



Cultural Heritage and Development in the Arab World

Editors

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Foreword

Ismail Serageldin

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Foreword

Ismail Serageldin

Cultural heritage is the outcome of human experiences within a dynamic social context. Its tangible and intangible aspects are among the most fundamental sources of social solidarity, world views, beliefs, practices, and aspirations. It is the basis of social mobility and the matrix within which change is facilitated. As such, cultural heritage cannot be ignored in any serious effort toward human and economic development.

Arab heritage, one of the main strands of world heritage, is rich and diverse. It represents, with all its myriad manifestations, a cultural capital that can be mobilized, at a time of radical political and economic changes in the region and the world as a whole, as a means of enhancing prosperity and as a foundation for effective and productive dialogue among nations.

Cultural Heritage and Development in the Arab World is an important contribution to the ongoing social developments in the region. It is the first volume that canvasses the tremendous potential of cultural heritage in shaping the future of the Arab World. The contributors did not shy from exposing the problematics of cultural heritage management in the Arab World, but they have also been clear about the actions needed to valorize and mobilize heritage. Their work spells out strategies and mechanisms that aim to protect, preserve, conserve, and mobilize heritage for development within a view that reaches beyond short economic gains toward sustainable development that ensures the dignity, capability, and creativity of the peoples of the region, as well as the integrity and viability of the diverse environmental habitats and cultural landscapes.

Cultural Heritage and Development in the Arab World is a call for action, a call for a reconsideration of the past with all its manifestations from proverbs, festivals, and arts to the visible emblems of ancient great civilizations.

These manifestations are not to be regarded as “antiques” or “treasures” for the enjoyment of certain segments of society and visitors from abroad, but as an inheritance of moral and social values and norms that can be effectively mobilized for a better future, and for a better understanding of the role of each individual in contributing to the making of a good society and a world of peace and prosperity.

Introduction

Fekri Hassan and Mohsen Youssef

Cultural resources range from imposing monuments to live performances of traditional music and dance. In a changing world, these resources are subject to the ravages of economic developments that often fail to take into consideration the tangible and intangible benefits that can be accrued from mobilizing cultural resources as assets for both economic and human development. To make matters worse, many development projects consider historical or archaeological remains as a nuisance, and regard traditional crafts and practices as outmoded and a hindrance to “progress”. Contributions in this volume emphatically recognize the developmental role of cultural heritage and its vital importance for the success of economic projects, the direct economic benefits that can be derived from proper management of cultural assets, and the value of cultural heritage as a means of developing human resources. The overall theme of heritage and development is approached by Fekri Hassan, while the specific topic of the link between heritage and economic development is handled by anthropologist Michael Cernea, who is among the few pioneers in the field of heritage and development. His experience in developing heritage-related financing policies of the World Bank for the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region, which overlaps with the Arab world”, is reflected in his contribution, which has broader implications beyond that region. Cernea is clear about the importance of cultural heritage as a resource for social and economic development. He is equally clear about the value of cultural heritage as a “Public Good”. He calls for more generous allocations of funds to protect and conserve it for the benefit of current and future generations. He also provides a framework

of assigning a value to cultural heritage assets as a key element toward improving economic methodologies of heritage management.

The importance of an examination of cultural heritage and development in the Arab World cannot be over-emphasized at this juncture in the history of the region and the political and economical currents that are sweeping the world from China to Brazil. The regional and global transformations underway require a serious examination of the mind-sets (schemata) that have influenced humanity over the last centuries leading to the current situation in order to assess the potential for accommodating change and participating in the ongoing global developments. Mind-sets influence the way people see themselves and others, and how they make decisions in a changing world. At times of dramatic change and uncertainty people are likely to cling to traditional beliefs and practices, often without re-examining their suitability for coping with new situations. The tendency to cling to the past and sometimes to adhere to its formulae represents a flight mechanism and an escapism to the comfort of what has been tried in the past, following the Arab saying: *Elli ti'rafu absan min elli ma t'rafoush* (what or whom you know is better than he/what you do not know). As such, tradition provides patterns of knowing and acting under uncertainty. This may often be a good thing, but at times this conservative policy may lead to a denial of the present and blindness to novel opportunities and solutions.

In the Arab world, the current tendency among some groups to be entrenched in parochial and militant interpretations of Islam with explicit reference to the Islamic past represents a rigid and narrowly focused reaction to the political and economic hegemony of the West. This leads to a confrontational strategy that in turn deepens and solidifies pre-existing western stereotypical views of Arabs and Moslems. Such views were the result of a history of political confrontations between European countries and the Ottoman Empire, which came in the wake of the Crusades when armies from Europe were bent on achieving a stronghold in the Holy Land and neighboring countries. More recently, the 19th century witnessed the occupation of many Arab countries by European powers shaping the politics and nationalist yearnings in the Arab world since that time and rekindling memories of distant historical events.

On both sides, the historical relationships have been used by extremists to represent no more than competition and at times deadly combat for power, land and souls (Huntington 1996). This view not only overlooks the mutually beneficial contacts between Arabic-speaking countries and Europe, but also the history of such contacts before the rise of Christianity and Islam. The conflation of countries in North Africa and the so-called Middle East or Near East with an “Arab World” and an Islamic world, used both by Arabic-speaking countries as well as Europeans is rather unfortunate because it tends to obviate the multiple affiliations and the different Pre-Islamic cultural backgrounds of “Arab” countries, leads to the notion that the Arab world is “ethnically Arab” and that the Arabic-speaking countries are homogeneous or ought to be categorized and ruled as “Islamic” countries. These kinds of confusions both inside and outside the MENA region (Middle East and North Africa) have led at times to a reconfiguration of the past to fit political agendas that either paint the peoples of the region as backward, fanatical, and ignorant or characterize the region as a single nation of Moslems whose heritage is solely Islamic and Arabic.

The political context of heritage is often overlooked but we deem it essential for any serious discussion of any aspect of heritage in the Arab World, a term which we use, with the understanding that it refers to a geographical region that extends from the Emirates to the shores of the Atlantic and from Syria to the Sudan. The historical integrity of the region, however, requires the inclusion of non-Arabic speaking countries like Turkey and Iran for a better understanding of the social dynamics of this part of the world. In this volume, Tamima Mourad presents a cogent examination of the colonial context of the archaeology and heritage of Lebanon, which serves as a concrete case study of how “heritage” has been appropriated by colonial powers, like France in the Lebanon, in order to claim dominance and hegemony (cf. Dyson 2006). The Ottoman Empire was regarded as a decaying, obsolete world power. The colonizers lumped together the inhabitants of the region in the Ottoman basket and negated them from history creating the phantasm of a civilization that links pre-Islamic civilizations like Persia, ancient Egypt and “Mesopotamia” with Greece and Rome, which they regarded as their immediate ancestors. The role of Islamic civilization as an intermediate link between Pre-Islamic civilizations and the West have thus been overlooked in Public discourse,

especially of politicians, although it has been difficult to erase from scholarly works.

The indicators of the rise of Europe to power and dominance were material possessions, especially those of ancient civilizations (Hassan 2006a). Following in the footsteps of the Romans who removed obelisks from Egypt to erect them in Rome, the European colonial powers similarly carried out obelisks to England and France and began an unprecedented wave of acquiring “antiquities” and what they referred to as treasures. Mourad shows how this has been also a means by which European powers and their agents competed for collections and antiques in order to establish their superior political standing in the world. This practice, initially of supporting illicit digging and purchases and later followed by systematic excavations and seemingly official procedures has robbed the region of many fabulous and irreplaceable elements of its heritage. Any claims to return such objects are both politically complicated and legally impractical in light of current laws and historical circumstances that made the export of antiquities curiously legal. The valorization of antiquities as objects of value and treasure was not only essential for buttressing nationalist western agendas, but also as a means of establishing status among European classes. Acquisition of antiquities of the older civilizations of the Middle East and the Arab world thus became a means to establish both Europe’s nationalism and its class structure. That antiquities fetched their top value abroad and that they became even more valuable after the introduction of laws that restrict the appropriation of antiquities to professional archaeologists and museums, made dealing in antiquities and illicit digging and smuggling an attractive endeavor as Mourad (this volume) observes.

The European conception of “antiquities” has been implanted in many Arab countries because of the western dominance of the so-called “antiquities” organizations. This emphasis on “antiquities” not only placed the emphasis on objects from the distant past which divorced them from modern objects, but it has also led to a neglect of what is now called “intangible heritage” which is dealt with in a paper in this volume by Ahmed Mursi. Intangible heritage, colored in most cases with Islamic ingredients, has become progressively relegated to the commoners and the poor. By contrast, the elite of the Arab world came to identify themselves with Europeans, thus participating in the denigration of indigenous intangible heritage which the elite regarded as backward. Regrettably, the word

“*Baladī*” (lit. of country-origin) has become a derogative term denoting “common” or “mundane.” In her paper on cultures of the Arab world today, Sheikha Hussa Al Sabah, refers to cultural heritage as the “vast treasure of artworks, architecture and artifacts, and literatures.” She also refers to culture as the totality of people’s socially transmitted behavior patterns, beliefs and arts. Sheikha Hussa Al Sabah is aware of the disparity between such sociological and anthropological concepts of culture and the elitist views that envision culture in terms of “high” culture and treasures. In her paper, she also refers to the relationship between cultural heritage, identity, and nationhood. Her paper reveals the much disputed notions of culture in the Arab world and the role of heritage in the making of contemporary Arab societies. The editors are of the view that the term “culture” has a political context in the history of Europe, and that it was introduced to buttress the notion of separate European identities, such as German, British, Italian, French, and a common European identity vis-à-vis that of the “Orient”. The terms “culture” and “civilization” were also introduced within a scheme of universal cultural evolution that sees history as a succession of phases that leads to the most advanced stage of civilization, that of Europe. Culture, regarded during the “Enlightenment” as a state of refined behavior and acquired taste, was used later as a concept that characterizes a group of people distinguishing them from others. From this aspect, the term culture was popularized in English by E.B. Taylor in 1871 (re-published 1974) to refer to the ideas, behavioral traits, and artifacts that characterizes a group of people. This concept fitted the conceptual foundation of modern European nations, and is still maintained to sustain the “nations” that now form the backbone of the current world in and outside Europe (for further definitions of culture see Kroeber and Kluckhohn 1952).

However, as originally conceived, the concept of culture overlooked the differences within these so called “nations” based on ancestry, geographic location, and language, as well as differences due to education, residence (country vs. city), occupation, religion and gender. As originally conceived, the totalizing concept of culture has the potential of subjugating minorities by the powerful elite, the idealization and valorization of elite values and heritage to the detriment of vernacular and indigenous heritage. It also has the potential of conflating identity with racial claims or religious affiliation thus creating a basis for prejudice, discrimination, and

the dehumanization of others. Sadly, these potentials are materializing in current anti-western and opposition movements in the Arab world. These movements pose a serious threat to the region by propagating values that are antithetical to societal cohesion and solidarity. Recognizing the need to safeguard cultural diversity for a better future, UNESCO has produced a *Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity* in 2001 (<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001271/127160m.pdf>). This declaration recognizes the role of cultural diversity in development and creativity.

The paper by Sheikha Hussa Al Sabah opens the door for a debate on the concept of culture as used in the Arab world and what it represents (translated into Arabic as *Thaqafa* as in the UNESCO declaration, the word in Arabic conveys the notion of intellectual and artistic output. The term is also translated as “*Hadara*” which has the connotation of “civilization” as opposed to “*badawa*”, which refers to nomadic pastoral societies. Perhaps culture has to be regarded as those material, cognitive, behavioral, and communicative elements that are transmitted from the past to groups of people who are in dynamic interactions because of their geographical proximity or other factors that facilitate communication. From the vantage point of the present and given the position of a person in society, he or she may identify certain elements as those of his own people, the nation at large, or humanity. One may even thus speak of a single world civilization which is the manifestation of the cultures of all the peoples in the world. It is in fact this concept that underlies the UNESCO World Heritage Convention that recognizes that there are heritage elements that are of universal, transcultural significance and value. These notions of shared heritage are the basis for creating bonds between nations, similar to those that were used to create bonds between peoples of the same nation when the nation-state was under development during the 19th century. These notions, however, have to take into consideration indigenous traditions and heritage items that may range from sacred trees to wells since these heritage elements contribute not so much to identity but to the ability to live, place oneself in the world, develop an understanding of one’s role and duties in society, and in general inform a person of his relations to his natural setting, to others, and to the universe.

The process by which heritage is sustained is the other main topic discussed by Sheikha Hussa Al Sabah who insists that every individual should be concerned and involved in the preservation of heritage.

However, she places a great emphasis on the role of the state and also points out the role of the private sector. Sheikha Hussa Al Sabah goes further to delineate the elements of a strategic plan for the valorization and preservation of cultural heritage that includes active lobbying by educated professionals to influence the government to allocate more financial resources for cultural heritage activities and especially for training and capacity building. She also calls for funding educational exhibitions, changes in school curricula, and original research. As a first step, she proposes the convening of a regional conference to initiate a dialogue toward the establishment and implementation of a plan of action for each of the countries of the region.

In his paper on the cultural heritage of Lebanon, Khaled Tadmoury contributes material that resonates with some of the points made by Sheikha Hussa Al Sabah, especially with regard to the notion of “culture” since the heritage of Lebanon has become entangled in narrow sectarian and political agendas, instead of using it as a means by which people from different backgrounds can witness how cultural diversity and cultural interactions are a source of richness and resilience. He also discusses the impact of the war and reconstruction on the preservation of heritage and its significance for the future of Lebanon. Among the issues discussed is the process of “renovation” which empties whole quarters of their historical context, the alienation of local residents in favor of visitors from outside the community, and in general, the clash between elitist views of culture and those of the people. In his views, urban renewal requires comprehensive and dynamic organizational and developmental policies to avoid the gutting of the historical fabric of cities and to prevent the commodification of the past for the benefit of real estate investors, speculators, and a consumer society. This requires according to Tadmoury appropriate legislation for the protection of threatened heritage.

The problem of rehabilitating urban areas is also the subject of the paper by Galal Abada. His work focuses on the urban heritage of Historic Cairo. Abada is skeptical of the ability of the state to provide the vision and capability necessary to rehabilitate and preserve the urban fabric of historical Cairo because of an inappropriate conceptualization of what constitutes urban heritage, lack of coordination among authorities responsible for historical Cairo, and an elitist view of heritage (see contribution by Sheikha Hussa Al Sabah). By contrast, he is heartened

and appreciative of grass-root and non-governmental initiatives for the conservation and development of historical Cairo that emphasize social partnership. He concludes by underlining the need to link conservation of urban heritage with economic development, and the preservation of the historical, spatial, architectural, and sociocultural components of the urban heritage. He calls for more support to grass-root efforts and NGOs, and for more cooperation and coordination among non-governmental conservation groups. Realistically, however, even the work of NGOs and grass-root initiatives are regulated by governmental policies, laws, and authorities. Ideally, there should be better coordination within government authorities and between governmental authorities and individuals and civil society organizations. It seems that one of the most urgent needs is to develop a new managerial strategy for heritage conservation and to begin to widely disseminate the notions of cultural heritage and its linkage to development and society especially among policy makers and the media. Mobilization of professionals through national organizations that promote a better understanding of heritage and its role in society are indispensable for enhancing the performance of governments as well as non-governmental organizations. This has to be combined with capacity-building and allocation of appropriate funding for urban conservation and development. One of the main points made by Abada is that renovation of urban heritage can have an adverse effect on local communities, and that any attempt to conserve urban heritage must not only consider the historical accretions, particular spatial layouts, characteristic architectural features, but also the economic well-being of the communities and the sociocultural dynamics of their daily life that are embodied in festivals, practices, songs, and sayings that are the flesh and blood of urban heritage.

The potential for gaining income from intangible heritage highlighted by Mursi is further discussed by Nora Ebeid, who examines some of the current practices in cultural industries, analyzes the factors influencing further developments in crafts, design and publishing (Downstream cultural industries) and other industries related to services and products for museums and archaeological sites (Upstream cultural industries), and provides recommendations for future growth. Ebeid's analysis reveals some of the harsh realities facing cultural industries in the Arab World and Developing countries in general. These include lack of trained personnel,

worker's behavioral attitudes, lack of financial support and appropriate legal measures, and the absence of successful marketing strategies. Support for ongoing private ventures by the government and the private sector and engagement of the non-governmental organizations in training and marketing, as well as the provision of micro-credits may be regarded as a first step toward further future development. There is also a need to identify and explore new creative industries and to provide feasibility studies as a basis for a national strategy for future development.

Linking heritage development with information and communication technologies, is seen by Nagla Rizk as one means by which the great opportunities offered by these technologies not only to support creative industries, but also for improving the quality of life and the enhancement of human dignity, self-esteem and pride. By focusing on the human side of development, and inserting cultural heritage at the heart of economic endeavors, Rizk is enthusiastic about the importance of multimedia, distant learning, websites, the Internet, and other information and communication technologies not only in alleviating poverty and contributing to economic welfare, but also as a means of providing opportunities for education, political participation, empowerment, and encouragement for small and middle enterprises (SMEs). IT also provides endless opportunities for the preservation and dissemination of cultural heritage.

The objectives of the mobilization of heritage for human and economic development are picked up in two papers in this volume dealing with tourism. Tourism looms high as one of the most economically rewarding domains in the field of heritage and development. In this volume, Eman Helmy and Chris Cooper provide a comprehensive treatment of Tourism in the Arab world with a primary focus on the Egyptian case study. Rachid Sidi Boumedine (this volume) presents the case for Saharan tourism. In both case studies, tourism is discussed within the framework of sustainable tourism and poverty alleviation. Helmy and Cooper highlight the high potential for cultural tourism in the Arab World and underline the importance of the preservation of the environment and the role of social development in any program for sustainable tourism. They further note that heritage tourism cannot be fully met if not professionally integrated into the planning framework of the tourism sector. An analysis of stake holders reveals that some of the main problems include coordination among concerned authorities and stake holders, lack of adequate information on

tourist impact on sites or estimates of carrying capacity, lack of qualified personnel, funding, and monitoring. Helmy and Cooper emphasize the need for collaboration between archaeological and tourist authorities for the delineation of tourist and site areas, provision of tourist amenities, site management, interpretive activities, and conservation. They note the need for visitor centers and appropriate site management prerequisites for sustainable tourism.

In his study of sustainable tourism in the Sahara, Sidi Boumedine, emphasizes the importance of the social welfare of local communities and the implementation of measures to safeguard the fragile environment of the Sahara. In addition, he provides detailed measures for heritage tourism with equally detailed recommendations for tourist institutions, tour operators, host communities, and visitors. Since the Sahara is shared by 10 countries, Boumedine calls for collaborative efforts to develop regional policies and joint projects highlighting cultural connections and diversity.

One of the most salient elements of the Islamic world is the Hammam. In this volume, Heidi Dumreicher presents a mid-term analysis of an interdisciplinary study of hammams from six Arab countries. The study focuses on the rehabilitation and revitalization of hammams for the benefit of local communities. Traditionally a place not only for cleanliness but also a social space for networking, socializing, and entertainment, the hammam serves a major role in human development. Modernization has led to the disappearance of hammams and the deterioration and decay of surviving ones. The project examines how hammams can be revitalized not only to restore their social function but also how they can be used for community development and how they may serve as a source of income.

The topic of intangible heritage is tackled in this volume by Ahmed Mursi, who refers to the UNESCO 2003 definition of intangible heritage as the “practices, representations, expressions, knowledge skill - as well as the instruments, objects, artifacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups, and in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage.” Mursi notes that intangible heritage has often been overlooked in favor of tangible heritage, and that urgent measures are needed to protect it. Such measures include raising awareness, establishing a national database, development of appropriate methodologies, and provision of financial and human resources needed.

Mursi emphasizes the importance of potential economic revenues from songs, performances, and practices. Intangible heritage, as Mursi remarks, is also essential for social solidarity, cohesion, and well-being. It includes sets of values and norms that can be mobilized to energize society on the course of human development. Emphasis will have to be placed on proverbs, songs, and tales that promote the social virtues that have contributed at one time to prosperity, creativity, and peace. The use of the past and heritage is not separable from social ethics and the objectives of heritage and development to be grounded in the ethics of the good society. It is also important to note that UNESCO has made serious efforts to integrate the concepts of tangible and intangible heritage, and that one of the us (FAH) was privileged to serve as a rapporteur in these pioneering efforts that culminated in the production of the Yamata Declaration (Hassan 2006b).

Arab societies also face another problem, the inadequacy of laws for the protection and preservation of heritage resources. In his discussion of the topic, Alexander Bauer provides an overview of UNESCO conventions as well as laws and policies in the US and Australia. His review aims to show how laws may be invoked in issues related to heritage and development of tangible and intangible heritage. He contends that the preservation of intangible heritage is best undertaken within the context of tangible heritage since tangible heritage provides the space and the materiality for living cultural traditions to flourish. In his analysis, he touches upon the issue of “authenticity” maintaining that intangible heritage cannot be treated as a stationary, static entity and hence cannot be subjected to canons of authentication against a pre-defined “original”. This anthropological approach is based on creativity and experimentation and unleashes the potential of innovations within heritage traditions. It also makes it possible to revitalize historical towns and places through “adaptive” reuse.

Complimenting the contribution by Bauer, is Ahmed Abdel-Latif’s discussion of current international legislation, such as that by UNESCO, World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO), and its Intergovernmental Committee on Intellectual Property and Genetic Resources, Traditional Knowledge and Folklore (IGC) with regard to intangible heritage and with particular attention to intellectual property. Abdel Latif notes the current problems in the protection of intangible

heritage and the divergent positions by different countries toward existing legislation. He calls upon Arab countries to play an active role in the ongoing international deliberations in order to safeguard the mobilization of heritage for development.

The papers in this volume present and highlight many issues related to cultural heritage and development that are not only relevant to the Arab countries, but also to other developing countries. It fills a gap in the literature on cultural heritage by its focus on the developmental aspects of heritage and by delineating some of the main problems and potentials of cultural heritage and development in non-western contexts. The volume does not aim to be exhaustive or comprehensive. Nevertheless, its scope is topically broad with an emphasis on particular case studies. It is hoped that this work will stimulate further discussions of this fundamental subject which is crucial not only for the future of the region, but also for the future of the relationships between Arab countries and the rest of the world.

As the birthplace of great civilizations and world religions, as well as learning institutions that have influenced all of humanity, the cultural heritage resources of the Arab world are among its vital assets in a changing world.

2

Heritage for Development: Concepts and Strategic Approaches

Fekri A. Hassan

Introduction

The objective of this contribution is to outline a strategy for situating cultural heritage in the Arab World on the agenda of human and economic development, and at the same time to protect and conserve heritage resources. It is hoped that this contribution will also underscore the richness and variety of heritage resources, their value to society, the importance of community participation in heritage management, and the shared responsibility for the preservation of cultural heritage and its mobilization in development.

On one level this contribution is also an addition to the field of cultural heritage management, a growth area around the world, which in spite of its importance is under-theorized (Nas 2002). It still lacks a good technical terminology, and there is a paucity of data, analytic tools, and evaluative procedures. Commenting on Nas, Richard Kurtin (in Nas 2002, p. 145) notes that governments, foundations, corporations, and even grass root groups have begun to link cultural heritage to economic development and political agendas. It is therefore important and urgent to call for a formal recognition of cultural heritage management in the Arab World and to engage authorities, the business community, intellectuals, educators, policy makers, the media and scholars in developing a vision of how to mobilize cultural heritage in economic and political developments in the region.

I use “heritage” here as an inclusive term for archaeological sites, monuments, collections of artefacts, historical records and archives, oral and musical traditions, crafts, cultural landscapes, and historical places that are significant to a community, a nation, or/and humanity because of one or more sets of values assigned to them (see below).

The study of heritage brings together archaeologists, architects, geographers, anthropologists, sociologists, and folklorists among others, thus broadening the scope beyond the borders of any single discipline. Traditionally disciplines have focused on academic queries, while the role of monuments, sites, artefacts, and traditions in social practices and development has been vastly under-emphasized. The approach to the past in many academic disciplines has been developed within an intellectual climate that glorifies objects of outstanding workmanship, beauty, and sophistication betraying a tendency to glamorize the power and influence of kings, religious establishments, and warriors. In a sense, this approach to the past created one archaeology of treasures and antiquities (Hassan 2006) and another for academics, with a third [silent] people’s [vernacular] archaeology/heritage that has rarely been considered in academic circles. This “people’s archaeology” focuses on issues and objects that were a part of the social memory and the inherited material symbols of the inherited traditions of living communities. National museums exhibited the fabulous rugs, swords, or jewellery, but most people rarely frequented such museums and, instead, devoted their visits to historical sites to the shrines of saints and the tombs of the departed, and kept in their homes family heirlooms and objects of personal memories. The elitist and academic pasts have rarely been reconciled with the vernacular past. The highway of the past in museums has also in many cases alienated people because many of the museums were designed by Europeans, or by those within a European circle, mostly for Europeans within a European conception of archaeology and history. The perpetuation of such museology into the present is detrimental to movements that aim to engage Arab societies in the global present as equal partners in the production of culture, in the governance of the world, and in making contributions to peace and prosperity. The past, with its evocative power both in objects and lore, is essential for buttressing present situations and in making confident strides into the future (Hassan 2007). The past is thus not only essential for providing the cultural foundations for economic development, but also a valuable resource for economic development.

In an analysis of a case study from central Jordan, Porter and Salazar (2005) realized the gap and conflict between what I call here “vernacular” heritage and official “national” heritage. Once developed, an archaeological site is isolated from the local community by fences, guards, parking lots, and ticket booths. Local meanings, values and practices associated with the site within the community are confronted with highly formalized narratives constructed within academic and promotional discourse. The community is also faced with a loss of the way the site was used as a pasture, picnic spot, playground, garbage dump, quarry and meeting place. Tourist development may create and provide jobs but this may not be for the benefit of the community as a whole, may undermine the social fabric, and may deprive most members of the community of an economic resource. This can be remedied by ensuring inclusive participation of all segments of the community, respected community leaders, along with the traditional brokers of development such as foreign funding agencies, government representatives, and archaeologists, and the provision of spaces within the site or elsewhere for traditional and domestic activities.

The Arab World today is at a critical cross-road. It has a long and rich history. With communities rooted in ancient civilizations, peoples from different backgrounds pursuing a spectrum of activities, the Arab World not only shares a common history because of the ebb and flow of civilizations within its geographical range, but also because of its geopolitical position and the recent history from Ottoman dominance to colonial encounters, and to post-colonial adjustments and transformations in a changing world - a world that still capitalizes on its cultural, economic, and military resources to further its economic grip through unprecedented technological advances and scientific discoveries. The struggle by any single national community in the Arab World to gain a rightful position in world economics and politics is not likely to succeed without effective cooperative and collaborative endeavours between and among neighbouring countries in an age where regional blocs are a key element of global political strategies. Exploration of the role of cultural heritage as an enabling force for creating bridges of mutual understanding and collaboration is critical for fostering economic and political ties. This can be achieved through research and presentations on the continuity of cultures from the remote past into the present, on documenting and exhibiting the connective cultural tissue that at one time made it possible for scholars and merchants to move from one place

to another, and on delineating and disseminating information on how peoples of the Arab World assimilated and contributed to knowledge and development, and how peoples within the fold of an Arab civilization laid the foundations for scholarship, experimental science, and modern systems of philosophy, finance, economics and statecraft. The objective of valorising heritage, in my opinion, is not to celebrate a singular identity or to retreat to the comfort of a glorious past, but to find out the means by which a sustainable civilization is forged and make a new generation aware of the values and practices that make a civilization great. The remains of libraries, *sebils*, *kuttabs*, *hammams*, hospitals, markets, historical cities with creative artistic and scientific achievements, rural landscapes, and routes, are elements of a heritage that meshes with everyday life and creates links between ordinary people and the past, revealing the values of learning, knowledge, tolerance, cultural exchanges, reason, compassion, social care, solidarity, work, and equity.

Heritage is hardly the fossil residues of the past or the relics of the ancestors. It is perhaps more than anything else a body of knowledge that uses objects as its proxy—the material presentation of ideas and behavioural practices that vanish with older generations as they depart from the world of materiality. The ideas and practices linger in proverbs, tales, and anecdotes and may be passed down in writing. This transmission of heritage is also bound with the materiality of texts and the narrators, and is perpetuated with material props and settings that bring heritage into this world. Graham (2002) asserts that “heritage itself is conceptualized as the meanings attached in the present to the past and is regarded as a knowledge defined within social, political, and cultural contexts.” He acknowledges that there is relatively little research in this area as he explores the importance of heritage in creating the representation of place within which the knowledge economy remains firmly rooted. It is perhaps the materiality of places, landscapes, buildings, and artefacts infused with noises, smells, bodies, and movements that makes heritage not just a set of meanings, but a set of experiences with existential dimensions that anchor the past in the present and create meanings through such experiences. It is, however, the core of ideas and meanings, that creates the link between the literary *turath* and the archaeological materiality. The “ruins” (*atalal*) are the material witnesses of a departed community. They serve as reminders of the emotions, meanings and values that were once associated with the place when it was alive with people and activities..

