpson, 2001, Selin, 1999) that partnership and collaboration among different stakeholders will create a framework for sustainable development, but despite that fact, this strategy has proved to be a difficult technique to realize in practice (Aas et al., 2005, Landorf, 2009, Hall, 1999, Wilson and Boyle, 2006). It is especially difficult to build a collaborative climate in outlying areas, where there is a common problem of a lack of communication between public and private actors, and a scarcity of expertise in heritage tourism planning (Fonseca and Ramos, 2011, Sharpley, 2002, Ribeiro and Marques, 2002). Landorf (2009) also identifies existence of this problem not only in the stakeholder collaboration approach, but also in the strategic planning processes of World Heritage Sites. Based on empirical evidence from six such sites in the U.K., she notes that gaps persist in the strategic planning approach, which still needs to be improved by the application of a more meticulous analysis for the design and implementation of tourism policy and a better integration of local communities in the process.

Van den Berg & Braun (1999) argue that local societies need to change their focus, and concentrate on organizing capacity, which is assumed to be the driving force behind successful socio-economic revitalization and an equally important tool for urban place marketing. Theories of organizing capacity have not inclusively focused on the cultural heritage resources, but rather on the general socio-economic revitalization of major metropolitan regions in Europe. They present empirical evidence that the successful design and implementation of a development policy depends to a great extent on organizational capacities such as vision and strategy, leadership, political support, societal support, strategic networks, and communication (Van den Berg et al., 2003). However, there has not been academic movement that incorporates all of these organizing capacity tools into a single theoretical approach of the valorization of cultural heritage resources for tourism or local development. According to Jansen-Verbeke (2007) and Russo (2001), the success of a valorization of cultural heritage resources for the promotion of tourism or local development relies on organizing capacity, but they do not explain in any detail how different organizing capacity tools might actually be used for this purpose.

This paper finds support for theories of organizing capacity (Van den Berg et al., 2003), and argues that sustainability and successful socio-economic revitalization in places with a strong cultural heritage can only be achieved if all the relevant organizing capacity tools are present and appropriately balanced. This research, which is based on a theoretical model of organizing capacity, studies the case of the town of Allariz, and seeks to analyse how local actors can use cultural heritage resources as a strategy for socio-economic revitalization to sustain local development. It has the further aim of stimulating practical and theoretical knowledge in relation to cultural heritage resources and organizing capacity.

The town of Allariz was selected for this study because it provides a clear insight into about how a theoretical perspective of cultural heritage resources might operate within an organizing capacity. Allariz had all the necessary organizing tools which, according to organizing capacity theorists Van den Berg & Braun (1999), make up the principal conditions for achieving a competitive advantage in the global market. The successful tools used for the local development of Allariz included a long-term vision of sustainable development on which its programmes and plans were built, a strong, dedicated, and entrepreneurial leader, a united community and professional strategic networks, and solid political and societal support.

The Allariz development project has won a number of strategic planning and urban management awards. In 1994, it received the European Urbanism Prize from the European Urban Planning Council for its "Project for the Integrated Recovery of the Historic Heritage of Allariz and its River". The Spanish Ministry of Development also gave Allariz an award with twelve other Spanish towns for the best sustainable development practice in 1996 and 2001, following the United Nations 'Habitat II' agenda.

The first section of this paper presents a theoretical model of organizing capacity, including the tools and processes of the valorization of cultural heritage for local development. The second part illustrates the methodology that was used. The following sections specifically illustrate the case of Allariz, including its historical context, policy process, successful organizing capacity tools, and achieved outcomes. Finally, conclusions are drawn.

## The theoretical framework of organizing capacity

The aim of the theoretical model of organizing capacity is to illustrate the analytical tools for studying the valorization process of cultural heritage resources as a socio-economic revitalization strategy for local development. A particular theoretical model of organizing capacity has been developed for the purposes of this paper, based on standard theories (Van den Berg et al., 2003) and the literature on the cultural economy approach. For the purposes of this research, organizing capacity refers to *"the ability to enlist all actors involved and, with their help, to generate new ideas and to develop and implement a policy designed to respond to fundamental developments and create conditions for sustainable development"* (Van den Berg and Braun, 1999: 995). In other words, it is a capacity that deals with both the tangible

qualities of a heritage place, such as infrastructure, workforce, and locations, and its intangible qualities, such as safety, the quality of life, its image, and marketing.

In Figure 1, cultural heritage resources - or "culture" - are presented as a reorganizer of the economies on which policy processes are based. According to Ray (1999), when a local development strategy is undertaken, the local people start out from the discovery of their potential resources (which in this study are cultural heritage resources), which are then used to drive and define development. The most critical aspect for successful policy processes of a socio-economic revitalization of heritage places depends on organizing capacity tools: vision, strategy, leadership, political support, societal support, and strategic networks (Figure 1). These elements will be explained in detail below.

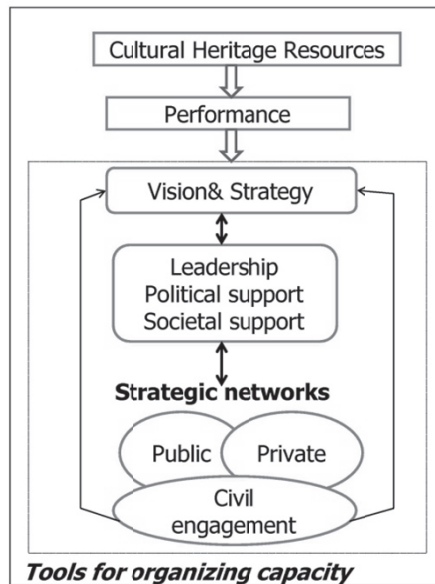


Figure 1. Theoretical framework of organizing capacity (source: adapted from Van den Berg, Van der Meer, and Pol 2003)

*Vision and strategy.* Based on the strength of cultural heritage resources and the weaknesses of a local area that make up a comprehensive view of the community, local actors develop a strategic vision. According to Van den Berg & Braun (1999), an integral vision and strategy is a crucial element of a development policy, because it includes all the spatial-economic and socio-cultural aspects of a place. They also state that an integral vision is important because it prevents uncertainty in policymaking and helps to develop concrete objectives, as well as to hold on to strategies, programmes, and projects. When local actors agree on a vision, it should be placed into a set of objectives for the separate aspects (Canzanelli, 2001). The objectives should be well analysed, and should fit into the broader vision and strategy (Kotler et al., 1999).

*Leadership.* A good leader is assumed to be a crucial pillar of successful local development (Van den Berg et al., 1997, Nel and McQuaid, 2001). The introduction of a development policy and its implementation and design require strong, dedicated leadership that steers the local community towards development actions. Leadership in this sense derives from the theoretical approach of the social entrepreneur linked to the concept of the charismatic leader. There is a special need in those areas that face socio-economic development problems for a style of leadership that embraces a range of entrepreneurial skills, such as financial capabilities, creativity in problem-solving and managing available resources, an ability to deal with risks and uncertainty, and the creation of collaborative local social capital (Purdue, 2001). Van den Berg & Braun (1999) state that leadership by a key person is crucial to monitoring the formation and coordination of strategic networks.

*Political support.* Political support from international, national, regional, and local government is an important element of organizing capacity, since the initiation, design, and implementation processes must rely on political and financial resources (Van den Berg et al., 2003). Political support also includes financial backing from a variety of donors or through international cooperation with the local government. The

preservation of a heritage and the management and improvement of physical infrastructures are costly activities, and financial support must usually be obtained for the realization of a comprehensive local development strategy (Canzanelli, 2001).

*Societal support.* In relation to cultural heritage management, the empowerment of local communities in the design and implementation process is assumed to be a precondition for the successful design and implementation of a development policy (Loulanski, 2006b). This is the case firstly because the community has knowledge of its cultural heritage resources: local people know the place, and they know what they want their future to be. Secondly, the involvement of local people suggests an opportunity for the protection of a heritage as well as for raising awareness of the importance of cultural heritage for the local society. This contributes towards preventing adverse socio-cultural influences, especially the possible loss of a sense of place and tradition. Finally, the empowerment of the community in decision-making processes regarding the preservation and management of a cultural heritage facilitates mutual trust between all the actors involved and strengthens social cohesion, thus helping to recover self-esteem and pride (Clark and Drury, 2000).

*Strategic networks.* "Networking between individuals involves knowledge sharing, building trust and developing shared rules and inter-subjective meaning" (Fløysand and Jakobsen, 2007: 212). Networks are about the exchange of knowledge, careful local community planning, and cultural heritage management, which require a combination of expertise and local knowledge. The various networks working in multiple fields need local private and public actors, voluntary community groups, training institutions, professional organizations, urban planners, and architects. The process of valorization of cultural heritage in local development strategies encompasses a wide range of areas, including the environment, the economy, and cultural and social parameters. In order to maintain a balance between these areas, the involvement of all the local actors and various experts is required in the decision-making processes in order to build a collaborative climate among the different stakeholders (Jansen-Verbeke, 2007).

The organizational structure of a local community also requires a high degree of innovation. In order to capture global trends and respond to global competition, local networks cannot be static; they need to keep changing and engage with global networks "*networks are not static and fixed in time and space, but constantly changing and multispatial*" (Fløysand and Jakobsen, 2011: 332). Jansen-Verbeke (2007) also makes the point that local places should alternate between local and extra-local networks and integrate a number of global demands, trends, and projects into the local place in order to produce and reproduce a cultural economy successfully.

## Methodology

The research approach adopted for this work relies for the most part on qualitative methods. The research was concerned with the qualitative analysis of organizing capacity tools and the policy processes that surround cultural heritage for the purposes of the valorization of local economic development. The qualitative techniques used in this research were applied through three avenues: oral methods (26 semi-structured interviews), textual analysis (documents, photographs, maps, articles, and acts), and observation. The primary data on the context, policy processes, and organizing capacity tools of Allariz were derived mostly from the semi-structured interviews. Face to face, verbal interaction during the interview process provided insights into the complex behaviours, motivations, and opinions of the population, which in turn helped to underpin the theoretical model of organizing capacity. Certain information regarding historical background, policy design, and implementation was fact-specific. The information obtained through the semi-structured interviews was validated by an analysis of two principal documents - the Subsidiary Norms (Concello de Allariz, 1994) and (the Special Plan for the Historic Town of Allariz) (Concello de Allariz, 1995) - and by using various statistical data sources. I had used also observation method. Observational method was necessary to use to get additional information about the informants, documentary material and to broaden my understanding about the place. The fieldwork was carried out in Allariz between January 2 and February 17, 2010. Stakeholders<sup>1</sup> were identified by using the snowball sampling method. I interviewed public, private, and community stakeholders with ties to tourism, cultural heritage and local development areas and who had been directly involved in the socio-economic revitalization process.

## Allariz: the context of its socio-economic revitalization

Allariz is a municipality in Ourense province, in the Autonomous Community of Galicia in North-Western Spain. It is 18 kilometres from the capital of Ourense, and the municipality has a surface area of 85.3 kilometres. The municipality is divided into sixteen parishes, with a total population in 2010 of 5,910. Half of the population resides in the town (Santiago). The river Arnoia, which is 87 kilometres in length, crosses the municipality from east to west.

The town was registered as an historic-artistic ensemble in 1971 because of the large variety of artistic architecture to be found there. The historic centre contains 596 historic buildings, of which 424 are listed as highly-protected buildings of architectural and historic interest (Concello de Allariz, 1994). Allariz has also a broad spectrum of ethnographic heritage, including linen factories, tanning factories, and windmills located along the river Arnoia. This ethnographic heritage, which has now been converted into

tourist products, is an indicator of the socio-economic activities on the banks of a river that played a significant part in the economy of Allariz, particularly until the 1960s. The town's cultural heritage has always had an important cultural, symbolic, and socio-economic role. One might say that the existence of the town itself, and its location and physical setting (such as the cultural identity of its people), is in fact closely linked to the river Arnoia (from personal interviews with all the local government sources, private actors and individual community members).

In the past, Allariz was not only an important centre of trade, but also a town of significant industrial weight. This increased during the 19<sup>th</sup> century with the development of the linen industry and leather tanneries. At the beginning of the 1900s, Allariz had more than fifty linen workshops. Linen was the main occupation that led to significant economic growth. The population grew to about 10,000 (Concello de Allariz, 1994). After the decline of the linen industry, the tanning industry reached its peak, and became the main economic activity until the 1960s. However, the leather industry collapsed in the 1960s when the deindustrialization process hit Allariz, just as in many small towns and rural areas in Galicia and Europe. The difficulties in adjusting to structural changes due to a low level of competitiveness in the industrial sector and the lack of economic diversification into other industries resulted in Allariz being trapped in a long-term socio-economic crisis. The majority of the active population was unemployed, and the unemployment rate increased. During the period between 1984 and 1988, the level of unemployment was at 41%, and in the two years that followed it reached 67% (Concello de Allariz, 1994). Emigration began right after the decline of the tanning industries. In the 1960s, the population was 9,241, but by 1981 it had decreased to 5,009 (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2010), as people migrated to areas with better economic opportunities, such as the Basque country, Catalonia, and other parts of Europe.

The high level of out-migration also resulted in the abandonment and degradation of the historic quarter of the town. In 1989, only 878 people lived in the historic centre, and a quarter of the population was over 65. The protected historic and architectural buildings were at risk. Some were preserved, but the work carried out by outside experts led to considerable environmental damage to the historic quarter (Concello de Allariz, 1995). These problems were exacerbated by the political power structure, which was based on personal economic interests, and ignored the problems that Allariz was facing: *"no solutions were provided by the Municipality - only slamming doors - and there was no possibility of discussion"* (Personal interview with Cristina Cid Fernández, a local politician, who has been in government since 1991; 2 January 2010). The accumulation of the various economic and environmental problems and political power drove the local people to mobilize against the government. These social movements expanded when the river was contaminated and the government refused to clean it (Personal interviews with Cristina Cid Fernández, 2 January 2010, and Mar Gil, a journalist and author of books on Allariz, 2 January 2010).

On 8 August 1989, the conflict between the mayor and the citizens exploded. The people took over the streets in protest, demanding that the river Arnoia be cleaned up. They locked themselves in the municipal offices for three months. The protesters' slogan was *"Save the River - Save the Future of Allariz"* (Personal interview with Mar Gil, 2 January 2010). This shows once again the significant symbolic importance of the river for the people of Allariz, which became the driver of future development in the town. The conflict lasted until the Mayor resigned on 21 November 1989 after many demonstrations and much conflict. A new local administration was formed immediately afterwards. Having experienced the oppression of the former authorities, the new government intended to create a more democratic Allariz, where every person could be in charge of his own resources and the future of the town (Personal interviews with Mar Gil, 2 January 2010; and Carmen Seara, a private actor from the culture and tourism sector, 25 January 2010). Together with the civil population, the new local government launched a strategic local development project for Allariz known as the "Subsidiary Norms". The recovery plan was based on the only remaining resource: cultural heritage and the proximity (18 kilometres) to the capital, Ourense (Personal interviews with Daniel Pino Vicente, an urban sociologist, who was responsible for drafting the Subsidiary Norms and PECHA, 8 February 2010; Cristina Cid Fernández, 2 January 2010; and Anxo Quintana, who was in local government and Mayor of Allariz from 1989 until 1999, 4 February 2010).

The section that follows will present the policy process and organizing capacity tools in terms of the overall strategic local development plan of Allariz.

### **"Subsidiary Norms" - the integral strategic local development plan of Allariz**

The new local development project for Allariz was launched soon after the resignation of the authoritarian government and Mayor in November 1989. Allariz town council needed to bring in an expert team (since the government lacked expertise internally) which would help frame and implement a comprehensive policy on spatial, economic, social, and environmental issues, while enabling the conversion of cultural heritage resources to facilitate recovery and conservation (Personal interviews with Daniel Pino Vicente, 8 February 2010; Cristina Cid Fernández, 2 January 2010; and Anxo Quintana, 4 February 2010). To this end, the town's administrators invited a technical team, Consultory Galega SL, Urban Sociologists, and architects of the strategic local development plan for the rural and urban areas of Allariz - the "Subsidiary Norms".

The main goal of the "Subsidiary Norms" strategic local development plan was to resolve the town's problems (unemployment, de-population, and environmental degradation) by establishing clear criteria for designing and implementing the objectives for urban planning and sustainable development (Concello de Allariz, 1994). With regard to cultural heritage resources, the main strategies proposed were to make the place attractive to live in by recovering its historical heritage resources in order to promote community service development, and to diversify the economic base through the maximum possible use of cultural heritage resources.