Heritage, as Munasingha (2005) remarked is an underused resource. In his study of the revitalization of a historical town, Vilnius in Lithuania, he emphasizes that heritage provides the fundamental basis for human existence. In representing the culture of a society undergoing change, heritage could be mobilized to guide the shaping of the future. The role of heritage in furthering social integration is also a worthwhile goal. Improvement of living conditions together with continuation of multicultural heritage images is likely to promote social cohesion and a sense of dignity. Monuments should not be frozen but should be integrated in everyday life to be effective in community life. Contemporary and traditional performances and cultural events within and between heritage sites add to the sense of continuity and emphasize the living and dynamic, transformational aspects of heritage. Revival of crafts, not just as a means of replicating heritage elements, but with an infusion of contemporary techniques, materials and designs would be in keeping with the dynamics of heritage and its creative role in societies (*cf.* Olwig 2001).

The manifestations of heritage and the continuity of heritage in the present faces serious threats (see below). This loss of cultural heritage is beyond economic reckoning because of the historical and cultural meanings associated with heritage for a wide spectrum of communities that range from local to world communities, and it is the responsibility of nation states to protect, safeguard and present heritage resources within its territory that ensure that local communities and visitors from other communities and those from abroad are able to enjoy, explore, experience, and understand heritage sites and objects in a manner that does not compromise their integrity, their durability, and their cultural significance and value.

It is important to emphasize that cultures and human cultural activities in the past have not been confined to current political borders and that cultural developments in one place or another have in a small or a large part contributed to the cultural development of humankind as a whole. This makes it imperative to ensure that cultural heritage is to be made accessible to all visitors and that sites of global significance are well interpreted and presented. At the same time, obligations to protect and safeguard world heritage sites must extend beyond national boundaries to international organizations and beyond governmental departments to civic groups and communities.

What Is Heritage?

“Heritage,” a term that has become more prevalent since the establishment of the UNESCO World Heritage Centre in 1972, has come to denote monuments, sites, and buildings. Although UNESCO is concerned with “world” heritage sites, it is important to re-think the criteria used by UNESCO to recognize such sites, and, in the mean time, to consider the implications of the criteria set by the UNESCO convention for the inclusion of cultural “properties” in the World Heritage List. It may also be important to reconsider the term “property” with its overtly economic connotations, and perhaps use the term “resource” or “element” instead (for a detailed discussion on archaeological heritage and ownership, see Carman 2005).

It may also be noted that there is a tendency to nominate sites that are often associated with great monuments which may work in favour of certain political agents of human history at the expense of other agents whose works and contributions to civilization did not entail the construction of outstanding monuments or buildings. The term “monument” is problematic. Jean-Louis Luxen, Secretary General of ICOMOS in 2002, in fact, suggested broadening the range of heritage sites, in a change of nomenclature from “monuments and sites” to “cultural heritage”, adding roads and landscapes to conventional built structures (Macdonald 2003).

Indeed the term “monument” may have to be interpreted to mean “memorial.” This also would be in keeping with the original meaning of monument which is derived from the verb “*monere*”, meaning “to remind” or “to alert” (Zouain, 2000). The criteria that covers this aspect of “monuments” (article 24.vi in the UNESCO Convention) states that “the monument should be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance.” However, “the Committee considers that this criterion should justify inclusion in the list only in exceptional circumstances or in conjunction with other criteria cultural or natural”!

Since 1972, there have been two notable additions to UNESCO’s Convention, that of cultural landscape and that of intangible heritage. In 1992, in a landmark decision, the World Heritage List was expanded to include living cultural places, natural sacred sites, and “Cultural Landscape”.

The concept of cultural landscape (UNESCO 2002) is particularly useful in wedding cultural and natural heritage together. This has been evident in the work undertaken in 2002, by the 138 state members of the Convention on Wetlands who decided officially to take cultural values into account in the management of Wetlands. A year later, some of the people involved in the preparation of this decision founded Med-INA - the Mediterranean Institute for Nature, and Anthropos - a non-profit organization based in Athens, Greece with the aim of promoting harmonious relations between humankind and Nature, especially in the Mediterranean region, through the application of the principles of sustainability and the wise use of natural resources. They also decided to choose “landscapes” as the most appropriate scale of intervention (Papayannis 2004). A similar initiative is needed for the Arab World for the conservation and management not only of wetlands, but also for desert, wadi, riverine, forest, coastal and traditional or historical landscapes. The wadis and oases with their remarkable water harvesting and management systems should be high on the agenda. Sites such as Mount Sinai and its environs, as sacred natural sites, are examples of natural sites with cultural and spiritual value. Such sites are within the remit of an IUCN Task Force on Cultural and Spiritual values of Protected Areas. A recent volume, *Conserving cultural and biological Diversity: the role of sacred natural sites and cultural landscapes* (UNESCO 2006) provides a compelling case for the integration of natural and cultural heritage resources. In a review of the historical developments that led to dissimilar approaches to natural and cultural heritage, Lowenthal (2005) reemphasizes that there is no aspect of nature that has not been impacted by human agency and no artefact is devoid of environmental impress.

Scazzosi (2004) makes an important contribution to cultural landscapes drawing upon research undertaken by the Italian ministry of cultural heritage and the University of Milan. She emphasizes that a cultural landscape is an archive of palimpsest records (*mementos*) of human interactions with their habitat. However, this archive is not a mere stratification, but a record of how successive interactions with the landscape have been intertwined with previous interventions. Thus, a landscape becomes a means for reading the world in its complexity, and a space for contemplating our own history and building our future, being fully aware of the past (Scazzosi 2004, p. 339). This calls for heritage landscape studies that do not merely dwell on creating a laundry list of fauna and flora with an emphasis on taxonomy

and descriptions, but on natural heritage as a product of dynamic processes that continue from the past into the present, with continuities, ruptures, and innovations. Documentation of natural heritage has to be extended to a documentation of the role of natural processes and human interventions in bringing about the present state of the landscape. We cannot safeguard endangered landscape simply by creating simulacra of such landscapes (e.g. books, videos, CD-ROMs, or DVDs) , there is also a need to make people aware of the ecological and social dynamics that have led to desert landscapes in the Arab World, the *Aflaj*, *Khattara*, and *Foggara*¹ water management landscapes from Oman to Morocco, or the sacred landscapes in Arabia, Egypt and Iraq. With the threat of climate change and further desertification, the deterioration of traditional water management systems and their associated cultural landscapes, and the impact of pilgrims and tourists on sacred sites it becomes imperative to understand the social and ecological factors and processes that will allow us to engage genuinely in safeguarding highly valued landscapes with their natural heritage elements (see Hassan 2004a, b).

Cultural landscapes are still not well recognized in spite of their importance for communities and visitors. More attention should be devoted to this important category. In addition, cultural landscapes do provide an integrated framework for the study and protection of heritage of all kinds including sites, monuments, natural heritage, intangible heritage, and urban historical landscape. Human activities are invariably situated in places or spaces that are constituted both by human activities and ecological processes into cultural landscapes. In many cases the cultural landscape is central to the philosophies, ideologies, beliefs, and the aesthetic experiences of a community. Neither tangible nor intangible heritage can be meaningfully and fully understood or appreciated without consideration of its ecological setting.

Besides “cultural landscapes,” UNESCO’s recognition of intangible heritage must be regarded as a major shift in the way world heritage is conceived with immense consequences for cultural heritage management. The concept of intangible heritage management grew out of Japan’s living national treasures program, established in 1950 and its Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties. In 1989, UNESCO adopted a

¹These are various names for a system of collecting groundwater and delivering through a subterranean tunnel for use at a lower elevation.

Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore, and in 2001, UNESCO proclaimed the first list of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity.

In 2003, UNESCO proposed a Convention for Safeguarding Intangible Heritage, which includes practices, “representations, expressions, knowledge skills as well as instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith” - traditional practices and expressions of living communities.

Intangible heritage is inseparable from tangible components. It also does not exist in isolation since it is embedded in tangible contexts, and is situated in a physical space and an environmental setting. It is important to stress that both intangible and tangible heritage are products of culture. Both are “products of human agency and social processes and practices within the framework of cultural institutions, organizations and structures” (Hassan 2005, p. 26).

The current moves to broaden the concept of heritage to include intangible heritage resources, to emphasize the “value” of sites for communities, and, most importantly, to recognize that “heritage” is embedded in a social matrix and that it serves social objectives and is thus embedded in international, national, and community world views and politics, are welcome developments. Welcome because they will enlarge the pool of people who are interested and willing to safeguard archaeological and historical sites and monuments because they appreciate their relevance to their own lives, and because they may allow communities to engage in the construction of diverse and enriching accounts of heritage, and also because it would make communities aware of the economic “use” value of their heritage and how to become partners in economic development and conservation.

Community participation in heritage management is essential in all aspects of heritage management for development. At present, for example, the identification of heritage sites whether national, or to be included in the World Heritage List, is often conducted with no consultation with the local communities, and may often be instigated by nationals from other countries. It would be better if international and national experts would collaborate together with key representatives from the local communities to ensure that different points of view are considered and to at least

prevent negative local sentiments and resentment. For example, Azedine Beschaouche, scientific advisor to UNESCO, indicated that in many cases monuments of colonial vintage can be a focus of violence and counter affirmation of identity (Cleere 1984, MacDonald 2003, p. 61). One of the main issues to be considered in any future formulations of a cultural heritage strategy in the Arab World will have to be the impact of the history of colonial encounters and liberation movements that characterized the penultimate phase in the historical development of the Arab World with its impact on how indigenous “heritage” has been construed (see Mourad, this volume) and how national identities have been forged (Hassan 1998). Another issue is the current disparity between Western heritage institutions and their equivalent in the Arab World which leaves the stage open for a hegemonic discourse in which the aspirations, views, and positions of the Arab peoples are vastly under-represented and inevitably cast in terms of the hegemonic discourse. This disparity also undermines the development of an indigenous theory of heritage independent of the historical trajectory that has led to the emergence of “heritage,” as a concept in the West, which had emphasized monuments and sites such as castles, palaces, and cathedrals either as (1) “national” monuments, in essence the property of the “state”, which often means the “government” rather than the people, or as (2) “properties” and “economic assets.” In England, this has recently come under attack because it underemphasizes and marginalizes the link between communities and heritage (Turnpenny 2004). This is particularly manifest in ignoring the social and cultural matrix of “physical” monuments. Monuments are sustained through behavioural practices, such as pilgrimage or tourism, embedded in a set of norms, values, and ideas transmitted through a vast array of oral, written, and multimedia communication systems including folk accounts, tourist brochures, newspaper Travel sections, popular and academic books, religious texts, and political speeches. This dichotomy between physical [tangible] heritage and intangible heritage practices and values has been recently recognized in a conference organized by UNESCO and held in Japan (Hassan 2005). There was evidently a major divide between those who have traditionally been interested in the study of “intangible” literary, musical, artisanal, and performative heritage and those, like archaeologists and architects who have been mostly devoted to the study of the tangible heritage. That the two are inseparable aspects of heritage (Hassan 2005) is still, I think, not wholeheartedly accepted. However, the current historical

juncture requires a re-consideration of cultural heritage to treat material traces of the past as inseparable from their “place,” their “habitat” and “landscape”, “social practices”, and the “ideas” they embody as may be gathered from the spectrum of historical and current “communications”.

This socio-ecological approach to heritage, if widely adopted, has the potential to diffuse some of the problems that result from the continuation of heritage concepts developed under western colonial regimes and intellectual hegemony, and is capable of providing the theoretical basis for moving from that historical stage to a new stage which has already bypassed the post-colonial and inter-layered it with “globalization”. The concept and the strategy of managing heritage as a social construct are clear from how heritage has moved from a means to claim world dominance to a weapon in the call for liberation, independence, national sovereignty, and emancipation (including Feminist movements), and how heritage is now an element in the gambit to establish a new global order and the transformation of the global economic and political scene to accommodate multinational corporations, the inherited modern nation state, regional coalitions and unions, and rising economic powers in the developing nations. Archaeology has, since the 19th century and thereafter, contributed to the making of a novel world order, dominated by European colonial nation states. Heritage studies in the Arab World and elsewhere, will have to contend with the current moves by western powers to maintain their dominance and hegemony within their definition and formulation of world civilizations and their role of safeguarding “world heritage” which legitimizes their position as the rightful guardians and custodians of “civilization” (see Sen 2003). Commenting on the reactions to the looting of the museums in Iraq, Sen (2003, p.3) has characterized the use of “heritage” in western discourse as “the selective constructions and representations of the past by dominating powers and power structures and their relations to the others in modern conditions of inequality.” Sen (2003) recalls how Bahrani (1998) revealed how Europeans constructed “Mesopotamia” as a distant, historical place of “ancient” civilizations, unrelated to modern Iraq or Iran - the cradle of civilization. From there, civilization “emigrated” to grow up into the fully-fledged civilization of Europe while the ancient land (often also viewed in Biblical terms) has been overrun by Muslims (Arabs and Turks). This grand narrative has not been effectively challenged by Arab heritage authorities who are in

one way or another still entangled in the western constructions of “world civilization” and heritage. Sadly, many of the development projects, especially those related to tourism, project and represent the past in Arab countries in Western terms, especially in the way the past is hardly connected with the present and the cultures of living communities, and particularly when heritage is treated and presented as “national antiquities” a source of pride, sometimes bordering on chauvinism, but not a source of understanding of the complexity of heritage and its social meanings. This may indeed serve the political agenda of a ruling elite, but it also opens the door for equally evocative selection and mobilization of other elements of heritage to serve a counter or alternate political agenda. By contrast, a concept of heritage is needed that exposes the political narratives in which conceptions of heritage were situated, and that demonstrates how living communities in the Arab World are the inheritors of rich, diverse, and long cultural developments that have managed to accommodate different religious faiths, people from different ethnic origins, and communities from all parts of the world. The gift of Arab heritage is in its inclusiveness and assimilative power that allowed it not only to digest and benefit from ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia, Iran, and all other cultures that came under its ambit from China to Spain, but also in its ability to foster a cosmopolitan society of merchants and citizens who worked together within a political structure that proved to be viable for approximately 800 years. A comparison with the Roman Empire in terms of the benefits to local communities, tolerance, and pluralism may be an appropriate means to re-dress the historical mis-representation of Arab civilizations in world politics and its implications for the conceptions that still colour the writings of apologists for the emerging political world order (*cf.* Huntington 1996). This exercise is not to be attempted to “prove” that the “West” is bad, or that it is indebted to the Arabs, or that the Arab nations are the best and greatest in the world, but to endorse a view of a single world heritage as the sum of the contributions by individuals in myriads of communities in all parts of the world, as a single stream with many tributaries, and that what we value of that heritage is not that it is old or ancestral, but that which it contributed to our ability to live together well, that which allowed us to enjoy, respect, and protect our natural habitat, that which made us conscious of our creative abilities so that we can soar with music, dream with novels, venture into outer space, and merge with the colours of a painting. The value of heritage does not lie in its power to agitate or

dominate, not in its power to stir or legitimize racial differences, or class distinctions, not in its impact that dwarfs us or shuns us to the dustbin of history, but in its ability to touch our sense of humanity and to open up ways by which we can overcome natural disasters and despots.

Cultural heritage has the potential to unify humankind or segregate it into antagonistic sects, tribes, nations, and civilizations (see Hassan 1995). Calls for cultural diversity may indeed persuade certain ethnic groups or members of a religious faith not only to value and valorize their own heritage at the expense of others, or of its trans-national and trans-cultural value, but may also lead to calls for the destruction of the heritage of other groups. Such attitudes can only lead to the obliteration or marginalization of all cultural heritage resources. Hence it is imperative that heritage is mobilized to bridge seemingly cultural divides and to foster a cultural of peace, mutual understanding, and cooperation. It may indeed be a vehicle to resolve old grievances and to diffuse current conflicts. This implies that less emphasis should be based on separate “identities” in favour of emphasizing the historical flux of identities and the importance of understanding the intercultural exchanges and continuities within and between communities whether local or global.

It is for these reasons that I am apprehensive of what I regard as an excessive preoccupation with “identity” (see for example McLean 2006). Note also how “heritage” is being mobilized in the EU and European countries as a means to bolster a European identity or revitalise notions of national identities. Nas (2002) in commenting on UNESCO Masterpieces of Oral and Intangible Heritage notes how this program offers clear opportunities for the preservation and revitalization of outstanding traditional cultural expressions, and that the preservation of such expressions may function as a “repository for identity formation on an international, national, regional, and ethnic scale”. It is alluring to cling to “Identity” as a refuge from the incessant flow of ideas and practices from different cultures made possible by the Internet and the globalization of market economics. However, this may entail the preservation of traditional forms that are not articulated well with the dynamics of social change. It may also be a means by which chauvinistic nationalist and ethnic ethos is expressed, undermining international cooperation and national unity. Indeed, the key issue concerns, as H. R. H. Princess Basma Bint Talal (Nas 2002, p. 143) rightly remarked, the need to address the ethical issues involved

in the impact of globalization on local cultures. Identities are always in flux and cannot be arrested. Globalization will not be overcome or tamed for the benefit of local communities by preserving traditional forms of music, song, and dance in a “repository”. It is the use of traditional poetry, songs, and music creatively to address contemporary issues and to engage the past with the present that has the power to revitalise heritage and change the world. Every performance involves an innovative departure from a strictly traditional form. Traditions emerge and sometimes they disappear leading the way to new traditions as evident in the musical traditions of the Arab World over the last 100 years. Instead there is the need to ensure that inherited skills and knowledge are not lost or confined to a repository, that documents and archives are not a substitute for training a new generation in traditional forms, and providing them with the tools and opportunities to innovate, reaching into old traditions to enrich the present. Heritage provides a repertoire for creative exploration of the range of possibilities made available by past experiences. It is this creative mobilization of heritage that has the potential to avoid the tired debates on tradition and modernity, or the clash of globalization and local identities. Cultures have never been static. Identities are often fashioned within social and political agendas. Accordingly, it would be prudent to explore further the relationship between heritage, globalization and creativity within an informed debate on the ethical issues behind certain social and political formulations. One informative case study is the analysis of views of the remote past in school textbooks in contemporary Russia (Shirelman 2003). The results underscore the use of views of the past as an aspect of forging ethnic identities in the struggle for political, financial, and territorial resources, especially in areas where political situations are unstable. He concludes that in the post-Soviet world, where ethnicity is still highly politicized, myths of the remote past and glorious ancestors are often forged and disseminated as important aspects of ethno-nationalist ideologies creating new models of social division, separatism, dominance and discrimination legitimized by a “distinct culture” and “cultural roots”. Shirelman rightly remarks that culture is a process and not a labelled product. Heritage managers should avoid the pitfalls of viewing the past or the present in terms of static entities of culture, and focus instead on the development and transformation of meanings and symbols, of the politics of the past (Hassan 1998, 2003) so that the public are aware not

only of the flux of culture in the past, but also of the open potentialities for changing the present.

Regional variations and national identities within the Arab World are both a result of the ancient pre-Islamic past (before the 7th century AD) and the more recent history under the Ottomans and colonial European powers. The Arab heritage is one of the main strands that weave communities together in a broad geographical belt. Generalizations about a pan-Arab character, personality, or identity are suspect and lend themselves to stereotypes. For example, studies of Arab managers show marked variations among managers from different countries and that traditional Arab culture is a major explanatory factor of organisation and management problems (Attiyah 1993a, 1993b).

Some of the problems of management in some countries are attributed to over-concentration, over-staffing, and under-utilization of resources, not unlike those prevalent in other societies. Attiyah (1993b), in fact, suggests that it is important to consider the possibility of using traditional culture for solving organization and management problems and for improving efficiency and performance because traditional cultures are the repository of ideal values, ethics and principles.

Threatened Heritage

Heritage has always been threatened by the natural processes of decay and deterioration, but it has never been so threatened as it is today because of the expansion and intensification of human activities harmful to the preservation of cultural heritage. Such activities range from the demolition of heritage sites to the emission of chemical pollutants that hasten and aggravate the processes of decay even of the most durable stones. Gaetano Palumbo (2000) identifies the following main sources of threats to Archaeological heritage in the Mediterranean which also apply to the Arab World:

The impact of development, one of the main causes of destruction due to population growth, industrialization, land reclamation, road building, and urbanization.

Pollution and by-products of development, ranging from air pollution to changes in the water table.

Mass Tourism coupled with lack of site management due to the large number of tourists accessing fragile sites, parts of sites and “abandoned” sites, vandalism, and the activities it attracts.

Social unrest as happened in Lebanon during the civil war (1975-92) when sites in the Biqa valley were bulldozed to obtain artefacts to sell.

Looting, which is often associated with organized crime.

Archaeological excavations when exposed architectural elements and artefacts are not conserved, or when excavations are undertaken by unqualified or inexperienced staff, sadly often by staff members of national authorities.

Inappropriate Interventions and conservation either through the use of harmful materials (such as cement) or techniques or through irreversible “restoration” that totally compromises the historical authenticity of heritage sites.

Lack of administration and legislation that are required to protect sites and secure funds, resources, and qualified staff for appropriate conservation.

The impact of disasters on the cultural heritage of Jordan and Palestine has been assessed by Sultan Z. Barakat and Rami D. Daher (2000). Their work focused on natural disasters, such as earthquakes which are common in that part of the Arab World. They call for the development of a knowledge base on cultural heritage, risk assessment and hazard impact analysis (HIA) involving the production of risk maps, a mechanism of channelling information to policy makers, and a preparedness and mitigation planning and management to reduce the risk of vulnerability of cultural resources and the impact of disasters. This can be achieved through hazard reduction measures, protective infrastructure, warning systems, proactive building codes, and emergency repair teams.

The Arab World is today a theatre of armed conflicts with occupying forces and serious violent confrontations in three countries (Palestine, Iraq, and the Sudan). The case of occupying forces in Iraq today and since the first American-led Gulf War, as well as the current violence wreaked by armed militias between rival groups, as well as the Israeli attack on Lebanon, as well as the control of heritage resources by occupying

forces or newly established states that claim national identities have led to numerous cases of destruction and unlawful appropriation of artefacts and sites. The scale of pilfering and destruction of innumerable sites in Iraq requires urgent attention (see www.guardian.co.uk/Iraq/Story/). Perhaps more devastating than the threat of natural disasters, is the use of the archaeological record selectively to justify occupation (Glock 1994).

The protection and conservation of heritage in the Arab World must conform to the international conventions that are currently in effect such as the Convention of the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict; the Hague Convention of 1954.

Heritage resources are currently threatened by market and global economic forces, generally summed up under the term “globalization”. These economic forces place higher values on economic gains rather than cultural significance, and involve control of local heritage resources for the benefit of transnational and foreign companies that operate in such a manner that only a fraction of the profit is handed down to the host country and even less to local communities.

There is also the constant drain of heritage resources through illicit trade in antiquities which encourages unauthorized excavations and digging. Operating through international dealers and smugglers, members of local communities engage in such activities for paltry sums by comparison to those of the dealers. In addition, poverty, unemployment and fantasies of hidden treasures have led many individuals either to fall into the trap of swindlers who engage in unlawful digging for treasures, or to seek such treasures on their own. The result is wanton destruction of precious archaeological data and cultural assets. There is thus a need for pro-active measures to curb illicit digging, smuggling and sale of heritage resources, and to dissipate notions of hidden treasures which are a part of local folklore.

The commercialization of tourism, often with little or no respect for its cultural value has led to the invasion of heritage sites, including world heritage sites, by sellers, hawkers and peddlers who not only disfigure the sites, but also create an undignified presence of the poor communities who are trying to eke a living along the cracks of organized tours that leave them but the crumbs, and make them appear as a nuisance and a blemish on the historical scenery. Clearly, there is a need to organize and

support local communities so that they do not have to recourse to such degrading measures, not only for their own benefits but also for a higher intake of national income. A better management of heritage resources that enhances their use value (from goods and services which can be extracted or derived from selling spaces, ticketing, cultural products, performances, etc.) is required.

Many sites in the Arab World face serious threats. Some of these sites are currently inscribed on the World Heritage List are on the “List of World Heritage in Danger”. They include Abu Mena (Egypt), Ashur (Iraq), Old City of Jerusalem and its Historic wall (Jordan) and the town of Zabi (Yemen).

The danger to the heritage resources of the Arab World is such that a Risk Map of Arab World Heritage (*RHMA*) is urgently needed. Examples of such maps have been prepared such as The Risk Map of Cultural Heritage (1997) by the Italian Istituto Centrale per il Restauro, MARS: The Monuments at Risk Survey of England (1995), and Heritage at Risk: ICOMOS World Report 2000 on Monuments and Sites in Danger (Palumbo 2000).

Valuing Heritage

The concept of “Heritage” implies an intrinsic value bestowed on an object, place, institution or set of actions derived from its link to some aspect of the past as construed and valorized by one or more communities. The community may be a village, a nation, a professional society, or the totality of human communities everywhere. However, international communities tend to be represented by certain segments of local and regional populations, which are in turn represented by government officials, prominent professionals and academics, intellectuals, and business executives. The concept of heritage and what constitutes heritage is not clear cut. The concept of heritage common in European countries may be traced back to 1792, when revolutionaries began to destroy castles, palaces, monasteries and other symbols of the old regime. The convention, which headed the Revolution, became alarmed by this “loss” and decided to protect such “monuments” as “wealth” of the country to be put at the service of the new regime, and to give the new regime an historical

dimension thus legitimizing it (Zouain 2000). This gave rise to the modern notion of “national heritage” (*patrimoine*), from the Greek word for land or estate that produces the family’s basic commodities to be passed on from one generation to the next and not to be traded or sold. The rise of nation states in Europe accompanied with industrialization and colonialism not only gave further impetus to the notion of national heritage as a means of unifying industrial nations which were in competition with each other, but also to compete for acquiring “antiquities” and monuments from ancient civilizations as a means to display their cultural hegemony and to legitimize their own political position as world powers by giving that colonizing nation an historical dimension and an ownership of the human past. Looting, purchase of antiquities, and later systematic excavations, became a means by which European nations transferred to their own museums and research institutions the monuments and memorial of ancient civilizations as any visitor may see at the Louvre or the British Museum. This appropriation of “antiquities” not only separated them from their context making them “objects of art” or rare “antiques” , but also provided western scholars with the material for the production of archaeological knowledge that served the goals and objectives as well as the political agenda of European nations (see Mourad, this volume). In the mean time, the local communities were often not encouraged to participate in the “discovery” or their own past, and were not even allowed to run their own national departments of antiquities (Reid 2000).

In the mean time, the emphasis on heritage as a “national” asset was in contrast with the veneration of certain artefacts and places for their spiritual significance (e.g., the tree of Mariam in Egypt, Mount Sinai, the Ka’ba) or ancestral value (such as family heirlooms). The word “*Turath*” in Arabic which is used as a translation of the word “heritage” is from the root verb (*waratha*, meaning to inherit) and is related to the word “*mirath*” (inheritance), which refers to the funds, estate, and other resources passed from one person upon his death to his descendants according to a prescribed order. This inheritance may be squandered or invested. While “*mirath*” has an economic connotation, the word “*Turath*” is used to refer to the inherited body of knowledge often passed down in oral and written texts. The word is indeed often used in the Arab World as in “*Kutub el-Turath*” to refer to the books that date back to the early centuries of Islam which contain the founding principles of Islamic traditions.

It is important perhaps to keep in mind both inseparable dimensions of heritage; (1) its economic value which is related to its material worth, the goods and services that may be derived from it relative to the cost of maintaining and preserving it (see below), and (2) its aesthetic, religious, recreational, intellectual, ancestral, historical, or scientific value. According to Carman (2005) heritage lies beyond the realm of economic value and it challenges customary notions of private and common ownership, and it may be best to consider multiple systems of “cognitive ownership”. However, sites are a potential source of income and hence do have a “use value.” Who pays for conservation and how to generate funds from heritage objects are economic issues, but as perhaps all economic issues, are bound with a system of cultural values that are local, international, and transnational (including human rights). Therefore any human transaction concerning heritage objects will have to consider the *supra*-economic or *smr*-economic values and how they may be operationalized. From a management point of view, it requires national and international regulations that guarantee that the economic exploitation of heritage sites and objects is not carried out without the approval of a broad spectrum of stakeholders, including heritage specialists, representatives of international organizations (in case of objects of international or transnational value), policy makers, the business community, and the general public, including representatives of the local community concerned.

Heritage in addition, is not to be restricted to one form or another of its broad, world spectrum of values, and not be regarded as the “truth” and the repository of eternal wisdom. Heritage should have the power to liberate, not to imprison. Its benefits reside in connecting a person to a community and a place, and in providing him/her with an appreciation and knowledge of social history and his/her position in the changing world. Heritage is for development and for the future- an endowment that can be invested in a variety of ways. It is not a means to turn our gaze from the present to the past, but as a means to step forward with the knowledge of the circumstances that led us to our current situation and with the wisdom generated from reflecting on the outcomes of what happened in the past. Long (2000) tackles the issue of how views of the past by local communities in post-colonial settings may consist of a hybrid (creolization) of colonial historiography and political propaganda. The examples cited from Africa and Australia are relevant to the Arab World

where Ottoman, French, British, and Italian outlooks and portrayal of colonized communities have been an ingredient in how heritage is viewed and managed in the Arab World.

Presentation and Interpretation of Heritage

The way heritage is presented and represented is integral to the way heritage is conceived and perceived, and is the means by which heritage assumes its value and motivational power. Presentation is a communicative act and carries overt and latent messages (Uzzell and Ballantyne 1998). In marshalling heritage resources for social and economic development it is worthwhile to re-examine the way heritage is presented and interpreted in museums and at archaeological sites. First of all, heritage is presented in such a way that connections with the present are never clear. This contributes to a lack of appreciation of the contributions of ancient societies to the present and the way contemporary populations and individuals are related to their past. This is tantamount to uprooting people from their own past. Instead their understanding of their own “heritage” is left to local lore and folk stories, religious and sectarian accounts, politicized views, and sensational media stories. Heritage is thus contested with no systematic effort on the part of archaeologists to provide an archaeological antidote to falsehoods, disinformation, misinformation, inaccuracies, and outright lies. The public are also rarely informed of the process by which archaeologists work and how they think and arrive at conclusions. With the advent of television, archaeology has become a favourite subject for entertainment. This could have been an opportunity to engage the Public through attractive programmes to learn more about archaeology and their heritage. Instead the programmes reveal archaeological discoveries as a matter of chance, trivialize and misrepresent archaeological excavations, and present archaeological research as adventures in search of solving mysteries, and discovering gold or hidden treasures.

Museum exhibits are in most cases static with little or no interpretative content. The visitor is left on his or her own to wander through exhibit rooms and halls often arranged on the basis of some chronological order of categories of artefacts, such as basketry or pottery. Little is provided in terms of how objects from a given period relate to each other in a manner that explains how society functions, how people viewed themselves and

the world around them, how they were organized, and how they thought. Emphasis may be placed on weapons, tools, or items of daily life without an interpretation of the social context of warfare, the links between tools and technological practices and economy, or between objects of daily life and work loads, diet, health, and recreation. In 1994, Peter Stone published *The Presented Past* in which he suggests that presentations of the past ought to incorporate a larger body of evidence and wider variety of interpretations and that the presentations of the past should not be presented as something finished, well understood, and absolute. It is important to keep this in mind not only in order to ensure that equally plausible views are represented, but also to ensure that the visitor is engaged in the process by which interpretations are made so that he or she may gain an “ownership” or at least a “participatory” role in interpreting the past.

The interpretation of heritage in the writer’s opinion is not about giving equal truth-value to the claims of any group because such [post-modern] views open the door for nihilistic thinking, undermining the basis for inter-subjective discourse on the veracity of observations, the logic of interpretations, and the coherence of knowledge claims (on the impact of this approach to landscape archaeology see Hassan 2004a). The danger lies in excluding certain groups from this knowledge process or for certain groups to claim that they have a monopoly on truth for whatever reason. Academics and other intellectuals may have indeed in the past excluded local communities from interrogating their views, theories or other knowledge claims, but that does not mean that other claims are equally valid or immune from interrogation by academics and intellectuals. The academic, intellectual, and the public, at least to avoid conflict, will have to develop a means of informative dialogue, of listening to each other, presenting their knowledge claims, and agreeing on canons by which such claims are to be scrutinized.

There is a definite need in this regard to engage and revitalize local communities, to promote capacity building, to strike strategic partnerships with community leaders and the Public and to ensure the involvement of academics with the public and the local schools. An example of a tool that is useful for planning heritage area development so as to recognize and work with local heritage resources, to benefit community pride, quality of life and economic development, is already available for some areas

in the United States (http://history.utah.gov/heritage_tourism_toolkit/development_and_management/planning).

Interpretation of sites, monuments, collections and records is a debatable topic and requires further reflection and exploration in order to assess the merits of different approaches and desired objectives (see for example the issues raised by Ballantyne, 1998).

Heritage and Development

A key issue in re-conceptualizing “heritage” is the recognition of inherited ideas, expressions, norms and modalities that inform and guide decision-making – a key concept for development purposes. It may be thus advisable to (1) rephrase the goals of development in vernacular terms and to situate them within traditional concepts to ensure their acceptability and viability among the general public, (2) engage local communities effectively in the management of cultural heritage, and (3) encourage the participation of civic society in heritage management and development.

Although there are different definitions of development and how it may be measured, a consideration of the role of heritage in development leads us to pay more attention to bottom-up approaches to development. The concept of “development” emerged within western and international political and economic arenas and is compromised with notions of “modernization,” “westernization” and “progress.” The vocabulary of development to a large measure influences the means by which development is conceived, implemented and perceived. It would seem that by using related local “vernacular” vocabulary, “development” may become both more sustainable and more humane. From this perspective, “development” translated in Arabic as “growth” using a term from classical Arabic, may be better translated in an Egyptian context, for example, as *Tahseen al-bal* improving or ameliorating one’s condition, or simply making one’s life better. Development projects are also opportunities for enabling communities to fulfil their own aspirations in the context of harmonious and collaborative relationships with others. An increase in monetary income is not in itself beneficial if it undermines the social fabric of communities and societies, ruptures the structures that make life bearable and even enjoyable at times for the poor. Implementation of development must

thus strengthen the enabling norms and structures that make communities resilient, secure, and effective. The goal of development would be to ensure that people have what they would call *hayah kareema* which may be roughly translated as a “decent life” or life with dignity, where one has a good job, a promising career, and adequate health, shelter, transport, and other domestic amenities. The role of social well being with the support of family and friends is paramount in many contexts as a means both of economic and emotional security, especially at times of political and economic uncertainty and instability.

By encouraging, valorizing, and promoting community notions of morality and ethics “*Al-Akblaq Al-Hamida*” [Social Virtues] steeped in their intangible social heritage enshrined in proverbs, saying, tales, and idioms in development projects, such projects would make an immense contribution to enhancing the resilience and productive potential of communities. The social virtues for human development include Pro-active Engagement (*Al-Sai’ey*), Perfection or Exactitude (*Itqan al’amal*), Honesty (*Al-Amana*), Compassion and Cooperation (*Al-Trahum wa al-Takaful*), Tolerance (*Al-Samaha*), Reason (*Al ‘ql*), Sensibility (*Al-Zooq*), Inventiveness (*Shatarah*). These virtues contrast with the set of practices that undermine genuine development such as Social Disengagement (*Anamahyia*), Submission and Capitulation (*Al-Istikana*), Trickery (*Fablawa*), Pretentiousness (*Mazhariyia*).

The utilization of heritage for development does not imply that heritage is no more than an economic commodity. Nevertheless, there are financial costs incurred in protecting, conserving and interpreting cultural heritage; and there is a broad spectrum of development projects that can be a source of both revenues to conserve heritage and to create jobs and profitable returns on investment. In the mean time, such projects can potentially enhance the social standing of local communities, promote intercultural understanding, and re-interpret heritage within a narrative that highlights the social processes and values of past societies.

Although many organizations have been concerned with cultural heritage, financial institutions have been late-comers to the realization that culture is essential for the success of development projects (Throsby 2000). The World Bank² entered the field in 1998 when a report by the

² World Bank’s website on “Cultural Heritage and Development” (<http://web.worldbank.org/WEBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS>).

Bank's Social Development Task Group concluded that culture is an essential dimension of development. In a publication entitled *Culture and Sustainable Development: a Framework for Action*, the Bank outlined its program on culture and development as follows:

1. To provide new economic opportunities for communities to grow out of poverty.
2. To catalyze local-level development by building on diverse social, cultural, economic and physical resources.
3. To strengthen social capital and social cohesion.
4. To compliment strategies for human development and build dynamic, knowledge-based societies.

In 2001, in a strategy research paper written by Michael Cernea (World Bank 2001a) entitled *Cultural Heritage and Development: A Framework for Action in the Middle East and North Africa*, current needs and demands were outlined as follows:

1. Linking urban and tourism investment projects with direct support from heritage preservation.
2. Safeguarding endangered patrimony assets in ways that incorporate them into development strategies and yield economic and social benefits.
3. Expanding the institutional capacity for managing these national resources.

Cernea (2001a) recognized the following as elements of the heritage sector:

1. Cultural patrimony endowments (sites, monuments, collections, historical towns, living [intangible] cultural heritage).
2. Cultural Industries and productive activities, including artisanal enterprises.
3. Service activities and organizations such as libraries, theatres, museums, exhibitions, and cultural tourist companies.
4. Commercial enterprises such as shops and markets for cultural products.
5. Governmental, non-governmental and semi-governmental institutions and organizations dedicated to work on heritage conservation and management.

He noted that proactive policies focused on management, and that links with development are rarely in place, that ministries of culture tend to be understaffed and underfinanced, that decentralization to regional and municipal authorities is only incipient, at best, and that there is an absence of social contract between government structures and those of civil society. Funding for cultural heritage is at a minimum mostly below 0.5 percent of the ratio of cultural expenditure to GDP, except for Egypt (between 2 and 2.8%). One of the key issues dealt with by Cernea (2001) is the problem of determining the economic value of heritage. He maintains that cultural heritage is a public good, but that this does not answer specific questions regarding amounts, valuation methods, costs, and benefits.

The economic value of heritage has been examined by Serageldin (1999) who posits that there is a total economic value of cultural heritage assets which includes extractive (or consumptive) use value, non-extractive use value, and non-use value. The extractive use value derives from goods which can be extracted from the site. These values are not depleted unless the use is inappropriate or excessive, downgrading the character of the site. The “extractive” use of heritage asset must accordingly be kept at a sustainable level (see also Navrud and Ready 2002).

Serageldin (1999) also recognizes “the non extractive use value” which derives from the services the site provides. This mode of use is “passive” and is a function of the heritage asset being there in the background. In the case of a historic city, for example, the non-extractive use value consists of the aesthetic value of scenery, the recreational value of vistas, rest-stops, or places of reflection. By contrast, the non-use value derives from the presence of the heritage element, and the feeling of loss or impoverishment if it was not there. In addition to this “existence value” there is what Serageldin calls the “option value” which is the value gained from detaining the option of taking advantage of a site’s use value at a later date, akin to an insurance policy.

The non-extractive use value and non-use value are difficult to estimate. The most common method used to estimate the economic value of heritage is that of contingency valuation. This method is based on obtaining from a target population potentially interested in heritage elements, the maximum they are willing to pay (MWP), to secure public service or avoid loss or deterioration (Zouain 2000). Another method

consists of its economic returns and economic role, which is more in line with Serageldin's (1999) formulation. In this economic model, the total economic value is considered to be at least equal to the total revenues its value uses generate over time (Zouain 2000). This, however, as Zouain (2000) realizes, makes it hard to estimate its intangible values, which are impossible to calculate. This also applies to the non-extractive or non-use value which overlaps with the "intangible value". There is clearly no simple economic solution, not only because it is impossible to calculate spiritual, religious, or meditative value, but it is also necessary to specify the life-time of use, the "intangible" constraints on the selection of revenue-producing uses (e.g., prohibition of certain activities that are not considered appropriate for a site), and the range of potential revenue-generating uses that are not feasible or even imagined at any particular time. Calculations have also to take into consideration not only depreciation and inflation over an unspecified period of time, but also the cost of management and maintenance as a function of natural decay and use over an indefinite period of time, as well as the cost or capital needed to develop the infrastructure needed to put it into use, and the refurbishment or restoration needed to use it. In addition, there is the change in the economic value of a heritage element as a function of changing conditions of discovery (many similar items are found), rarity (as similar sites disappear), access (as a result of new roads, airports, or infrastructure), but more importantly, perhaps, a change in politics or social proclivities so that an item that was once valued for its aesthetic, recreational, or political significance may no longer be so highly valued and vice-versa. Moreover, let us assume that a cultural heritage asset is regarded to be of X-value. Is it appropriate to demolish it if we can replace it with a high-rise apartment building or a factory that will produce higher extractive use value? In this regard, one must ask who should make the economic decision; a business community, policy makers, or the public in general, realizing that each of these communities have their own valuing criteria.

In this regard, the privatization of Italian cultural heritage provides an important case study (Benedikter 2004). Italy, the home of a great deal of world heritage introduced in 2002 an act that permits the government to privatise part of its heritage. Heritage assets from the Medieval Period have been sold to international investment firms and private investors, such as the American Carlyle Group. They include, for example,

Palazzo Correr, Venice (16th century), Palazzo Piazza del Monte, Reggio Emilia (1671), and Palazzo Via Balbi, Genoa (1677). Hundreds of other objects, sites, medieval palazzos, villas, and museums are also for sale. Other than debates concerning sales policy, pricing, and other economic considerations, 37 directors of the most renowned museums in the world demanded a far-reaching national and international debate because Italian heritage constitutes a primordial value for world heritage and thus belongs not to individuals but to the whole world.

Accordingly, it appears to me that it may be prudent to develop first a set of non-economic values that have to do with its importance as a proxy to one or more aspects of cultural activities in the past, its rarity, condition, and significance to local, national and regional populations, as well as to humanity. This cannot be achieved without non-governmental committees on the four levels specified that must include representatives from the community, local authorities, the business community, and experts. Local or national authorities should not be totally entrusted with decision making when it comes to altering or evaluating heritage resources because they do not represent all the communities that have a stake in the sites. In some cases, the authorities may wish to sell modify or destroy a site for a national project contrary to the views of local communities or the intellectual community. On the other hand, local communities may engage in activities that are damaging to the heritage resources. It is therefore essential to establish both on a regional level and a national level, an NGO to act in a manner similar to that of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) and The World Conservation Union (IUCN) which is entrusted with evaluation and examination of nominations to the World Heritage List. The exception here is that the NGO will have representatives from the different constituencies and is not exclusive to experts from archaeology or architecture. Whenever necessary it will have to seek evidence from key groups that may not be represented on the committee, e.g., artists, religious personnel, or investors.

The committees, with the help of a national and local registers (that should be continually updated with regard to the conditions of the monument or site and its surroundings) will set priorities for maintenance, management, and potential use. Here economic considerations may come into play. Sites may be judged on the basis of their “Intangible” value on an ordinal scale from 1 to 10, with sub-values for their aesthetic, spiritual,

technical, architectural, or any other relevant values. On the basis of their condition, rarity, and cultural significance, as well as economic potential “yield” (perhaps a better term than economic value), sites, monuments or objects may then be assigned ordinal values for development potential. This way, the heritage element is not regarded as a commodity, but as a principal or asset that should be used to generate funds without selling it, trading it, or disposing of it. This does not prevent short or long-term lease or other uses by NGOs as long as the elements that make it significant are not compromised or undermined by inappropriate use, landscaping, or modernization.

The current emphasis on sites and monuments that are often valorized at the expense of others because of their grandeur, magnificence, opulence or technical mastery have to be tempered by attention to monuments, sites, and artefacts that represent not only the products of the rich and famous, but those that represent the range of cultural domains that make a civilization, including proxies of social organization (e.g., a court, or a meeting place), economy (e.g., ports, mines, inns, markets, rural landscapes, oases, trade routes), knowledge systems (e.g., hospitals, libraries, waterworks, hammams, spas, vernacular architecture), crafts, domestic activities, and spiritual/religious experiences (e.g., cemeteries, sacred mountains, springs, trees, places of worship).

The economics of heritage development are clearly not subject to simple monetary evaluation or assessment, but it would be foolhardy to ignore such monetary and financial aspects if heritage resources are to be properly maintained and conserved, not to mention mobilized for intellectual, social or economic development. There is a basic cost for management and conservation regardless of whether the sites are used or not. Many countries in the Arab World, e.g., Egypt and Iraq just to mention a couple, have a plenitude of heritage elements that are not only of primordial national value, but also of considerable value to the history of the Arab World. With such heritage located in countries that lack the financial means to preserve and restore their heritage assets, it seems appropriate that those who claim a certain heritage element as valuable to them must be obliged to contribute to the upkeep and adequate presentation of this heritage. It is for this reason imperative to develop an Arab Heritage Development Fund (AHDF) to assist communities and state organizations in the preservation and conservation of Arab heritage.

The Italian model rings the alarm. Countries overburdened with the bill for preserving their heritage resources and lack sufficient financial means may indeed be tempted to “privatize” heritage. Accordingly, new models for financial cooperation between public and private parties, for private initiative funding, possibly a state lottery exclusively for the preservation and development of heritage, and for intergovernmental and transnational Arab NGOs to optimise funds for cultural heritage conservation and development (cf. Benedikter, 2004, p. 384).

One of the main areas of heritage development is tourism, which is not only a lucrative source for economic revenues, but also potentially a vehicle for mutual understanding and bonding with peoples from different cultures and peoples that lived in the distant past- a means by which we can trace our origins and encounter ourselves in different settings. In this regard and considering the existing connotations of the word “tourism” and “tourists,” it may be advisable to promote words like “guests” and “visitors” which carry more appropriate messages compatible with local cultural traditions and are likely to elicit more positive responses from local communities.

The enthusiasm for tourism by developers and planners includes the promotion of ethnic crafts for tourism as a source of income for local communities. However, this may lead to what some consider as a debasement of ethnic crafts and to the exploitation of local communities by suppliers and merchants (Cohen 1989). Either through NGOs or local authorities, measures must be introduced to eliminate sources of exploitation and weed out the kind of commercialization that saps the vitality of local traditions and crafts

In one of the European Commission Foresight working documents (Marcus 2005) on the future of creative industries, the place of crafts and traditional cultural activities is considered within the framework of social and economic development. While the emphasis is on creative industries that have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent, it may be argued that “individual” creativity is often rooted in some kind of a cultural milieu that feeds on inherited norms and skills and drinks from the cultural ideas and practices from other societies that come in contact with those of the artist or craftsperson. Innovation represents an element of departure from the “traditional” content or structure in response to current constraints and

opportunities. Commercialization may promote a debasement of heritage as artists and craftspeople are faced with high prices of raw materials, low sale prices, demands for standardized items, and a lack of infusion of new designs and technologies by professional designers and artists. In general, this may stem from devaluing traditional crafts and regarding them as no more than “worthless” souvenirs, or exotic, ethnic or religious icons that have no real artistic value for intellectuals, art historians, and connoisseurs. The mobilization of crafts for sustainable development requires the kind of sophisticated analysis attempted by Moreno *et al.* (2004) who recognize a chain of cultural production in five phases: selection, creation, production/realization, distribution, and consumption. These phases are enmeshed in legal, technical, social, and ideological matrices that cannot be separated from any economic analysis.

Tourism may also serve as a mechanism for perpetuating situations of inequality and dominance. The emphasis on traditional crafts and cultural products by contrast to modern objects and modern life may indeed perpetuate notions of a backward past and a model of “progress”. The tours described by Rebecca (National Itineraries) by Jewish Israeli tourists to Bedouin tents with traditional coffeepots and posters of Bedouin women in folk clothing, supported by state budget since 1995 are not necessarily means of cultivating mutual cultural understanding, but more likely means by which the Israeli state is legitimated as a modern state. Visitors to Khan el Khalili, also may come out with experiences that contribute to the construction of stereotypical “Arab” and “Western” identities with no opportunities for any meaningful cultural exchanges (Hassan 2003b). The way the present is divorced from the past for tourism purposes must be rectified; at present many tourists leave with the impression that there is no cultural life in places like Egypt or Morocco other than exotic markets, archaeological relics, and belly dancers. Unfortunately, many countries and local authorities are tempted to recourse to tourism for quick economic returns. Sites may not have been prepared for an influx of large numbers of tourists and in many cases, even in world heritage sites, a management plan that takes visitation to the site into consideration, is lacking. Local communities are not informed of the potentially damaging effects of tourism, and in many cases decisions are made by big tour operators. Given the lost opportunities in tourism, both in revenues and in cultural development, it is advisable not only to have a masterplan, with the advice

of the World Tourist Organization (WTO) on a national level, but also on a local level to ensure that the plan is both practical, fair and sustainable in the long run. Task forces for such plans must include archaeologists, architects, town planners, conservation specialists, community leaders, tourist agents, and heritage economists (Agnew 2003).

Other measures that may be helpful in mobilizing heritage for development are:

1. Development of model investment plans for small businesses.
2. Establishment of local advisory heritage development centres.
3. Provision of assistance for the emergence of cultural industries, and the development of the necessary infrastructures and skills and markets (from local to global).
4. Establishment of a Heritage Development Fund.

Development should not be at the expense of the welfare of the local community, the local integrity of the ecological system, or the preservation of heritage. This approach to heritage development coincides with what is referred to as sustainable tourism (Lane 2005), which is now an approach endorsed by the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICMOS) in “Historic Cities and Sustainable Tourism” (1995).

It is essential to emphasize that the goal is not to sustain tourism but to sustain wholesome developments based on a consideration for local communities, their habitat, and heritage resources. This is not always easy. The development of remote rural areas through tourism with an emphasis on the relationship between visitors and local people may backfire as such developments may be taken over by institutions for different purposes or for the benefit for visitors rather than locals (Howard 2002) and may have unintended harmful consequences to society, economy, and the landscape. In their editorial on the politics of world heritage for a special issue of *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Bianchi and Boniface (2002) remark that the exclusion of local residents from world heritage sites and discourses of world heritage, often fail to give adequate voice and representation to the “local”.

The protection, preservation, interpretation and management of heritage resources are extremely costly. In addition some of the seriously threatened heritage sites may not be suitable as tourist destinations or

conducive to generate funds from some kind of use. Accordingly, heritage resources must not be protected and cared for only when they are already favourite items on the tourist itinerary or potential tourist spots. Funds will thus have to be generated from other sources beyond that of the ministries of culture such as ministries of public affairs, industry, telecommunication, higher education, regional councils and municipalities. Additional sources may include Private Foundations and Family Funds, donations, and volunteer work, as well as international financial organizations.

Indeed, many financial institutions are at present concerned with the potential for alleviating poverty and the provision of employment opportunities. Grants or loans are often available for tourism and historic cities development projects. For example, the World Bank provides loans under its Investment in Cultural Heritage and Development Program. In one of its projects, 100% of project costs (\$30 million) was considered for a project for sustainable urban revival and increased tourism in historic cities, such as Ajlun, Jarash, Karak, Madaba, and Salt in Jordan. The reader may wish to consult the World Bank's website on "Cultural Heritage and Development" (<http://web.worldbank.org/WEBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS>).

Anthropologists, who were more interested in non-western "primitive" peoples, and academic topics than contemporary cultural affairs (see however Bodley 2000) are becoming more interested in development. It is indeed essential to deal with the present world scene as a tapestry, a network of communities and interest groups that are no longer isolated in their deserts, valleys or remote islands. Indigenous groups and minorities are part of one world with different cultural views and practices. International financial and political organizations have worked in the past, often on the basis of political and economic theories and dogmas, without the benefit of a deeper cultural and historical understanding of social structures, practices, and norms. Superficial grand theories of civilization have hardly been effective in dealing with problems on the ground where anthropologists dwell. It is, therefore, heartening that there is a growing interest among anthropologists in what has been called "Public Interest Anthropology" (PIA) which takes as its point of departure a bottom-up approach rather than the more usual top-down and official approaches (Porter and Salazar 2005).

Over the last decade, the World Bank has, in addition, acknowledged the role of anthropologists with a realization of the importance of cultural factors in development projects. Anthropologists have been involved in project design and participatory policy-making (Hackenberg 2002). One of the case studies, where a partnership between the World Bank and development anthropologists was forged, concerns the cultural heritage of the Medina of Fez, which is the subject of one of the contributions in this volume (see Cernea, this volume).

Arab governments may also wish to consider that one of the most successful acts that led to the protection and preservation of cultural heritage in the United States was the Moss Bennett Bill of 1974. This bill revolutionized archaeological investigations by providing a “built in” funding source independent of the annual congressional appropriation process for archaeological rescue work. This “built in” funding source allowed agencies to transfer up to one per cent of authorized construction funds to the Secretary of the Interior to assist the Secretary in carrying out the Act. Subsequently, this provision was interpreted to mean that agencies were authorized to spend up to one per cent for archaeological recovery work themselves. Consistent with the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 and the National Historic Preservation Act the amended Act covered all federal undertakings, not just reservoir developments. The Moss Bennett Bill went beyond the Reservoir Salvage Act of 1960, which originated from the need to rescue archaeological data from the development of a national water resource program, by providing a small appropriation to the National Park Service to support its efforts as well as the River Basin Surveys program located in the Smithsonian Institution. Before that the rescue work, state wide surveys, and restoration projects were conducted under the Historic Sites Act of 1935 during the Great Depression and various economic relief legislation of that era.

The Moss Bennett Bill not only contributed immensely to the protection and preservation of archaeological heritage sites, but also to the creation of jobs for archaeologists and has had beneficial effects on archaeology as archaeologists were obliged to engage in Public and Community Archaeology as a key component of what became known as Cultural Resource Management (CRM). The skills and competence involved in CRM such as project management, business planning, conservation, outreach programs, dissemination of information to the Public, and

exhibitions, however, were not a part of the archaeology curricula in the universities. With job opportunities in CRM and with the growing interest in methodologies and new dimensions involved in conducting archaeological research in CRM projects, universities are now engaged in modifying their course offerings to meet the changing job market.

Professional Education and Capacity Building

“Where I see a problem is in the universities, what you call academic archaeology. They want to keep their way of doing things. If we want a more rapid integration between archaeologists and conservators in fieldwork, we have to have more impact in the universities and in the education of the new generation of professionals.”

Angel Cabeza in Agnew 2003, p. 17.

One of the main developments in archaeological practice in the United States, was the emergence of what is now known as Cultural Resource Management (CRM). It was at that time also that the UNESCO 1972 Convention recognized world heritage sites. Coincidentally, the 1970s were also years of economic development programmes in many countries. However, the training of archaeologists remained largely academic with a prominent focus on theoretical issues with little or no modification of the curriculum to take into account the skills needed to manage archaeological sites. The situation has not changed much, even though CRM has now become a major source of employment for many archaeologists. Fagan, as recently as 2003, predicted that archaeology is likely to become almost entirely a profession focused on managing the past if current trends continue. The first generation of CRM archaeologists were mostly involved in archaeological surveys connected with major construction projects to ensure that valuable archaeological sites are not destroyed and that archaeological materials are retrieved and curated if they are encountered. However, a new generation of CRM archaeologists are needed to oversee a transition in the practice and scope of archaeology into a field guided by the social significance of archaeological objects in contemporary life (Hassan 2007). This will require acquisition of new skills that range from conservation to project management and from community participation to mounting exhibitions. In this regard, the initiative launched by Uppsala University under the title “The Making and Unmaking of Cultural Heritage” reflects the growing interest in heritage

issues in academic settings. The initiative for 2007-2008 is aimed at the creation of research networks across departments and disciplines to deal with cultural industries, sponsorships, gift-economics, commodification, cultural policy, the role of cultural heritage institutions, legal controls, intellectual property rights, digitization, and new media.

From the perspective provided here where archaeological sites, monuments and collections are a part of an inheritance for mobilizing the past for a better future, and as such an element of heritage for development, we adopt here the label “cultural heritage management” (CHM) with a key shift in outlook and practice so that CHM is not just a form of rescue archaeology, but a new discipline with new objectives that involve interpreting and presenting the past as an active force in contemporary cultural life and development. The main domains of this new discipline include project management, business planning, site management, documentation, conservation, museology, and heritage economics to compliment academic and scholarly skills. The new curriculum has the advantage of benefiting from the new information and scientific technologies ranging from Geographical Information System (GIS) to geophysical prospecting and remote sensing. Strategically, CHM capacity building (CULTNAT 2002, pp. 166-184) would:

Compliment traditional archaeology and history programs with CHM components and modules in current university curricula, create CHM networks within and between universities and heritage institutions, establish educational facilities (institutes, academies) and programmes for cultural heritage management and development.

Foster links between archaeologists, architects, geographers, anthropologists and sociologists to develop an integrated heritage management strategy that takes into consideration the relationships between sites, artefacts, places, landscapes, and intangible heritage elements. This can be facilitated through workshops, seminars, networks, and participation in joint projects.

- Introduce managerial skills, ethics, professional skills and standards, languages, and IT literacy as core requirements for CHM specialists.
- Make provision for a creative vision of potential heritage services, industries, and projects.

- Establish a link between development projects, capacity building, and research.
- Establish local, specialized training centres, especially in principal and potential heritage development regions.
- Engage local communities in all aspects of development activities through a Public Heritage Programme.
- Include heritage and heritage development in all levels of education as courses, modules, activities (handicrafts, visits, and competitions).
- Establish a Heritage Institute to prepare a new generation of heritage managers and development officers to rescue, protect, and manage heritage in peril.

Given that human resources are often limited, it is not only imperative to embark immediately on capacity building programmes in cultural heritage management but also to create regional and thematic networks, integrated specialized centres of excellence, and research-driven clusters and communities of practice.

Among the pioneer programmes in the Arab World is Queen Rania's Institute for Tourism and Cultural Heritage in Jordan which has been founded with the aim of providing career opportunities in the tourism industry, management, conservation and preservation of historical and cultural resources. The Institute also aims to support research on issues related to sustainable management of natural and cultural resources (www.hu.edu.jo/oldlook/inst/qr/main_qr.htm).

Centres dedicated to heritage capacity building for development may benefit from the Cultural Heritage and Development Network launched in January 1998 by UNESCO and the World Bank to coordinate the activities of development and aid organizations and international institutions involved in the preservation and conservation of cultural heritage.

Consideration should also be given to the summary statement concerning teaching archaeology in the 21st century by the American Society of Archaeology³ which strongly endorses the role of archaeologists in interpreting, managing, and protecting the past, acknowledges that the discipline has changed and continues to change: "In addition to research, archaeology is now being called upon to provide data to manage, in the

³) (www.saa.org/aboutSAA/committees/curriculum/issues.html)

public interest, the non-renewable historic, prehistoric, and submerged resources we call our nation's heritage. This brings with it additional responsibilities which require new and/or modified skills, knowledge, and abilities to meet these new challenges.”