"What was done was to identify the values that Allariz possessed, which were its history and natural environment, and not only to convert the ecological, artistic, and aesthetic heritage values, but also to progress its economic values" (Personal interview with Anxo Quintana, 4 February 2010)

As they were prepared with a high level of civil participation, the Subsidiary Norms were important for the construction of social capital (Personal interviews with Anxo Quintana, 4 February 2010; Daniel Pino Vicente, 8 February 2010; and Carmen Seara, 25 January 2010). During their formation and the dissemination and discussion process, various meetings were arranged with twenty-two neighbourhood associations, builders and promoters working in Allariz. Two additional programmes were also developed for the implementation of the Subsidiary Norms. These were:

The PECHA plan (Special Plan for the Historic Town of Allariz), covered heritage management and interventions in the historic town centre and on the river. Allariz had been declared an historic artistic site as early as 1971 (Decree 1319/71 of the MEC dated 20 May 1971). The PECHA plan was designed and governed by heritage law, and respected the town's highly-valued artistic and historical heritage. PECHA had two main objectives: to preserve the town's historical and artistic heritage without sacrificing its authenticity, and to resolve the problems faced by the historic town by recovering its cultural heritage for cultural and socio-economic uses (Personal interviews with Anxo Quintana, 4 February 2010; Cristina Cid Fernández, 2 January 2010; and Francisco García Suárez, in local government since 1989, and Mayor of Allariz from 1999 to the present, 4 January 2010. Concello de Allariz, 1995a). In line with this vision for Allariz, the aim of PECHA was to make the town both a living and a tourist space. In order to achieve this goal, it emphasized the redesign of places of historic and artistic heritage, expanded open spaces, and guaranteed environmental quality, all of which would make the place attractive and serve the needs of both the current population and potential visitors (Personal interview with Daniel Pino Vicente, 8 February 2010). The PECHA plan involved the signing of agreements for the reactivation of the historical town with property owners in the town and with territorial and financial institutions.

PEDRA (The Arnoia River Ethnographic Park) was the name given to the programme for recovering elements of ethnographic heritage along the river. PEDRA is a group of five museums, three of which are located by the river – "O Muíño do Burato" (the old watermill), the "O Fiadeiro" linen museum (in the old linen factory) and the "Fábrica de Curtidos Familia Nogueiras" leather museum (in the former tannery). The aim of establishing these three museums was to recover and integrate ethnographic elements in Allariz which had been significant for the cultural and socio-economic areas of the town's history, and were closely linked to the River Arnoia: leather tanneries, water mills, and linen manufacturers (Personal interviews with Mar Gil, 2 January 2010; Cristina Cid Fernández, 2 January 2010; Anxo Quintana, 4 February 2010; and Daniel Pino Vicente, 8 February 2010).

The two other museums are located in the town centre, and include a Doll Museum ("Museo Galego do Xoguete") and an Iconographic museum ("Aser Seara"). The former contains a collection of dolls, and is located in the socio-economic centre in the old 16<sup>th</sup> Century Courthouse. The latter contains a collection of sacred art, including a large variety of religious sculptures and pieces.

## Organizing capacity tools

### Vision

The vision for the Subsidiary Norms was developed with a high level of citizen participation. This vision was formulated as follows: "*Make Allariz a place to live, a place that has been recovered and converted into an economically active, environmentally sustainable, culturally rich, and socially conscious space. A place to live, with citizens, in the XXI<sup>st</sup> century*" (Concello de Allariz, 1994). The Allariz vision expresses the basic conditions of sustainable development, which comprises all the inter-dependent elements of Allariz's urban and rural development policies (social, cultural, environmental, and economic). In order to achieve a global vision for the town, the following objectives were proposed (Concello de Allariz, 1994):

- Improvement of the quality of life for residents.
- Prevention of population bleeding via immigration.
- Maintenance of multi-functionality and land use, and organization of new locations.
- Stimulation of economic growth and employment.
- Promotion of culture.
- Encouragement of participation by citizens.

- Protection of resources and natural areas and of the town's Historical and Artistic, Ethnographic and Cultural Heritage.

Local government and experts also worked to raise awareness of cultural heritage and inform the local population about sustainable development policies during the development of the global vision (Personal interview with Daniel Pino Vicente, 8 February 2010; Anxo Quintana, 4 February 2010). This vision continues to be followed in Allariz today.

### Leadership

The successful design and implementation of the "Subsidiary Norms" depended in large degree on the leadership capacities of the former Mayor, Anxo Quintana, who was in office from 1989 to 1999. Without such a strong leader, it would have been difficult to overcome the socio-economic crisis and implement the development project successfully (Personal interviews with Cristina Cid Fernández, 2 January 2010; Mar Gil, 2 January 2010; and José Javier Pérez Bouzas, a representative of Allariz's Chorente Business Park, 20 January 2010). He had the required leadership abilities to invite all the necessary actors to Allariz, to monitor the coordination of strategic networks, and to take responsibility for direction, coordination, and planning. He also had a social entrepreneur's talent: a strong visionary mission to cope with risks and uncertainty, and clear objectives for solving problems and recruiting the whole community into action:

"A leader should have clear ideas and know what he wants. People say: 'I want the best', but this must be translated into things, into processes and priorities, and in this respect Anxo Quintana is unbelievable, a promoter of ideas. Anxo Quintana obtained all the necessary actors and steered them in the right direction of strategic networks." (Personal interview with Daniel Pino Vicente, 8 February 2010).

The leadership abilities of Anxo Quintana were significant for the purposes of building a social capital characterized by mutual trust between the local government and the community (Personal interviews with Cristina Cid Fernández, 2 January 2010; Mar Gil, 2 January 2010). This led to a collaborative climate, where the local people became involved in the decision-making process. It is also important to underline the fact that the mutual trust between leader and local community derived in some respects from the political conflict. Anxo Quintana played a protagonist's role in changing the political structure, which was undermining the socio-economic vibrancy of Allariz. Figure 2 shows Anxo Quintana with the Allariz community around him during the political conflict in 1989.



Figure 2. The leader and the community

### Political support

The design and implementation of plans and projects relied on a local political will to tackle a variety of socio-economic problems. The new self-management project started from zero, as there were no economic or institutional resources left, and there was not even political support from the central or regional governments (Personal interviews with Cristina Cid Fernández, 2 January 2010; Anxo Quintana, 4 February 2010; José Javier Pérez Bouzas, 20 January 2010; and Celestino Feijóo Rodríguez, a representative of the Municipal Urbanism Office of Allariz, 5 January 2010). The self-reliance strategy meant that it was the local government that had to find people and materials for managing services and

carrying out tasks. Local government played the predominant role in enhancing public participation and securing quality of life for its citizens. From the beginning, the local government's requirement was to develop the Regulations for Citizen Participation, in order to increase participation by local citizens in public works matters. This strategy became one of the most successful and significant elements for building social capital, which led to the successful design and implementation of the overall strategic local development plan of the Subsidiary Norms:

"The success of Allariz lies at the political level. The previous authorities had been poor. Even though they tried to make an effort, it did not work. Before, a Mayor or a Councillor came for an hour. When the new ones came in, they stayed busy for many hours; they created a common link, and created a beautiful town by the river" (Personal interview with José Javier Pérez Bouzas, 20 January 2010).

"People feel that the town belongs to them, people make the town better, they are proud of it, it is important because the Municipality has tried to keep people involved by being protagonists, with popular participation through change and evolution" (Personal interview with Mar Gil, 2 January 2010).

The actions taken by the local government underlined the strength of its entrepreneurial knowledge to attract the necessary expertise and establish companies, which helped to achieve sustainable development outcomes. On the initiative of its leader Anxo Quintana, various institutions such as the Municipal Urbanism Office of Allariz, the "O Portelo" Municipal Economic Promotion Centre, REATUR (the municipal tourism promotion company), Allarluz SA (the municipal biomass electricity company), and the environmental association Rudra SA were formed (Personal interviews with Mar Gil, 2 January 2010; Daniel Pino Vicente, 8 February 2010).

Local government also provided financial, organizational, and expert support for private actors. At the beginning of the overall strategic local development plan, few local private actors were willing to invest in or join the project in the economically declining area of Allariz (Personal interviews with Daniel Pino Vicente, 8 February 2010; Cristina Cid Fernández, 2 January 2010; and Mar Gil, 2 January 2010). The Allariz municipal office saw the need to provide various kinds of support for private actors in order to attract people and inward investment, and so the Municipal Urbanism Office of Allariz was established for this purpose. This office not only carried out urbanism and planning roles, but also acted as social and technical support for the private actors, providing consultation on any matters regarding their property or offering expertise in investment matters (Interviews with Cristina Cid Fernández, 2 January 2010; Mar Gil, 2 January 2010; José Javier Pérez Bouzas, 20 January, 2010; and Celestino Feijóo Rodríguez, 5 January 2010). There was also very strong encouragement from the local authority to build strategic networks between private and public agencies. Private actors were motivated to collaborate in order to strengthen competitiveness in different sectors. Cristina Cid Fernández explains this process:

"We tried to group private actors into professional and neighbourhood associations that had not existed before; we now have five. The fact is that we almost forced them to form associations, and now we are managing them. We organize events throughout the year to fill the hotels and stimulate activities and employment. We are trying to change their mentality to get them to be the ones who get involved and work together".

It is also crucial to underline the need for financial support from external government institutions. In the case of Allariz, financial support from other institutions was important for the realization of its development objectives because the municipality of Allariz had no financial resources at the beginning of the project (Personal interviews with Cristina Cid Fernández, 2 January 2010; Francisco García Suárez, 4 January 2010; and Anxo Quintana, 4 February 2010). Applying the philosophy expressed by the former Mayor Anxo Quintana "*We had to break from the notion that we would not get any money if we asked the institutions*" (Personal interview with Mar Gil, 2 January 2010), the local government developed financial networks with the Central Government, European Union institutions, and later with the Ourense Council and Xunta de Galicia to secure financial resources. They managed to obtain significant grants from these institutions, and were thereby able to achieve strategic plan objectives such as the recovery of natural and historical heritage.

### Societal support

Strong societal support from the civil population was a major force behind the successful Allariz local development project. The local population was actively involved in the decision-making and implementation process from the outset. This solid social cohesion among all the local actors can be tied to the socio-economic and political problems that the people had faced previously, which led to the growth of a strong social capital; this created trust and a powerfully collaborative climate in which to work and change Allariz while preserving its cultural heritage resources:

"The development project of Allariz was born after conflict, which means there was a neighbourhood implication that makes everything possible. For example, in 1990, we said we needed 100 volunteers to organize a theatre, and 300 people showed up. Everyone here worked. From the beginning of the project, local committees were created in which people worked voluntarily; they enrolled in the group they wanted to join, and also started cleaning the streets, and even planning for culture and tourism. This started a network of participation that we could not find anywhere else" (Personal interview with Cristina Cid Fernández, 2 January 2010).

Societal support was also secured because local government and experts were able to put forward rational proposals for how the policy process could be completed, and how the objectives could be implemented. Social support was also generated due to the democratic politics initiated by the new government, which guaranteed the rights of the local people, and encouraged their participation in the decision-making process (Personal interviews with Mar Gil, 2 January 2010; Daniel Pino Vicente, 8 February 2010).

The local population was not only the source of information in the realization of these goals. It was actively involved in the process with the guidance of experts. Community volunteer groups worked in the environmental, heritage management, social, and cultural fields. They not only contributed greatly to the implementation of the local development strategy, but also formed various cultural organizations, such as traditional ethnographic (including the Ox festival), food, and music festivals:

"Without a base of citizen involvement, it would be unfeasible to attempt a project such as this. Without majority and decisive support from the population, we could not have completed our urban planning policies. The population saw the problems and wanted to set in motion a series of actions related to environmental and urban development" (Personal interview with Bernardo Varela López, a representative of the Allariz local government, 15 January 2010)

"What makes Allariz unique is the project. There are other towns that have a very interesting historical heritage, but what is different here is the power of a group of people to change, rehabilitate and protect their wealth" (Personal interview with Marta Somoza, representative of the Municipal Urbanism Office of Allariz, 5 January 2010).

### Strategic networks

The main line of communication for the various networks in the implementation of the Subsidiary Norms was the coordination between local government, experts, and civil engagement networks, joined later by private actors (Personal interviews with Anxo Quintana, 4 February 2010; Cristina Cid Fernández, 2 January 2010; and Francisco García Suárez, 4 January 2010). Firstly, in terms of professional expertise, Allariz (which lacked expertise internally) needed to invite various experts in order for the design and implementation of various development plans and projects to succeed. Secondly, tangible heritage preservation and management required that specialist staff be employed. From the outset, the successful local government strategy was to engage the services of the expert Galician team of Consultory Galega SL, who converted the ideas of the town's population into a valuable, comprehensive project:

"Professional expertise was required to realize the community goals. What we do is to interpret the needs, desires, and even dreams of the people and try to give them effective guidance to achieve them (Personal interview with Daniel Pino Vicente, 5 February 2010).

"Governments must take responsibility and set out the objectives: what we want, and where we are going. We did not know. A Galician consultancy team was commissioned to convert our ideas into projects. And we always tried to make the population aware of the ideas and projects we had. That was the mechanism that was followed" (Personal interview with Anxo Quintana, 4 February 2010).

The other key element was the formation and prescription of cooperation in various community fields in the implementation process of the Subsidiary Norms. Various groups of working people were formed, composed of individuals from local government and experts and volunteers from the community who worked in urban planning, environment, culture, and socio-economic development. Local meetings of each of these groups were arranged in order to improve the efficiency and comprehensibility of the plan in solving socio-economic problems. As a result of this network strategy, everybody was clear on their roles, and knew exactly what to do with whom, how to collaborate and how to carry out the development projects (Personal interviews with Mar Gil, 2 January 2010; Daniel Pino Vicente, 5 February 2010; and Celestino Feijóo Rodríguez, 5 January 2010).

The successful strategy of the local government was to innovate and change the organizational strategy of local networks. The local government of Allariz needed to integrate private actors into the development processes in order to improve the competitiveness of various economic sectors. For this purpose, local government moved from the first stage of strategic networks to wider networks by developing professional, neighbourhood, and socio-cultural groups. The transformation processes took place during 1999. Five professional private actor networks were formed: the Association of Entrepreneurs of Chorento Business Park, the Association of Hotels and Tourism of Allariz, the Association of Merchants and Manufacturers of Allariz, and the Association of Artisans of Allariz. Other non-profit socio-cultural associations were established: the Ox Festival Association, the Jan de Arzúa Cultural Association, the Association for the Promotion of Rural Development, the Interruris Youth Association, and the Puzzle Social Welfare Association, which fights social exclusion.

Today, networks in Allariz are formed and balanced among experts, community members, and private actors in various cultural, social, environmental, and economic fields. They are characterized by mutual trust and a collaborative climate, which allows for the innovation and improvement of socio-economic wellbeing in the community:

"We understood that we were not doing things separately. We are made up of 33 partners from 37 local hotels, bars, restaurants and lodgings. The reason for the creation of our Association was to be a source of pressure on and collaboration with the Municipality. Alone, we were nothing, but together we are stronger, we have better links, and we collaborate on festivals. So I think we have achieved our objectives and are opening up new paths" (Interview with Julio Fernandez Piñeiro, a private actor, member of the Association of Hotels and Tourism, 7 February 2010).

"Allariz is a municipality of 115 employees working for the Council; there is a good level of sensibility in the people, and they give good advice. Courses for entrepreneurs have been organized, and people talk about economic development. The key is that everyone believes in it. The success lies in observing, imagining, and creating, in seeing, believing and wanting, in feeling and building. From the perspective of a foreigner in this area, I believe that their capabilities are positive" (Personal interview with Eva González Pérez, a municipal technician from the O Portelo Municipal Socio-economic Centre, responsible for rural development, 19 January 2010).

"The secret is the closeness, the proximity between government and neighbours. We are accessible. There is a connection with neighbours, with officials, and with technical staff. We are accessible at any time of the day, and they even call us at home" (Personal interview with Cristina Cid Fernández, 2 January 2010).