Agency: From Ideas to Action

An action plan will remain no more than that unless there are those who are committed to enacting it. It is the writer's conviction that the responsibility for cultural heritage and development is not any one person's or an institution's sole responsibility. That heritage is first of all a social construct; defined, protected, conserved, and mobilized by social groups for a common good. Given that societies consist of different communities with different agendas and priorities and that the government or the intergovernmental organizations consist of communities with their own orientation, diverse views are often not communicated, debated, or discussed to provide a consensus or agreements. This may lead to legislations that are not enacted, public demands that are not honoured, or minority opinions that may be ignored. It is therefore essential for all concerned with cultural heritage and development to actively express and promote their views without dogmatic assertions, hegemonic rules, or professional righteousness. There is a role for governments to play, but cultural heritage cannot be protected without communities that support governmental actions. Governments accordingly have to encourage representatives of civic society to be represented on its decision-making bodies, and communities have to seek to express their views and positions through organized civic organizations to make their voices heard.

It is also important to engage celebrities and society figures in promoting the conservation of cultural heritage. The role played, for example, by Her Majesty Queen Noor of Jordan in actively endorsing and supporting cultural heritage programs in Jordan, is laudable. She sums up her position as follows:

“the main thrust of my commitment to Petra and my work with these organizations is to ensure that this balance [between preservation concerns and the development of sustainable tourism] provides a more equitable distribution of employment, tourism income and other benefits among the local community. Their awareness and sense of

opportunity combined with responsibility for the long-term conservation of this reassure is critical as they and their children are the most direct and natural custodians of Petra” (www.go.com.jo).

Her majesty’s commitment to heritage extends to “living” heritage (through “Noor Al Hussein Foundation” NHF) , which lies at the heart not only of the continuation of tradition from the past into the present, but which is also a means of bringing the dead past to life and in the process manage to enrich the present and map the future. Support for handicrafts, traditional music, dance, and artistic creativity is also a means to generate much needed income.

Conclusion

The responsibility of protecting, conserving, and mobilization heritage for a better future lies with individuals who can volunteer their time and make donations to conservation or development projects that may range from simple community projects to more elaborate national projects. Such projects may consist of no more than placing signs or helping visitors to the initiation of cultural tourism programs, or support for heritage craft centres.

Key initial developments toward a successful, optimal, sustainable development strategy would include (1) An Arab Heritage Development Organization (AHDO) made up of intellectuals and stake-holders to initiate the preparation of National Policy Statements as a lead to the formalization of National Cultural Heritage Acts identifying the institutions, financial and legal instruments aimed at protecting, conserving, managing and developing cultural heritage, 2) the institution of a Heritage Academies or Institutes to prepare a new generation of heritage managers who are familiar with heritage economics, and 3) establishment of an Arab Heritage Development Fund (AHDF).

3

NEAR EASTERN HERITAGE AND DEVELOPMENT

Tamima Orra Mourad

Prologue

Regardless of social class, cultural background, ideology, political standing, nationality, gender—we all belong to a past. The awareness of our place in time is crucial to our understanding of where we belong and how we fit in. People do have a notion of the near past and of their cultural legacies, and are able to identify material vestiges of this past and traces of cultural inheritance, to recognize themselves in Cultural Heritage Sites, Oral Traditions, Historic Cities, Languages, Cultural Landscapes, Festive events, Natural and Sacred Sites, Rites and Beliefs, Underwater Cultural Heritage, Music and Songs, Museums, Performing Arts, Movable Cultural Heritage, Traditional Medicine, Handicrafts, Literature, Documentary and Digital Heritage, Culinary Traditions, Cinematographic Heritage, Traditional Sports and Games, etc... Any human being, at any given historical period and of any cultural background has the intellectual capacity to set apart, to collect and preserve what she or he considers heritage; worthy to be kept for future generations - this process could be an individual task or a collective activity based on social consensus. If it does not occur as natural individual or social perception, it can and should be stimulated and motivated through public programmes and education.

Defining cultural heritage and outlining strategies for its maintenance and improvement is crucial to any country's cultural development. As a result of this initial cycle of detection, there is a renovated 'awareness' of

heritage, and approaches to the preservation and communication of what is regarded and respected as a common heritage. Archaeological, natural, historical sites, along with archaeological remains historical objects and traditions are recognized and given the status of heritage; they become instrumental in the building of civic identity, restore civic institutions, and boost both cultural and economic development.

This cycle of heritage identification leading to social development is not at all new as a management strategy. In fact, it has been used ever since the end of the eighteenth century in Europe, and has been transformed into distinct strategies, culminating in nationalist propaganda at the start of the twentieth century; as old European empires and their colonies developed into modern nation states (Hassan 2007). Near Eastern past and its vestiges were placed at the centre of the European development of a distant civilised past. Near Eastern vestiges enlarged their collections, and as a consequence, motivated the elaboration of their heritage management and strategies. After all, it is not unusual for colonised countries to have a great portion of their heritage being managed overseas by their former colonizing states. The Near Eastern past and its vestiges played a specific role in this process. Eighteenth and nineteenth century emperors saw themselves in the glories of the Near Eastern ancient emperors whether Egyptian Pharaohs or Assyrian military heroes - European rulers wanted a triumphant and civilised past with all the monumental vestiges that Near Eastern emperors once afforded. Temples were dug and dismantled, small finds were packed, along with obelisks, statues and mummies; abducted from their homely landscape to cruise from their Near Eastern shores, to anchor themselves in museums in European capitals such as London (e.g. the British Museum), Paris (e.g. the Louvre) and Berlin (e.g. the Egyptian Museum, the Pergamon Museum). The Near Eastern past and its glories were used to give these modern empires the power and propaganda to boost their industrializing economies and to legitimate their needs of territorial expansion and the acquisition of colonies; so that they could triumph as past empires had done. This heritage strategy was a consequence of the socio-political needs of France, England and Germany to appropriate the Near Eastern past in their imperial propaganda, thereby distancing the Near Eastern past from its own contemporary living populations. A great deal of the problems that are faced today in the management of heritage in the Near East have to do with the processes that were implemented in

the nineteenth century by European powers and their duplicity in how they administered Near Eastern heritage for themselves and how it was to be supervised for the locals.

The notorious figure of the orientalist came onto the scene mediating East and West, past and present, and stewarding the empire and what could be of interest. Orientalists and archaeologists were specifically hired as part-time geographers, diplomats, trade agents and translators among other tasks; they offered their services to their respective consulates whose payment would guarantee their subsistence and the continuation of their research. As orientalists had knowledge of the language, local habits and traditions, they became accessories of the European interference in the Near East. Orientalists interfered in the local socio-political, economic, cultural, and religious aspects, having significant *liaisons* with their own sponsoring governments as well as with the local elites. In this mediating exercise, orientalists managed to establish a duality within the heritage polity - stewarding a past for their European sponsors and distancing the past from the local populations. It is interesting, at this point, to have a glimpse at how cultural heritage had been managed, to pinpoint strategies of appropriation, and distortions in the relationship between locals and their past. I have chosen a few historical documents from distinct moments and illustrative situations that help to elucidate and to give historical accuracy while narrating the 'dilapidation' of Near Eastern heritage - a necessary historical encounter to acknowledge problems and to determine solutions.

Heritage Management in the Context of Ottoman Colonisation

Throughout its history, and within the rise and fall of civilisations and empires, the Near East always had libraries and specific spaces among them; temples, palaces and fortresses where heritage, and what was conceived as valuable, was kept. Despite the negative reputation bestowed onto the Ottoman Empire as a ruthless military power or as the *Empire Malade*, during the four centuries of its dominion over the Near East, it was no exception to the achievements of the previous ones. Ever since antiquity, historical narratives have been produced by locals; whether in military annals of emperors, iconography on the walls of temples, clay

tablets, parchments or folios, illustrating that there was a tradition of writing history and a tradition of transmitting it to future generations. European travellers were curious to explore vestiges they had found in the landscape, which were well known to locals who had also related them to the Bible and to the Koran. Throughout history, local scholars had gone further than writing the history of a certain periods; they had also attempted to delineate the plans of historical cities and towns. Contrary to perceptions that have been projected upon the local populations in the Near East, locals were interested in their own history, they had a sense of historicity and historiography and they produced historical chronicles. Some European travellers came across such documents and used them to guide them through the vestiges that still existed in the landscape:

“I was so fortunate, however, while prosecuting my researches, as to obtain a *most admirable and complete guide-book*—I mean the Great history of *Ibn e’ Sâker*. This rare and valuable MS [manuscript] is in forty volumes small folio; it is *now* the property of one of the great schools or colleges in this city. It is, *I believe*, the only complete copy of the work in existence. Owing to the kindness of a friend - the head of a great Moslem family - I have the privilege [sic] of reading it, making extracts from it, or copying it, if I wish. The latter however is too laborious, and I have contended myself with the former. In this book I found a full description of the city when taken by the Moslems, with a history of its most important buildings. Guided by it, I explored the several quarters, and found remains of vast extent and great splendour. There is one temple in the city, a part of which is now the great Mosque, and was formerly the cathedral of St. John, which almost rivals in extent and beauty the temples at Baalbek and Palmyra. A great part of it still complete, or nearly so; and I have been able to obtain measurements and details, from which I can construct a plan of the whole.” (Hogg 1800-1869, 5-6)

It was not unusual for manuscripts to be kept scattered in various mosques and local schools; others were kept at public libraries established by the Ottoman emperors. These were also visited by European travellers, especially missionaries, and publications such as *Travels in various countries of the East; being a continuation of memoirs relating to European and Asiatic Turkey*, by Reverend Robert Walpole, published in 1820, made the latest publications by Near Eastern scholars known to the west. Walpole, at the

time of his visit in 1801 to Tibaa-Khanée, a printing house adjoined to the Muhendis Khan; preparing to reprint the Arabic translation of Euclid, by Nasred-dîn el Tousi; but without corrections or emendations” (Walpole 1820:154). The missionary’s attention was also caught by the fact that the printing house was also working on the impression of a recent English Atlas, with the names in Turkish. Upon learning that local printing houses had such a dynamic vocation at the largest city centres, Reverend Walpole decided to investigate the history of these institutions and report them to the West. While reporting about the introduction of printing by the Ottomans, Walpole mentioned his source as being *De Fatis Linguarum Orientalium*, which stated that the Turkish Empire would only introduce printing on 1139 of the Hegira (AD 1761). Walpole went as far as to list the earliest publications which covered aspects of history (local and overseas), language and geography, among them:

1. Ketab Loghat Wankuli. - An Arabo-Turkish Lexicon, 2 tom. in folio, 1141 AH
2. Tuhfat el Kubâr. - A History of the maritime wars of the Ottomans, 1141 AH
3. Tarikhes Seyah. - A History of the wars between the Agwhans and the Persians, 1142 AH
4. Tarikh el Hind el Ghurbi. - History of America, 1142 AH
5. Tarikh Timûri. - History of Timur leng, 1142 AH
6. Tarikh Misr kadîm we Misr gidîd. - History of ancient and modern Egypt, 1142 AH
7. Ghiulsheni Chulifa. - History of the Chalifs, 1143 AH
8. A Turkish and French Grammar, 1143 AH
9. Nizam el umen. - (Qu.?) A treatise on government, 1144 AH
10. Feiaz el Maknatissié. - On the load stone, 1144 AH
11. Gihan Namé. - An Atlas, 1145 AH
12. Tekwimi Tawarikh. - Chronological tables, 1146 AH
13. Tarikh Neima. - Ottoman annals, 1153 AH
14. Tarikh Rachid Effendi. - Ottoman annals, 1153 A. H.
15. Tarikh ahwali ghazawat Diar Bosna. - History of the war with the Austrians, 1154 AH
16. Firkenghi Shuri. - A Persian and Turkish Lexicon, 1155 AH” (Walpole 1820:154)

According to Walpole, the use of the press was interrupted circa 1155 (AD 1777), as a consequence of the death of Ibrahim Mutefarika, most probably a scholar, and active supporter of the institution. Some publications were discontinued by 1158, such as the one on the history of the war with the Austrians. The restoration of printing was only to be taken up after a firman was issued to Abd-el-Hamid, who was - most probably - a scholar. The lapse of time where the printing was halted is unknown, but the list of fresh publications bloom in this second phase of the printing era, as described by Walpole:

1. *Tarikhi Sami, we Sachir, we Subhi*. - Annals composed by these three public historiographers.
2. *Tarikhi Yzzi*. - Another of the same kind.
3. *An Arabian and Turkish Grammar*, Ibnel Hajib. (Walpole 1820, 155)

Due to the subsequent war with Russia, want of expert hands, new types, and other causes, the press was halted once again from 1786 to 1797. This time, as witnessed by Walpole:

“New types were then cast by an Armenian; since which time there have been printed the following books, according to a list which I received on the spot:

1. *Burhani Katé*. - A Persian and Turkish Lexicon, published, however, without corrections or improvements.
2. *Tehfa Wahbi sheraï heïati Afendinin*. - A vocabulary.
3. *Leghé Loght*. - Another philological work.
4. *Loghat Wancuil*, was in the press. (Walpole 1820, 156)

As can be understood from highlighting this simple and brief description of the history of printing in the Ottoman Empire, there was a concern of local scholars and even the general public to have historical narratives, language studies and philosophical studies published in what could be considered a ‘regular basis’ for the eighteenth century. It is interesting to remark that none of the publications were of a religious nature, they were all lay studies on scholarly topics. There was, most probably, a tendency for religious themes to be treated and divulged by religious institutions. An additional observation to be made on the historical context of printing in the Ottoman Empire is that all the publications have a scholarly overtone, a result of the endeavours of a scholarly elite.

In this case, one could easily presume that what was narrated by Walpole is an official list of publications of the Empire, to printing institutions holding an official firman - a permit - from the government. It is probable that popular culture received no attention and was given no share in the official press; and in this case it was transmitted through manuscripts, or extra-official and less sophisticated, improvised press.

Books, manuscripts, maps, and all sorts of documents were housed at the Empire's libraries. Twelve public libraries were listed by Walpole (1820:156-157):

1. That of Agia Sophia
2. Suleyman.
3. That of Mohammed II.
4. Kiupruli pasha.
5. That of Walidé.
6. Seid Ali pasha.
7. Ibrahim pasha.
8. Atêf affendi.
9. That of Bayazid.
10. Osman III.
11. Abd-el-Hamid.
12. Rughib pasha.

Nothing is mentioned on the reasoning behind the names of the libraries; on whether these figures were sheer political figures, benefactors, or whether they really had a scholarly and intellectual interest, or if they were influential in the formation of the ideas of their times. Another enigmatic question relates to who could enter libraries and make use of all the information which they housed. One could assume that only an intellectual elite would be interested in such spaces, yet, there is a possibility that only government officials could have access to such 'restricted areas', or it could even require an official permit. Walpole himself never visited any of these libraries, although his narrative is illustrative of the curiosity and interest in reading and having access to documents, books, and maps produced by local scholars throughout different periods.

The Seizure of an Attractive Past

Travellers in general were inclined to copy documents they came across, taking copies back to Europe, and every so often purchasing original documents to form oriental collections of libraries in Europe:

“And in concluding his letter, Mr. Potter writes:—

“I sometimes meet with Arabic MSS [manuscripts] of rarity and value as illustrative of the History of Damascus, Syria, and the Mohammedan Empire generally. I purchase as many as I can afford to do myself, but there are many beyond my means, which would be great acquisitions to the Library of any College, Museum, or Society in England. It is a pity to lose an opportunity of securing them. Many of them are at present being purchased for the Royal Library in Berlin.” (Hogg 1800-1869, 12)

Travellers throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth century served their countries as information gatherers for socio-political and economic purposes; and as a side-effect of collecting information, documents and objects; they began to form collections which were either personal or to be donated to museums and libraries in their homeland. Documents such as the one mentioned in the excerpt above, had served the purpose - up until the moment that it was ‘abducted’ to Berlin - of narrating the past written by a local centuries before, to locals centuries after. It was a crucial link stretching through centuries to narrate particular views of historical events and a specific sense of historicity; which along with other thousands of documents that were also taken to Europe, represented the Near Eastern historical heritage - here represented by the compilation of local voices narrating distinct moments and perspectives of their own past. The loss of contact with these historical narratives, is to a certain extent, a loss of sovereignty over the past, and worst of all, it automatically delegates the holder of the evidence, the tutorship to voice your own history.

Archaeological sites, vestiges and monuments underwent exactly the same process. Until 1869 the territories under Ottoman rule had historical and archaeological monuments scattered around the landscape, there was no centralised management of sites and vestiges. Yet, few people are aware that some objects were held in secured spaces whether mosques, churches, synagogues, forts or palaces. These objects were not open to

the public, but people still had knowledge of their existence and their rarity. Religious relics, from the head of John the Baptist to the Ummayyad caliphs' swords, were exhibited to the public at churches and mosques. As a symbol of Ottoman hegemony, at the height of the Empire, the swords of the prophet's closest friends, and the prophet's personal belongings were taken to Constantinople. This appropriation was symbolic not only of the Ottoman hegemony, but of its standing as a Islamic and Sunnite rule over the Near East. Other small objects were also considered valuable, but were kept *in situ*, or somewhere close to their homely grounds. A few travellers were able to establish contact with local authorities and gain their confidence and permit to visit such finds:

“After having passed through three gates of solid iron, half an inch in thickness, we arrived at the interior of the castle; and were immediately conducted, to use the words of the Reis Effendi, to “the inexhaustible treasury of Aleppo.”

We entered a large well-built hall, arched and supported by pillars, in which we literally saw nothing but a few arrows, damaged sabres and musquets; a few dusty cuirasses, and some rusty iron helmets, probably used in time of the Crusades: these, with some other rubbish, and wooden shovels, &c., composed the whole contents of the armoury.” (Hogg 1800-1869: 331)

Upon hearing that a local nobleman had gathered a collection of antiques, which was by mistake translated into English as ‘treasure’, Hogg was compulsive to see what was among the treasures being kept under surveillance. He was disappointed with the fact that rusty objects were found instead of ‘relics from antiquity’ instead of the recent past, and there was no gold or precious stones. Locals and specially notables of the Ottoman Empire had not only interest for historical and archaeological vestiges, but they also kept their own collections, and even guided travellers through sites. Diplomats, commercial agents scholars, soldiers, and Christian pilgrims visiting the Near East usually took small finds back to their homeland as souvenirs of the Biblical territories. By the mid-nineteenth century the British Museum, the Louvre, and the Museum of Berlin were about to dig and ship to Europe temples or palaces that were either dismantled or torn apart to fit into ships and museum galleries.

Documents, vestiges along with raw materials were purchased and taken to Europe at an equivalent rate and proportion, it had both market value and demand. As the Ottoman authorities noticed such tendencies, they began to take measures to restrain the exiting of archaeological finds. The demand for vestiges and objects had to do with a concept of the Near East as the Biblical landscape and, at the same time as the Cradle of Civilisation; at its ultimate, the Cradle of European Civilisation. The Ottomans slowly began to realise what they had overlooked: objects had a market value, and they represented and symbolised civilisation and progress and as landmarks of the present socio-political domains. They had also missed the European processes that had motivated a extremely centralised and bureaucratically efficient systems of institutions to collect and to preserve what was conceived as ‘imperial patrimony’; that was only in the twentieth century to be conceived as public heritage. It was only in 1869, during a moment of the modernisation of the Ottoman Empire, following European models, that the Ottomans established a initial body of rules (Table 1). As rules were broken, escalating measures were taken to prevent the appropriation of local heritage. As a result of these tendencies, in less than twenty years, the Ottomans had adopted an efficient body of regulations on the antiquities, and by 1881, they had founded their first museum:

These regulations were regarded as an obstacle to European scientific work, and as an impediment of access to their Cradle of Civilisation. Orientalists who saw the Near East as their Cradle of Civilisation, began to question the cultural suzerainty of the Ottoman Empire! Desperate remarks were exchanged between notorious orientalist such as Ernest Renan, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1884:

“Ce qui rend ces mesures, en mesures, en effet, particulièrement désastreuses, c’est l’immense étendue des pays auxquels elles s’appliquent, les prétentions de la Turquie s’étendant maintenant à des régions sur lesquelles elle n’avait exercé jusqu’ici qu’un pouvoir nominal. La concentration des objets antiques dans un musée national se conçoit (quoi qu’elle ait graves inconvénients) pour un pays de médiocre étendue et ayant en quelque sorte son unité archéologique. Mais que dire d’un musée qui contiendra pêle-mêle les objets fournis par les pays grecs, l’Asie Mineure, la Syrie, l’Arabie, l’Égypte et tant d’autres pays sur lesquels la Porte croira pouvoir s’arroger je ne

sais quelle suzeraineté fantastique ? Les confusions, les méprises auxquelles donnera lien cet assemblage contre nature, introduiront dans l'archéologie un trouble profond, maintenant surtout qu'on arrive à voir qu'un objet archéologique que quand on sait les conditions on il a été trouvé, les objets qui ont été découverts avec lui ou près de lui, etc." (Renan, E. 31st of March, 1884; Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Direction Politique, carton, Turquie 1884-1892-1896, fouilles archéologiques, Direction Politique classement, série B carton 47, dossier 10)

According to Ernest Renan, archaeological suzerainty was about power and sovereignty over the territory. His first point is that a decaying empire had lost ground and power over its provinces, and since Europe had infiltrated the empire, it had more power and domain over the territory and therefore had rights over the remains. His second critique and excuse was that the territory was too extensive and that there would be no archaeological unity. In this case, Renan set aside the fact that the Louvre, the museum that he had contributed with the vestiges of his expedition to Beirut (1860-1861), housed an even wider variety of finds coming from all corners of the world. His third and last pretext was that the Ottomans had no connection with the historical heritage of Greece, Asia Minor, Arabia, Yemen, and other territories under Turkish rule; which is of course untrue. The territories under Turkish rule had ever since antiquity been composed of different empires that overlapped over centuries as civilisations had risen and fallen, continuously in contact through commerce at times of peace, and through war while disputing for territorial expansion. Renan's desperate justifications only illustrate that he related power over the Near Eastern past to France, owed to its socio-political influence, to its scientific expertise, and due to the inculcation and incorporation of the idea that they had a stronger affiliation with the Near Eastern past than that of the locals, the living populations, and the Turks. Renan turned the situation around, blaming Ottomans, instead of Europeans, for forcing an assemblage of cultures against nature! The pleas set forward by Renan were central to the strategies of the appropriation of heritage, and also the inmost characteristic of colonisation; starting with the infiltration of the territory, exploitation of the natural and human resources, and finally appropriating other people's past. This excerpt from Renan's letter stands as an example of the attempt of distancing the past from the living Near

Eastern populations, bringing it closer to the European population; at first at a conceptual level. The concrete measure involving this strategy was to take possession of the vestiges and to house them in Europe - if not legally, illegally.

As the sea ports restricted permits to foreigners willing to excavate in the Near East, and as there was a constrained possibility on the purchase of vestiges, if any; there was an escalating tendency to have archaeological finds shipped out of the empire illicitly. As the trade in antiquities became a prohibited activity, objects acquired a higher market value; and consequently, it became more profitable than ever. Objects that were once found in trivial activities - mainly of agriculture or public constructions - began to be regarded as treasures, with a reasonable market value, that could be easily sold in the black market. As an outcome of the irregularity of these transactions, or of illegal excavations, there had to be a scheme of clandestine shipment of vestiges that would either hide objects from customs inspection or bribe inspectors in order to guarantee the shipment. Local peasants, government officials, missionaries, European scholars, diplomats, highly ranked academic institutions, and even ministers either participated, or were compliant with schemes of illicit trade in antiquities. Transactions of objects that were to be housed in public institutions had to go through all the bureaucratic procedures of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs so that they would enter the country, whether as donations or purchased goods. The 1894 Clermont-Ganneau case is illustrative of such situations.

Clermont-Ganneau was a notorious orientalist, one of Renan's students, a member of the *Institut de France*, and also of the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belle-Lettres*, a Professor at the *Collège de France*, and also served the French government as a '*Premier Secrétaire - Interprète du Gouvernement*'. Upon being notified of the finds of Père Prosper, a French priest settled in Aleppo, he was asked to find a solution to the case. The priest had been requesting the French government to purchase two monuments at the average price of 1500 to 2000 francs. Prosper justified his insistence, haste and emergency in purchasing the objects due to the fact that the Germans were in town to start their season of excavations. Consequently, he was afraid that they would acquire the finds before France.

It is known from a second document, dated one year later, 21st of June 1895, that the two Aramaic stelae were finally purchased - belonging to the collection of the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belle-Lettres* - and stuck in the French Consulate in Beirut since they could not be legally shipped out of the Ottoman Empire. A pity, according to Clermont-Ganneau, since according to his description:

“ce sont deux grands stèles de basalte avec sujets figurés et inscriptions araméennes, ou plus haut intérêt pour l’archéologie orientale, qui, une fois entrées dans nos collection nationales, feront l’envie des Musées étrangers.” (Clermont-Ganneau, letter dating 21/06/1895, Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Direction Politique, carton, Turquie 1877-1896, fouilles archéologiques, Direction Politique classement, série B carton 58, dossier 2).

According to Clermont-Ganneau’s narrative they had awaited an opportunity to leave Aleppo without calling the attention of the authorities:

“Les deux stèles, confiées par notre drogman chancelier à Alep, M. Barthélemy, à M. Mercadier, ingénieur français employé aux études du tracé des nouvelles lignes ferrées de Syrie, ont pu être transportées jusqu’à Beyrouth sans qu’on donnât l’éveil aux autorités ottomanes.”

Employees of the French government had aided in the illegal scheme to transport the finds closer to the port. But then, there were all the problems involving the customs of the port of Beirut. To solve such matters, he had requested the *Département des Affaires Etrangères* to send instructions to the representative in Beirut:

“lui recommandant de faire le nécessaire pour assurer le succès de cette dernière opération il s’agit de déjouer la surveillance de la douane et de ne pas s’exposer à l’application du règlement interdisants l’importation des antiquités dans l’Empire Ottoman.

M. Lecat, Directeur Général des Messageries nationales, a bien voulu écrire à M. Rigo, agent de la Compagnie à Beyrouth, pour lui dire de s’entendre à ce sujet avec notre consul Général dans cette ville, de se mettre à son entière disposition et de se prêter à toutes combinaisons pour cent faciliter l’opération.

Bien que les précautions à prendre ne puissent être exactement jugées que sur place, on se permettra d'appeler l'attention sur les points suivants :

1— Il y aurait peut-être avantage à choisir pour lieu d'embarquement le petit port au pétrole et au charbon, dit Mênet el-Hosn (« le port du fort »), où la surveillance de la douane s'exerce d'une façon moins rigoureuse ;

2— Il serait peut-être prudent de ne hasarder qu'une stèle à la fois, on commençant par le colis le plus léger ;

3— *On pourrait peut-être profiter de la présence d'un de nos bâtiments de guerre pour faire prendre à terre les deux caisses par une de les embarcations, de façon à éviter toute visite de la douane ; le transbordement en rade sur un paquebot des Messageries se ferait ensuite sans difficultés, grâce aux instructions spéciales envoyées par M. Lecat à l'agent de la Compagnie. »*

One could say that it was a rather simple scheme, yet it is remarkable how it involved high ranking officials and public posts in the French government; and above all, how the whole scheme was drawn up by a rather bookish, dandy French scholar; rather than an individual with a criminal experience, or in some sort of banned career.

The competition for the appropriation of Near Eastern heritage constituted an illegal market in antiquities that survives to the present day. It created a legacy of appropriation of heritage, which gains impulse as objects received exorbitant rates at the end of a long string of deals. Appropriation is just the first aspect of the problem; what should be regarded as disturbing is the fact that locals involved in antiquity dealing regard their own heritage - not as a cultural asset to be seized by them - but as pertinent to others, to be sold to others, as belonging to others. Awareness is at the core of the problem, rather than social or financial hardships; after all, antiquities only reach their top market value abroad. As a matter of fact, throughout history, locals sold antiquities as a *bagatelle*, and it only became a profitable activity because it was done massively. This lack of awareness is a mirror effect of historical consciousness, and one pushes the other in this cycle towards oblivion. A second problematic consequence of appropriation is that those who hold the vestiges, are

those who have the means to interpret and voice the past: they are the holders of the sovereignty over the narration and uses of the past. The cycle of appropriation is complete and efficient when it reaches this stage, and there are only three solutions to remedy the harm done: education, education, and education. But before we run into solutions, it is important to understand what would be a good example of heritage management, civil awareness, and bond with heritage vestiges.

The European Institutionalisation of Heritage Management: Drawing the Line between Civilisation and Barbarism

If we consider the European consciousness of the importance of heritage and the appropriation of the heritage of others as a contradiction; another facet to this duality has to do with the demarcation between civilisation and barbarism. As European empires became increasingly responsive of the magnitude and socio-political uses of heritage the delineation between knowledge, control, power, over the past was clearly separated from ignorance, oblivion, and neglect of the past, which was a mirror effect of the loss of sovereignty over the territory where vestiges were once retrieved. As proprietors of the vestiges they had been collecting abroad, and never regarded themselves as raiders or looters of other people's past, they rather regarded themselves as more deserving, more legitimate inheritors of the 'Cradle of Civilisation' due to their present political standing, projecting the image of backwards and barbaric upon the indigenous populations (cf. the perspective of pioneering British Egyptologist Walter B. Emery). The acquaintance with a past and ownership of vestiges, whether forced and faked, or real and legitimate, symbolised the suzerainty over the past, detainment of a political predominance in the present and the propaganda of the certainty of a promising industrious and progressive future. Emperors invested in public awareness, museums and public spaces for exhibitions and contact with heritage because, ever since the start of the nineteenth century, they were aware that public responsiveness was the cornerstone to heritage management. If the narratives of the past were constructed to glorify emperors and their civilising role, and objects were considered their collections; both past and vestiges were made known to public, and began to have socio-political and educational role in everyday life in Europe. European heritage management reached the start of the

twentieth century as a highly institutionalised network of libraries, archives and museums.

By the turn of the century, as empires turned into nation states, collections merged from imperial symbols into national emblems, highly cherished by the public due to the diffusion of the knowledge of its importance through education, and its protection by the state as civic instruments. Heritage served as an instrument to mobilise the public as it was used to symbolise a collective, national identity; diffused in school curricula on the one hand as a civil right to a common identity, and as a duty to participate in the protection and preservation of the common patrimony for posterity. A threat to heritage began to be conceived as a threat to their future. An illustrative example of such case happened in WWII when Sir Winston Churchill created a committee specifically concerned “with all matters affecting the preservation of monuments and works of art in the battle areas” (Letter from the Air Ministry from Archibald Sinclair to Lord Macmillan, British Library, Manuscripts Add. 54577), having Sir Leonard Woolley, an archaeologist from the British Museum as Chairman. Woolley was to inform the Supreme Allied Commanders of both American and British air forces on measures to be taken. In Sir Winston Churchill’s own words to Woolley, he stated:

“I am grateful to you for undertaking the Chairmanship of the Committee which I trust will be able to help in saving for posterity some of the treasures of civilisation from the rapacity of the Hun.”
(letter from Sir Winston Churchill to Sir Leonard Woolley, dated 22nd of May, 1944, British Library, Manuscripts Add. 54577)

The Hun, used to attribute to the Soviet, Red army, who had been a threat to the Allied forces along with the Nazis, were threatening to either abduct or to destroy heritage vestiges. Woolley was also to deal with the possibilities of “reconstitution of monuments, works of art and archives looted by the enemy” (letter to Lord Macmillan from P. J. Grigg, on the approval from the War Office on Macmillan’s choice of inviting Woolley for the Committee, dated 19th of May 1944, British Library, Manuscripts Add. 54577 f. 45). The committee was to stand as a civic-minded action and an instrument of civility against the ‘barbarism’ and avidity of the enemy to get hold of the ‘treasures of civilisation’.

Woolley's task was not simple, and the situation grew worse as an informant found out about the Nazi policy concerning the treatment of heritage. According to this informant, a Bavarian state functionary:

“Hitler had issued a secret order to all responsible authorities to the effect that in the last resort all historic buildings and works of art in Germany, whether of German or foreign origin, whether legally or illegally acquired, should be destroyed rather than to fall into the hands of Germany's enemies.” (Letter from Woolley to Lord Macmillan dated 2nd of November 1944, British Library, Manuscripts, Add. 54577 f. 160)

Heritage, at that point had acquired such a role in society and such symbolic power that it was plausible to hold it as a ‘war hostage’ or to simply destroy it, should it fall into the hands of the enemy. In this same letter Woolley states that Hitler soon realised that the destruction of heritage was one of the ways to abate the enemy, and decided to change the way to take siege of the cities:

“I would remind you on the one hand of the burning of the deposit of Neapolitan pictures and archives at Nola, on the other the burning of the Nauwick collection of the French Impressionist paintings at the Chateau de Rastignac. Again it is reliably reported that recently the German Commander in The Hague summoned the leading members of the city's administration and read a proclamation stating that The Hague would not fall into the hands of the Allies in the same state as did Brussels and Paris, and that nothing would be left of it but ruins.”

The War Office expressed all the concern, should Hitler's order be taken literally. After all, he was not only about to destroy German heritage, there was a great deal of the artistic heritage of the Allies; and Woolley's committee had the hope to be able to repatriate them. Woolley proposed proactive measures to deal with the Nazi policy, and decided that ‘leaflet raids’ would be an effective way to play the heritage awareness of the German's against Hitler:

“As to the actual work of destruction will no doubt be done by only a small band of criminals, probably our most effective weapon would be a series of repeated broadcasts and leaflet raids in which the German people as a whole are told of the Nazi plan and warned

that any wanton destruction of works of art belonging to other nations will be made good at the expense of German collections. The Germans are proud of their own monuments and would not relish their destruction; they are proud of their national art collections, and the threat of replacement in kind would probably have a greater effect than any other possible measure in setting mass of the public against obedience to Hitler's vandalistic order."

The plan was to advertise Hitler's order to destroy German heritage, to mobilise the population against him, in the hopes that the heritage of the Allies would also be spared from destruction. Woolley ends the letter by stating that this propagandistic programme would - incidentally - have useful results by exposing "the purely callous and criminal mentality of their chosen leaders".

I personally believe that this particular historical episode is tremendously instructive. It is evocative of two major issues concerning heritage perspectives: (i) European authorities and public were perfectly aware that heritage is at the core of the social life and experience of a group, nation and country. If at any instance it is targeted, abducted or destroyed, it directly affects the social life of this group, not to mention cultural, political and economic repercussions. It was therefore barbaric to use heritage as a target. It is clear that heritage in Europe, managed by Europeans received and still receives a distinct standing and dimension, i.e. heritage taken from overseas colonies and kept in European museums is never classified as heritage out of place, or to be repatriated; (ii) The line between civility and barbarism has been drawn, and only applied to Europe. It is consequently unthinkable to loot, hold hostage, or destroy European heritage; and it is only in this case that efficient committees in case of armed conflict, and repatriation schemes were put to work. As to the possibilities to be reflexive and flexible on the repatriation of overseas heritage - Near Eastern heritage, for instance, held in the major European museums, or as to alternatives of implementing efficient programmes to avoid the destruction of heritage during armed conflicts; have never been prominent on any European agenda. This is another facet of the duplicity of the European model of heritage management: the British Museum, the Louvre, and the Museum of Berlin have the right to keep vestiges from other countries, and if threatened, they will use all the means to preserve and to restore them the their rightful owners; yet this only goes for the

European continent—with the exception of Greece, and the Parthenon marbles, of course!

Epilogue: Heritage Solutions: civility, education and heritage management

It is difficult to find a common denominator to the legacies left by the Ottoman rule and later mandate governments in the Near East, but the model of museums and heritage management implemented in the region by mandate governments were European models. If we are to take the Levantine coast as an example, there was a tendency to employ historical vestiges and the past in nationalist propaganda, to stimulate the local population to adhere to the proposals of new countries to be formed. A second predisposition was to organise heritage so as to promote tourism, after all, foreigners were already familiar with the cultures and historical narratives that were to be found in the Near East; either widely exposed by the museum collections overseas, or due to the fact that people were interested in having contact with the Biblical scenario. In the latter case, locals were in close contact with the contemporary nationalist discourse, rather than with their past. With regard to the tourist development, contact with heritage is mediated in a way where it is again the foreign visitors who are given priority over the local inhabitants. Both cases maintained, in a certain way, the legacy of distancing the local heritage from the indigenous populations. These tendencies have survived in Near Eastern countries up to the present day, but neither the use of the past as nationalist propaganda or tourism could be reliable possibilities for heritage solutions or would be possible pathways to shed light to new possibilities of heritage concepts or strategies.

As the nineteenth century European empires collapsed, and as national discourses lost ground to global tendencies, museums and heritage centres entered the twenty-first century facing financial difficulties, and sustainability became the key issue to be faced in their management. Charging for museum entrances, selling t-shirts, museum bookshops and sales of souvenirs and memorabilia became common tendencies to attempt to solve the most immediate financial problems of heritage institutions. These were just palliative and fast measures to solve matters superficially. Throughout this article, I have attempted to illustrate, through distinct

historical episodes, to demonstrate the relevance of the motivation of individuals to form, preserve, rescue, to justify collections; and the relevance of social engagement to save collections from destruction. Whenever institutions, laws, or leaders failed to guarantee the integrity of heritage, individuals could, or could have. This primordial role and potential of the individual has not changed nowadays; especially when sustainability is the issue. If sustainability is the keyword to heritage management today, then individual/collective, social engagement is the cornerstone to sustainability. Governments must have programmes of social inclusion:

Allowing social engagement in defining heritage, where institutions should allow individuals to define heritage, and to work with society to expand and include other categories to individual/collective concepts of heritage.

Instruct the public on the history of the trajectory of Near Eastern heritage and its appropriation, and how it is valued abroad in contrast with the way it is regarded and treated in Near Eastern countries.

Instruct the public to focus on the informational content of objects and not on market value that objects have acquired in their countries and abroad. In the case of objects and documents that are part of overseas collections, it should be deemed necessary to have replicas and digital copies so that the local population can have access to the information despite the fact that the original objects are abroad.

Diffuse the concept that heritage management is both an individual right and duty. It is the citizen's right to voice their sense of belonging to a history, to a territory and to a culture, and the duty to preserve it for future generations, giving them the same opportunities.

Table 1. Levantine Laws of Antiquities

Date	Author	Details	Issues
Mar. 1869 Ottoman Empire		7 decrees	Protect antiquities in the territory/forbade export of finds of missions
Mar. 24,1874 Ottoman Empire	Dr. Dethier Director of the Imperial Museum in Constantinople	4 chapters 36 decrees	Allowed the export of finds of foreign missions to their respective museums
Feb. 21,1881 Ottoman Empire		revision	Foreign archaeologists were no longer allowed to excavate without the presence of an official archaeologist of the Ottoman Museum
Feb. 21,1884 Ottoman Empire	Hamdy Bey Director of the Ottoman Imperial Museum	5 chapters 37decrees	Concerning scientific excavations, penalties, transport/use of archaeological artefacts. No objects could be exported without the permission of the Ministry of Culture and the Imperial Museum.
April 10,1906 Ottoman Empire	Hamdy Bey	revision 6 chapters 35 decrees	❶ Antiquities discovered belonged to the state ❷ upon encounter of antiquities, one must inform the state ❸ half of the artefacts could be given to the one who found them ❹ excavations required permits ❺ sales required state authorisation ❻ exporting was forbidden
April 10,1907 Ottoman Empire	Hamdy Bey	revision 6 chapters 35 decrees	Idem
April 10,1916		revision	Changes concerning field work and conservation

4

The Cultural Heritage of Lebanon: Between the War of the Past and the Reconstruction of the Future

Khaled Tadmoury

Introduction

Heritage is fundamental for the preservation and continuation of the past into the present and the future. It represents the accumulative sum of interactions between humans and the environment through time. This interaction may be an abstract symbolic relationship imposed by the particular features in the landscape, or it may be the practices and activities which took place that were the main focus. Thus, cultural heritage becomes part of the place's character, its historic architecture that is preserved and added to by successive generations. This ramifying interaction colors the heritage location with the power of signification, making it a basic component of the communities' identities. For this reason it may sometimes be difficult for an outsider to understand the cultural heritage of a particular community which reflects the continuous interaction between these communities and the complex natural and cultural constituents of their land, through which the sense of belonging develops.

Although identity and the sense of belonging fall outside the main scope of this paper, it is essential to consider their significance in the context of Lebanese cultural heritage. Nowadays, identity may be formed through political agreement rather than being an acquisition of society.

It may be specified within a limited sectarian frame, rather than being the mirror for interactions in the rich diversity of our society. The sense of belonging shrinks as a consequence of socio-economic dilemmas and difficulties which our society struggles against, and which direct the aspirations of most active forces, in particular the youth, abroad in a centrifugal surge for the separation from the place, and the alienation from both the location and the community.

Cultural Heritage in Lebanon: Confronting Contemporary Issues

The antiquities of Lebanon have a long history. They are a record of that history, as well as a witness to it – or against it. Thus they are a precious possession for the Lebanese and for humanity as a whole. They reflect Lebanon's environment and geopolitical position within one of the world's richest regions in terms of its historical and archaeological heritage. A number of these archeological and historical sites have been added to the UNESCO World Heritage List¹. These sites which are scattered across Lebanon's cities, towns and villages, both in inhabited and uninhabited areas, have suffered more in recent times than they ever did throughout their long history, from destruction, vandalism and pillage. In the recent past, Israeli rockets occasionally fell on this site or that,

¹In 1983 Lebanon signed the Convention Concerning the Protection of the Scientific, Cultural and Natural Heritage, ratified by the General Conference of the UNESCO held in Rome in 1972. The first natural location added to the World Natural Heritage List was the Forest of Cedars Location of Wadi Qadisha (The Holy Valley).

Further Lebanese archeological locations currently registered on the UNESCO International Heritage List include:

1. The monuments of Tyre (Phoenician, Roman and of the Crusades), registered on the List in 1984.
2. The monuments of Balabak (Phoenician, Hellenistic and Roman), registered on the List in 1983.
3. The monuments of Jbail (Phoenician), registered on the List in 1983.
4. The monuments of Angar (Umayyad), registered on the List in 1983.

As for the locations currently nominated for registration on the UNESCO International Heritage List:

- The historical centre of Sidon
- The historical centre of Tripoli and the harbor
- The historical centre of Petron
- Ashmon Structure (near Sidon)
- Wadi Qadesha and the surrounding historical buildings
- The natural location of the Aasi Springs, its bed and surrounding historical buildings
- The natural location of River Ibrahim and the surrounding monuments
- The natural location of River Kalb and the surrounding monuments
- The natural and historical locations of el-Shoof region, which include Deir al-Qamar, Beit el-Din, el-Mokhtara and el-Baroq
- The nature reserve of el-Nakhl island (at the harbor)

also hitting monuments located beyond the Southern region. The Israeli forces, whether in the border area or in any other area where its soldiers set foot, uprooted these monuments and carried them into Israel. It is a miracle that the monuments of the National Museum in Beirut, escaped as part of the only museum in the country². As the war took its toll, these archeological sites were not only targeted by destructive bombs, but also fell into negligence and were targeted by abuse. These tangible antiquities were not the only a target for destruction and vandalism, as they are but a small part of the national heritage. What was also targeted through such acts was their cultural meaning and their significance as part of Lebanese history and identity.

Today, many other contingent factors contribute to the erasure of our collective historical memory and our archeological monuments. Least of these is negligence, and most dangerous is the sloppiness resulting from the war, which left the doors wide open for private interests and investments at the expense of the historical and ecological wealth of the country. This was aided by the deterioration of the people's intellectual capacity for appreciating the significance of their national cultural heritage. This results from an official carelessness towards raising public awareness of the preservation of this heritage, which is essential in order to confront the difficult political challenges that lie ahead. A further obstacle is the outdated prevailing legislation that is still in place, which does not give sufficient attention to the protection and preservation of cultural, archaeological and ecological heritage.

Interest in Lebanon's cultural heritage, in particular its architectural and cultural heritage, scarcely moves beyond the elite circles who regard the past with nostalgia, and view it as a grievance of their views. This leads, in the best of circumstances, to limited and isolated interventions, most of which are inhibited by agencies. In all cases, the great wave of

²) Antiquities Museums in Lebanon are limited in number and generally small in size, with the exception of the National Museum. These museums include:

- The National Museum in Beirut.
- The Museum of Beit el-Din
- The AUB Museum for Archeology and Geology
- The Museum of Balabak Fortress
- The Museum of Sursuk in Beirut
- The Museum of Jobran Khalil Jobran in Bishri
- The Museum of Robert Moawad in Beirut

real estate investments pervading the country, is alarming because it poses serious threats to the heritage.

Threats to Lebanese Cultural Heritage from Destruction and Reconstruction

The civil war, which lasted for about 18 years, has led to a reconsideration of history, a reluctant confrontation with the past. The present seems to have been stuck in short-term strategies, completely lacking in any appreciation of folk heritage. The problematic of the preservation of heritage vs. its development has led to a dilemma. The construction works in the aftermath of the war pose a serious threat to heritage.

The hurried foray for the process of reconstruction in the wake of the war, against a backdrop of realizing instantaneous results or rapid beneficial returns, which have also failed in the formulation of sustained development frameworks, may have contributed to ignoring heritage elements and slackness in the awareness of its ramifying values. In fact, it may have been totally overlooked in decision making. These values are manifested in integral component, aesthetic and symbolic, as well as cultural, historical, social and economic, which encompass cultural and ecological tourism. These are all essential components for sustained development in a country like Lebanon, a country which relies economically mainly on the tourism and services sectors, a country that boasts an ecological wealth and a cultural heritage that form, in addition to its human fabric, its basic foundation.

The environment in its full natural and cultural dimensions is complementary, but also organically linked. They cannot be separated from each other. Dividing heritage into its components or considering the architectural heritage outside its cultural and natural crucible deprives it of its basic value, shrinking its identifying energy of its collective personality. It also hinders the potential for absorbing it in the society's life, complicating its integration in the dynamics of growth.

The architectural heritage of the Lebanese rural town lies in the juncture between its architecture and the features of its locus, as well as its interaction with the natural effects of the location, melting into the distinctive cultural texture which forms the town's personality.

The historical value of a landmark in an old city is manifested by its position in the formulation of the structure of the vivid cultural texture.

The historical wealth of an ancient city like Tripoli (in northern Lebanon) is crystallized through the closeness and the gradual integration of its historical, transitional and modern quarters. It is crystallized in the rich diversity of the urban areas, redolent with the memory of successive historical eras that form these quarters. The complementarity of this group forms the city's identity, tying it to its cultural roots. The reiteration of the identity of these quarters, or its loss and disintegration, reveals the extent to which the society recognizes these values, and its ability to control its various components.

The charm and charisma of a historical city centre such as Deir el-Qamar mountain town (in el-Shoof Mountains) are disseminated to a great extent through the conservative historical context of the town as a whole.

Whereas the historical centre of Beirut still in our memory, emerging and manifesting itself currently in a new, modern quarter isolated from the social, economic and urban city context, raises radical queries as to the possibility of absorbing it, and the possibility of it taking over the role played by the centre of Beirut, after it has been emptied of its down-town significance. It is the centre in which the identity of the citizens resembles a crucible for the interaction of all social levels through its ability to invite their various collective activities, as well as their specialized commercial activities which attract shopping, economic and administrative enterprises, and cultural, entertainment, social and political interactions. The various fields have their distinctive personality and special signification which reflect the personality of each citizen of Beirut and of Lebanon. The new quarter is under construction at the centre of Beirut and has automatically been emptied of its historical content, regardless of the museum-like models of some specific old constructions renovated elegantly. Yet they remain outside the socio-cultural context, attracting the curiosity of contemplating visiting citizens as well as astonished tourists who are astounded at the strangeness of the place at the heart of their city, guarded completely by its own guards.

This selective attitude in the preservation of heritage, and the reduction of its components contradicts radically the essence of the concept of heritage, as an interactive complex, and as a mechanism for establishing communication between past, present and future. It thus loses its values, accumulated across history, locking it into a time-warp. Peoples revere, preserve and enhance their cultural and ecological heritage to transfer to the coming generations what they have inherited, or rather borrowed, from previous generations, thus realizing a balanced continuity of life. The basic problematic is that of integrating heritage in the process of growth, and coordinating between the requirements for renewal and the heritage of the past, between society's concept of growth and the mechanisms controlling its activation.

The vivaciousness of Lebanese towns and cities, most of which embrace the diversity of the cultural heritage in the region is contingent with their ability for growth, development and renewal that aims at adapting to the functional, social and aesthetic requirements of contemporary life. Cultural heritage is not a frozen feature. In fact, it crystallizes with the passage of time, developing in a dynamic which parallels the vitality of a society's civilization and its conception of the values thus incorporated, as well as its ability to actively interact with it. Cultural heritage grows and distinguishes itself to the extent of the society's ability to control the factors of interactive development of its surrounding context. Due to the speed of development, in particular during the last three decades, and the dominance of the economic dimension in the urban growth and the dominance of the commercial dimension in the management of constructions, the cultural values in urban development have receded, and the problematic of heritage have been exacerbated. This reflects a loss in the formulation of urban surroundings and a contradiction between the heritage of the past and the need for renewal, ignoring the environmental givens in the face of the devouring need for constructional growth and the inability to coordinate the new components with the cultural dimension.

Some Recommendations for the Rehabilitation of Urban Heritage

The cultural energy to absorb heritage is mainly manifested in the continuity of its development through a methodology of urban renewal, which is

absent in the constructional culture of our society. What is needed is a revitalization of life in historical areas in accordance with the constituents of these locations, as well as the interaction between urban constructional growth in harmony and communication with the historical values, and the rehabilitation of the urban texture, setting the frameworks for its interaction with and integration in its surrounding. It is noteworthy that the historical locations, through the accumulative values and significations they hold, pose the conditions for their routes in any interaction that falls within their jurisdiction. They also reflect the bases for coordinating the aesthetic and formative components onto the urban range surrounding them.

Most neighbourhoods in Lebanese cities, in particular the major coastal cities, are in a state of constant deterioration, or at best frozen, since the beginning of the painful war. These cities are gradually emptied of their citizens and activities with the spread of the urban decline, extending to the neighbouring transitional quarters, or their erosion with every new scheduled urbanization or planning process. The relentless deterioration of the neighbourhoods has become part of the culture of urbanization activities in some cities such as Tripoli, because of the deconstruction of quarters, and the push towards the population movements within the cities and their suburbs. All this happens in the absence of policies, legislations and organizational orientations for urban renewal, leading to a waste of enormous urban energies in the most important locations in city centres.

Comparisons can be made with neighbouring and Mediterranean countries, where historical locations within the cities have become the most significant centres for urban life, and the most important tourist attractions. Statistics show a decrease in tourists visiting some of the isolated archeological sites, most of which are lifeless (such as the monuments of Tyre, Balabak and others). These statistics are published by the Ministry of Culture, and they highlight the true measure of the predicament and the horrendous mismanagement of the country's cultural, economic and touristic constituents.

Urban renewal requires comprehensive and dynamic organizational and developmental policies, which become part and parcel of the constructional orientations and achieve the competitiveness for investments in the processes of urban renewal with the pattern of haphazard constructional outbreak that prevails in our country.

Heritage Rehabilitation and the Importance of Community Involvement

The projects now sponsored by the IMF for the revival of the cultural heritage and the undertaking of renovations and touristic rehabilitation in five ancient cities of Lebanon (Tripoli, Sidon, Jbail, Balabak and Tyre) may aim basically at the activation of such strategies. There should be investment in urban renewal, and restoration of historical locations within the heart of historical cities. The rare examples of towns which were developed and rehabilitated in harmony with the constituents of their heritage are mostly the result of initiatives by NGOs, the community and the local administration. This highlights the importance of the interaction between the people and the constituents of the place in boosting its historical heritage.

The culture of consumerism pervades our society, encouraged and indeed promoted by the administration, constantly working on the systematic deconstruction of the country's historical and ecological constituents. It becomes manifest in the tendencies of real estate investments and speculation and the spread of haphazard urbanization, which distorts the features of towns and cities.

The land is one of the most important locations for the national heritage. It is not a consumer merchandise, especially since it is of a limited form that does not reproduce. Its value is directly connected with the constituents and advantages of its location. Excessive investment of land as a source of funding or profitable investment bears great risks in severing the relationship of the citizen with the land and location. In addition to that, comes the economic imbalance we suffer from, which is to a great measure the consequence of exaggerating a fake urbanization boost that has desecrated the historical and ecological fabric in serious ways.

The main predicament in this case is that in our culture we ignore the rights of the community to both heritage and environment, which contain and maintain private interests for a sustained long term, as well as the compatibility and balance between these and the temporal private interest. There is no doubt the private property, in particular real estate property is protected in the Lebanese system, yet the feature and identity of the place are the roots of belonging of the community. This burdens the citizen and the authorities with the responsibility for preserving this heritage beyond all contingent temporal and circumstantial considerations. Any change in

the features of the place, such as the construction of buildings etc, is the tolerance of the community expressed towards the private investor. In this field there are no acquired rights for the individual versus the community. This is a prevalent illusion in our society, and contrary to concepts of citizenship and sound civil practices. There should be no private interest which is stronger than the national heritage and the collective identity. In addition, the owner of the place and the community at the historical location share the ownership of the landmark. The significance of the landmark emerges from the history of the community, which automatically limits the individual's freedom of action in changing its features or removing it. In return it throws on the society the responsibility for providing the means for preserving it as well as developing it.

At the centres of decision making, a culture of tolerance for the community's rights in both the heritage and the environment prevails, to serve the domineering private interests. At times this comes under the pretext of attracting investments and activating the economy, and at other times with the intention of establishing services or unsystematic public facilities. These may at times be confronted with the scattered objections of some intellectuals who remain ineffective in the light of the lack of a culture of accountancy and demanding the rights of our society. On the other hand, legislations and systems sponsoring urbanization set frameworks for the interaction of the urban development with the heritage and the environment. The Lebanese construction law, comprehensively identifying some elements for the structuring of constructions, has contributed greatly since 1971 to the standardization of the urban scene in the country. It has contributed to the total monotony of the urban expansion between city, suburbs and the countryside. It has also contributed to the removal of many distinguishing features of urban diversity, which forms one of the cornerstones for the heritage of this country. There is barely any rural, urban, coastal or mountain architecture left that is in harmony with the historical location and the surroundings. At the best of times, historical quarters have become limited to towns of isolated islands in the process of urban deterioration. On the other hand, most of the towns which retain their rural or historical character, because of the developmental stagnation, have not seen any constructional activity for decades.

In a country which boasts of a variety of natural topography, large areas of which are covered with mountains and valleys, the construction

law pushes for the flattening of lands, and imposes the construction of perpendicular buildings, prohibiting graded construction that is more in harmony with the topography. The aim is to satisfy the greed of exaggerated investment, multiplying urban concentrations, and enlarging the constructed areas on the slopes less suited for urban expansion. This leads to a total distortion of the towns' features, wiping out their identities which were characterized by the harmony and organic interaction between these towns, their structures and the topography of their various locations, thus forming a basic component of the country's cultural heritage.

On the other hand, organizational schemes in most cases were the cause for the spread of haphazard construction, and the desecration of both heritage and environment. They were the direct cause for destroying these through a complete ignorance of historical locations, and the cultural historical constituents of places, and the necessary requirements for interaction with these in urban growth. A case in point is what happened in an old coastal port city, which is completely ignored by the current organization of the region, which led to the construction of towering buildings that permeate the delicate historical structure of the city. One such building is constructed onto a Mameluk tower (The Tower of Ezz el Din) which used to protect the coast of the historical city.

Most historical town squares, which were a basic component for the town's identity, have been trespassed by modern planning, in fact at times these squares have been completely abolished. The coast, on the other hand, which formed one of the most important components of Lebanon's historical heritage, is gradually separated from the country through the continuous interment of the sea, and constructing buildings and roads along the newly interred coast. The authorities fail in administering it, and investing its constituents in the fields of tourism and the service of the citizens. On the contrary, the authorities are taken up in allotting the coast to individuals, or establishing public facilities harmful to the environment, such as stagnant water purification plants, plants for collecting and interring hard wastes or slaughter houses, as is the case on the coast of the major cities of Beirut, Tripoli and Sidon. In short, all such developments have had a very negative and degrading impact on the cultural heritage, environment and ecology of the coastal zone.

Had it not been for the recent increasing awareness of an elite section of citizens, and the rising awareness of some NGOs in the face of the grave results of marginalizing cultural issues relating to heritage and the environment would have been completely absent from future planning for historical locations in Lebanon. It is worth mentioning that their efforts have been largely ineffectual compared to the blind investment in construction pervading the country and dominating the centres of decision making.

The country's administration initially controls the rationing of growth tendencies and is a role-model for the citizens. However, it has not been able to control the rampant construction taking place in many areas. It achieves this through the large effective instruments it owns. However, the scene is totally different, in particular in how the authorities deal with the historical given. Examples abound. One example is the destruction of the oldest shops in Old Tripoli overlooking the river (Mameluk Mahallet el-Soueiqa) as well as all the monumental landmarks there, intending to straighten the river bed after its flooding in 1955. As a result the historical city has been divided into two, and separated from the river with which it had evolved in organic interaction. The city has been ripped apart with broad streets and a canal of concrete for the river, the width and height of which are highly exaggerated, and which replaced the comprehensive historical urban texture. In addition, the city has lost a great part of its cultural and social heritage which was a vivid component.

Today, there is no doubt that some sections of the Lebanese society are progressive in their aspiration for the cultural heritage. However, so far it relies so far only on the spontaneous practices and behaviours of civil society and has not yet been sufficiently addressed by the centres for decision-making. A society's true culture becomes manifest in its practices and aspirations, yet the legislations form a mirror for the peoples' cultures and sophistication.

Legislative Protection and Regulations for Cultural Heritage

Lebanese legislation includes no comprehensive reference to heritage in its conception. On the other hand, various laws deal with some aspects of heritage, such as the law of antiquities, which has not changed since we inherited it from the era of French deputation, and is concerned with the

archeological and monumental landmarks in particular. Environmental laws have been exclusively limited to ecological affairs and environmental effects. The law for civil organization alluded in its detailed description of the design objectives to the possibility of specifying the constructed areas the character of which needs to be preserved when the structures are renovated and when new buildings are licensed, identifying the adequate conditions for that.