The Allariz local government works constantly on innovating public, semi-public, and private networks, while trying to engage with opportunities presented by global networks (Personal interviews with Eva González Pérez, 19 January 2010; Julio Fernandez Piñeiro, 7 February 2010). The Town Council has developed direct links with external institutions such as the Ministry of Industry, Tourism and Trade of Spain, the Council of Economy and Industry of Galicia, and the European Regional Development Fund. It has also begun to work with global projects such as fashion outlets, citizens' information, and communication technology projects such as the Avanza Plan and the Agora Virtual Project. The Agora Virtual Project and the Avanza Plan are acknowledged to be among the most significant recent projects that have greatly improved competitiveness and socio-economic conditions in the local society of Allariz.

### Evaluation of the outcomes

Over the last 20 years, Allariz has managed to overcome the major problems that it was facing before 1989. A global vision has followed, achieving sustainable development goals to make Allariz an economically active, environmentally sustainable, culturally rich, and socially conscious place. Strategies based on cultural heritage resources and its proximity to Ourense have made it possible to achieve these main objectives. Cultural heritage resources have proved to be a driving force for its local development. Some of the most important economic and socio-cultural achievements are illustrated below.

One of the main objectives of preserving the rich tangible heritage in the historic town and along the river was achieved by preserving 572 historical buildings out of 596: 122 facades, 381 dwellings and 29 commercial spaces (Gil, 2009: 165). The Subsidiary Norms of Municipal Planning, PECHA and PEDRA, were decisive in the recovery of the environment both in the urban and rural areas of Allariz. The river banks were reclaimed and the main sanitation networks renewed. The ethnographic heritage of the mills was re-established, and 115,510 square metres of public space were transformed and opened for public and private use compared to the 18,146 square meters before 1989 (Concello de Allariz, 2010, Gil, 2009). Figures 2, 3, 4 and 5 illustrate the transformation of the buildings before 1989 and after.



Figure 3. Abandoned building before 1989



Figure 4. Rural hostel after 1989



Figure 5. Tanning factory before 1989



Figure 6. Leather museum after 1989

The Allariz development project overcame a high level of unemployment, which was at a staggering 67% in 1989. In 2010, the unemployment rate was 9.5 % of the active population between the ages of 15 and 65, lower than both Ourense Province and the Spanish national unemployment level, which was 13% (Caja España, 2011).

The number of small and medium enterprises in the construction, service, and agriculture industries increased more than four times, from 65 to 278, between 1989 and 2008 (Concello de Allariz, 2009).

There was evident growth in secondary tourism services such as restaurants, hotels, and bars. Between 1989 and 2008, the number of hotels increased from 2 to 14, the number of restaurants from 3 to 18, and the number of cafes and bars from 27 to 67 (Concello de Allariz, 2009).

The number of jobs also grew steadily. During the period from 1991 to 1995, 267 jobs were created; this number increased to 804 in 2004. The employment rate was 1451 in 2007, (90 in agriculture (6,2% of total occupation), 350 in industry (24,1%), 229 in construction (15,8%), and 782 in the service sector (53,9%) (Caja España, 2011).

The rate of emigration decreased by almost one-half during the period between 1960 and 1990. Today, the Spanish National Institute of Statistics (2010) illustrates a slow but significant growth in the population: in 2000, the population was 5258, and by 2009 it had increased to 5910.

The preservation of the cultural heritage has also created socio-cultural effects. The careful planning and management of the cultural heritage, combined with the principle of sustainable development, has created an attractive place to live. The most important achievement of the Allariz community is that it became a vibrant place to be, due to the broad spectrum of cultural heritage products that serve various consumer demands, for the young and the old, for the population, and for visitors. It was successful because it was based on a single main strategy – the improvement of the quality of life for the local population – and because it offered a good ecological, economic, social and cultural place to live:

“Allariz had a beautiful old town, a river, which is wonderful because it is healthy; it is hard difficult to believe that it was previously a sewer. Housing prices are more convenient than in Ourense. One had to provide a good example, and the new government did this. Allariz is enjoying sustainable development that is growing every day due to the people that are moving here, and to tourism, the forest, the heated pool, bridges, and camping” (Personal interview with Oscar Nieto, a private actor, a leader of the Association of Merchants and Manufacturers of Allariz).

“Allariz has become a service town, many shops have opened - supermarkets, opticians, banks, it is well located, closed to Ourense, it is clean and tidy, has a great kindergarten, a swimming pool, the river for taking walks in summer, lots of things... it is not a bedroom town, because people make their lives here, there are young couples with children. The population of Allariz has grown a lot, especially young people around 30” (Personal interview with Antonio Soria Rocafort, a local artist, a newcomer from Madrid).

The preservation of the cultural heritage has also contributed to “people’s identity, because they are prouder, not only of the historic centre, but also of the countryside, which also contributes to social and individual identity. From an economic viewpoint, they can live here because transport has been improved, and jobs have attracted new people” (Personal interviews with Celestino Feijóo Rodríguez, 5 January 2010).

## Conclusion

This case presents a situation in which local actors have managed, with little outside support, to overcome a socio-economic decline left behind after a process of rural restructuring and a previous authoritarian government. The local development strategy to attach value to cultural heritage resources and geographical proximity has been shown to be an effective way of transforming the condition of the

degraded and neglected area of Allariz and achieving sustainable development. Cultural heritage has played a role not only for urban and rural renewal, image-building, the promotion of tourism, and socio-economic expansion, but also in recapturing a sense of pride in the town's identity, resulting in strengthened social cohesion. This paper argues that success in achieving sustainable local development through cultural heritage relies on the degree of organizing capacity.

There is a need in a rapidly globalizing world for societies to organize themselves more effectively in order to be able to respond to global competition. Many organizing capacity factors must be taken into account: a vision, strategy, strong leadership, and strategic networks, as well as political and societal support. As a result of combining all these components of organizing capacity, cultural heritage has proved to be a significant contributor to the Allariz economy, which has made it possible to achieve sustainable local development.

Having reflected on the case of Allariz, one might now raise the question of whether this case could be applied elsewhere. A small town with a strong leader, proximity to a large city, and a broad variety of cultural heritage resources cannot be found everywhere. In addition, we might question whether the local development project would have worked if there had not been an earlier political conflict. This was an important factor driving the socialization process and socio-economic change in Allariz. Although it may be difficult to find another example like it, the case of Allariz might be used to stimulate theoretical and practical knowledge in relation to cultural heritage and organizing capacity, and to provide an example of how other heritage places might use their resources as a strategy for socio-economic revitalization to sustain local development.

I argue that careful planning and management of cultural heritage resources should be undertaken, and a balance struck between preservation, sustainable use, and development. Sustainable development initiatives depend not only on the leadership's capabilities to maintain the trust and support of the community, but also on its entrepreneurial skills. The successful valorization of cultural heritage resources must depend on political support for financial, technical, participatory, and collaborative encouragement for their citizens. Local government must also facilitate innovative thinking from private actors and community members. Societal support should be encouraged and integrated in the local development project by the local government.

The strategic networks need to be clearly formulated, and the roles of the actors well defined. Networks should be constructed of experts, community members, and private and public actors. The preservation and management of cultural heritage resources and urban planning require local and outside expert knowledge, in addition to well-balanced lines of communication. The success of a cultural economy also relies on the local government's abilities not only to manage and organize, but also to innovate in its organizational structures, and to engage with global networks.

Finally, cultural heritage resources should be seen as a broader comprehensive strategy for local development, rather than one that is limited to the tourist industry. Without the promotion of other industries, the local economy of Allariz could not be sustained. In order to achieve a competitive advantage in the global economy, local actors need to attract local innovative and entrepreneurship skills, as well as financial and intellectual capital. Local areas need to widen their areas of knowledge, sharpen their management skills, and organize their cultural economy and market their physical or cultural resources.

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> I use the personal names of my informants, whose consent has been obtained.

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## The control of transformations in the architectural heritage development

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In the light of modern acquisitions, the rehabilitation of cultural heritage is closely linked to the concept of sustainable development and sustainable use of resources. It is therefore necessary to apply strategies aimed at the exploitation of the capital to product services, thus cultural heritage must be preserved. It can produce benefits but it can also impoverish, hence the need to identify compatible uses with the resource's development together with their preservation. This paper presents a methodology for assessing the impact of transformative interventions on the architectural resources in relation both to the needs of conservation and heritage protection.

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**Keywords:** identity, building rehabilitation, transformation.

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### Introduction

Since the 1990's, governance has become a significant vehicle for policies targeting the social improvement of communities and the implementation of sustainable development programs

The idea of conservation as a strategy of intervention is beginning to define not only the preservation of existing assets but also the projection of it over the time through the adaptation to changing patterns of usage to ensure the renewal and the availability of resources.

I am here referring to the architectural goods that are often defined as "minor architecture" because of their low cultural or historical interest; those architectures nevertheless represent something that could be important to assess before deciding to process any transformation. This work does not want to provide a strict method for allowing or not new design on minor buildings or to point the right changing, it is more properly a methodology to let the designers be able to understand what is the impact of any project on the identity of buildings and what is the range of compatible transformation with the nature of assets. The control variable "time" in the management of changing in the physical environment is directed to protect the value of resources by protecting them from possible impairment. The current cultural assumption (Istanbul Declaration and the Habitat Agenda - Istanbul 1996) considers "natural capital" not only the environmental resources but also the products of human activities as the architectural resources, infrastructure and cultural activities. The proper use of natural capital requires knowledge of the carrying capacity of resources, that is, how much a resource can be exploited without impoverished. The primary objective is to give substance to the idea of development that combines productivity and renewal with the protection and conservation of the resources and of the values that the environment houses, we are not proprietaries but usufructuaries of cultural heritage, therefore we are obliged to protect it for future generations (S. Musso, 2000). The depletion of heritage, for past exploitation, produced serious repercussions on social and economic systems and a more conscientious approach towards the need to ensure the heritage over time has emerged.

Generation after generation the structure of the city settles meaning which is increasingly complex to manage, the evolution of the *modus vivendi* changes the settlement of the places and evolves with it in an ever more rapid way affecting the recognition of urban space. The changing way of life and work involves adaptation activities to satisfy new needs and it forces a change in the physical space. It must be considered that the changes, over time, affect the concept of "efficiency" and that, in a process of sustainable development, the solution is in mediating between the needs of users and the safeguarding of heritage (Lourdes Arizpe, 2000).

With regard to the development of architectural resources, the desire acquires special importance to promote a widespread dissemination of a critical behaviour in interventions on heritage which, by their nature, defy the principle of normalization that cannot reflect the richness and diversity of existing settlements.

### **The recognition of cultural identities in the building restoration**

The recovery process starts from the recognition of values in a building system, those values that make up a composite and multi-scalar picture that is extremely variable over time and in places. You need a first distinction between intrinsic values, or inherent to the goods themselves and not necessarily recognized, and extrinsic values that represent values that interact with external factors of social, economic and cultural. The identification of heritage values is the first step in the decision-making that leads to actions for the protection and recovery of local identities in the process of development (Values and Heritage Conservation 2000).

The lack of knowledge of intrinsic values is often the cause of the propensity to adopt foreign models to local culture or to adopt innovative models without checking the impact on pre-existence. In light of these considerations the planning stage in recovery takes on a complex meaning because it introduces the variables coming from heritage and then amplifies the impact of any intervention. The pre-existence is therefore a starting point and guiding the whole process, it is the system of reference for all the choices.

In the historic cities the restoration often acts on a very stratified heritage that has taken different meanings over time reaching a complex physical substance and iconography (Bluestone D. 2000). The awareness that the built heritage is a potential resource for the fulfilment of a requirement and, at the same time, the recognition of its value system pose a reflection on the necessity of finding a balance between preservation and transformation in decision making, in terms of consistency with the material and immaterial characteristics of goods and with the new requirements dictated by new functions.

The adjustment of performance requires a control on the requirements for protection of the good's values, the "expectations of use" of the transformation process are therefore dimensioned with respect to instances of the heritage's identity protection. The architectural and environmental layout is the common denominator of new features in relation with transformations that trigger chain reactions according to multiple and sometimes unexpected directions.

### **The value of existing assets and return on socio-cultural**

The value of existing assets is a composite value as reported to inclusive goods, that is enjoyed at the same time by several people; it can be defined as the set of social, economic and cultural benefits that an environmental or architectural resource can directly or indirectly deliver to users. The value of a resource is expressed by two components: one related to the "intrinsic value" of the good that can be independent of the use of the resource and represents its uniqueness and irreproducibility, and one referring to the "instrumental value" of the resource that is related to the use and generally to the relationship with the environment to which it belongs. The complex value is not an absolute, but reflects a range of values dependent on relations with the environment (L. Fusco Girard).

The reference is no longer a unique value but a multiplicity of values, it effects large and differed perspectives of action and reinforces the need for selection of project objectives through community participation in decisions. In this goal, it is evident that any action on the cultural heritage should take into account the effects that can have on the way of life of users and should assess the "socio-cultural efficiency" as well as economic impact. The objectives involves direct and indirect benefits according to whether internal or external impact of the scope of the project in question, we define these as "intended effects" (Randall F. Mason, 2005).

It should begin by explaining the nature of benefits that are produced by environmental and cultural resources. We could speak of two classes of benefits: direct and indirect, meaning those related to direct benefits to the use of the estate and indirect benefits to those induced by the fallout in areas external to the design. The benefits of an environmental resource or architecture are closely linked to their own context, so that the potential to produce benefits must be sought in relation to the characteristics and needs of the context, it means that the production potential of an asset derives from the intersection of the resources that the good is able to offer and the needs of social and cultural context to which it belongs. This equation means the ratio of an architectural good and its environment, meaning that the

mutual bond of membership has the dual capability of potential and limits and it may significantly vary when conditions change to the context (Cassar M., 2000).

### **The protection of identity**

The knowledge of the value system is the basis of the definition of the constraint system for the identification of characters to be protected in the process of transformation. The project of knowledge is oriented to reflect the complexity of the built heritage which, by its own nature, is inseparable from the physical matter that constitutes it, here we want to discuss about the necessity to preserve material testimonies in the development process in order to comply "the need to respect a continuum" (UNESCO Preliminary report 2010).

The tools for analysis and classification can not return the physical perception of an object and it was found that reliance on descriptive and complex models is not a guarantee of a "real" knowledge, it is useful, therefore, the definition of a simple analytical model easy to the compilation and consultation in order to focus on immediacy with the characters of an architectural identity. Of course a first look at an architectural good captures the dissonance, the changes, the enlargement or the mutilation that marked the evolution of the original model in its life cycle. Therefore there is a tendency towards the identification of remains and the transformations trying to understand the historical motivations that produced them. The analysis of transformations to the original configuration researches "what" is changed and "when" and it is analysed in conjunction with technological and environmental units that have been affected by the changes as new constructive technologies and new models of use.

The set of signs, shapes, lights, colors, that are transmitted to the observer defines the memory of places and things, sometimes small changes can make their mark more than great works in relation to which parts are interested in and what mechanisms trigger in the life of the building. The evolutionary cycle of the structure analysis is returned via a registry card model that relates the changes with the events that have been generated and the functional and structural components affected in this process. The analysis starts from the original constructive layout to the changes that over time have given new meanings to the structure. Figure 1 shows what transformations affected the structure of the Convent of San Domenico in Benevento (Italy) from the original conception in 1267 one up to the restoration works in 1992; changes are analysed in relation to what were the reasons of modifying, what kind of works were done, which architectural elements were involved in those processes.

Through this approach we want to ensure not only the essence of the architectural material, but the trace of its experience bringing together the constructed space with the functional space (*modus vivendi* and *modus aedificandi*).

The preservation of architectural identity poses the need to define constraints to ensure the features of the structure. In this sense, the constraint is the system of rules for the control of transformations and ,at the same time, defines the space of the possibilities of transformation that outline the process of exploitation. The definition of constraints is not an exogenous factor, it is not imposed on the project but we mean it as generated from the building itself. For this purpose we define the criteria for recognition of the peculiarities of a building by formulating the categories of constraints (constructive, morphology, colors, etc.). Especially in the traditional building the link between forms, materials and technology is insoluble, it gives life to the building through an irreversible process of a perfect architectural fusion.

Compared to canonical methods of reading, the research of the values and the identification character differs from the scientific analysis method due to the fact that the process of knowledge is not given by a progressive deepening of data and their relations, rather, the process of "recognition" is developed through continuous changes of viewpoint and scale passages from general to particular. Therefore we will meet entities from different systems that characterize a same constraint because they share a common ability to confer uniqueness and recognition to the good.