With the worries of the recent events in Lebanon over, and with the start of efforts at reconstructing the country, the issue of the cultural heritage has been raised intensively in intellectual and the academic arenas in seminars and numerous studies. Societies concerned with heritage and the environment have multiplied. The issue has also become a point of direct interest for international parties. This has pushed for attempts at developing the Lebanese legislations in this field. The Ministry of Culture thus came forward in 2001 with two proposals:

- **A bill for the protection**, revival and distinguishing of the landmarks, mansions, and urban, rural and entertainment complexes that have a distinctive historical or architectural nature.
- **A bill for cultural possessions**, the Ministry for Administrative Development Affairs³ opened a discussion towards the end of 2003, concerning a Citizen's Charter on heritage.

For the first time the term heritage is adopted explicitly in the Lebanese legislature concerning the formulation of these bills. Yet the protection of heritage in these bills remains in the grip of the absolute individual

³The General Directorate of Antiquities, appended to the Lebanese Ministry of Culture, assumes responsibilities and duties stated in the Antiquities Law, which is concerned with antiquities, heritage, cultural properties, and structures which are considered monuments, part of the heritage or historical. This directorate undertakes all the necessary activities of research, excavation and categorization. It ensures the preservation and adequate investment of these properties in accordance with public interest. The work of the General Directorate of Antiquities is sponsored by "The System of Ancient Monuments" issued by decree number 166 L.R. on 7/11/1933 and its amendments. In its first article the decree considers ancient monuments to be "all things, portable or not, made by Man before the year 1700". It considers quasi-ancient monuments "all things immovable, made after the year 1700, in the preservation of which lies the good of the public in terms of history or art". In accordance with the stated system, historical quarters and buildings are of this latter kind, namely quasi-monuments, and they fall under the regulations of the decree that observes for their protection the possibility of registering them on "the list of the general inventory of historical buildings". In the first phase this is achieved by adding them in accordance with a ministerial decree issued by the Minister of Culture at the proposal of the General Director of Antiquities. In the second phase they are registered in accordance with ordinance based on a proposal by the Minister of Culture, also setting the common rights for these buildings if needed.

ownership. The point of intersection between this type of ownership and public collective rights has remained unclear.

It is not possible to transcend the total schizophrenia of convictions, divided between the concept of private rights and public interests. It is not possible to transcend either the consideration prevalent in our culture that these two are contradictory and mutually exclusive, except through establishing fair frameworks for the usage of lands, and real estate ownership. This can be achieved through establishing fair long-term real estate policies which delimit the sphere of intersection between private property and public rights. These policies would set the instruments for controlling the consumption of the space and the urban expansion, as well as activating the renewal of the city. They would set regulations for real estate speculation, adopting a fair taxing system on real estates and investments that create the potential for preserving the national heritage, activating urban renewal and ensuring the facilities, through levying their share from the improvement of real estates or the rights of high investments which accompany all developmental activities and organization.

It is not possible to isolate the issue of preserving the cultural heritage from this sphere of totality. It is only natural that the attempt to address the issue and handling it by itself is a difficult burden, that misleads possibilities and exacerbates the conflict between public and private interests.

Conclusion

It is necessary to reiterate that heritage cannot be preserved, it must remain a part of human interactions. Here emerges the second problematic that most bills lag behind. It is the imposition of linking the categorization of the landmark or the historical location with the proposition of programs and mechanisms for its rehabilitation and revival. What is required is not only to freeze it by placing it on an inventory list of historical structures. What is required is to find solutions for its maintenance and for benefiting from it by reinvesting it through an active process that is beneficial to both the society and the private owner at the same time.

Bringing historical locations back to life creates automatically a dynamic for cultural and ecological tourism, which attracts mainly middle income groups. They differ radically from the leisure tourism promoted

by the administration aimed particularly at the rich sections of society in the Gulf countries. These include many buildings of construction which are out of place and totally contradictory to the natural and historical surroundings of Lebanon.

5

Grassroot Initiatives versus Governmental Efforts to Preserve Urban Heritage in Egypt

Galal Abada

Introduction: Egyptian Urban Heritage

Egyptian urban heritage is distinguished by its unique composition as a result of the interaction and integration of numerous historical layers (in reference to when they were built), and spatial layers (in reference to their association with other historical buildings from various periods). This cross-sectional view of Egyptian urban heritage is not limited to specific architectural models, or separate spaces, nor is it restricted to specific historical layers. It can be applied to what may be termed “collective heritage”, including all spatial and interactive relationships of historical buildings (buildings, sites, complexes, etc).

Urban architectural heritage is found in the historical urban texture of old city centres, such as down-town Cairo, the grand historical centres in Alexandria, the old centres of Heliopolis, Tanta, Rosetta and others. Historic features may also be spread over large urban areas, integrated in a clear organic harmony and fusion, such as various stretched out sites in many of the cities of Upper Egypt. With few exceptions in Historic Cairo and Luxor – which have been registered as International Cultural Heritage sites – Egyptian urban heritage has so far not been registered or legally protected, neither as historical landmarks nor as separate historical sites in accordance with the Antiquities Law.

Due to rapid urban changes, the heritage in Egyptian cities has suffered from various serious problems for many decades. These problems stem from the erosion of the traditional urban and social texture of the historical areas, the lack of necessary maintenance of the buildings, and the collapse of their infrastructure. These areas have also been negatively affected by continual social mobility, which has led to the displacement of the original inhabitants and their replacement by those whose social, economic and cognitive values are incongruous with the cultural context of these areas. Further problems are the lack of funding for urban conservation and the lack of necessary tourist facilities. These combined factors have led to the deterioration of various important traditional and historical sites, such as some sites in central Cairo and others in Historic Cairo, Alexandria and Luxor. Some such areas, for example in the Hussein quarter of el-Gamalleya in southern Cairo, and similar areas in Alexandria and in Aswan, have been completely destroyed.

The official Approach towards the preservation of the Egyptian urban heritage

The idea of reviving and preserving Egyptian urban heritage areas, as well as reintegrating them into the larger sphere of urban life in Egyptian cities has been a dominant theme in various interests, such as developmental policies and strategies, and urban conservation projects. This is due to their historical and cultural importance, as well as their urban and planning constituents. Throughout the past five decades numerous studies and projects have been undertaken for the preservation and development of historical areas and their facilities. Many plans and strategies were prepared, and many seminars, conferences and ministerial committees were held to examine the conservation of these historical areas. Legislation, laws and decrees were issued for this purpose. Despite the variety of these different official efforts, most of them have not been implemented due to a number of different political, economic, administrative, social, and even technical reasons.

The areas of urban heritage and their grand history have been a rich field for various official projects which are still under way. The 1960s witnessed a large-scale proliferation of replacement and renovation projects in the historical centres, seeking to revive them by renovating

their infrastructure and providing urban housing. This development was achieved through the construction of governmental housing complexes in various urban and architectural styles prevalent at the time, which, however, are incongruous with the traditional urban surroundings. These interventions contributed to the destruction of the historical texture of these areas and caused much of the deterioration and disintegration which these areas suffer from today. These projects proliferated in great numbers in various locations in Egyptian cities, as is the case for example in the area adjacent to the Sultan Hussein Mosque in Historic Cairo, and at the heart of el-Gamalleya in the wake of the destruction of groups of historic markets (*wekala*). Similar housing complexes were constructed in el-Darrasa on parts of the Eastern City Wall. Residential and office buildings have spread across the areas of the Citadel, el-Ghourya, el-Nahasseen, and around the Mosque in the Hussein Area, as well as other sites, often destroying the historical urban and architectural riches which represent some of the rarest archeological urban locations to be found in the Islamic World. These locations are not only significant because of their historical importance and numerical concentration, but also because it is a rarity to find them all together in one harmonious historical urban texture. Various organisations have undertaken pioneering projects, such as the projects carried out by the General Authority for Urban Planning in 2000, seeking the improvement of the urban environment and the preservation of the urban character of the certain regions of Cairo (prepared for ten neighborhoods of various historical values). However, these distinctive projects were not implemented, and the National Authority for Urban Planning simply looked into the feasibility of these projects, without establishing the necessary implementation, funding, legal and administrative mechanisms.

Rehabilitating Historic Cairo

Historic Cairo has attracted interest and studies since the 1950s due to its historical and cultural importance. It also occupies a central space, adjacent to the city centre. It was registered on the International Cultural Heritage List in the early 1970s – as an urban unit not as separate landmarks – and due to its spatial importance, since it is adjacent to the city centre and the business centre. The area was included in numerous successive

developmental schemes, such as the schemes for homogenous sectors in 1983 – which was set after a long period of in-depth studies and was not implemented due to the change in urban policies – as part of what came to be termed The Harmonious Sector #1. This sector included setting policies for the conservation and development of the area integrally with the central region of the city as part a single planning framework. These studies then passed through various other phases, most important of which was a group of structural and general schemes for conservation and development in 1990. This group of schemes dealt with the replanning and preservation of the area through a comprehensive urban perspective, that proposed policies for the rehabilitation of the public spaces, advancing the urban life of the area, and making recommendations for the conservation and preservation of monuments.

The 1990s also witnessed new official interest in the area. A number of ministerial and consultant committees were set up to study means for its development. This resulted in the formation of some bodies and directorates for this purpose, such as the Executive Body for the Development of the Islamic and Fatimide Quarters of Cairo, and the Committee for Historic Cairo, and others, which were assigned with researching the means for developing the area. However, the activities of most of these committees which included among their members a number of architectural experts and planners did not continue. Based on these efforts a number of conservative and developmental projects were proposed, such as the project of the development of the Azhar Mosque and the surrounding area. This project came to a standstill after facing great criticism because of the erroneous renovation procedures undertaken by UNESCO and other major local and international parties. Based on these efforts, projects and plans for the redevelopment and rehabilitation of Historic Cairo were undertaken by the Department for the Planning of Greater Cairo at the Authority for Urban Planning, Studies and Detailed Projects. These were realized by the Centre for the Development and the Studies of Historic Cairo at the Ministry of Culture, to preserve and conserve the various areas of the old city. Most of these have not been implemented yet. 2005 witnessed the removal of many parts of Attouf Alley adjacent to the northern city wall as part of the renovation project for the northern Cairo City Wall, and the development of the surrounding area. This has in turn distorted the historical architectural structure of the area, converting it into a frozen museum-like entity.

The official efforts exerted in the areas of urban heritage in Historic Cairo illustrate the different ways that the area has been treated, both in city-planning strategies and in policies regulating traffic and movement. In the 1950s and 1960s land use became a major topic of interest for ambitious developmental plans. In the 1980s and 1990s the focus was on conservation and revival but occasionally certain areas became totally neglected. However, the primary problem has been the lack of implementation which continues to prevail in all such projects and plans, with the exception of the renovation of monuments. It has been observed that the rate of deterioration and decline the area is suffering from exceeds many phases of development and responsiveness to the necessary solutions. Most official governmental efforts to preserve and develop the urban heritage of Historic Cairo fail due to the lack of organizational structures and the implementation mechanisms essential for such projects. These efforts also fail partly due to the lack of necessary financial resources and legal means, in addition to the differences in urban development policies for the area, which are restricted to the realization of rapid and at times superficial achievements. Most importantly, these efforts fail because of the absence of a comprehensive long-term developmental perception and the lack of an integrated strategy. Other important causes include the obvious inconsistency between these projects and the lack of sufficient coordination between them. This is due to conflicting responsibilities of the authorities involved, as well as due to the absence of a general independent and strong authority that is alone responsible for the implementation and supervision of development in the area. In addition, there is gross disregard for the changes occurring within local communities and for the role of civil society institutions as well as popular participation.

Aspects of Official Efforts in the Conservation of Urban Heritage

The case of Historic Cairo in its uniqueness and complexity represents a quasi-stereotype of similar cases of official efforts exerted for the preservation and the development of urban conservation areas in other regions such as some areas in Alexandria. It also represents the methods adopted by the local authorities in dealing with the medium city centres in various regions such as Assiut, Sohag and Aswan. In the light of this

situation, it is possible to sum up some of the aspects that characterize official efforts in the following points:

- 1. Neglecting the documentation and the recording of the urban heritage:** It is observed that governmental bodies do not undertake any documentation or recording of the urban heritage, with the exception of some modern works undertaken by the Centre for the Documentation of the Cultural and the Natural Heritage. This is illustrated in the absence of official detailed maps (of ratio 1/500 for example) which would document the nature, features, texture, streets and buildings of these areas. For example, most documentation efforts for the historical areas go back to the detailed maps set by the Land Survey Office in the 1930s. These certainly do not represent reality any more.
- 2. The limited perception of official bodies of heritage areas:** This “official” perspective of the urban heritage areas is restricted mostly to shanty areas or low-level urban communities – regardless of their historical value – which surround archaeological sites or landmarks that need to be preserved and conserved by force of law. Yet these historical areas are to a great extent removed. This official perspective also refuses to recognize the historical areas that came into being following the time of Mohamed Ali, in accordance with the Monuments Law which states that a building or site must have survived for at least a hundred years to be protected, recorded and preserved. Hence the historical areas and sites of the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, as well as the industrial heritage sites and the unique examples of popular and rural structures, and traditional historical areas which combine material and non-material constituents of heritage, do not receive any form of official preservation, and are thus vulnerable to destruction.
- 3. The overlapping of the administrative responsibilities of the authorized governmental bodies:** In most areas of urban heritage in Egyptian cities, the administrative responsibility for these areas is divided between a number of different governmental authorities (e.g. the local, tourism, archaeology, and endowments authorities) in addition to those with personal interests. This leads to the fragmentation of the responsibility for these areas. The failure of these official bodies to provide a unified strategy of planning and administration is another obstacle to the improvement of these areas.

- 4. The absence of legislations for urban conservation and preservation:** There is currently no clear legislation that preserves and conserves Egyptian urban heritage, and neither is there legislation for the preservation of monuments. Furthermore, issuing of legislation, particularly addressing the conservation of the urban heritage and the cultural tradition of Egyptian cities faces obstacles, as does the issuing of a law for the regulation of cultural harmonizing works and for the conservation of the urban heritage. This is due to the conflicting interests of some authorities and the overlapping of their respective administrative responsibilities, with the insistence of certain supervising bodies, such as the Ministry of Housing, or the Ministry of Local Development, on controlling the urban environment in Egyptian cities, including the sites of urban heritage in general, regardless of the historical and cultural value of these areas. For example, the laws for construction works are implemented in general in most quarters of the Egyptian city, without discrimination, and without considering areas of heritage as protected sites worthy of conservation which conforms to special regulations.
- 5. The discrepancy between the official conservation efforts and the quantity and quality of problems facing the urban heritage:** In general, official conservation efforts have been characterized by insufficient successive governmental developmental efforts towards finding practical solutions for urban heritage areas. These efforts have often failed because they have adopted general and rigid developmental policies that are not compatible with the nature of these areas and their cultural value. Added to this, there is the problem of a general lack of awareness, in particular amongst the large number of officials and decision-makers, concerning the significance and the cultural importance of these areas.
- 6. Resorting to local solutions and formal treatments in urban conservation:** Many conservation projects in historical areas in Cairo, Alexandria and other regional cities of Egypt have illustrated that the local authorities resort to the superficial renovation of facades or of some squares, streets, or other cultural spaces through formal plastic surgeries, without any understanding of the factors governing the harmony and authenticity that characterize these areas. This has led to the vanishing of some distinctive cultural values in these areas, as well as wasting precious opportunities for their adequate conservation.

- 7. The dominance of an elitist outlook in dealing with heritage:** The greater part of governmental efforts exerted for the conservation and development of areas of urban heritage, in the form of various structural or main plans – such as the renewal of the area surrounding the Al Azhar Mosque for the construction of Azhar University in the 1960s, and hence the destruction of a vast area from the heart of the city; or infrastructural constructions such as bridges – have resulted in radical changes in the historical areas in order to achieve great planning ambitions, regardless of the role of the citizens or the local communities in the processes, and the means to benefit from the potential constituents of these areas. The disregard for the financial and economic aspects for these projects has also led to stopping their implementation, thus delaying the opportunity for development in these areas.
- 8. The lack of a comprehensive vision for dealing with urban heritage:** It may be said that official efforts for dealing with the urban heritage – with rare exceptions – have lacked a comprehensively integral vision for the conservation of the urban heritage constituents. They have failed to develop resources linked to the developments, which are necessary to improve the local economies, promoting the touristic services offered, and improving urban lifestyles by providing acceptable living standards, as well as raising the cultural and societal awareness of their value, thus guaranteeing their survival. It may also be said that most of the official conservation efforts have adopted a unilateral approach to dealing with historical sites, which caused an imbalance both culturally and in the value diversity which distinguishes these areas.

Grassroot and Non-Governmental Initiatives

The exacerbation of problems in the areas of urban heritage, and the increasing urge to find prompt solutions for these problems, and in the light of the failings and flailings of governmental interventions, some individual popular and volunteer efforts have emerged. Also some private institutions became active, representing civil society recently involved in this field. Most of these efforts have aimed at improving urban life in impoverished areas and in particular those which are urban heritage areas.

These efforts have expanded constantly but irregularly through the efforts of some individuals, institutions and the initiatives of some NGOs, which have aimed mostly at improving the environment and preserving urban heritage areas with various means and prospects available.

These efforts have resulted in important achievements, whose implementation offers useful lessons for future projects. These efforts can be seen in a number of successful projects such as the conservation and renovation of the stock-market area downtown, undertaken by a partnership of private institutions; the conservation of some areas in Historic Cairo in cooperation with NGOs and regional as well as international development institutions, and the renovation of historical residential buildings, with the help of the people. This project was a personal initiative of Dr. Salah Zaky Said, who saw it through to completion, supported by the American Research Centre in Egypt. Another project was the rehabilitation of the Religion Compound of Old Cairo, which was undertaken by the people, supported by the government. The people also participated in some limited conservation and development operations in the project for the documentation and the renovation of the Sahemy House at the Darb el-Asfar Alley in Gamalleya area, funded by the Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development and supported by the Ministry of Culture. In addition, there is the current work undertaken for the revival of the Route of the Prophet's family in Historic Cairo, in which the inhabitants seek to participate and to share in decision-making related to the urban conservation and development.

Such works also include the conservation, development and renovation of some areas in Alexandria thanks to the efforts of businessmen, the private sector, and some NGOs through various implementation mechanisms. However, this has not been sufficient to curb the continuous disappearance of valuable buildings and sites from the urban heritage map of the city. The efforts of NGOs also contributed to the conservation and renovation of the heritage in other towns such as Rosetta and Siwa. There is also the concordant reuse of numerous buildings in Cairo and Alexandria to function as modern galleries for the exhibition of arts and traditional handicrafts, or as cultural cafes and private offices. Despite their limited effect, these efforts represent marvelous pioneering models for others to follow [delete: in the footsteps of grassroot and shared efforts, to renew different areas in Qena and Menia through independent efforts].

Such achievements encouraged some international and local institutions for development and cooperation to promote and collaborate with such efforts in many historical areas, such as projects undertaken by the American Research Centre in Egypt, the Italian government (at Sakkara), the German Agency for Technical Cooperation in Urban Management (in Mansheyat Nasser) and the projects of the Aga Khan Cultural Institution towards the improvement of social, economic and urban circumstances, through the rehabilitation of Darb el-Ahmar in Historic Cairo, in collaboration with the Social Fund for Development. There are also projects for cooperative urban improvement in Luxor, Qena and other areas of the governorates, to enhance awareness of the importance of the historical and cultural environment.

The Documentation of the Contemporary Heritage as a Model for Effective Individual Initiatives

The documentation of urban heritage is the first step towards the conservation and development of historical sites. Recent years have witnessed an increase in the documentation and publication of contemporary Egyptian urban heritage, in particular the heritage which belongs to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, in diverse Egyptian cities through individual initiatives. Buildings in downtown Cairo, Historic Cairo, and in certain areas of Alexandria, Port Said and Mansoura received special attention in documentation work. The great efforts exerted in these documentation works can be seen in the efforts of Mohamed Sharaby in Motamayeza on the documentation of European colonial architecture in Cairo, and the documentation of the Egyptian historical industrial heritage as shown in the continuous efforts of Salah Zaky Said to document the urbanization and architecture of Historic Cairo. There are further continuing individual efforts of a great number of scholars and experts such as Mohamed Hammad, Galila el-Qadi, Soheir Hawas, Tarek Wali, John Locke Arno, and Nicholas Warner. There are also the continuing and distinguished initiatives and efforts of Samir Rafaat and Maged Farag in the documentation of the urban, social and political history of Cairo, in addition to the distinguished individual efforts of Mohamed Awad for a long time, in documenting the architectural heritage of Alexandria. The interest in documenting the urban and architectural

heritage of contemporary Egypt has also grown through the initiatives of some joint Egyptian and foreign research projects, such as the project for the management and conservation of heritage in Egypt, HERCOMANES, and other research projects.

The Development of Darb el-Ahmar Quarter as a Model for Non-Governmental Initiatives

The quarter of el-Darb el-Ahmar is considered one of the poorest and most overcrowded quarters of Historic Cairo. The area lacks adequate social and health services, and a number of residential buildings have collapsed due to the lack of maintenance. This situation creates tremendous pressures on the continuity of the historical structure as the deterioration of the architecture is linked to the poor quality of urban life in the area. In 1996, the Program for Supporting Historical Cities at the Aga Khan Cultural Institution, parallel with the construction of the Azhar Park, established a program for the conservation and rehabilitation of the area in the framework of urban, cultural, social and historical conservation development of the area in partnership with private institutions, funding bodies and NGOs. Local businessmen and individuals residing and working in the area also participated under the auspices of the Cairo Governorate and the Ministry of Culture. Vast surveys were undertaken of the urban, social and economic needs of the local residents. Numerous meetings were held to identify the priorities of conservation and development as seen by the local community (and not as perceived by some outsider). Through negotiations with the residents the priorities were set, including the refurbishing of historical houses and buildings, spaces and public areas, and the funding needs for small projects and health services, as well as centres for local community development and so on. In reality, the two axes of social and urban development in the project complement each other, in such a way that they are able to promote and affect the processes of revitalizing the area of Darb el-Ahmar. For example, the establishment of the Azhar Park and the renovation of some historical buildings in the area encouraged the rediscovery of extinct handicraft skills in the area, such as the renovation of the latticework (*mashrabeya*), manufacturing traditional tiles, which contributed to the conservation of ancient historical vocational traditions.

The success of the primary stages of the Darb el-Ahmar project encouraged the bodies in charge to expand the boundaries for the project. It also encouraged some local and international institutions (the Social Development Fund) to offer assistance in successive stages of the project, and this has become an ideal model for many conservation and development operations of Egyptian heritage areas, in which the people participate. The developmental strategy deals both with the urban development and preservation of the area and also with the socio-economic developmental initiatives of the local community on the basis that the latter is necessary to guarantee the continuity of the process of urban conservation without the need to rely on external resources. These projects of a social nature are undertaken in parallel with rehabilitation and development projects for residential buildings, and renovating as well as reusing a group of buildings of historical value, developing the urban environment and the open spaces, and providing adequate circumstances for their maintenance. Civil work groups and local institutions are supported to enable them to undertake future developmental efforts in the area.

Aspects of the Official Efforts for the Conservation the Urban Heritage

Most of these efforts are important individual initiatives as a first step towards the conservation of urban heritage areas, regardless of the great variety of methods followed, the objectives, the mechanisms and the achievements. In general, these efforts, despite their limitations, were effective and relatively suitable for the requirements of development and their appreciation of the need to preserve these areas, and the needs of the local communities. These characteristics stand in spite of the lack of organization, the lack of clear methodologies, the shortage of financial support, as well as the absence of official support at most times. The most important aspects which characterized grassroot initiatives are:

1. **Exerting pioneering efforts in documenting and recording urban heritage:** Documentation of the urban heritage, which ranged between established individual efforts and following methodological and systematic approaches, represents important and unique fields of the grassroot initiatives in this aspect.

2. **Complementing Conservation Operations and Developmental Problematics in Historical Areas:** Numerous grassroots initiatives highlight significant attempts at linking between conservation operations and the problematics of development in historical areas, as well as valuable attempts to respond to the requirements for conservation and developmental essentials in the light of the available possibilities and expertise which represent important starting points in developing comprehensive practices.
3. **Establishing New Concepts for Societal Partnership:** Generally speaking, grassroots initiatives are distinguished by having established new and creative concepts and practices for societal partnerships, which have led to the interaction of many parties in obvious effectiveness through specific roles for the realization of the objectives of these initiatives. This heralds good results in constructing a general framework for a partnership between civil society and official governmental bodies.
4. **Deficiency of legislative, administrative and organizational mechanisms:** Grassroot initiatives have clarified the extent of the deficiency in the traditional governmental executive mechanisms such as ministries and local units.
5. **The limited effect of grassroots initiatives:** Despite the limited resources available, and the limited spheres of effect, grassroots initiatives are increasing. Most initiatives need publicity, in addition to the discussion of lessons learned from them and the amending of some for greater benefit in other efforts.
6. **The limited vision of grassroots initiatives:** Most grassroots initiatives avoid a general comprehensive view which governmental efforts adopt. Instead, characteristically they target very specific problems or requirements in urban heritage areas. This often accounts for the limited resources and possibilities available to them. [For introduction: In most cases grassroots initiatives follow a bottom-up approach.]

Grassroot initiatives: A Vision for the Future

This paper has highlighted the deficiencies in governmental efforts in the conservation and development of historical areas. It also stresses the significant achievements of grassroot initiatives in the lessons that are learnt in planning, programming, funding, promoting potentials, execution, monitoring, and inciting grassroot efforts in all of these operations, and in establishing new concepts based on the importance of the civil society in the preservation and development of these areas. Consequently, these efforts may have a pioneering role in the urban reform of these historical areas through the magnification of the role played by civil institutions, and the extensive liberation from the official governmental restrictions.

Grassroot initiatives constitute a part of the efforts exerted by the civil society in Egypt – the beginnings of which go back to the early nineteenth century – through NGOs, vocational groups or syndicates, private institutions, businessmen and public figure communities, as well as chambers of commerce, industry and tourism. These diverse initiatives need to be able to refer to an integrated strategy provided by local and government authorities. In addition the societal abilities to undertake grassroot initiatives for the improvement, preservation and management of the urban areas should be promoted. This can be achieved by providing empowering authorities, building up abilities and providing necessary means for support, as well as benefiting from similar successful local experiences in the conservation of urban heritage and from the best local and international practices.

Fields for Grassroot Initiatives

There are various *fields* for grassroot initiatives in conserving the historical character of historical areas, buildings, spaces and socio-cultural texture. One approach is to intervene in these areas, integrating principles of renewal, revival and modernization that are compatible with the conservation of the artistic and formative features of the areas in the light of modern functional variables. Usually successive conservation and development operations, which include the documentation of historical architecture open many fields for development. Grassroot initiatives also participate in the implementation of actual plans for urban conservation, in partnership

with various civil society institutions, and in taking decisions relevant to dealing with historical non-archeological buildings, spaces, activities and methods for the preservation, maintenance and renovation of buildings and sites.

In this framework specific policies are formulated for the conservation of historical, architectural, spatial and economic characteristics of these areas, in addition to developing their socio-economic characteristics. These may be summarized in the following points:

- 1. Conservation of Historical Characteristics:** This is achieved through the conservation of historical features, and in the efforts to maintain a relative consistency of artistic styles in buildings dating to a particular historical era. In addition, it is necessary represented in the accentuation of the buildings In other cases, the character of buildings embodying diverse architectural styles which date to more than one historical period must be preserved, as well as those which represent landmarks and turning-points in architectural and urban changes.
- 2. Conservation of Spatial Characteristics:** This includes the conservation of the various original relationships between the building styles, whether these are relationships of harmony or discordance, of continuity or discontinuity, of adjacency or divergence, of a uniform or an inconsistent horizon for the rooftops, the complementariness of the visual image of spaces and streets, or of the harmony or disharmony of colours and materials.
- 3. Conservation of Architectural Characteristics:** This includes the preservation of the architectural style of buildings in the historical area, which signifies variety and multiplicity, as well as the diversity of styles, architectural forms and artistic expressions, which may be affected by and mixed with various other trends and styles.
- 4. Conservation of Socio-Cultural Characteristics:** This may be realized through the enhancement of the character of the urban lifestyle, the diversity of social customs and traditions. In addition this may be achieved through highlighting the aspects of integration among residents and visitors to service sites, and raising public cultural awareness.

- 5. Conservation of the Economic Characteristics:** This is realized through maintaining a balanced distribution of resources and local economic activities, as well as the integration of service distribution with various activities, linking them with the axes of movement.