### The control of the transformations

The proposed methodology is based on developing two tools that allow the identification of all components of a building that could not be transformed, because they constitute its own identity system, and the comparison with the system of requirements for different uses. This methodology is based on the identification of areas of impact of the architectural components that might be affected from adjustments for new uses. The architectural structure is represented by Impact Areas, so named because they are exposed to the effects of the transformations; the System of Constraints is represented by the factors that characterize each bond. The binding factors are linked with the elements of building systems through a matrix of Perpetual Elements; in this sense all the elements to be preserved are pointed out and, as shown in the Figure 2, you can extract diagrams on the relevance of different technical elements on the bounding system for preserving the nature of the assets. This tool allows you to determine the "transformation range", it becomes even more significant if a weights is assigned to different binding factors in order to obtain an order of priority in the safeguard of the technical elements.

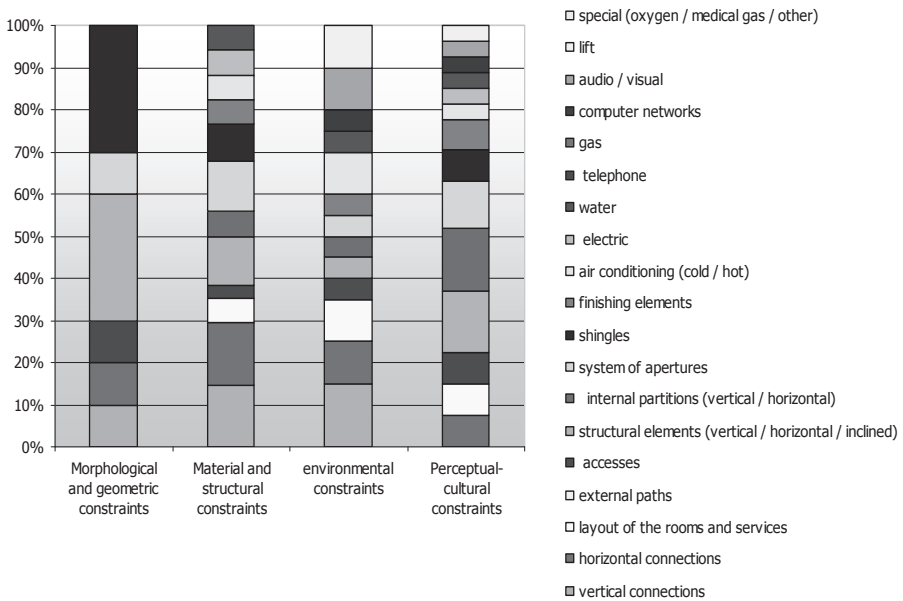


Figure 2. Diagram of the Perpetual Elements

The Matrix of Perpetual Elements allows the comparison of the building characteristics with various new uses. The requirements system must be designed for each new use or adaptation. The identification of the perpetual elements is necessary for the subsequent recognition of the impact areas; a new matrix is structured by linking the architectural system with the requirements of each new use (Matrix of Impacts). The graphs in the Figures 3 and 4 highlight the impact on the building of the future use so as to isolate the impact of various sectors and to have knowledge of any changes on parts of the building. The Perpetual Elements identifies the requirements that can not be satisfied (in whole or in part), thus the possibility to adapt the structure to a specific new use is limited.

The Matrix of Perpetual Elements all the elements are known to protect in the building transformation; the combination of data of the two matrices outlines these requirements that can not be satisfied because they affect unchangeable parties for the protection of good's identity.

				Areas of impact		
				Distributive System		
				Vertical Connections	Horizontal Connections	
Intended Use: Educational Institutions	Requirements Class: SAFETY	Emergency Evacuation	E1	Spaces frequented by students or faculty and staff must have at least 1 scale or external security of a ladder-proof evidence of smoke or smoke inside (dm dell'interno 26.08.1992 art. 5.2)	1	
			E2	2-story buildings: It is allowed the creation of a single scale, which is protected under the following conditions: number of people present at the second floor must be commensurate with the width of the scale with flow capacity $\leq 50$	1	
			E3	$\geq 1.20\text{m}$ Width ways out (2 modules)		1
			E4	Length of exit routes: Route from the local crowd of students and teachers to safety output $\leq 60\text{m}$ (dm dell'interno 26.08.1992 art. 5.4)		1
			E5	$\leq 15\text{m}$ path plan		1
			E6	path from every point of the building to a safe place to $\leq 45\text{m}$ (circular letter 30 ottobre 1996, n. p2244/4122 sott. 32 ministero dell'interno)		1

Figure 3. Relations between design requirements and technical elements. The boxes in red indicate the inability to adapt to the requirement for compliance with a bond of protection.

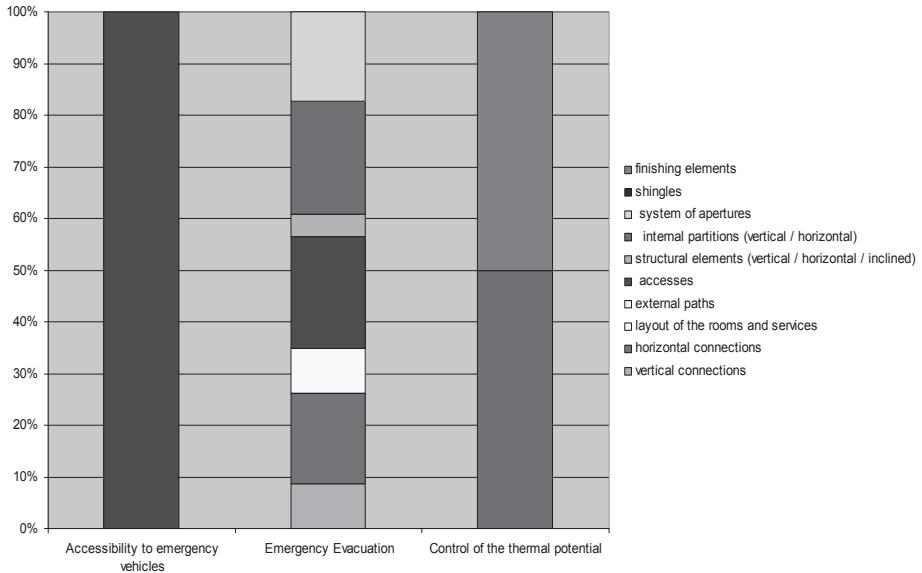


Figure 4. Figure 4: Diagram of the impacts of the category of Security Requirements

### Conclusions

This methodology is based on the Matrix of Perpetual Elements, which is unique for every building and reflects the transformability of the built system, and on a number (n) of Impact Matrices, which express the impact of different uses on the structure, or the invasiveness of transformation works. The analysis is aimed at defining the area for possible designs that is the intersection between design requirements and

constraints for the protection of the identity of the building, this intersection can represent the actual space of the potentiality in the design for heritage. The process can be repeated for various new uses; graphs can be extracted which highlight the extent of each different scenario in affecting the building in the adaptation of the existing structure to new uses or activities. Finally different design scenarios can be compared by giving different weights to the criteria of choice.

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## The impact of cultural heritage preservation policies on land use: the case of the Historic Centre of Pelotas (Rio Grande do Sul), Brazil

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One of the main aims of cultural policies on the preservation of heritage is the revitalisation and sustainability of historic centres. In Brazil, 26 cities have been benefiting from the MONUMENTA Programme since 1999. Considering that its purpose is to promote the economic, social and cultural use of benefiting areas, the change in land use was analysed in the case study of the Historic Centre of Pelotas. With the information held by the Urban Planning Division of Pelotas Town Council, a detailed analysis was carried out on the economic activities in the years 2002 and 2007. According to the criteria established by the National Classification of Economic Activities, 15,155 records were identified and divided into categories. Subsequently, a statistical analysis was carried out, using as a criterion the Box and Whisker Diagram. The results from the project area revealed a reduction in floor space in categories of hospitality industry; social and health services and professional and administrative activities. However, it showed an increase in the categories of construction, art, culture, and leisure. Without underestimating any influence of other public policies in force at the time, the conclusions in this analysis will be credited to the MONUMENTA Programme.

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**Keywords:** Preservation policy; urban heritage; land use analysis; MONUMENTA Programme.

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### Introduction

#### The MONUMENTA Programme

The protection and preservation of cultural heritage is a way of perpetuating the intangible values of a place. SPHAN<sup>1</sup> (National Service of Historic and Artistic Heritage) was created in 1937 and given responsibility for the preservation of national heritage. The principal function of the organisation was to identify and protect Brazilian Cultural Heritage as stated in Decree Law Nº. 25, dated 30<sup>th</sup> November of that year, a law which is still in force today.

From the 1970s, the assessment of historic places has taken the buildings as landmarks, in terms of their position and relevance in the urban space. Their cultural preservation was considered as essential in giving a sense of identity to the city.

Towards the end of the 1990s, the Ministry of Culture adopted a policy of including heritage in local, regional and national planning programmes, with the aim of ensuring effective protection and conservation of cultural and natural heritage sites. 1995 saw the first negotiations, between the Inter-American Development Bank and the Ministry of Culture, to develop a programme to preserve Brazil's Urban Heritage – the MONUMENTA Programme.

Seven historic areas were initially earmarked, based on their historic sites or their symbolic value as "gateways to the country". Ouro Preto, Olinda, Salvador and São Luis do Maranhão were selected for their historic sites and Recife, Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo for their symbolic value (Taddei Neto, 2000). The first two cities in each case became key models and were used as a base for developing the criteria and norms of the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) Loan Proposal, dated 31<sup>st</sup> August 1999. With the signing of document No. 1.200/OC-BR by the Ministry of Culture on 4<sup>th</sup> December 1999, the MONUMENTA Programme was rolled out throughout Brazil.

This is an innovative national programme which seeks to reconcile the sustainable revitalisation and preservation of urban historic heritage, protected by the National Institute of Historic and Artistic Heritage (IPHAN), with economic and social development of the areas. The MONUMENTA Programme is a result of cooperation between the Ministry of Culture (MinC) and the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), with support from the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), participation by city councils or/and the State, the private sector and owners of protected properties.

The programme is valued at 125 million dollars, with a 20 year amortisation period. Of this total value, 50% is financed by the IDB and the remaining 50% by the Federal Government. Of the 62.5 million dollars match funding, the Federal Government contributes 48% of total expenditure, 32% comes from municipalities or states and the remaining 20% from the private sector (IDB, 1999).

The project is important in ensuring the urban sustainability of historic centres; it seeks to establish mechanisms to preserve heritage in a sustainable way without requiring constant financial contributions from federal resources. The ultimate goal is to extend this model to other historic centres not under federal protection.

Twenty-six cities, in 17 of the 26 Brazilian states, were eligible to participate in the MONUMENTA Programme, scheduled to end in 2012.

### The joining process

During the first year of the programme, the need was established for the Executing Agency (the Ministry of Culture) to prepare a "List of Priority Project Areas", including National Urban Historic Sites - SHUN, and Urban Sets of National Monuments<sup>2</sup> – CUMN. (BID, 1999:19).

The list was compiled by a Working Group (GT) appointed by the Ministry of Culture, using a scoring model based on certain priority criteria namely: plurality, decentralisation, homogeneity / diversity, uniqueness, chronological gap and risk (Brazil, 2005a).

In total, 101 Priority Areas (sites or urban sets) were identified for intervention. The Working Group decided that where urban complexes had complementary characteristics, or were located close to each other, they would be analysed together. The list was therefore reduced from 101 to 94 areas. The 94 areas cover 80 Brazilian municipalities, in 23 of the 26 Brazilian states.

The Ministry of Culture invited the municipalities to prepare a document known as "Carta Consulta" (Expression of Interest), a compilation and diagnosis of socio-economic and cultural data, along with a preliminary indication of the Area targeted for the Project<sup>3</sup> and the Area of Influence<sup>4</sup>. The document would also outline the objectives the programme aimed to achieve and its impact on the local economy and population (Brazil, 2006).

The proposals outlined in the "Carta Consulta" was the result of a workshop of a planning committee, made up of the owners of the properties, associations, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and representatives from the Council, the State and the Union. Their approach was based on the German ZOPP method (from Deutsch, Zielorientierte Projektplanung, widely known as Objectives Oriented Project Planning - OOPP), which seeks a consensus in a participative manner, as a prerequisite for developing the "Carta Consulta".

Eligible municipalities had to meet four conditions imposed by the IDB. The first was that the town should be included in the "List of Priority Project Areas". The second, which focused on economic possibilities, dealt with the municipality's ability to carry out the investments and provide their financial counterpart (32% of project's cost). The third, of a more social and multi-disciplinary character, focused on the project's proposals, which necessarily had to be based on stakeholders' participation and involvement in workshops (ZOPP method). The fourth, and final condition, related to the private sector's interest and their participation in the project (IDB, 1999).

Meeting the above conditions stipulated by the IDB and the position in the "List of Priority Project Areas", twenty-six areas (Historic Sites or Urban Sets of National Monuments) were thus eligible to participate in the programme which in this case, corresponded to twenty-six municipalities.

When their "Carta Consulta" was approved, each municipality was invited to sign the "Cooperation Agreement for the Formulation of the Project". This subsequent document, called the Project Profile, included information on the rehabilitation of buildings and/or eligible public spaces, along with technical, institutional, financial, economic and socio-environmental feasibility studies. It had to be approved by a special team appointed by the Ministry of Culture (CMU – Central Management Unit) before submission to the Bank for review and approval.

The municipalities that were approved by both entities were invited to sign the financing agreement with the Ministry of Culture, and the Contract Review with the Financing Organisation - the Caixa Econômica Federal (Brazil, 2006). In the case of Pelotas, the project "Rehabilitation of Coronel Osorio Square and surroundings", classified among the Urban Sets of National Monuments, came into being with the signing of Agreement Nº. 392/2002.

Among the various conditions imposed prior to the signing of the agreement between the Ministry of Culture and the municipalities, mentioned in the proposed IDB loan agreement, was the need for signatories to demonstrate organisational competence. They had to create a task force called PEU (Project Executing Unit), whose remit was to prepare, coordinate, monitor, implement and manage the project in the eligible area. They were also responsible for addressing legislative issues, such as the approval of Municipal Law on Preservation Funding<sup>5</sup> and associated matters; i.e., to ensure that the municipality undertakes to finance activities not funded by the programme but which could enhance the sustainability of the project.

### **Town of Pelotas, in numbers**

According to the Demographic Census of the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE), the population of Pelotas reached 328,275 in 2010. According to information available on the website of Pelotas Town Council, the city has a land area of 1,610.09km<sup>2</sup>, situated at a distance of 250km from the city of Porto Alegre (capital of Rio Grande do Sul) and 135km from the border of Uruguay. It is a place endowed with an extremely rich architectural heritage: the Municipal Secretary of Culture has registered 2,090 properties in the Inventory of Cultural Heritage of Pelotas (2004)<sup>6</sup>. Most of these properties are concentrated in the city centre.

The area benefitting from the MONUMENTA Programme (project area and area of influence) is a space made up of 45 squares (including five green areas), totalling an area<sup>7</sup> of 50 hectares. In this area 266 properties are inventoried, 14 of which are given special protective status known as "tombamento"<sup>8</sup>, nine by the municipality, one by the State and four by the Federal Government (in this case represented by IPHAN). According to the IBGE Demographic Census (2010), approximately 4,600 people live in the area benefitting from the Programme and its immediate surroundings.

### **Programme objectives and its influence on land use**

The programme objectives are part of the Special Contractual Conditions of Loan Agreement Nº. 1.200/OC-BR, signed on 4<sup>th</sup> December 1999, previously outlined in the Executive Summary of Loan Proposal BR-0261, dated 31<sup>st</sup> August 1999. The programme's purpose described in this document is to "increase the economic, cultural and social use of Project Areas" (IDB, 1999:1).

The programme assumes that there is a connection between the conservation of cultural heritage and socioeconomic development (shown in the following quote from the programme's referential framework): "the restoration and adaptation of historic buildings attracts economic activities (including tourism and cultural activities), permits higher valued economic use of buildings, generates employment, and has other linkages. These activities increase the likelihood that restoration and rehabilitation will be sustainable." (IDB, 1999:15).

### **Objective**

Considering that the purpose of the MONUMENTA Programme is to promote the economic, social and cultural use of beneficiary areas, the change in land use will be analysed, from an urban geography perspective, in the area of Pelotas' Historic Centre defined by the programme, in the years 2002 and 2007. The conclusion of this analysis will be credited to the programme, without underestimating any influence associated with other public policies that may have been concomitant during the intervention process.

### **Methodology**

#### **Materials**

The Project Report, dated 31<sup>st</sup> August 1999, prepared by the Inter-American Development Bank and the latest version of the Operating Regulations of the MONUMENTA Programme, dated September 2006, provide context for this article.

Three primary sources were used to demonstrate the results. The first is the list of local units or establishments where economic activity occurs, along with a description of each one. The Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics, states that "*economic activity of production units should be seen as a process, i.e. a combination of actions that result in certain types of products, or even a combination of resources that generate specific goods and services*" (IBGE, 2007:20); they can therefore, include organisations and establishments of public or private companies, farms, non-profit institutions and independent contractors.

From a spatial perspective, those buildings should be located in the project area and the area of influence defined by the MONUMENTA Programme. The properties located in the area of the immediate surroundings were also included to have a larger set of data for calculating the average of economic activities.

This analysis was conducted using two dates as reference: December 2002, the year in which the city of Pelotas signed the financing agreement with the Ministry of Culture, and December 2007, when the Project Profile was reviewed.

The list of properties that met the above-mentioned conditions were held by the Urban Planning Division of Pelotas Town Council in June 2010. They included the address of the local unit or establishment (street, number and other relevant address details), the type of activity carried out and the floor space (in m<sup>2</sup>) occupied. The lists were recorded electronically in separate files, one for 2002 and the other for 2007, in .txt format. In total, 15,155 records of economic activities in the aforementioned years were identified.

It should be noted that this list has no record of any of the buildings occupied by public authorities located in the historic city centre.

The second source comes from the National Classification of Economic Activities (CNAE 2.0), prepared by the National Classification Commission (CONCLA), released in 2007 by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE), the ruling body of the CNAE. This information is available on the institution's website.

Finally, the third source is the urban plan held by Department of Memory and Heritage (Culture Division) of Pelotas Town Council in May 2008. The plan shows the entire urban network in Pelotas municipality, with an identification of each block with respective building numbers on each plot. Apart from focusing on the area defined by the MONUMENTA Programme, (project area and area of influence), the properties in the immediate vicinity (surrounding area) were also included as reference in the statistical analysis and conclusions.

Microsoft Excel 2010 was used to present the bar chart and tables, while AutoCAD 2010 was used to demonstrate the location of economic activities in 2002 and 2007.

Plan 1. Pelotas Town Plan and the intervention area of MONUMENTA Programme.



Sources: (1) Based on the Political Map of Brazil by IBGE. The image shows the location of Pelotas Town in the State of Rio Grande do Sul / Brazil. (2) District No1. Pelotas Town has a total of 9 districts. Based on the Urban Plan of Pelotas, held by the Department of Mapping and Geographic Information (Urban Planning Division) of Pelotas Town Council, 2006. (3) Based on the Urban Plan held by Department of Memory and Heritage (Culture Division) of Pelotas Town Council, 2008. Ref: 48\_MUB Lotes. The dark grey colour shows the properties inventoried by Culture Division and the light grey colour, areas of greens.

## Methods

The two files in .txt format was opened separately in Excel. The software gives users the option of using a "text import wizard" tool before viewing the spreadsheet and allowing manual adjustment of the data in the columns taken from the .txt file. Once the data is integrated into the Excel spreadsheet, the initial work consists of the following:

- i. Data processing - manual correction of data that has been fragmented into two or more columns due to the use of the "text import wizard" tool;
- ii. Identification of properties based on their location in the project area (PA) or area of influence (AI) defined by the MONUMENTA Programme, in addition to the immediate surrounding area (SA);
- iii. Identification of activities in accordance with criteria established by the National Classification Commission (CONCLA) in January 2007. The findings in this article are restricted to the hierarchical level of the sections described in the National Classification of Economic Activities (CNAE 2.0). However, it was necessary to identify all activities in their respective class. On the

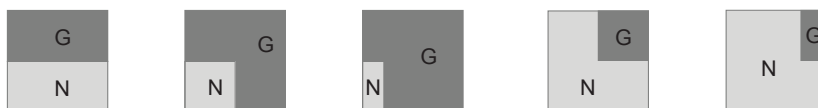
table illustrated below, the methodology is shown step by step. Information concerning the numbering of the property, surface and the type of economic activity was changed, to ensure the protection of personal data.

Table 1. Table 1. Illustration of items II y III.

(ii)						(iii)
Sector	Street Name	Nr.	Com.	Surface	Activity	Category
AP	Andrade Neves	30	A	80.00	Newspapers and magazines	G
AP	Andrade Neves	30	A	80.00	Lottery tickets	N
AP	Andrade Neves	30	B	15.00	Coffee shop, ice-cream	I
AP	Andrade Neves	30	B	15.00	Sweets and caramels homemade	G
AP	Andrade Neves	32	--	1,870.00	Supermarket	G

Source: Independent (author's own sources).

- iv. Establishing the number of activities that share the same space in a single property. During the identification process to establish the type of activity (item iii) it was found that 59% of records (8,891, out of 15,155) belonged to different activities that were being conducted in a communal space. For example, the local unit or establishment at 30A Andrade Neves Street has 80m<sup>2</sup> of space, in which magazines and newspapers (category G) and lottery tickets (category N) are sold. Each of these activities falls within a different category in the CNAE classification system. But how is it possible to analyse the growth of a particular category of activity that applies if several categories share the same space? Based on the table given above, how many square meters correspond to the magazine and newspapers activity (category G) and how does it correspond to the lottery tickets activity (category N)? Below is illustrated some possible variations in distribution of economic activities in an 80m<sup>2</sup> area of the property listed in Table 1.



Assuming these figures might correspond to specific cases, which one should we choose? Is the first figure showing a relationship of proportionality - 40m<sup>2</sup> to the first activity and 40m<sup>2</sup> to the second one - the one that should be used as reference for other cases? Or would one of the four others be a better choice? But who gives these parameters? Is there a classification that can attribute an average value for each category? The answer is no.

Therefore, to achieve the correct proportion of each category, it was necessary to estimate the value of the average area occupied by each activity in its respective category. This work was carried out in the second phase as outlined in item "v" below, in the statistical treatment of the data.

- v. Data management - the structure remained the same in 2002 and 2007. At the end of the first stage, the two tables were structured in 9 columns as follows: 1 - year of activity, 2 - property location in project area, area of influence or surrounding area, 3 - property address, 4 - house number, 5 - other details (room or office number), 6 - amount of floor space occupied by a local unit or establishment in a property, 7 - number of activities sharing space in a local unit or establishment, 8 - type of activity conducted in a local unit or establishment and 9 - category within which the activity falls.

Table 2. Illustration of item V.

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Year	Sect	Street Name	Nr.	Com.	Surface	Tm	Activity	Cat.
2007	AP	Andrade Neves	30	A	80.00	2	Newspapers and magazines	G
2007	AP	Andrade Neves	30	A	80.00	2	Lottery tickets	N
2007	AP	Andrade Neves	30	B	15.00	2	Coffee shop, ice-cream	I
2007	AP	Andrade Neves	30	B	15.00	2	Sweets and caramels homemade	G
2007	AP	Andrade Neves	32	--	1,870.00	1	Supermarket	G

Source: Independent (author's own sources).

Once atypical values were eliminated, the statistical treatment of data was carried out according to the average of different categories, to find an estimate of the square meters of activities that were being carried out within the same area of the local unit or establishment. For example, according to table 2, activities that belongs to the categories G and N share an area of 80m<sup>2</sup> in one property. Considering that the average of category G is 75m<sup>2</sup> and the average of category N is 26.2m<sup>2</sup>, we could estimate that the activity of category G occupy the follow area:  $A = 80 \times [75 / (75 + 26.2)] = 59.29\text{m}^2$ , and the activity of category N occupy the remaining 20.71m<sup>2</sup>.

Having this form of estimation clear is essential to calculating in a representative way the average values for each category. To do so, economic activities that operated alone in an establishment were considered, i.e., without sharing floor space with any other activity. In this way, it was possible to know its exact dimensions. In addition, economic activities that resemble, in terms of surface, the space that we want to estimate were also taken into account, i.e., that is not considered an atypical value. 2002 and 2007's data was processed together, as there was no significant difference in the size of the activities in properties between these years.

Firstly, all economic activities were separated into their respective categories, and in each category the set of activities that occupy alone the surface of an establishment was selected. Secondly, economic activities with atypical values were sought, using as a criterion the Box-Plot, also known as the Box and Whisker Diagram.

Data was placed in increasing order of surface area, to elicit the lower quartile (Q1 - value of the floor space corresponding to 25% position of the data), the upper quartile (Q3 - value of the floor space which corresponds to 75% position of the data) and the interquartile range (IQR = Q3 - Q1).

The lower limit (L.Lim) and upper limit (U.Lim) were then calculated to reveal atypical values, using the following formulae:

$$L.Lim. = Q1 - (1.5 \times IQR)$$

$$U.Lim. = Q3 + (1.5 \times IQR)$$

where: L.Lim y U.Lim. = lower limit and upper limit that identify the atypical values,

Q1 = value of the floor space corresponding to 25% position of the data,

Q3 = value of the floor space that corresponds to 75% position of the data,

IQR = interquartile range.

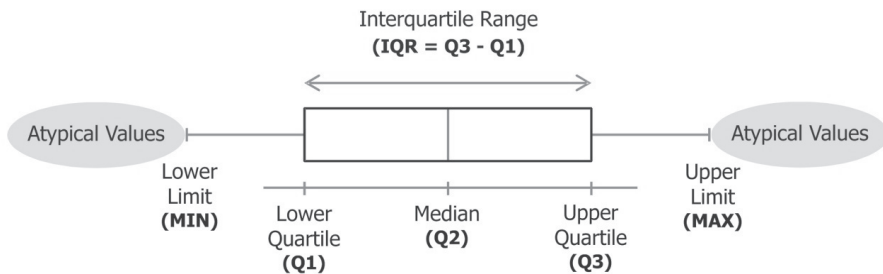


Figure 1. Representation of the Box and Whisker Diagram.

Once the atypical values were known, it was observed that there was no atypical value below the Lower Limit. That is because the surface area occupied by the economic activity is a probability density function with positive skew. All economic activities with an area equal to or greater than the Upper Limit and, therefore, classified as atypical value were treated separately. They were assigned to a new subcategory within the category of analysis, and analyzed separately.

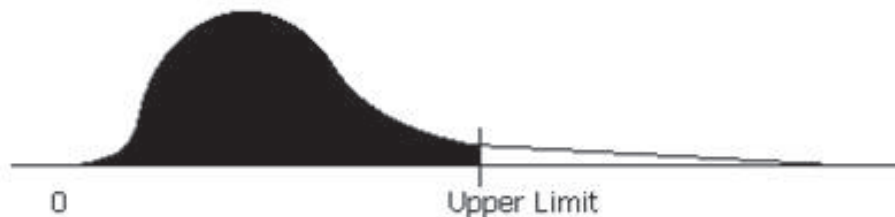


Figure 2. Representation of the surface occupied by the economic activity of one category.

For all other activities in the same category - corresponding to the black shading in Figure 2 - the arithmetic mean was, as noted above, used for estimating the area occupied by each of the activities that share the same space in a property, using a proportional rule.

Once we have estimated these values, we have an individual value of the area occupied by each activity, making it possible to analyse the level of growth in all relevant categories from the year 2002 to 2007.

We have to assume that the estimated value of the floor space for each class of activity within the MONUMENTA Programme does not necessarily represent the value of those same activities in other cities or districts in Pelotas. We therefore omitted a description of those classes, along with the estimated value of their floor space, from this article.

## Discussion

Of the 15,155 records of economic activity held by the Urban Planning Division of Pelotas Town Council, 47% (7,101, out of 15,155 entries) referred to 2002 and 53% (8,054 out of the total 15,155 records) to 2007.

Taking into account all the records of economic activity identified for this study, in 2002 they occupied a total of 4,566 local units or establishments, while in 2007 there were 4,984 occupancies - an absolute increase of 418 local units or establishments. 606 types of economic activities were identified and grouped into 17 categories of the 21 described in the CNAE. In 2002 and 2007, we noted that of the 606 activity types, eight types in the 2002 database did not appear in the 2007 database. Therefore, during the analysis period, these activities ceased to exist. However, this does not necessarily mean that the unit or establishment was closed; activity may have changed.

On the other hand, of the 606 activity types, 76 of the ones that appeared in the 2007 database did not appear in the 2002 database, thus revealing new economic activities.

The following template shows the activity categories in the project area and in the area of influence of the MONUMENTA Programme in Pelotas' Historic Centre. It also shows the average estimated value of the floor space relevant to activities that share the same local unit or establishment with other activities. The floor space occupied by each activity can therefore be calculated. Excluded from the information are activities with atypical values, as they have their own valuation, calculated within each category.

The 76 new types of activities registered in 2007 were concentrated mainly in the following categories: G - 11 units, M - 12 units, N - 11 units and S - 10 units.

The categories described in Table 3, except for two (L and O), showed some types of activities with atypical values for their floor space compared to the average for each category. 72 classes, concentrated in category C (13 types of activities) and S (17 types of activities) were identified.

Table 3. Estimated value of average floor space occupied by economic activities in local units, according to their corresponding category within the project area and area of influence, defined by the MONUMENTA Programme, and surrounding area in Pelotas' Historic Centre - Rio Grande do Sul, in 2002 and 2007.

No	Category	Concept	Average Floor Space (m <sup>2</sup> )
01	A	Agriculture, livestock, forestry production, fisheries and aquaculture	10.5
02	C	Processing	14.3
03	F	Construction	15.0
04	G	Trade, repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles	80.0
05	H	Transport and storage	18.6
06	I	Hospitality industry	89.1
07	J	Information and communication	57.6
08	K	Financial services, insurance and related services	90.1
09	L	Property	31.7
10	M	Professional, scientific and technical services	27.4
11	N	Administrative and support services	26.2
12	O	Public administration, defence and social security	140.1
13	P	Education	52.0
14	Q	Health and social care	23.9
15	R	The arts, culture, sports and leisure	81.5
16	S	Other service industry activities, associations and trade unions	17.9
17	T	Domestic services	12.7

Source: Independent (author's own sources), based on the CNAE (CONCLA / IBGE) and data available from the Urban Planning Division of Pelotas Town Council.

A final file was produced showing the estimated floor space utilised by each of the activities taking into account: 1 - the estimated values in Table 3 for new surface areas of activities that share communal space with other activities, 2 - the estimated atypical values of those activities that formed a separate class within each category, and 3 - the values of all activities that occupied the entire unit.

The findings of this process are revealed in Table 4, a horizontal analysis of the percentage growth in 2007 compared with 2002 in each activity category, in the project area and area of influence defined by the MONUMENTA Programme.

Table 4. Percentage growth of economic activity categories in 2007 (compared with 2002), in the project area and area of influence defined by the MONUMENTA Programme. Pelotas' Historic Centre - Rio Grande do Sul.

Category	Project Area			Area of Influence		
	2002 (m <sup>2</sup> )	2007 (m <sup>2</sup> )	%	2002 (m <sup>2</sup> )	2007 (m <sup>2</sup> )	%
<b>A</b>	25.8	25.8	0.0%	180.5	188.4	4.4%
<b>C</b>	1,971.5	2,140.2	8.6%	6,938.9	7,344.7	5.8%
<b>F</b>	716.4	729.4	1.8%	4,401.9	4,327.8	<b>-1.7%</b>
<b>G</b>	25,745.3	27,966.9	8.6%	122,078.0	144,900.4	18.7%
<b>H</b>	2,529.5	3,140.0	24.1%	10,214.3	12,566.3	23.0%
<b>I</b>	10,452.2	6,536.1	<b>-37.5%</b>	27,085.1	28,306.9	4.5%
<b>J</b>	801.2	828.4	3.4%	5,385.3	6,211.3	15.3%
<b>K</b>	15,856.1	17,098.7	7.8%	7,586.2	10,669.1	40.6%
<b>L</b>	1,042.5	1,034.3	<b>-0.8%</b>	4,611.4	4,954.0	7.4%
<b>M</b>	5,457.9	5,228.5	<b>-4.2%</b>	14,346.0	15,828.4	10.3%
<b>N</b>	8,484.4	8,829.9	4.1%	4,432.1	5,222.3	17.8%
<b>O</b>			0.0%	1,184.0	1,204.0	1.7%
<b>P</b>	2,134.6	2,307.0	8.1%	8,229.7	10,087.8	22.6%
<b>Q</b>	2,452.3	2,229.7	<b>-9.1%</b>	39,979.1	40,732.0	1.9%
<b>R</b>	6,217.2	6,636.6	30.4%	6,201.1	6,028.9	<b>-2.8%</b>
<b>S</b>	4,616.2	6,112.9	0.5%	8,553.1	9,386.9	9.7%
<b>T</b>	47.0	47.0	0.0%	260.4	261.8	0.5%
<b>Total</b>	88,550.2	90,891.4	2.6%	271,667.4	308,221.0	13.5%

Source: Independent (author's own sources), based on the CNEA and property data held by the Urban Planning Division of Pelotas Town Council.