Propositions for the Development of Grassroot initiatives

Grassroot initiatives are focused on inciting the ardor and energies of the citizens to contribute to the confrontation of developmental challenges. This indicates the potentially influential role of civil society in increasing awareness and mobilizing volunteer work. Grassroot initiatives are related to the prevalent culture. They depend on whether it promotes initiatives and popular participation or not. They are also related to the culture of volunteer work. Hence we may conclude a number of propositions that may aid development and the enhancement of the role played by grassroot initiatives in the conservation and the development of urban heritage areas. These are summarized in the following points:

- 1. Developing general frameworks for grassroot initiatives:** The development of a general framework for grassroot initiatives is suggested. This would have clear mechanisms that focus on integrating the skills, expertise and resources of various partners, and identifying their responsibilities in the light of clearly defined roles for realizing the set objectives. These frameworks include the organization of popular partnerships in the process of conserving and developing historical areas, as well as organizing the support and encouragement provided by official bodies to individuals, NGOs, and civil society institutions. They also include the development of active partnerships, extending their legal, administrative and financial authorities, so as to balance the roles played by governmental institutions and the roles played by the private sector, civil society institutions and popular organizations, as well as identifying clear executive mechanisms. This may be implemented in the administration of urban conservation projects and in documentation operations, etc.
- 2. Promoting the participation of residents:** This objective relates to increasing the participation of the local community in making decisions related to conservation and development. This can be

achieved through a number of different methods, e.g. by developing a culture of dialogue as a mechanism for achieving societal participation in building up local abilities. It also includes raising the awareness and understanding of all parties involved as to the importance of dialogue and participation. This may be achieved in the area of basic decision-making related to the conservation of buildings, spaces and the urban environment.

3. **Building up NGO abilities:** Building up the abilities of NGOs and volunteer work aiming at creating successful institutional structures which provide greater chances of success for the organizations in urban conservation and development is also necessary. This would include developing training and qualification projects for the local residents relating to the preservation of historical buildings, streets and spaces, traditional vocations, and the cultural and tourist resources in historical areas.
4. **Promoting the participation of the private and non-governmental sectors:** This aims at encouraging the participation of private and non-governmental sectors in the funding conservation and development projects to promote investment, tourist and service projects, which meet the needs for the developmental projects neglected by governmental bodies. The proposition also includes the adoption of decentralization, aiming at further participation and deepening the values of social responsibility to be shouldered by private institutions and businessmen.
5. **Providing legislative and administrative mechanisms:** This is realized by revising the legislation relating to monuments and complementing them. It is also realized by providing administrative organizations which enhance and activate the role of grassroot initiatives and their societal partnership in conservation and development.
6. **Restructuring the local administration units:** This aims at enabling these units to support grassroot initiatives in development through training, enhancing technical, social and economic levels, and seeking the aid and scientific expertise of relevant institutions.
7. **Providing information and data:** This is realized through providing comprehensive updated databases and surveys on urban heritage to facilitate setting realistic and comprehensive programs and policies for conservation and development.

8. **Documentation, publication and publicity:** This includes the documentation and study of successful examples of grassroots initiatives and the efforts of NGOs in the conservation and development of urban heritage, as well as deriving useful lessons to be widely publicised.

Conclusion

This Chapter highlights the potential of grassroots initiatives in playing an effective role in the conservation and development of urban heritage areas in Egypt vis-à-vis the official governmental efforts. These initiatives may be able to make up for the shortcomings resulting from the failure or the insufficiency of governmental efforts. This paper proposes the development of special frameworks for societal partnerships through grassroots initiatives in historical areas, which may make significant contributions to the conservation and development of cultural heritage. They may provide the foundations for a pioneering role in urban reform in these areas. They also establish new concepts concerning the importance of civil society institutions, enhancing their role and expanding the sphere for their work towards more cultural and vital developmental horizons.

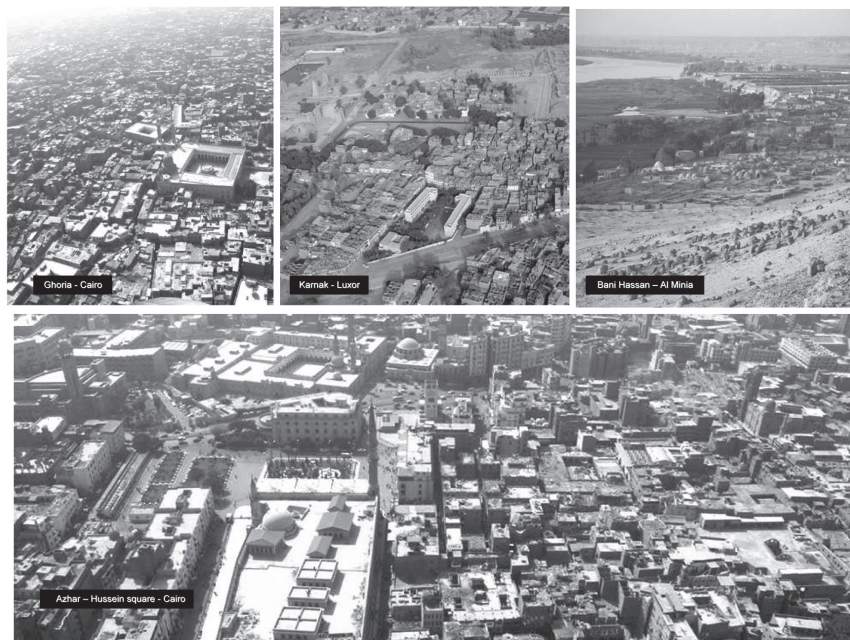


Figure 1. Examples of Egyptian urban heritage sites

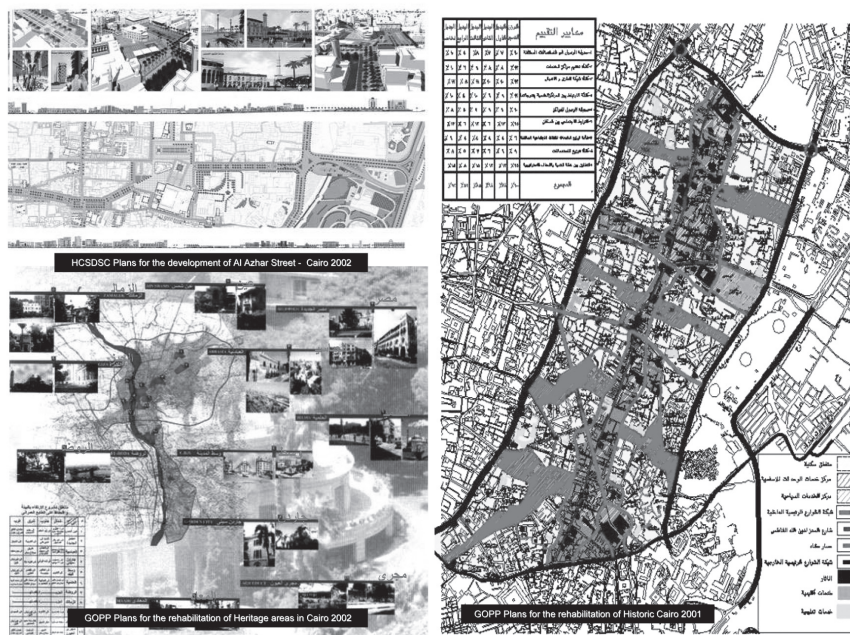


Figure 2. Examples of rehabilitation and conservation plans by some Egyptian governmental organizations

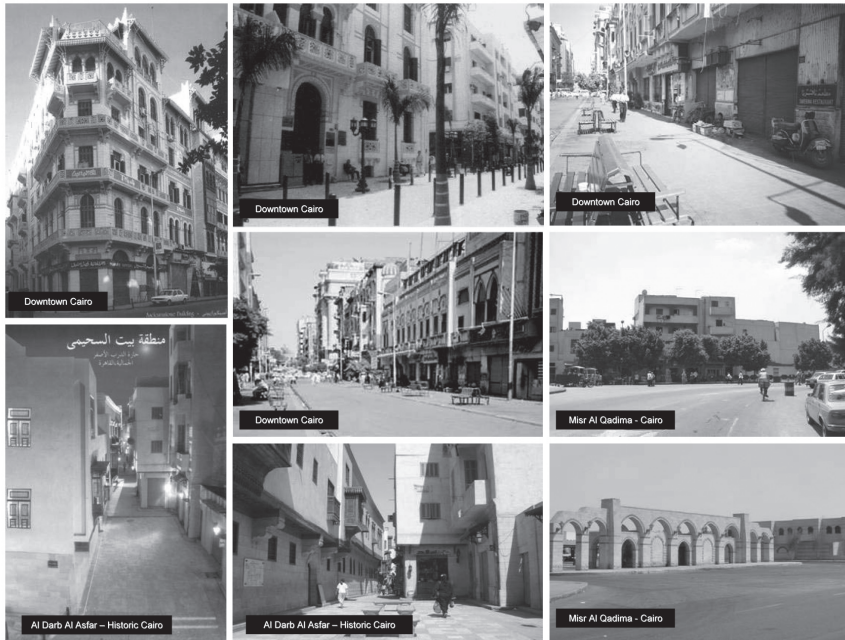


Figure 3. Examples of rehabilitation and conservation achievements by some popular initiatives and NGOs

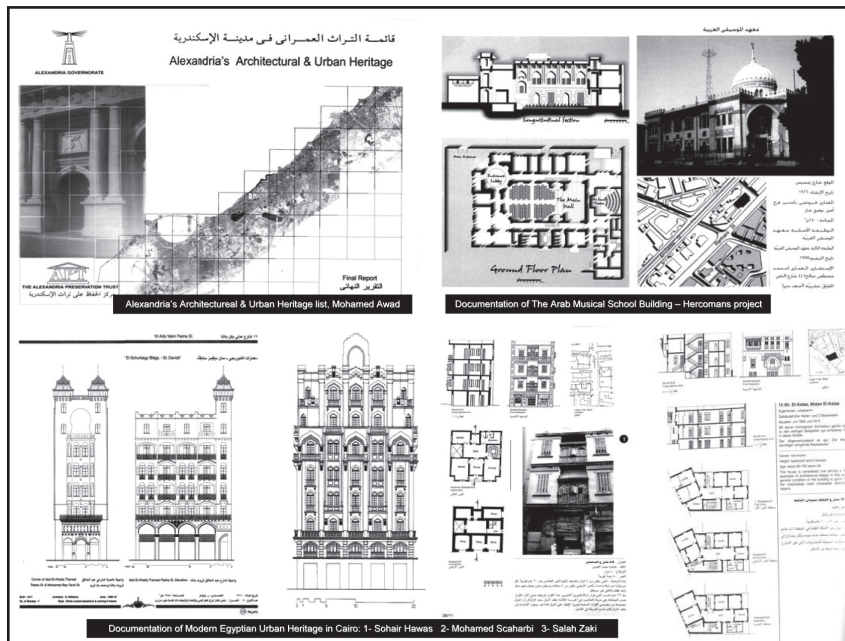


Figure 4. Examples of the documentation of urban heritage sites by some individual initiatives

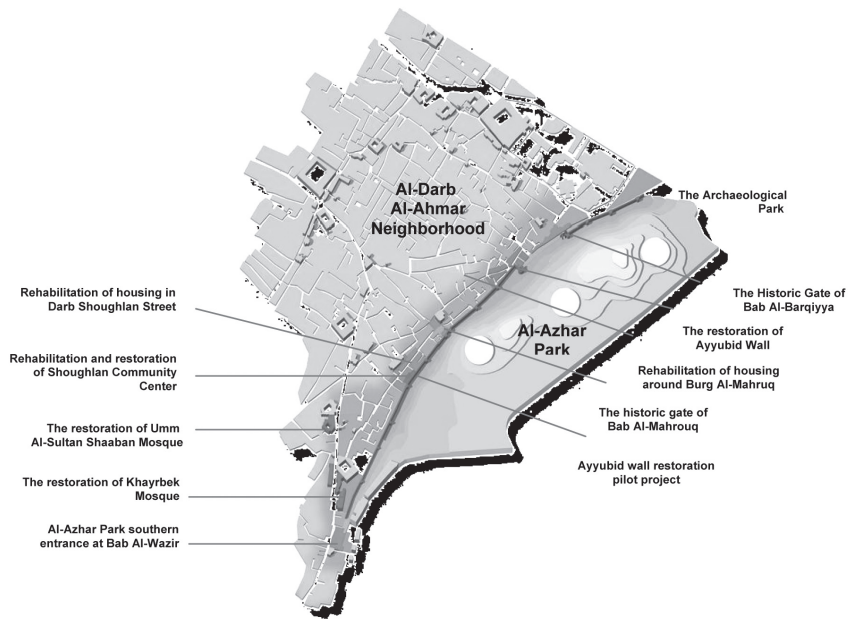


Figure 5. The plan of actions of the rehabilitation of Al Darb Al Ahmar, HCSP- Aga Khan Trust for Culture



Figure 6. Some of the conservation activities of the rehabilitation of Al Darb Al Ahmar

6

Economic Development and Cultural Heritage: Policy Issues and Unrealized Potentials

Michael M. Cernea

Introduction

The issues examined in this paper are at the confluence between the policies intent on accelerating economic growth in developing countries, on the one hand, and the policies intent on protecting and conserving those countries' cultural heritage (henceforth, CH), on the other hand. In this context, we will discuss a topic that is seldom addressed frontally: whether a country's major CH endowments are to be regarded essentially "beneficiary recipients" of the financial resources created by economic development in the non-cultural sectors of the economy, or can also be regarded and relied upon as contributors to development and "resource-generators" for economic growth?

In this chapter, I will primarily consider the conditions prevalent in most developing countries, with a particular focus on Arab countries in the Middle East and North Africa region and on their material or physical cultural heritage. The paper draws on a much larger study carried out by the author on CH strategies in that region (Cernea, 2000). The findings and conclusions may be broadly relevant to situations in developing countries in many other world regions, for instance in Africa and much of Asia, and students of those regions may compare our findings and test our analysis against other regions of the developing world.

The conditions of CH endowments and management in the developing world are often materially different from the circumstances of developed/industrialized countries. In the latter, not only are investment resources more plentiful, but also the sources for financial contributions to CH conservation are more diversified, in both the public and the private sectors, which allows for a wider spectrum of options and approaches. Also, in these countries the institutional and legal frameworks tend to provide more robust support to monument protection and raise harder to surpass barriers against the encroachment of CH endowments by modern industries and urbanization.

1. Two Opposed Views on “Heritage and Development”

Many financial policy decision makers in developing countries regard cultural heritage endowments as only a net “consumer” of budgetary resources, rather than as potential contributors to economic growth. This rather narrow view leads, in turn, time and time again, to the minimization of the financing channeled to CH assets, even when these are of national or universal relevance. Such minimization may be of the “in your face” kind (for example, the “*we-cannot-afford-to-spend-more-on-monuments*” type of argument) or may be surreptitious, not openly stated, yet being practiced with abandon. Both positions are equally toxic in their consequences. We challenge this narrow philosophy and its practices.

In opposition to it, we will argue that a country’s cultural endowments have a substantial, intrinsic economic value. This economic value, however, tends to remain only “potential” and lay passive, remain unused, or little used, or even be hi-jacked by other sectors, as long as it is not *deliberately* actualized, mobilized, and channeled. Alternatively, with proactive conservation, wisely oriented modern management, and sound investments, this intrinsic potential can be harnessed, activated, and made to contribute to development in both direct and indirect ways. This should not be at the expense of overusing commercially the CH assets; rather, it can help preserve better and enhance the CH resources. We do not speak here about just the *educational* contribution that CH assets can and do bring to the public: this is beyond dispute, and it is recognized even by those who begrudge the financing needed for sustainable conservation. We speak, somehow more boldly, about recognizing the capacity of the

cultural patrimony to help generate both financial resources and economic opportunities that usually are seen as accruing only from the “productive” sectors of national economies.

For explaining this side, we need to ask the non-usual question: that is, to ask not only what the economy can and must do for the cultural sector, but also ask what the cultural sector can do for the national economy.

Pursuing this path, however, entails a rethinking of the role and recognition given to the cultural sector in the theoretical paradigm that guides induced development. By using the term “rethinking” I refer not only to formal policies and redefinitions, but also refer directly to what we call “mindsets”, that is to entrenched conceptions and prejudices, which need to change in order for practice to change in turn. In sum, this article proposes a consideration of both sides of the relationship between cultural heritage endowments and economic-social development, as a two-way relationship.

Asserting that economic development and heritage conservation can support and reinforce each other, and conceptualizing their potentials for mutually beneficial linkages is a risky argument, as it is prone to be vilified from both sides. On the one hand, the economic and financial communities have traditionally been inclined to under-estimate the economic potential and benefits from cultural heritage and to regard CH expenditures as a hardly affordable liability and luxury. On the other hand, the cultural community fears the “tainting by association” and is concerned that exploring the two-way linkages between CH and economic development might be associated with commercialization and mercantilization of CH.

Both positions, in our view, are unjustified, even though they may start from real risks of one kind or another. Risks do exist. Yet the presence of risk should not paralyze action, but trigger action that is aware of the risks and aims to preempt and counteract them proactively. This points to the need of articulating a policy for the sound and sustainable management of cultural heritage, apt to translate the case for better linkages in actionable programs, able to promote financial investments in conservation and CH management, and also aware of the risks of overexposing cultural heritage areas beyond their “carrying capacity” in the quest for capturing their economic potential.

This argument, going against prevalent practice, is still far from being accepted by many of those to whom it is targeted – those in charge with managing the financing of development activities. As a policy issue, the rationale for making financial investments in the cultural heritage “sector” and for “managing cultural heritage endowments for recovering their financing” may still sound like whistling in a church or mosque. It is certainly more comfortable to go by precedent, take routine practices as sacrosanct and not advocate change; but then the dearth of funds for the cultural sector will remain as chronic a plague as it has long been already. This is why this argument needs to be refined and tested in practice. If confirmed, many decision makers will have reasons to act differently.

I must also note, however, that despite resistance and entrenched practices, this argument is also gradually gaining traction. Significantly, it is gaining such traction because it is being made convergently from two directions. These are:

The development of the emerging discipline of cultural economics, which offers a theoretical and methodological context for examining these issues within the framework of accepted economic disciplines (see contributions by Throsby, 2003, 2001, 1997; Sen 2004; Hutton and Rizzo, 1997; Pearce and Mourato, 2000; Serageldin, 1996, 1997, 1999; Pagiola, 1996). Cultural economics argues the need for assuring the sustainability of cultural capital and its deliberate use for development; and

The changing policies and practices of international development agencies, those which begin to recognize that investments in cultural heritage are not just “liabilities” to budgets, but necessities of development itself, and that such investments may become additional means towards achieving the basic goals of social and economic development, which they pursue anyway.

To this respect, I will further focus first on the issues of theory and policy germane to framing this debate, and then outline a definition of the concept of *cultural sector*. In turn, this concept will serve as a platform for arguing the need to channel *investments* in the direction of this sector, seen as a sector, and argue also for the deliberate pursuit of sector-generated economic opportunities.

2. Economic Development and Culture: Theory and Policy Debates

In its early stages, the theoretical discourse on deliberately inducing development was dominated by the reductionist equalization of development with economic development or simply with growth. Both “economic development” and “growth” are crucial concepts and their importance should not be downplayed. But the problem was that the development process, if it is to be induced, must be addressed in all its breath, as a process that encompasses more than its economic core and cannot be equated with growth alone.

It took a rather long time – including much debate, social failures in one-sided projects, unanticipated outcomes –until concepts such as *social* development, institutional development, “putting people first”, sustainability, and others gained citizenship in the development literature. Progress in conceptual diversification has helped to both deconstruct and synthesize the variety of development’s facets and not only to frame operational interventions more precisely, but also to place them within a broader development paradigm.

The notion of cultural sector was initially proposed in 1999-2000, during the research carried out at the World Bank for a stocktaking and policy analysis of experiences related to CH issues in development. While this paper is not about the World Bank cultural *projects* as such, I will outline the theoretical and policy debates that erupted inside the World Bank around CH, because they have changed some ossified past conceptions.

These debates, little known outside, amount to a significant chapter in framing a new understanding of the relationship development-cultural heritage, and particularly its economic dimensions. They are consequential not only for the World Bank operations, but also because it is the world’s largest and arguably most influential multilateral development agency even beyond its lending ability. The pioneering trends that emerged from these debates are important not only for the World Bank’s own activities, but also beyond it – for other development agencies, for governments, as well as for the emerging discipline of cultural economics or for the sociology and anthropology of culture.

2.1. The Counter-argument: Development's Threats to CH.

The theoretical discourse on the relation between economic development and CH conservation – and the argument for a beneficial partnership between them – cannot ignore this relation's inner contradictions and risks. It must address them first.

No international agency has been battered as painfully as the World Bank has been on the issue of industrializing projects that harm cultural heritage assets through either site encroachment, or wanton destruction, or disregard for archaeological values, or careless urban modernization, pollution by toxic emissions – the list is much longer. Such adverse effects of industrialization processes have been reported worldwide; in fact the Bank-assisted projects are just a fraction of the total cohort of such damaging projects, most of them much worse and lacking any mitigation. This has led to a widespread perception that, whatever the rhetoric, development is unfriendly and antithetical to CH conservation.

But is it so necessarily? Or rather, should it be?

Distinction should be made, first, between the macro-process of economic development that increases a society's financial capability to also enhance its historic CH endowments, and the various instances of individual projects that, because they are designed without safeguards, or are on the whole ill-conceived, pose lethal hazards and damage or destroy cultural sites. The processes of industrialization can unfortunately be immediately destructive of specific cultural assets, or can affect them in the long run through pollution and other adverse effects. Examples are legion. Often, strong and legitimate opposition to certain development projects comes precisely from those worried about protecting culture. Amartya Sen (2004) has provided examples from Asia. Although he believes that, on the larger scale, these concerns are exaggerated, Sen still thinks that they must be taken most seriously by development managers. At the same time, it is widely accepted that not every single historic site or structure can be preserved. Careful consideration of costs and trade-offs is needed. Sound criteria and the act of consideration are important to respect and carry out in each instance.

The overall argument about risks must be in fact turned on its head. Precisely because economic development entails risks and damage to CH endowments, it is incumbent on the state in its development role, and

on private sector actors that foster development projects, to undertake the financial responsibility for preventing damage and for making possible conservation. The function of the state as the main custodian of a nation's heritage endowments is to create special legislation and management institutions capable, on one side, to limit risks and prohibit destructive effects, and on the other side, to maximize the benefits which CH conservation can derive from economic development. To balance and achieve these apparently contradictory objectives, a complex policy toolbox and enforceable laws are needed.

Within this toolbox, as we shall show further, the **financial component** of a state CH legislation and institutional mechanisms can have far reaching effects. Yet many governments and development agencies or private sector actors are still far from recognizing and meeting their responsibility in this respect. This is also true for many countries in the region to which this book is dedicated – the Arab world – to the detriment of their very rich historical cultural heritage. This is why carrying on the theoretical debate and policy discussion remains acutely necessary.

2.2. Policy Response to Risks.

The critique of development-caused risks to CH has been spearheaded by UNESCO since its establishment after World War II. Development agencies responded much later. At the World Bank, whose first 25 years unfolded without explicit social or cultural policies to guide its lending, the concern for culture in development started to gain in-house support and structure with the formation of its group of staff sociologists and anthropologists, in the second half of the 1970s. That group initiated the in-house argument about the role of culture in development projects, and labored tenaciously in uphill “battles” to advance it. This effort laid the foundation for the World Bank's gradual recognition of cultural variables in its activities and policies. It is not my purpose in the present paper to reconstruct this effort, but a description is available on the web as part of an exchange with a UNESCO anthropologist (Cernea, 2001)¹; it examines similarities and differences between UNESCO's and World Bank's approaches to the issues of culture and economic development.

¹See Cernea, Michael M. (2001) Culture?...At the World Bank? Letter to a Friend (www.cultureandpublication.org/pdf/cernealet.pdf)

Two significant landmarks need to be mentioned, however: the adoption by the World Bank of two formal policies – the Indigenous People Policy (1982) and the Operational Policy Note 11.03 on *Managing Cultural Property in World Bank-Financed Projects* (1986). The later statement has exercised direct influence on the protection of cultural heritage artifacts through World Bank assisted projects. The policy instituted firm rules regarding “chance finds” of cultural assets during project civil works and earth engineering, and mandated the interruption of project works for further research, or even the change of project site, whenever conservation of archaeological assets appeared necessary. It also introduced pre-project archaeological screenings.

Yet, the 1986 statement was still a passive policy. It only *reacted* to haphazard finds rather than being *pro-active* in addressing the fundamental issues of conservation under circumstances of accelerated induced development. It stopped short from committing the World Bank to lending for conservation. The time, apparently, was not yet ripe for that leap.

The effort inside the World Bank for theorizing and developing the argument of the ubiquity of cultural features in development continued and gathered force after the two landmarks outlined above. An extensive literature was generated, both for internal purposes, and for outside audiences, theorizing the social and cultural co-intent of development and the role of culture in accelerating it (Cernea 1985; Serageldin and Martin-Brown 1999; Serageldin and Tabaroff 1994; Cernea and Kudat 1997).²

The major policy development, however, occurred only in the late 1990s, in the wake of a major task force report on the status of *social* development work submitted to the World Bank’s President at the time, Mr. James Wolfensohn (World Bank 1997b). A special group was mandated to examine the World Bank’s support to culture and cultural heritage. The new effort was described in a note to UNESCO’s Deputy Director, Louise Arizpe, subsequently posted on the web (www.cultureandpublication.org/pdf/cernealet.pdf):

“For many years, the Bank’s social scientists have argued in-house that awareness of cultural dimensions in development interventions in

²⁾ See also the annotated bibliography of social studies by World Bank’s sociologists and anthropologists, staff and consultants, in: Cernea and Adams, 1993, plus many other publications in the last 10-12 years, for which no unified bibliography yet exists.

all so-called non-cultural (infrastructural) sectors was necessary because sensitivity to cultures fits projects better into their local contexts and participants. This argument has been won [let us say in principle, if not quite always in practice]. Now, more recently, we have moved one big step beyond this argument. We argue that recognition of the place of culture in development would be incomplete if only the cultural dimensions of *non*-cultural sectors were addressed, without direct development support provided to a country's cultural sector itself. These are two sides of the same philosophy of mainstreaming culture in development programs and investment. Together, they achieve synergy. This argument aims at providing financial investment support to the cultural sector itself and at integrating it with the economy's mainstream sectors, particularly financial support for better managing a country's cultural endowments and physical cultural patrimony.

Moreover, in a significant change from the early days, many in the Bank's community of economists are also making the intellectual argument for culture in development...Some of the Bank's poverty economists support investing in the better management of heritage endowments, for capturing their intrinsic economic potential and for their multilayered employment creation impacts." (2001)

Work carried out at that time resulted in two documents. The first was an issues paper for the Bank's Board on *Culture and Sustainable Development* (Duer 1999), which articulated criteria that justify lending for culture, as well as criteria that would limit the World Bank's lending. It also proposed an experimental "lending and learning" program, pro-active on financial support to cultural heritage.

Nonetheless, and contrary to the expectations of the World Bank's social specialist staff, the debate inside the World Bank's Board of Executive Directors did not lead to the adoption of a Bank-wide policy for lending for CH. The debate registered significant resistance against such a policy shift from several key Executive Directors, including those representing the U.S. and Australia.

More important and immediately consequential, however, was the full fledged policy and operational strategy paper developed shortly thereafter in the Bank's regional department for the Middle East and North Africa countries (henceforth, MENA), with support from its two successive Vice-

Presidents, Kemal Derwish and Jean-Louis Sarbib. That paper articulated a formal, pro-active lending program and “framework for action” for linking investments in sound CH management to development: *Cultural Heritage and Development: A Framework for Action* (Cernea, 2001a), complete with a theoretical rationale, strategy, and with detailed operational guidance. The formulation of this strategy emerged from a detailed stocktaking multi-country study of their approaches to, and needs for, the management of their cultural heritage endowments (Cernea 2000), with a particular focus on Morocco, Tunisia, Yemen, Lebanon, Syria, and partly Egypt. The new policy and the “frame work for action” were adopted formally and issued publicly by the region’s management (see Sarbib 2000). Disseminated in all the region’s countries, they offered the conceptual and strategy platform for extending World Bank financial assistance to this domain. In practice, that led to a higher number of CH projects in the North Africa and Middle East region than in any other region in the total World Bank lending. Although issuing comparable policy statement was contemplated at that time for other world regions, those efforts failed (like for the South Asia region or Africa region) and no other regional policy document resulted.

3. The Concept of Cultural Sector

In defining the place that CH management and financing within planned development, we identified the basic features of what are usually regarded as “sectors”. Governments and development agencies are also centering their development activities around sectors as macro-units of analysis in the research and planning of development. In light of that analysis, we proposed the notion of *cultural sector* as a new working concept, usable for outlining the World Bank’s policy and operational strategy. The term of sector is employed sometimes, casually, in expressions like the “art sector” (e.g., see Ginsburgh and Throsby 2006), but we strived for a more structured and formal definition, indicating the main components of a sector and seeking comparability with the main elements of other, more “classic” sectors.. The concept was adopted and used in the cultural heritage policy for the MENA region and in its supporting studies and follow up activities.

Of course, the concept of cultural sector was defined as being wider than the sub-domain of cultural heritage itself, which is only a part of this sector. The policy itself focused explicitly and particularly on the cultural heritage patrimony (not on the art sub-sector or other sub-sectors), and it is often also referred to as the cultural heritage policy, because it was in this domain that the World Bank's investment assistance *could* be provided in conjunction with other mainstream development activities.