A general analysis of the data in Table 4 reveals a positive growth rate based on floor space in most categories of activity in the project area and area of influence. The percentage growth in both areas, but in different proportions, was concentrated in categories C, G, H, J, K, N, P and S. Of these categories,

C is showing greater discrepancy in favour of the project area: 8.6% versus 5.8% in the area of influence, and category K is showing greater discrepancy in favour of area of influence: 40.6% versus 7.8% in the project area.

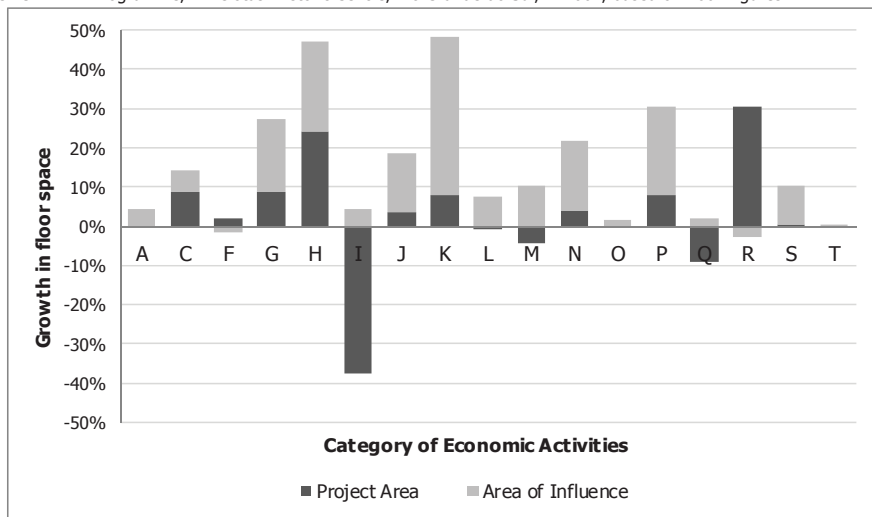
In the project area, activity in agriculture, livestock, forestry production, fisheries and aquaculture (category A), as well as domestic services (category T), remained constant during 2002 and 2007. However, they showed an increase in the area of influence: 4.4% and 0.5% respectively.

In view of the methods used, the basic template did not reveal registrations of category O activities relating to municipal public administration. A site visit was therefore conducted during which it was found that buildings occupied by these institutions are located mostly in Pelotas' Historic Centre. With this in mind, both areas were perceived to have increased the space allocated to this activity by 1.7% in the area of influence.

The activities that showed negative growth, i.e. a reduction in floor space in the project area were placed into four categories: I - hospitality industry (-37.5%), L - property (-0.8%), M - professional scientific and technical services (-4.2%) and Q - health and social care (-9.1%). Conversely, in the area of influence negative percentages were concentrated in two categories: F - construction (-1.7%) and R - the arts, culture, sports and leisure (-2.8%).

The following bar chart shows a comparison between the growth rate in the project area and in the area of influence for each of the categories described in Table 4.

Bar Chart 1. Percentage growth of economic activity categories in the project area and area of influence defined by the MONUMENTA Programme, in Pelotas' Historic Centre, Rio Grande do Sul, in 2007, based on 2002 figures.



Source: Independent (author's own sources), based on the CNAE and data held by the Urban Planning Division of Pelotas Town Council.

In analyzing the negative percentages of the above-mentioned six categories, it emerged that the reduction in floor space did not occur simultaneously in the project area and the area of influence. Quite the contrary: while there was negative growth in categories F and R in the area of influence, they showed positive growth in the project area.

Furthermore, there was a similar occurrence in the categories that showed negative percentages in the project area relative to the area of influence. This was the case in categories I, L, M and Q.

Finally, taking into account the total space of all categories in the project area in 2002 (88,550.2m<sup>2</sup>) and 2007 (90,891.4m<sup>2</sup>), and area of Influence in 2002 (360,217.55m<sup>2</sup>) and 2007 (399,112.41m<sup>2</sup>); it is possible to calculate the total percentage of space occupied in each area and estimate their growth rate. Specifically, the project area is 2.6%, heavily weighted by category I, as will be indicated in the conclusions - without it, the growth would have been 8.2% - and the area of influence around 13.5%.

The project area in 2002 showed an occupancy rate of 24.58% (88,550.19m<sup>2</sup> of the total 360,217.55m<sup>2</sup>), while in 2007 it was 22.77% (90,891.44m<sup>2</sup> of the total 399,112.41m<sup>2</sup>). Although in absolute terms this represented an increase of 2,341.25m<sup>2</sup>, in percentage terms there was actually a 1.8%

reduction. So although in 2007 there was an increase in floor space, this was lower in proportion when compared with the increase in floor space in the area of influence.

In 2002, the area of influence had an occupancy rate of 75.42% (271,667.35m<sup>2</sup> of the total 360,217.55m<sup>2</sup>) while in 2007, the figure was 77.23% (308.220.97m<sup>2</sup> of the total 399,112.41m<sup>2</sup>). This represented in absolute terms an increase of 36,553.61m<sup>2</sup>, and 1.8% in percentage terms.

Compared to 2002 figures, 2007 saw a 10.8% (38,894.86m<sup>2</sup>) growth in the project area and in the area of influence.

## Conclusions

The MONUMENTA Programme has provided a link between revitalisation & preservation of Brazilian urban historic heritage and economic & social development since the signing of Loan Agreement N<sup>o</sup>. 1.200/OC-BR, between the Ministry of Culture and the Inter-American Development Bank, in December 1999.

The programme encompasses a range of actions including the rehabilitation of protected buildings, the revitalisation of public spaces and the provision of incentives to private property owners to restore their buildings and improve urban infrastructure. Those basic measures, along with other activities, including workforce training in catering, tourism promotion and capacity building, are intended to boost economic, social and cultural growth which in turn will enhance the Programme's sustainability and thus ensure its effectiveness.

In Pelotas, the revitalisation of the historic centre resulted in development of these sectors; in the space of five years, there was a marked increase in the registration of economic activities. Using the year 2002 as a benchmark, in this case study, there was an increase of 13.4% (from 7,101 to 8,054 registrations), an absolute increase of 953 registrations of economic activities in 2007.

Attracted by the effects and benefits of the Programme, entrepreneurs and professionals started to view Pelotas' Historic Centre as a place favourable to the development of new businesses and the expansion of their existing ones. This would support the view that there may have been an increase in job opportunities but this variable was not considered in the study.

There was a 10.8% increase in floor space used for economic activity in the area included in the MONUMENTA Programme in 2007 when compared to 2002. This brought more dynamism to the city. It could be said that the programme had a positive impact in general, since this increase was evident not only in terms of the amount of occupied floor space mentioned above, but also in the increased number of registrations (953) and the creation of new economic activity (76). However, this increase was not proportional in all categories in the project area and the area of influence.

The increase in space for the categories in one area and the reduction in another resulted in changes in the location of units or establishments in the urban region. Certain activities in the project area, such as those classified under category R - the arts, culture, sports and leisure and F - construction, may have been stimulated by the MONUMENTA Programme which has acted as a catalyst for development in these categories.

In category R, the number of units recorded for use by craft workers in the project area was higher than in the area of influence. The training of craft labour in restoration work, sponsored by the programme within the component "Training of Craftsman and Local Agents of Culture and Tourism", may have encouraged trainees to set up office in the project area. In the case of Pelotas, the approval of the Term of Reference TOR13005-17 entitled "Professional qualifications for entry level jobs of restoration and conservation of architectural heritage of Pelotas" by invitation to tender n<sup>o</sup>.130/2005, enabled the training of 168 people, with an age profile ranging between 18 and 60 years (Programa MONUMENTA & IPHAN, 2007:31).

Furthermore, even within the category R, restoration of the historic building which houses the Municipal Library to be used to promote culture (not registered in 2002) contributed, significantly, to the increase in this category.

In Class F, the area occupied by professionals linked to the construction in the project area was greater proportionally than in the area of influence. Restoration work on historic buildings and the revitalisation of public spaces became key drivers for increased activity in this sector.



Figure 3. Municipal Library, 2009.



Figure 4. Grand Hotel, 2008.

However, other activities saw an increase in floor space in the area of influence and a decrease in the project area. This is the case in category I - hospitality industry, M - professional, scientific and technical activity and Q - Health and social care. Category I results were a surprise, since growth in the tourism sector is a significant indicator when analysing cultural development. Fortunately, the reason why this reduction took place is known. The Grand Hotel, located in Coronel Osorio Square (project area), was temporarily acquired by Pelotas Town Council in 2003 closing it temporarily. The loss of 4.150m<sup>2</sup> of floor space occupied by the hotel in the project area adversely affected the figures, which came out negative for category I. If this hotel had continued in operation, it would have produced growth in this category. But this situation is set to change. According to information on the Council Town's website, it plans to reopen the hotel and in addition establish a training facility - a Hotel School, with professional courses at the technical, undergraduate and post-graduate levels.

Fluctuation in percentages in the different categories mentioned in this article may be linked to the amounts charged for floor space in properties located in the project area and in the area of influence, after the effects of the implemented Programme were seen. This study is being carried out in order to identify factors that may have influenced changes in land use.

With the results obtained in this investigation, it was possible to identify the closure or the emergence of local units or establishments, economic activities and the expansion of existing ones. Through the use of a georeference program, it is possible to see where those changes are happening. That is to say, an analysis at this level lets you follow market trends from the perspective of land use. Understanding these trends and these transformations is the basis for the formulation of public policies aimed at certain types of incentive activity in strategic locations in the urban space, more precisely, activities that can enhance and strengthen the recognition and preservation of historical heritage in our cities. For that reason, the results of this analysis are designed to assist in urban and regional planning by the relevant public authorities.

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> Since its creation by Law Nº.378 in 13/01/1937, SPHAN has undergone several name changes: DPHAN - National Department of Historic and Artistic Heritage in 1941, (Decree-Law Nº.8534, in 02/01/1946), IPHAN - National Institute of Historic and Artistic Heritage (Decree Nº.66967 in 27/07/1970), then SPHAN (Decree Nº.84198 in 13/11/1979), exerting regulatory function in conjunction with the National Pro-Memory Foundation, acting as the executive body. Later, it became IBPC - Brazilian Institute for Cultural Heritage (Decree Nº. 99492 in 03/09/1990), extinguishing the aforementioned bodies. Finally, it changes again into IPHAN (Provisional Measure Nº.752 in 06/12/1994), an acronym still in use today.

- <sup>2</sup> The Urban Sets of National Monuments corresponds to a group of monuments recognized by IPHAN situated outside the Historic Site, but within the urban area and maintaining close relationships (Brazil, 2006).
- <sup>3</sup> According to the provisions of the Programme's Operating Regulations (2006), the project area is the actual space that benefits from resources under the programme. It is part of the investment of public or private buildings and public spaces (streets, avenues and squares). In the municipality of Pelotas, the project area is situated on the 2<sup>nd</sup> urban zone of cultural heritage preservation, where Coronel Osório Square and surrounding buildings are located, known as the heart of Pelotas' Historic Centre.
- <sup>4</sup> The Programme's Operating Regulations (2006) provide that the area of influence is the territorial space surrounding the project area, where projects may be undertaken to ensure economic sustainability of the investment. In the municipality of Pelotas, the area of influence is located predominantly in the 1<sup>st</sup> urban zone of cultural heritage preservation, containing a set of properties with historic and cultural value.
- <sup>5</sup> The municipality is committed to maintaining the Preservation Fund for 20 years and also to add to the annual budget the minimum amount specified, appraised every two years (BRAZIL, 2006).
- <sup>6</sup> The Cultural Heritage Inventory of Pelotas, dated on December 2004, consists of a list of properties with historic, artistic, cultural and / or architectural relevance and its purpose is to preserve the complex of buildings in their urban context (PMPEL, SMC: 2007) through the Municipal Pelotas Law N<sup>o</sup>.4.568, of 07/07/2000, N<sup>o</sup>. 4778, of 04/01/2002, N<sup>o</sup>.4.803 of 12/04/2002 and Municipal Pelotas Decree N<sup>o</sup>.4.490 of 27/02/2003.
- <sup>7</sup> The area that benefited from the programme was calculated using AutoCAD 2010, based on the Urban Plan "48\_MUB Lotes.dwg", held by the Department of Memory and Heritage (Culture Division) of Pelotas Town Council.
- <sup>8</sup> The word "Tombamento" comes from "the Tower of Tombo", the Portuguese national archive, where even today important documents are held, including originals dating back as far as the ninth century. The "Tombamento" action is accomplished through administrative action, defined by Decree-Law N<sup>o</sup>. 25 of 30/11/1937. It can occur in the three spheres of government: federal, through IPHAN, the State and / or the City. Through the "Tombamento", cultural heritage is protected by a special legal regime, ensuring their existence for future generations.

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## The second wave: Aboriginal cultural centers in sustainable development

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Over the past 10 years there has been a widespread, localized, uncoordinated effort across Australia to create Aboriginal cultural centers. Generally funded by regional development bodies and/or local government, these centers focus on leveraging culture to drive human development (training, employment) while meeting a range of social and cultural goals. Among their goals are cultural events, engagement with Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal communities, and education about Aboriginal cultural knowledge. They can be differentiated from the first wave of Aboriginal art centers that began in the 1970s that were controlled by Aboriginal organizations in which the Federal government exercised influence via funding models, had the principle activity of facilitating the production and marketing of art, and tended to be in remote locations. The focus here is on an exemplar of the established, though still developing, second wave of Aboriginal cultural centers. This paper presents a hypothesis on the characteristics of the second wave of Aboriginal cultural centers and their alignment with state-defined priorities for sustainable development through the case study of an Aboriginal culture and heritage centre. Insights are drawn from key informant interviews about the creation and operation of Gwoondwardu Mia, the Gascoyne Aboriginal Heritage and Cultural Centre in Carnarvon, Western Australia.

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### Introduction

Aboriginal culture and heritage is responsible for the expansion of cultural policy into a broad range of policy areas. The success of Aboriginal art centers in generating incomes and employment in remote communities, and the entry of Aboriginal symbolism into the national iconography, had a profound and far-reaching effect on how Aboriginal heritage and culture is viewed and understood, including effects on its role in sustainable development. In this paper, we examine the case for a new model using culture and heritage within sustainable development in Australia: an uncoordinated and localized wave of Aboriginal cultural centers established since the mid-1990s.

### The cultural policy context in Australia

Cultural policy analyst Jennifer Craik characterizes Australia's cultural policy as a neo-patronage approach towards elite arts, where an arms-length state-funded organization determines funding via peer evaluation that almost always protects the status quo, and an instrumentalist whole of government approach across agencies to non-elite arts and culture that were included in cultural policy from the 1960s (2007). The characteristics of Indigenous cultural policy were heavily influenced by the expansion of cultural policy. Indigenous culture has been the focus of a range of policy areas at the Federal level; the environment (Indigenous heritage), social services (use of arts programs), and languages and a range of arts programs. It has also been a focus of tourism strategies.<sup>1</sup> Indigenous culture's attraction to policy makers

at the Federal level has been replicated at all levels of government, leading to a wide range of policies that aim to satisfy a variety of policy goals.

A second development with implications for Aboriginal cultural centers is the use of culture in regional development programs. The role of culture in urban and regional development, particularly through ideas like the creative classes (Florida, 2002) the creative city (Landry, 2006; Landry & Biancini, 1995) and creative industries (Cunningham, 2002; Hartley, 2005; Venturelli, 2001), has increased the scope for state investment in culture and the arts in urban locations. Regional areas have also sought to take advantage of these trends through their capacity to use consumption, particularly tourism as a driver for jobs and growth (see for instance in Germany, (Drda-Kuhn & Wiegand, 2010), and for a global study across the USA, Australia and Europe, Duxbury (2009)). Gibson (2002) identifies tourism as crucial for understanding regional cultural industries in the Far North Coast of New South Wales due to its ability to fund infrastructure and reinforce regional identity. The expansion of cultural policy, particularly into urban and regional development, provides part of the background to the emergence of a number of publicly funded Aboriginal cultural initiatives in the last decade. In order to understand why Aboriginal culture is now perceived as a potential driver of development we examine Aboriginal art centers.

### **Aboriginal arts centres and their influence on cultural policy**

The Aboriginal art centers set the context for the cultural centers their success by establishing that Indigenous culture was a viable driver of commercial, social and cultural benefits. An analysis of Aboriginal cultural centers needs to both recognize the importance of the history and experiences of the art centers and be distinguishable from them. Prior to the 1970s, Aboriginal cultural objects were only perceived as art when they fit European conventions (such as bark paintings) and only then through a redefinition of art that started in museums (such as painted shields and other tools), so many objects were ignored or were not collectable (Morphy, 1998). In 1971, Aboriginal Arts and Crafts Pty Ltd was established and played a key role in establishing credible outlets for Aboriginal art. This organization controlled the supply of art by buying and holding all of the art, with the purpose of creating a market, albeit one that could only absorb a portion of the art produced. In 1972, self-determination became the central element of Indigenous policy, and the Aboriginal Arts Board (AAB) in the Australia Council was established. This all-Aboriginal board was accompanied by a new type of arts bureaucrat, entrepreneurial and focused on supporting and implementing the priorities of Aborigines, including buying much of the art in the 1970s (Myers, 2002). Hence at the time the first art centers emerged, the two key sets of policy priorities around the art centers viewed them as economic enterprises, and as a means for self-determination and Aboriginal expression.

The AAB's values and financial support were crucial contributions to what Altman calls the "arts centre model" (2005, p. 6). This model employed non-Aboriginal arts advisors (also called arts centre managers) who were directly accountable to the artists. Altman's (2005) description concurs with Felicity Wright and Frances Morphy's more focused definition that identified their "principal activity [as] facilitating the production and marketing of art and craft" (Wright & Morphy, 2000, p. ix), although he also notes the existence of a small number of urban centers (2005). (2005, p. 6)(2005, p. 6) To be successful, the art centers have to bridge geographical and cultural divides while satisfying the requirements of artists, policy makers and the market. The relationship between these elements has shifted over time.

The AAB (now the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Arts Board—ATSIB) in the Australia Council focused its resources on specific projects, arts promotion and professional development for individual artists. During the boom years of 1981 to 1989 (Myers 2002) economic rationalization came to dominate the administration of art centers. Exhibition and retail successes led to the entry of Aboriginal art into public collections and international exhibitions, and an association of Aboriginal symbolism with Australian cultural nationalism. The state's policy emphasis became increasingly on the arts and crafts industry, rather than on arts as an activity of cultural preservation. Myers characterizes the third period, from 1989-2000 as a "privatization period" (2002, p. 124), shaped by the establishment of a calibrated market for Aboriginal fine art. The changes of 1989 ultimately resulted in less control for art centers and continued issues of quality for dealers as the market suffered from an "entrepreneurial free for all" (Myers, 2002, p. 315), including a growth in highly questionable business practices that divided artists from their communities and took advantage of their immediate need. According to the 2007 Senate Standing Committee report, there were 110 art centers in Australia, supporting the greater part of the 5000 arts producers whose work sells for between \$400-500 million (Standing Committee on Environment Communications Information Technology and the Arts, 2007), although this is lower now due to a downturn following the start of the Global Financial Crisis in 2008.<sup>11</sup>

This provides an outline of the policy context and developments in the governance of art centers, but does not communicate art centers' range of tasks and goals. In the Standing Committee report (Standing Committee on Environment Communications Information Technology and the Arts, 2007), Desart presented the most complete list of art centers' roles: cultural and identity maintenance; places where culture and law is respected and renewed; a place of work and earning income; distributor to a range of markets; strengthening the community through youth, health and social activities; places of learning where artists teach, and artists and staff learn artistic and administrative skills; and places of respite, care and informal support particularly for older people and women (2007, p. 31). Other submissions added conservation of art work, educating the broader community, and contributing to

Aboriginal control and self management. The Standing Committee report (2007) and Wright and Morphy (2000) draw attention to issues of governance, staff training, staff retention and infrastructure funding. For the art centre executives (largely composed of senior artists and custodians), Wright and Morphy found that less importance was attached to income and the centers were seen primarily as cultural institutions, emphasizing cultural maintenance, facilitating artists, and the production of art (2000).

The attractiveness of art centers to governments, like Aboriginal cultural enterprises more generally, are their capacity to satisfy a range of policy goals, including regional development, reconciliation, supporting regional and national symbolism, and Indigenous development. While these goals are broad and encompassing, some shared characteristics can be identified. First, they are Aboriginal controlled and directed. Initially and even in 2000 when *The Art and Craft Centre Story* was published, the definition of an Aboriginal art centre included Aboriginal ownership (Wright, 2000). Given the creation of most of the art centres before 2000, the majority are still Aboriginal owned. While this is accurate, it is not a strict limitation. As documented in *The Art and Craft Centre Story Volume 3: Good Stories from Out Bush* (Wright, 2000), the larger art centres also ran museums, tourism ventures and undertook sophisticated marketing and training projects often with public and private sector partners and funding.

Third, they produce a range of benefits for their employees, artists and communities, not just financial returns. Fourth, their intercultural role as mediators between Indigenous and non-Indigenous cultures and priorities shapes their characteristics as institutions and creates a deal of tension in the position of the arts advisor or centre manager. Fifth, they are for the vast majority reliant on government support in order to operate, which comes from Federal sources in particular Federal funding through Department of the Arts (DOFTA) and a work for government subsidy<sup>iii</sup> scheme. However, art centers will also seek funding from other sources. Now we turn to the case study to see the degree to which an Aboriginal cultural centre differs from an Aboriginal arts centre.

## **The case study: Gwoonwardu Mia Gascoyne aboriginal heritage and culture centre**

### **Methods**

The objective we pursue here is to determine the characteristics of an Aboriginal Cultural Centre's (ACC) establishment and activities, before determining if that centre can be distinguished from the Aboriginal Art centers, and if there are grounds for further study of ACCs. The cultural centre used as the case study is the Gwoonwardu Mia Gascoyne Aboriginal Heritage and Culture Centre, located in Carnarvon in the Northwest of Western Australia. We came to an agreement with Gwoonwardu Mia's board and Indigenous Reference Group to assess its operations and social and cultural impacts in Carnarvon.

We began by examining existing documentation on Gwoonwardu Mia, including meeting minutes and planning documents. Second, we undertook 21 interviews with 23 respondents, people who were involved in Gwoonwardu Mia's activities. This covered people with a range of engagement including: board members, Indigenous Reference Group members, past and present employees, key people who were involved at the beginning of establishing Gwoonwardu Mia artists, employees of the key funding body, and people involved with the training programs. This included 15 Aboriginal and six non-Aboriginal people, all of who were or are involved in Gwoonwardu Mia. Respondents received a fact sheet, gave written consent to participate, had the goals of the research clearly explained to them, and were informed of their right to withdraw at any time. All respondents received copies of the transcript of their interview to verify its accuracy. One respondent chose to withdraw her interview on reviewing the transcript.

The interviews were semi-structured and based around an interview schedule. The interview schedule included two categories of questions: questions about the establishment of Gwoonwardu Mia; and questions on its social and cultural impacts including its current, planned and potential roles and activities. Interviews were recorded, and ranged in length from 30 minutes to 90 minutes.

### **Background**

The history of Gwoonwardu Mia is the history of the Aboriginal people who live in the Murchison and Gascoyne regions of Western Australia (Tindale, 1974).<sup>iv</sup> The five language groups whose cultures are now presented in Gwoonwardu Mia are the Inggarda, Baiyungu, Talanji, Thudgarri and Mulgana. The Inggarda language group is widely accepted as the custodians for the land that includes Carnarvon, which has ongoing implications for Gwoonwardu Mia and language group politics in Carnarvon.

Carnarvon is located 904 kilometres north of Perth, the capital of the state of Western Australia, on the river mouth of the subterranean (except in times of flood) Gascoyne River. Carnarvon has suffered from the declining returns from primary industries since the 1970s, with many in the town still employed in agriculture (primarily horticulture) and fishing. The largest economic shift has been the increasing importance of the tourism industry. For the year ending September 2008, there were 179 352 tourists to the shires of Carnarvon and Exmouth with an estimated expenditure of \$141 million (Jones et al., 2011), making tourism the dominant economic activity. The primary attractions of the region as a whole are related to the Ningaloo reef, beautiful coastline and beaches, attracting a high proportion (25.3%) of

international visitors (Jones, Hughes, Wood, Lewis, & Chandler, 2009). The town of Carnarvon does not have easy access to either Ningaloo Reef or an iconic beach. However, all visitors driving from Perth to the region and beyond must travel through Carnarvon as it is located on the only major coastal highway, and it sits between the Shark Bay and Ningaloo Coast world heritage areas.

Regional development initiatives have been important for both Carnarvon and Gwoonwardu Mia. The Liberal-National conservative government introduced a development commissions initiative in 1993 as a response to effects from the deregulation of parts of the Australian economy in the 1980s, and due to the influence of the National Party leader Hendy Cowan, who was also the Minister for Commerce and Trade and Deputy Premier (Glasson, Jennings, & Wood, 1997). The purpose of the RDCs can be broadly summarized as stimulating regional employment, investment, coordination and development (Glasson, et al., 1997). The Gascoyne Development Commission (GDC) is one of nine RDCs in Western Australia. The introduction of the Royalties for Regions funding scheme following the 2008 elections also strengthened the position of the GDC as it administrated the scheme in the region.<sup>v</sup> The *Gascoyne Regional Development Plan 2010-2020* (Gascoyne Development Commission (GDC), 2010), developed by the GDC and the region's four Shires, underlines the GDC's role in coordinating and stimulating economic development. "Positive outcomes for Indigenous people" is one of 19 priorities for the region. Gwoonwardu Mia is mentioned specifically as an organization that connects Aboriginal residents with tourism and training.

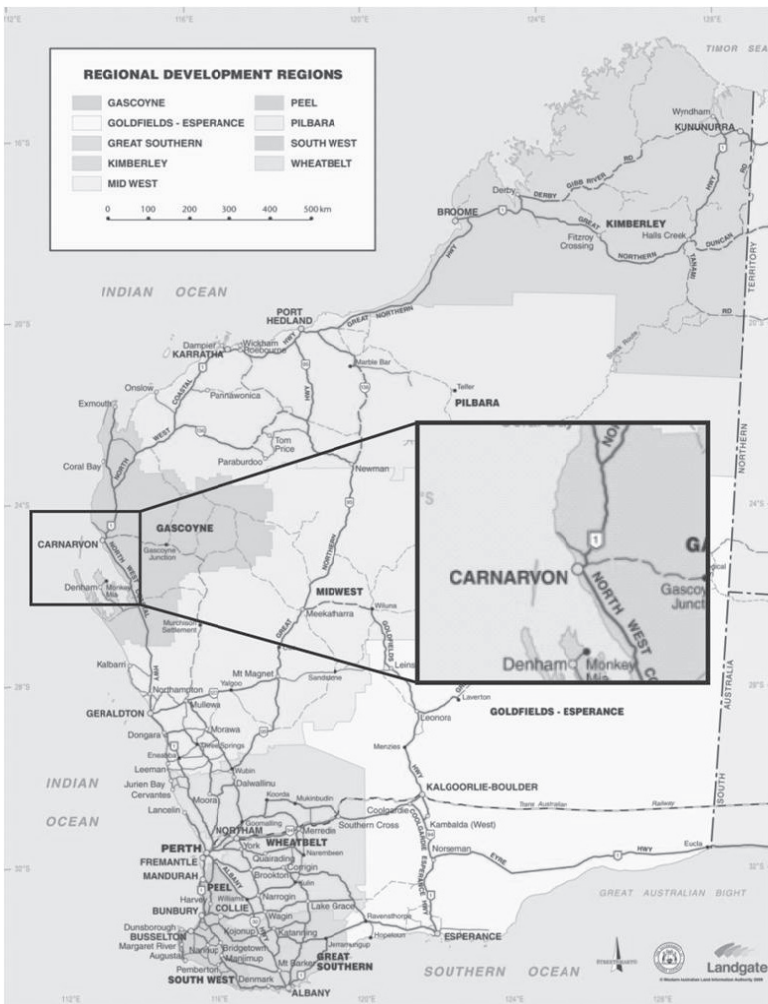


Figure 1. The regional development regions of Western Australia with Carnarvon inset.

### ***Gwoonwardu Mia***

The idea for Gwoonwardu Mia began in the early 1990s with a group of Aboriginal elders who later formed the Gnulli Group of native title claimants, and discussions with the Gascoyne Development Commission (GDC) who were charged with assisting Aboriginal economic development. Kieran Kinsella, the first CEO of the GDC, had previously worked in acquisition of pastoral lands for Indigenous groups. In his interview, he described a meeting where the elders met with Minister for Commerce and Trade, Hendy Cowan:

[We] had Hendy Cowan coming to town for another matter, but we had that meeting. [...] We had lunch around the board table. Hendy was there and he just sat and listened to them. One by one they got confidence. They ended up going on the white board and one guy started by drawing his country, then they all followed suit. At the end of it, maybe it was an hour and a half after lunch they all had fun. Hendy treated them with great respect, and they all left, and Hendy turned to me and said you can have whatever money you need to get this going. So we got \$50 000 out of Hendy, and we employed some consultants to work with us and the steering committee to develop a brief for what should be in the centre, what's all happened. (Interview P22, 7 November 2011)

Through native title negotiations over a new estate in Carnarvon, a Land Use Agreement was put in place that provided the land for an Aboriginal cultural centre, \$4.7 million in funding for building and running costs for 3 years, and an Aboriginal Economic Development Officer who was employed through the GDC beginning in 1997. These developments indicate the importance of both shifts in regional development, and the influence of native title in providing access and funding to Aboriginal custodians for cultural projects. The officer, Rowena Mitchell, and a group of people through steering committees and then an Aboriginal Corporation called Piyarli Yardi created in 2001, spoke to numerous groups, designed the building, and saw it constructed. However, two sets of conflicts prevented Piyarli Yardi from opening the building in 2005 when it was completed and ultimately delayed its opening until 2009.

The first was within the Indigenous community, where Inggarda elders and other groups felt disenfranchised from the process of creating a cultural centre. A number of interviews indicated Carnarvon has been the location of other organizations that have been captured by family interests. The second conflict was between Piyarli Yardi and the GDC, particularly after the appointment of a new CEO who had little experience in Aboriginal issues. This led to the resignation of Rowena Mitchell (Interview C19, 2 August 2011) and PYAC writing to the responsible Minister, Tom Stephens, stating their intention to end all business relations with the GDC. Attempts were made in 2004 and 2005 to reconcile the groups.<sup>vi</sup> In 2005 the new Minister for the Gascoyne, Jon Ford, assumed responsibility for the cultural centre and introduced a new management structure that is still in place. The Board consists of three Aboriginal and three non-Aboriginal members, and a Reference group of 15 Aboriginal representatives, three from each language group, advises the board. Kieran Kinsella was appointed by the Minister as the Chair, along with three Aboriginal elders, the Shire's CEO and a well-respected local non-Aboriginal businessman. While the Board has been very engaged, the reference group has a small number of committed members. The Board and Reference Group changed the name to Gwoonwardu Mia, which means Carnarvon, or the place where two waters meet (Interview C7, 28 July 2011).

The objects of association, largely taken from Piyarli Yardi, are very broad, but still provide the basis of the vision of the centre:

To establish "a common meeting place for the people of the Gascoyne Region where lives are enriched, Aboriginal culture is recognized and practiced, quality employment and business enterprises operate and where youth are actively engaged in creating their own future." (Gwoonwardu Mia Gascoyne Heritage and Cultural Centre, 2009)<sup>vii</sup>

The more focused "Core Activities" (see Table 1) from the 2009-2010 strategic plan indicate the priority areas for the centre, and provide a means of assessing what has been achieved since its opening. The goal of being a "meeting place" is achieved through the success of the other functions and its place in the Carnarvon community.

Table 1. Table 1: Core activities from Gwoonwardu Mia Strategic Plan 2009-2010

1	Meeting Place
2	Conference / Function facility
3	Outdoor Performance area
4	Café
5	Business Incubators
6	Retail/Gallery Shop
7	Artist in Residence Space and Display area
8	Major Gallery – permanent Interpretive exhibition
9	3D audio visual Gallery
10	Ethnobotanical Gardens

Conference/function facility (1) and outdoor performance area (2) have been functioning since 2009. The first Centre Manager, Lorraine Hayden, oversaw a high-quality fit out with the most advanced

meeting facilities in Carnarvon. The outdoor space consists of a large grass area, surrounded by small gardens and a high thatch fence, and has a stage. The outdoor space is free for Aboriginal groups out of hours, and the conference facilities has hire rates due to the costs incurred in cleaning and maintenance. Gwoonwardu Mia is not open when there are large events out of hours due to the staffing levels required and costs incurred. However, this works well in that the interior space is not suited to large numbers, and the outdoor space is robust. Events and meetings are essential for attracting people to Gwoonwardu Mia, but in different ways. Events were often commented on for the variety of people they attracted:

The outdoor space seems to be essential as well. That's another space where you get this interaction between Aboriginal people and non-Aboriginal people (Interview C21, 2 August 2011)

Meetings raise Gwoonwardu Mia's profile and are a revenue stream:

It's beginning to be a focal point for the whole of Carnarvon. People now tend to use the CC because of the state of the art meeting rooms. Sometimes they have a couple of hundred people at a meeting. Not just Aboriginal people, government, pastoral, Ministers often visit there and have their meetings. (Interview C17, 2 August 2011)

Hence the building design, staffing issues and quality of the fit out have combined to shape the use of the space. Staff have also assisted in generating Aboriginal activities, particularly events. An Aboriginal lady who coordinated an event stated:

I will say they opened that whole centre up to NAIDOC and they allowed me to do NAIDOC two years in a row without paying one cent. And when I did get funding, Justine [the Centre Manager] was there to acquit the money for me. It went straight into the CC account and Justine did that. (Interview C11, 30/7/11).

An important element to remember is that the assessment took place in 2011, less than three years after Gwoonwardu Mia opened and before all of its infrastructure and staff training had been completed. Hence these facilities, and the other elements assessed below, were not at their full capacity.

Gwoonwardu Mia incorporates a café (4), which is open from 10.30am to 3.30pm (the same opening hours as the shop). The cafe opened in the first year and two chefs were contracted to run it and provide training to Aboriginal employees. The quality of the food was very high and it immediately attracted a following and made Gwoonwardu Mia the location of the Durack Institute of Technology's hospitality training for young Aboriginal people. While the original couple left Carnarvon after attempting to open a training restaurant, an ongoing relationship has been formed with Durack to continue the training and Gwoonwardu Mia have taken over operation of the cafe. Training is now provided by the company of celebrity chef Don Hansie, with Durack providing the training certification. The cafe is also the first restaurant in Carnarvon to attract large numbers of Aboriginals, and one of the only venues where Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals eat together.

I love going down there and seeing the cafe with both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people in there. There's local Aboriginal people having lunch, there's the tourists, there might be a table of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people having lunch together. That always gladdens my heart. You don't see that in very many places to be honest, even places that have large Aboriginal populations. That's what the cultural centre should be about. (Interview C21, 2 August 2011)

Aboriginal trainees have gone on to work in other food venues in Carnarvon.

Gwoonwardu Mia has also led to an Aboriginal art revival in Carnarvon. While the Artist in Residence program is the relevant activity (7), the facilities that relate to artists include sourcing work and assisting with pricing, running a gallery shop (6), and assisting with artists' administration. The influence of Gwoonwardu Mia is perhaps best captured by their role with the Jillinbirri Weavers, a group of three Aboriginal women who weave a variety of different objects. The Weavers began working in a community house first with Karen Collins, then with an Arts Development Officer, Sarah Trant. When Sarah left Carnarvon, the Weavers became the first artists in residence at Gwoonwardu Mia, and one of the Weavers, Toni Roe, received funding from Gwoonwardu Mia and the Department of Culture and the Arts (DCA) to work full-time in Gwoonwardu Mia facilitating the Weavers' activities. This now includes entering numerous competitions, trips to New Zealand and Alice Springs for conferences, an artist in residence program in Albany and running a weaving workshop in Geraldton. The administration for the weavers was managed through Gwoonwardu Mia. Gwoonwardu Mia was also the location of the Carnarvon Arts Show in 2010, which had a large Aboriginal contingent, and the top prize was won by Gwoonwardu Mia affiliated Aboriginal artist Ruby MacIntosh. Three artists were located through Gwoonwardu Mia and invited to exhibit and participate in the Revealed Exhibition held in conjunction with CHOGM in Perth, 2011. Aboriginal artists have benefitted from the encouragement and the presence of an outlet for their work. Two artists stated that previously the art had been 'stacked up' in their bedrooms and that Gwoonwardu Mia was an appropriate place for their work. The venue itself caters primarily for tourist art, and that is what sells. It generates supplementary income for artists:

You don't make that much but if you're thinking OK my rates are coming up soon, it's going to cost me \$600. If I make half a dozen sets of beads, then that money I can put aside, and when the rates do come up, I have money set aside without having to go into my pension. (Interview C6 27 July 2011).

This success has occurred without any formal training programs for artists, or even a dedicated space for them to practice. The Artist in Residency program has been limited by the absence of artists studios. While the weavers were quite flexible in their practice, another artist in residence found the space difficult to use:

It's a nice atmosphere but it's too professional here. It's a workplace you know. I go home and everything is on the floor. You know what I mean? If I could just chuck my paint on the floor and sit down, I'd be right, but it's too professional here. I feel like I can't make a mess, and I always want to just run amok. (Interview C8, 29 July 2011)

The Board and management have responded to this situation by sourcing the designs for men and women's artist studios and are in the process of applying for funding. This would include a position that operates more like an Arts Adviser in an Arts Centre.

Plans for the two galleries (8 and 9) are underway and the permanent Aboriginal Heritage display in the main gallery should be open by June 2012. Funded by Lotteries WA, heritage research has been undertaken by Maryanne Albrook and Malcolm Jebb, and has been described by one elder as "a history in our words" (Interview C7, 28 July 2011). Members of the Board and Reference Group are very excited about the display, and anticipate that it will address the wishes of one of the original men who spoke to Hendy Cowan, to have a place where his children and grandchildren could learn about "where they fit in the universe and the Aboriginal global universe" (Interview C21, 2 August 2011). The ethnobotanical gardens (10) are being developed in conjunction with well-known gardening expert and commentator Sabrina Hahn. The Business Incubators (5) consist of two computers and carrels located in the Gallery Shop. While there have been close calls, they have not been taken up for use by an Aboriginal start-up. The Board has rejected other offers for use from existing organizations.

Employment and training in the Centre has been facilitated by funding from the Indigenous Coordination Centre (ICC) to train Aboriginal staff. This has enabled Gwoonwardu Mia to employ six people on a part time basis for four years, facilitating the creation of individual training plans for staff. Gwoonwardu Mia has been quite successful compared to other training providers in retaining staff, and staff have gone on to full time work with other businesses. However, working with people who have not generally previously had long-term employment creates staffing difficulties for the Centre Manager. There is flexibility for staff when managing family issues and an emphasis on communication. The Centre Manager position is also quite stressful and demands high levels of cross cultural understanding and communication, and high-level administrative skills. Staff also commented on the opportunities that working at Gwoonwardu Mia provides for cultural learning.

Funding for Gwoonwardu Mia has been from a variety of sources, many of them coordinated through the GDC. The original \$4.7 million was insufficient due to cost increases caused by delays in the project, and the original model was predicated on the existence of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC), the peak Indigenous body that was disbanded in 2005. The Chair of the Board stated:

[As] it came down it got more expensive. Rather than get more money, they started to chop stuff off it. It was chop the landscaping, chop the fit out. So here you were, the most vulnerable group, you were setting them up to fail. We proved that it was \$1.8 million dollars. The first thing that I sat down was to say to get the place to work will be to get the centre open. Let's say it was \$2 million short, and if not for Royalties for Region, we would be a long way short of where we are. (Interview P22, 7 November 2011)

Money has been sourced for the fit out (Regional Development Scheme), business incubation pods and office and IT equipment (Lotteries West), the landscaping (Department for Local Government and Regional Development) and establishing the permanent heritage display (Lotteries West and Royalties for Regions). The ICC funding for staffing is also substantial. The Centre Manager is employed through the GDC, which provides a sufficient guarantee to attract quality applicants. Income streams are derived from the core activities, and will increase over time, particularly once the permanent exhibition is established. There was broad agreement amongst respondents that it was unrealistic to expect a Cultural Centre like Gwoonwardu Mia to cover its costs. The business case for Gwoonwardu Mia relies on tourism to generate revenue and broader regional returns, which also links with the place of Gwoonwardu Mia in GDC plans to connect Aboriginals to tourism and training in services (Gascoyne Development Commission (GDC), 2010).

The presence of Gwoonwardu Mia has influenced the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal communities in Carnarvon in four key ways. First, it is a "cultural place" where Aboriginal culture, heritage and traditions are respected. One of the Aboriginal board members stated:

The involvement of the local traditional people on the ground has to be a very integral part of its whole functionality. Lose that, I think you start to lose site of the cultural aspects of the centre, of a building like that. You would never want to lose that and forget about those sort of people. It's the authority, it's the heartbeat, it's the bloodline of information that people want to know about. Whilst these other things can be part of it, that I think is crucial to its whole being. (Interview C17, 2 August 2011)

Gwoonwardu Mia is a place where cultural knowledge was discussed, imparted to Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal residents, and where tourists felt able to ask about Aboriginal connections and perspectives. Hence it is not a place in its current configuration where transfer of cultural knowledge

between Aboriginal generations is programmed, but it functions to encourage such transfers by continuing a value shift towards culture within Aboriginal communities. Second, its establishment caused friction within the Aboriginal community. There is much talk of reconciling the different groups so that the community could be united in support of the centre, particularly amongst Board members, and some of those people are now using Gwoonwardu Mia for meetings and events. Third, it has been a place where non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal people form relationships, particularly around events, meetings and the cafe. Perspectives from the non-Aboriginal community were initially negative due to the length of time the building was not used. However, opinions turned around quickly following the opening and the "big first year" (Interview C13, 1 August 2011), including a number of people dropping artifacts they had at home into Gwoonwardu Mia. Finally, it has created two new positions in Carnarvon linking Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people for positive local outcomes. It has linked creative and capable Centre Managers with Aboriginal people who are undertaking cultural and other initiatives. It has also created an informal cultural interpreter and custodian position within Gwoonwardu Mia for an Inggarda person. This person, who recently passed away, became a facilitator for Aboriginal people through her invitation to use the Centre, and a range of non-Aboriginal people. The current Centre Manager said of her:

She is a remarkable individual, no question. She does that with people across the board, so absolutely with other language groups in that comfort in being welcomed to the centre. She does it with tourists, she does it with government. (Interview C13, 1 August 2011)

The picture that emerges from this description is a functioning cultural centre in its establishment phase that is dealing with politics within the Aboriginal community it serves.

### **Comparing Gwoonwardu Mia and the Arts Centres: is this a second wave?**

Gwoonwardu Mia differs from Aboriginal Art centers in a number of ways. First, it is not an Aboriginal corporation and the Board is not entirely Aboriginal. Instead, it has a mixed model and incorporates a reference group. This reflects a broader change away from Aboriginal self-determination in policy to self-responsibility. However, the attempt at a structure that was entirely Aboriginal and the history of capture in Carnarvon should be acknowledged, as well as the success of the mixed-model. While these models do entail less control, they can help address problems of partiality when family groups become involved in corporate governance. Second, Gwoonwardu Mia's design and spread of activity indicates that the production of art and craft is not its primary activity. Assisting artists and providing an outlet for local Aboriginal art is one of its activities. Its primary function as a "meeting place" is fulfilled primarily through its provision of high quality spaces and services run by Aboriginal staff for hospitality, events and functions. Gwoonwardu Mia provides a range of benefits for the Indigenous community in the form of training, administrative assistance and resources. It probably does not function as a 'place of respite' to the extent of the Art centers in remote communities, probably because other institutions fulfil this function in Carnarvon. As cultural centres are more likely to be located in larger locations that are tourist destinations or on tourist routes, they are less likely to provide social services and more likely to generate benefits through bridging social divides (bridging social capital). Both are focused on cultural and identity maintenance through their activities. Gwoonwardu Mia does have a strong "intercultural" role through the way it trains Aboriginals in providing high quality services. Like the Art centers, the Centre Manager absorbs much of the tension, in this case between the demands and pressures of Aboriginal life in Carnarvon and work demands. Finally, Gwoonwardu Mia is likely to continue to be reliant on state funding, but through different funding sources (the GDC and the ICC for staffing costs). It points towards a new alliance between regional development, arts and culture funding and Indigenous training services.

These structural and functional differences are linked to differences both within the Aboriginal community in Carnarvon and to the circumstances of its establishment in the 1990s. The elders who initiated the Cultural Centre expressed a desire for cultural and identity maintenance within Gwoonwardu Mia, which is also expressed within the functions of Art centers that are also cultural spaces. However, they also placed greater emphasis on enterprise creation and training. The building design facilitated cultural maintenance through exhibition and events spaces rather than arts practice, and the emphasis now is training Aboriginals to be employed in the services economy and facilitating cultural activities. The GDC is oriented towards regional development. It did introduce some of the elements that assisted the emergence of the art centers, most notably entrepreneurial staff who were able to facilitate a cultural initiative of a group of elders. To place this in a larger shift in regional Australia, the GDC has assisted Gwoonwardu Mia as a cultural organization that links Aboriginals into the post-industrial shift in thriving regional communities towards services, particularly to tourists.

Gwoonwardu Mia is an example of an Aboriginal cultural organization that provides a range of services to visitors, leveraging Aboriginal culture to provide employment and training while also being a place for culture and identity maintenance. The final question we address here is to briefly canvas if there are a number of similar Aboriginal cultural centers in Australia. A report in 2009 reviewed three ACCs in Western Australia and five in the rest of Australia (Centre for Aboriginal Studies, 2009). However, this was not a comprehensive report. A desktop survey completed for this study located 35 cultural centers across Australia who undertook a range of activities encompassing those undertaken by Gwoonwardu Mia and also including tourist accommodation, cultural awareness training, cultural tours, and dance performances, and use a variety of models including working with local government and a private commercial operation.

Across Australia, including in the Torres Strait, alliances between different parts and scales of government and the keepers of culture in Aboriginal communities have built larger Indigenous cultural institutions without coordination or formal communication between the regions. This most likely links to shifts in attitudes in Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal communities, native title rulings in 1992 (Mabo) and 1996 (Wik) that provided a resource and negotiation base for Aboriginal custodians across Australia, and shifting planning and funding priorities and approaches as the regional level. The creation of these institutions has largely gone unnoticed in Australia where research has focussed at the industry level (such as fine arts (Altman, 2007) or music (C. Gibson & Connell, 2004)) or on policies (such as the upcoming national cultural policy). However, the regional level is sufficiently contained that Aboriginal language groups can still organise effectively and sufficiently large for substantial sums of money to be available. A comprehensive Australia-wide survey would provide a more detailed picture of the accommodations that have taken place at the regional scale, and would clarify the early conclusions drawn here about what is an exciting occurrence: the development of large scale regional cultural institutions where custodians and advocates of Aboriginal culture have achieved access to the resources and expertise to create spaces at the cutting edge of architecture, heritage display and community facilitation.

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## Endnotes

<sup>i</sup> Most recently, increasing the supply of labour, skills and Indigenous participation was a key plank of the *National Long Term Tourism Strategy*.

<sup>ii</sup> A recent report into Australian Aboriginal art centres based on Aboriginal corporation reporting indicates that those centres (not all art centres are Aboriginal corporations) have seen their art sale revenue decline between 2007 and 2011 by 52.1 percent (Australian Government Office of the Registrar of Indigenous Corporations, 2012). However, it should be noted that 2007 was an extremely strong year for Aboriginal art sales, representing the peak of a number of years of growth.

<sup>iii</sup> CDEP

<sup>iv</sup> The Yamatji region overlaps with the Gascoyne region, which is the settler name for the area covering the Shires of Shark Bay, Carnarvon, Exmouth and Upper Gascoyne, approximately 700 Kilometres north of the capital city of Perth.

<sup>v</sup> The Royalties for Regions scheme was an initiative of the Western Australian National Party, which held the balance of power following the 2008 election. It aims to return 25 percent of the State's mining and petroleum royalties to regional areas.

<sup>vi</sup> This included a meeting facilitated by Fred Chaney in November 2005.

<sup>vii</sup> The quotations are in the original, indicating its basis in the Objects of Association.

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