The definition of the cultural sector suggests that the concept consists of six essential elements. These are:

- a. *Cultural Assets*, which can be both material and non-material in nature. These valuable assets form the actual content of the patrimony;
- b. *Institutional structures*, which include the state institutions mandated to administer the patrimony assets, ensure conservation and promote valorization, as well as the civil society's associations dedicated to work on patrimony, preservation and enhancement;
- c. *Cultural Industries and productive activities*, which include various enterprises, traditional artisanal workshops among others.
- d. *Cultural Service organizations and their activities*, which facilitate the public's access to the patrimony, such as museums, libraries, archives, exhibitions, cultural tourism companies.
- e. *Commercial enterprises*, which market culturally related artifacts, products, etc.
- f. *The social actors*, who include the large number of people engaged in the diversified activities (productive, creative, exchange, commercial, institutional, and other activities) of this sector.

Identifying the components of the sector highlights the tangible content of the concept. Compared to the traditional argument about "culture and development", this concept brings a complementary perspective. Indeed, the traditional argument of social anthropologists in the context of development institutions and development work has been that culture is ubiquitous, i.e. that anything, any process, any activity, that is "touched" or initiated as part of inducing development also has an implicit cultural dimension embedded in it, and that that dimension is important, consequential, and must be taken into account. This ubiquity argument was, and fully remains, a true and correct argument. Culture is ubiquitous. But there are also material assets, and institutional structures, or industries,

which do not have just a cultural dimension only, but are cultural by their nature, or are predominately cultural, and thus are distinct from other assets, or functional institutions, or industries. This distinctiveness must also be recognized, alongside ubiquity.

Furthermore, the concept of cultural sector does not only rest on the recognition of the “components” of the sector. It implicitly and explicitly affirms that the components not only co-exist, but also *interact*, rely upon and are linked to each other. They form a totality which is not simply a sum but a social articulation, with specific functions. It is precisely their articulation that offers a bridge to understanding the various ways in which the cultural sector can be more effectively integrated in what is generally defined as the paradigm of mainstream, purposive, induced development and in the programs that emerge along it.

The concept of cultural sector was further used in other studies and documents, notably in a large study on the cultural sector of Morocco (Brizzi, et al., 2004). Sectoral studies are one of the research vehicles employed in development practice in many countries or international agencies, for all sectors, in order to create a knowledge base for rational decision-making in prioritizing financial investments in a given sector. Yet as long as the cultural domain was not seen as a sector, no sector studies were undertaken on it as a sector. Morocco’s was the first such country-based cultural sector study.

4. The Under-financing of the Cultural Sector

Patrimony assets and cultural tourism already play a significant role in the economy of many developing countries. Yet the states’ allocations and culture-related expenditures for CH, and their ratios to GDP, are often appallingly low.

Low financing levels. During the past decade, for instance, the share of the Ministry of Culture in the national budget of several MENA countries ranked at the very bottom of the investment totem pole. Table 1.1 below reflects the absolute amounts spent and the ratios of culture-related expenditures to national GDP over that decade. With the remarkable exception of Egypt, this ratio was below 1 percent, and in several countries – below 0.5 percent.

Table 1. Culture-Related Expenditures and Ratios to GDP, in the decade 1986-98 (in millions of U.S.\$ for amounts; in % for ratio of cultural expenditures to GDP)

Country	1986		1990		1992		1994		1996		1997		1998	
	Amt.	Ratio	Amt.	Ratio	Amt.	Ratio	Amt.	Ratio	Amt.	Ratio	Amt.	Ratio	Amt.	Ratio
Bahrain	20.2	0.6	25.0	0.6	28.7	0.6	26.9	0.5	9.8	0.2	27.9	0.5	31.4	-
Egypt	1013.1	2.8	852.6	2.2	978.0	2.0	1394.1	2.4	1653.0	-	1865.6	-	-	-
Jordan	46.8	0.8	22.2	0.6	24.6	0.5	39.9	0.7	55.6	0.8	49.8	-	-	-
Kuwait	189.3	1.1	222.2	1.2	245.4	1.2	370.4	1.5	307.3	1.0	323.1	1.1	414.5	-
Morocco	24.8	0.1	42.1	0.2	61.7	0.2	99.5	0.3	-	-	-	-	-	-
Oman	97.9	1.3	89.7	0.9	133.9	1.2	125.1	1.1	108.2	0.7	92.8	0.6	93.1	-
Syrian	67.7	0.5	44.2	0.4	44.5	0.3	58.5	0.4	61.3	0.4	62.7	-	-	-
Tunisia	67.7	0.5	44.2	0.4	44.5	0.3	58.5	0.4	61.3	0.4	62.7	-	-	-
Yemen	-	-	27.9	0.6	42.1	0.8	26.9	0.8	33.2	0.6	43.7	0.8	51.6	1.0
Un Arab Emirates	95.9	0.4	100.5	0.3	133.8	0.4	135.7	0.4	-	-	-	-	-	-

Notes: Cultural expenditures are taken from IMF, Government Financial Statistics, various years. Line B8 (Recreational, Cultural and Religious Affairs), Budgetary Central Government, GDP information is from Live Database as of June 23, 1999.

Even these low levels do not yet reveal the full story of under-financing, because the available data aggregate together expenditures not just for culture but also for sports and religious affairs. Culture receives only a fraction. For instance, in Yemen, the 1998 cultural expenditures were reported at about 1 percent of GDP, but a public expenditure review in 2000 found that only about one-tenth of the 1 percent went for culture and that nine-tenth was used for sports and religious affairs. Comparable proportions can be assumed, more or less, for the other MENA countries. The allocations for the cultural sector by itself, and specifically for CH, are much lower than the percentages shown in this table – with obvious consequences.

The rationale for these severely limited allocations invites serious reconsideration. At the same time, the scarcity of state resources also calls for more energetic participation of private, non-government financing. But both state activities and private sector support are not free from cost-benefit consideration.

To some “purists”, such questions about costs or economic pay-offs may seem trivial or narrow-minded when they refer to preserving culture. But they are not, because investment resources are scarce and responsible economic analysis is indispensable. Willingly or unwillingly, in everyday life the survival of cultural assets is deeply influenced by economic criteria. Opportunity cost considerations, for instance, regularly intervene in the decision-making by public administrators on whether to approve or decline one or another conservation investment (Throsby, 1997; Fey 1997). Therefore, it is highly important to both improve economic methodologies and reexamine the overall economic rationale of support to the CH domain. If investing in CH management can pass the test of economic analysis, much of the current hesitations vis-à-vis such investments could be overcome.

5. Cultural Heritage Assets as Public Goods

The cornerstone of the argument for financing the conservation of the historical cultural endowments of any nation has long been defined both in economics and in political science as the financing of a “public good”. In the case of cultural heritage the “public good” has both national and universal dimensions.

5.1 The National Dimension of Public Goods.

The rationale for using public resources for CH maintenance and good management is grounded in the well-known economic theory of public goods. There is much similarity between cultural goods and environmental goods (or biodiversity).

Cultural patrimony assets are in most cases public goods. They provide benefits that are non-rival and non-excludable. As public goods, they can be enjoyed by all without any one person's "consumption" and enjoyment diminishing or preventing the enjoyment of others.³ As a body of goods, they provide *unsubstitutable* services, cultural and economic. The benefits they generate are both intra- and inter-generational.

Precisely because heritage assets are – and must be recognized as – public goods, they legitimize public expenditures for their upkeep and for maintaining their ability to satisfy specific needs of present *and future generations*. It is generally recognized that markets do not function efficiently for setting and capturing the use-value of patrimony goods and services at optimal levels. This requires public sector intervention for correcting such market inefficiencies, while assuring access and benefits for all potential users. Because the social "wants" related to patrimony use cannot be satisfied, or *fully* satisfied, just through market processes, they must be provided for by complementing the market with state intervention through budget mechanisms. This is why governments have a lead role in making accessible various CH public goods to their citizens and to humanity at large, in both present and future generations.

Moreover, and of great importance for our argument, in the fact that the state is able to influence, to some extent, the market processes as well. That makes it incumbent on the state to exercise this ability through deliberate strategy for increasing market returns to the cultural sector and to the management of its public goods.

5.2 The Universal Dimensions of Public Goods.

The case for financing the cultural patrimony as a public good is being currently strengthened by the expanding debate around the global nature

³ Caveats to this statement result from the fragility of some heritage goods and the risks of congestion that is, of exceeding "carrying capacity limits," discussed further in this paper.

of some public goods – either environmental or cultural – and around the definition of what is a “*global* public good” (Kaul, et al., 1999). While not all patrimony assets have universal significance, some indisputably do: for example, those already on UNESCO’s World Heritage List. Their benefits are transnational. People travel far to countries other than their own to share in the knowledge and emotions of seeing and learning about cultural treasures of universal relevance. Like biodiversity, cultural diversity is a global public good. Maintaining it requires public support.

Although a distinction must be made between CH public goods of national or of universal relevance, it does not result that CH treasures of national relevance “only” are a category of public goods whose neglect or loss is acceptable without concern. Jordan’s Government, for instance, convincingly rejected such assumptions: it undertook already two large-scale CH projects, using also international financing, which deliberately focus on the CH of *small* towns, in order to bring under modern management also sites of lesser visibility than Jordan’s preeminent global site, Petra (World Bank 1997).

I must also note that the constraints and severe needs resulting from the location of some major CH endowments in extremely resource-deprived areas must become another financial issue of international concern. The universal value of some cultural public goods located in the poorest developing countries, and the risks to which absent maintenance exposes them, justifies support through international aid and development cooperation in the CH sector. Such support may require new forms of financial assistance to developing countries for the conservation and improved management of these endangered global cultural goods. Although these implications are not discussed here, it is nonetheless important to point to this expanding international discussion and evolving new concepts.

6. Valuation and Value-Adding Activities

6.1 The Economic Value.

While the theory of public goods legitimizes public intervention for CH support, it does not determine the specific amounts of such support and

is not a substitute for analyzing costs and benefits. Yet, these questions must be addressed when decisions for investments in the cultural sector are made, and the answers depend on the methods applied for measuring and capturing CH economic values.

The basic economic questions to be asked regarding the cultural sector are in essence similar to those for other sectors, with adjustments to the cultural nature of assets. What are the relations between costs and benefits? Are the opportunity costs of using scarce resources in the CH sector justified, compared to possible alternative uses of the same resources? What valuation techniques are available? What kind of benefits for the society at large—both economic and non-economic—can be expected from such investments? If investments above past levels are made, would the benefits justify the incremental expenditures?

As mentioned before, although the discipline of cultural economics is at its beginnings, knowledge is accumulating from experience and can increasingly inform decision-making. Economic research has started in recent years to produce analytical and evaluative evidence, and the new field of cultural economics is expanding. Many of the economic analytical techniques needed for intervention in the CH area are being adapted from environmental economics, which a decade or two ago also faced the same need to apply economic analysis for investing in environmental protection (Pagiola 1996; Pearce and Mourato, 2000; Throsby 2001; Pearce and Swanson 2008).

There is broad agreement to date on several basic economic propositions: first, that cultural assets, like environmental goods, have economic value; second, that these economic values and potentials can increasingly be assessed with improving methodologies; and third, most importantly, that their economic value can be captured and even maximized through adequate management policies and more efficient pricing. These propositions reinforce the economic rationale of the public goods theory.

Difficulties do emerge, however, in the practice of economic evaluations of CH values, because of limited experiences and insufficient research. Resource scarcity and competing needs complicate such decisions. As Pearce and Mourato insightfully observed, if cultural assets attracted extremely high economic values, or if intrinsic values always prevailed, then

cultural heritage could not be under threat. The fact that it is threatened suggests that its economic value is either low, or is not realized. Research suggests that the latter is often the case: there is a substantial economic value, but it is not “captured” by those who either own the assets or who have the duty to conserve it (Pearce and Mourato 2000). The road to harvesting these unrealized CH values must therefore go through the economic valuation of cultural assets.

6.2 Identifying the Values of Cultural Assets.

Two aspects need to be considered in the economic valuation of CH assets: value identification and measurement. Conventional yardsticks are hardly usable in this domain. Instead, economic analysis has identified several types of use and non-use economic values of cultural assets, generally accepted, which can be taken into account in investment decision-making. These are:

- direct use values – those related directly to the actual use of cultural goods, such as adaptive and re-use of historic buildings, or visits to historic sites;
- indirect use values – those that lead to mediated (indirect) benefits resulting from patrimony goods, such as newly erected business opportunities, employment in services associated with CH, etc.;
- option values – those derived from the individual’s (or group’s) desire to retain the option to benefit from the asset at some time in the future;
- bequest values, or non-use values – those resulting from people’s intention to bequest the assets to future generations; and
- existence values – those related to people’s desire to know that the respective heritage sites exist, are maintained and will endure, even though they themselves may never enjoy them.

The point, however, is not only to identify the several specific types of values of CH assets, but also to find ways to *measure* them, because once quantified (even with approximations), these quantifications can enter the calculus for investment decision-making.

6.3 Measuring Values.

Economists have also devised several ways to measure the values of heritage assets, even though such measurements are difficult since significant cultural values will arise *outside* the market. These alternative means of measurement are defined as contingent valuation methods (CVM), whereby people's willingness to pay for the use of the asset (or willingness to accept compensation for its loss) is estimated through surveys of potential beneficiaries (Throsby, 1999; see also Pearce and Swanson, 2008 for the broader application of CVM).

Contingent valuation depends on the meanings and worth attributed by people to certain assets, sites, etc.⁴ In connection with valuation, the concept of "cultural capital" has been introduced by cultural economists. This also facilitates the adaptation of other economic concepts, such as investment, depreciation, rates of return, differentiation between stock and flow, etc. to the area of CH maintenance and management. Throsby defines cultural capital as the capital value that can be attributed to a material CH asset. Namely:

We might define cultural capital specifically in the context of immovable heritage as the capital value that can be attributed to a building, a collection of buildings, a monument, or more generally a place, which is *additional* to the value of the land and buildings purely as physical entities or structures, and which embodies community's valuation of the asset in terms of its social, historical, or cultural dimension. Cultural capital, like the physical capital in which it is contained, can have its asset value enhanced by investments in its maintenance or improvement. The social decision problem in regard to this type of cultural capital might be seen within the framework of social cost-benefit analysis. Ranking projects according to their social rate of return (and) decision-making in this area... could utilize the familiar mechanics of investment appraisal. The appropriate rate of return is that which takes account of both tangible financial flows and of *intangible* effects arising as public goods or beneficial externalities (Throsby 1997: 17).

Such measurement methods are far from perfect, sometimes outright controversial. They are subject to continuous refinements by research economists. But they represent the improving economic state-of-the-art and equip public administrators with a framework for economic decision-

making.⁴ They also help actualize the economic potential of assets and recover the costs of their protection.

7. Heritage Management – a “Value-Adding” Activity

Heritage management is often and simplistically understood as the administration of cultural assets, particularly major monuments, in ways that will just increase the access of paying tourists to visiting these assets. However important as an economically beneficial activity is, this understanding is mistaken, narrow, and prone to cause irreparable damage. Managing cultural assets only with a view to maximizing benefits through tourism can become unsustainable and detrimental, exceeding carrying capacity levels and divesting resources away from conservation rather than creating resources for it, enriching international or national tour operators and impoverishing the cultural heritage (Tosun 1998). Heritage management linked to development, and in the context of a social development paradigm, is much broader and different in content and purpose to the exploitation of the heritage for tourism profits.

Since the economically “capturable” values of this class of assets depend on the worth people tend to assign to them, *good management can enhance these values* and make them easier to harvest by increasing the understanding, appreciation, and identification of the population with cultural monuments and assets of all kinds. Education and understanding are both goals and means in cultural management. The increase of knowledge and the strengthening of identity, of respect for one’s own culture, respect for other cultures, populations and religions, etc. are in themselves goals and gains of vast importance. They fulfill the public good function of CH, even though they may remain unquantifiable. At the same time, they increase the economically capturable values of cultural assets because, as a result, people tend to assign higher value to CH and become more determined to safeguard such assets effectively.

Through improved heritage management, the patrimony is – and can increasingly become – an area for multiple “value adding” activities. Much empirical observation is condensed in the following statement by a scholar

⁴Such valuation techniques are being used widely for environmental evaluations, and are also increasingly used by governments or the World Bank in the culture heritage sector (Pearce and Swanson, 2008).

of heritage who did not necessarily want to make an economic point in her statement, but nevertheless did:

“Heritage adds value to existing assets that have either ceased to be viable or that never were economically productive because their location area is too hot, or too cold, or too wet, or too dry, or too remote, or because they are operated outside the realm of profit ... Heritage organizations ensure that places and practices in danger of disappearing because they are no longer occupied, or functioning, or valued... will survive.” (Kirschenblatt-Gimblet 1998, 150)

The economic opportunity to enhance further these value-added benefits rests on the *complementarity between “conservation” and “management”*. Conservation is an essential premise of good CH management, and management adds value to, and builds upon, conservation, making the assets more accessible to larger numbers. This is why heritage management presumes the involvement of the tourism industry, but in ways that (1) does not add unacceptable risks to assets, and which (2) include the return and re-channeling of a substantial portion of tourism benefits for investing in CH maintenance and conservation. This is another comparative advantage of integrating the *management* of CH into the overall management of a country’s development.

7.1 The Range of Economic and Non-Economic Benefits.

Patrimony assets can yield increased and multiple incremental benefits if well protected through adequate investments and improved management. These benefits are of two main categories: economic and non-economic positive impacts. Of course, it is important not only to increase and capture these benefits, but also to *channel* them towards the nation’s development priorities and needs.

With respect to channeling and distribution of the benefits from CH, economic analysis is primarily concerned with: (a) poverty reduction and the possible contribution of the CH sector; (b) employment creation potentials through tourism intermediation and beyond; and (c) the choices available to governments when they weigh resource scarcity for investments in the patrimony.

Broadly, these are both economic and non-economic positive impacts, as follows:

Economic impacts:

- Positive impacts on poverty reduction;
- Positive impacts on national employment levels;
- Positive impacts on total outputs and revenue levels from cultural industries and service industries; and
- Positive impacts on foreign exchange earnings.

Non-economic gains:

- Gains in education levels and identity cultivation;
- Positive impacts on societal cohesion and social capital development;
- Gains in enlarging the nation's cultural patrimony; and
- Better safeguarding and conveyance of heritage assets to future generations.

Both sets of impacts/benefits are important in the short- and long-term. Ways of harvesting them through development intervention are outlined in further detail and are documented more extensively in the full regional sector study (Cernea 2000).

7.2 Can CH Support Contribute to Poverty Reduction?

Since the overarching mandate in development is defined as poverty reduction, linking CH management to development strategy means also to explore ways to channel the patrimony's economic potential towards poverty reduction objectives.

Poverty-related impacts result when investments in CH diversify income generation, create new jobs, and improve the living standards of the poor, who often reside *around* heritage sites and sometimes even *in* the heritage districts. The orientation towards poverty alleviation as a more policy perspective brought to bear on cultural sector as well, calls for targeted attention to poor communities neighboring heritage sites and to assisting also community-driven projects for heritage management.

7.3 The Geography of Poverty.

A question may be legitimately asked: is not poverty orientation an objective incongruous with patrimony conservation activities artificially forced upon them by the development perspective?

The typical geography of poverty in North Africa and Middle Eastern countries shows that most historic Medinas (Fez, Algiers, Tunis, Kairouan, Tyr, Shibam, Aleppo, Damascus, Meknes, and others) contain large urban poor populations living in the midst of areas of former historic splendor. In Fez, a socio-economic survey found that the poverty incidence among the Medina populations was much higher—a huge 36 percent!—than the average urban poverty rate—about 7.6 percent—for the entire country. Out of the population of 150,000 people, about 52,000 live below the defined poverty threshold. Urban over-crowdedness, crumbling infrastructure, decaying buildings, poor sanitation, condemn many Medina inhabitants to low living standards and preempt new business incubation. This eliminates sizeable quarters from tourism circuits and associated chances to economic revitalization. In turn, many rural poor areas, often rich in historic monuments, are also pockets of entrenched poverty. Thus, the very geography of poverty is at the convergence between heritage management support and poverty reduction impacts. Similar situations are very frequent in Asia – for instance, in many areas of India, Nepal, Laos and Cambodia, with a high concentration of both cultural monuments and endemic poverty.

7.4 New Employment Creation.

The case for activating the patrimony's latent economic values relies also on inducing incremental employment. One of the biggest challenges facing the economies of developing countries is the challenge of employing their growing numbers. The search for expanding employment compels attention to CH opportunities as well.

Massive economic benefits creditable to the patrimony's existence accrue through the intermediation of international and domestic tourism. Expanding cultural tourism in particular depends largely on investments in CH safeguarding and management. In Morocco, for instance, the amount of foreign currency from tourism is the second largest after remittances from Moroccans working abroad.

Direct employment can occur inside and outside CH sites, as a result of expenditures for site preservation and returns from the use of site and support facilities, by linking cultural services with other services. In England, for instance, studies have confirmed the effectiveness of using cultural sites as poles of attraction in a “policy for depressed regions” and “in areas of high unemployment” (Johnson and Thomas 1990). In Tunisia, employment created per hotel bed has generated initially 2.8 person-year from construction alone, supplemented recurrently afterwards with between 1.37-1.80 person-year annually per hotel bed, depending on occupancy rates (see Box 3.1). For some areas, expenditures made by cultural tourists are higher than those of beach tourists.

To conclude, evidence is still sporadic, but growing through research, that employment in the CH and in related cultural tourism services is *a promising and major avenue* for absorbing a significant segment of the unemployed. Direct services to tourists and handicraft production/sale are labor-intensive activities. Governments in the region generally accept employment generation as an explicit reason and objective of public funding for tourism stimulation programs. What is not consistently taken into account is that, ultimately, one major component of general tourism, namely the cultural tourism, directly depends on the state of the CH sites.

These types of employment impacts can be channeled primarily, although not exclusively, towards geographic poverty pockets and the poor. Operational modalities for such channeling are numerous. Using them with priority depends both on targeted policies and on skilled craftsmanship in project selection and design. It is precisely this kind of *focused investing in CH management* that can derive increased benefits on the one hand for safeguarding the patrimony for the future, and on the other hand for immediate poverty reduction in the present.

7.5 Opportunity Costs: Why Resource Scarcity Must be Overcome.

Opportunity costs reasons are important in decisions to allocate resources for CH. Countries facing many competing demands for the same scarce financial resources, hardly have “free resources” to shift towards the patrimony. This is why, usually, scarcity of budgetary resources and opportunity costs are the arguments invoked *against* state investments

in CH preservation. This argument holds that the resources needed by the patrimony sector can be used for alternative investments that would also bear on development and poverty reduction, with same or better results. This reasoning must be taken seriously, as it results from a painful awareness of *resource scarcity* even for innovative approaches.

Indeed, alternative uses are always possible. Prudent management must weigh alternatives and their likely returns. But increasingly cultural economics documents that well conceived CH financial investments can hold their own in terms of overall returns when compared to competing demands for the same resources.

7.6 Key Reasons that Justify Sound CH Investments.

The following four reasons show why, even under conditions of budgetary scarcity, investments in the patrimony can achieve returns that justify these investments on economic grounds as well, in addition to other reasons.

First, the cornerstone economic reason for the cultural patrimony case is that a vast *body of valuable assets*, for which sunk costs have been paid by prior generations, is available. It is a waste to overlook such assets, yet much of the existent patrimony lingers insufficiently activated or fully dormant. Possible gains are foregone. There is a high opportunity cost of *not* using the patrimony's potential, which also must be accounted for in alternative investment decision-making. Consensus is emerging that, despite some recent progress, the economic value of the patrimony remains significantly underused. Without the clear-sighted will to make the seed investments necessary, the patrimony will under-produce and will further lose value through deterioration.

Second, beyond the strictly economic dimension, there is a major national interest for states to preserve the patrimony for future generations, and this too must be factored in when scarcity influences decisions. The reasoning in the CH case is comparable, *mutatis mutandis*, with the reasoning in the case of the national interest for investing in security or in clean environment, where opportunity cost considerations of making or *not* making the requisite expenditures also must be factored in and taken into account.

Third, knowledge about capturing the potential of the patrimony is only incipient. Learning how to do this must be facilitated through prudent investments, rather than preempted by denying the needed seed resources. Macro-economic research in USA has shown that benefits from CH can significantly *exceed* benefits from some other industries, including manufacturing (Rypkema 1998). If this were true, opportunity costs would appear in a different light, and may be offset by higher gains. Developing countries need to experiment with, and learn innovative ways of using the patrimony's endowments, and thus achieve new types of benefits, still unsuspected and untapped.

And *fourth*, the opportunity costs/scarcity argument tends to overlook the *additionality* of the vast range of non-economic and economic benefits. Although some immediate benefits of CH sites do not enter markets, they are nonetheless benefits, real and incremental. The educational, moral, cultural and political benefits from CH are the kind of immediate public benefits that cannot be purchased by just any other alternative investment. They are of great importance for the bigger purposes of development, even if they cannot be subjected to monetary measurements. The limitation of economic methods should not be imputed to the intrinsic or derived value of culture.

How much or how little every country will invest in CH preservation is to be determined by each country and society. Scarcity of resources is an important issue that should be recognized, not underestimated. Decisions should be based on country assessment of needs, priorities, and desired impacts and should be made with broad public awareness and involvement.

Pursuing impact-multipliers is important as well. Given existing scarcities, investments in heritage management have a higher justification when they become *impact-multipliers*. That is, when they generate "cascading" economic and non-economic types of benefits – primary, secondary and tertiary – with direct bearing on reducing poverty *within* and *around* the heritage sites and on creating new jobs even far *away* from the heritage sites proper.

7.7 Self-Financing and Policy Solutions to Scarcity.

Scarcity must be pragmatically addressed in other ways than by taking the line of least resistance and ranking CH lowest on the investment totem pole, with the smallest allocation. The policy alternative is to amplify financial resource supply from alternative sources. Public funds should not be regarded as the lone source for CH. More stakeholders than the state alone, both domestic and international, are interested in preservation and all have the responsibility and incentives to contribute financially.

As custodians of the historic heritage endorsements, the state and the government are well fulfilling their role, not only by outright budgetary allocations, but also by (a) calling for the co-participation of the private business sector in CH assistance; (b) encouraging civil society voluntary contributions in various forms; and (c) mobilizing grant aid co-financing from potential bilateral and international donors. Due to the patrimony's *universal* cultural value, seed domestic investments can be leveraged (often easier than investments in other sectors) into "magnets" for attracting other donors' aid, as well as for stimulating the customary local *Mécénat*.

The scarcity of resources can be alleviated also through policy and institutional reform for *increasing the sector's self-financing*. Best practices show that incremental self-financing can be attained in MENA countries through: more efficient pricing of assets and services; differential visitor charges that maximize net revenue; changes in tax laws; new incentive levers; and more systematic involvement of local communities. We believe firmly that the patrimony's own capacity for pivotal self-financing only begins now to be imaginatively explored.

We have also researched the economic evidence available on actual benefits from historic preservation. Such analyses are still insufficient, but when carried out (more in developed than in developing countries), they have produced significant evidence.

One econometric research in the US compared returns to investments in historic building rehabilitation and re-use with investment returns in 17 manufacturing industries, along three indicators of input-output multipliers. Using the same unit of investment, not even one of the 17 manufacturing sectors was found to have higher input-output multipliers than the historic building, rehabilitation investments. The study concluded that "in three

categories – job creation, household income, and total impact – building rehabilitation consistently outperforms the manufacturing sector” (Rypkema 1998). The same macro-economic study further identified seven distinct ways in which historic conservation was performed as a powerful “economic generator”. These are: (i) Employment creation; (ii) Stimulation of heritage tourism; (iii) Small business incubation; (iv) Downtown revitalization in large cities; (v) Small town economic revitalization; (vi) Neighborhood stabilization; and (vii) Neighborhood diversity. Some of these ways may work less in developing countries’ contexts, but others – and particularly the first three – are likely to have stronger impacts in developing economies than in advanced industrial economies such as the US.

8. How to Design Vehicles for Investing in Cultural Assets?

Traditionally, financing the conservation of heritage assets has taken the form of special grants, donations, or regular but limited budgetary allocations for repairs, rescue work, or maintenance works, etc. However, when the policy approach changes and the objective is to incorporate the financing for the cultural sector into general development programs (in either urban or rural contexts), and also to deliver more massive investments, a new and hard question emerges: for instance, what are the types of investment vehicles apt to achieve the desired synergy?

This is a task more complex than it seems at first sight.

Development investments resort very often to the vehicle of development projects. In the vernacular of development work, the challenge becomes to find the best “project option” and to “projectize” a certain development investment. Because in the CH area such development-linked investments are a relatively new practice, it has to face the same challenge: finding the best “project options”, or the most effective way – to use the same vernacular – to “projectize” an investment in CH, or to “package” and “allocate” the financing for CH activities in connection with other project activities, which are not necessarily related to the cultural sector. The search for appropriate types of project vehicles puts on the table, in turn, issues of institutional capacity, technical feasibility, or even complex political issues. The emerging experiences with such

choices require examination, conceptualization and feasibility analyses of a cultural economics type.

The first practical question and consequential choice is, of course, about whether investment projects in CH should be exclusively devoted to the conservation and management of selected CH endowments, or should be designed as a combination of activities focused not only on the specific cultural assets, but also on the integrated development of the areas and populations surrounding them. The former is rather simple and clear, as it isolates the CH assets and directs most activities to them alone⁵; the latter is predicated on treating the cultural assets as part of the larger socioeconomic context in which they are embedded, and involves a more comprehensive project.⁶

The second choice intervenes when what is called “the component approach” is adopted for projects that integrate CH support into a broad local development template. The integrated approach must in turn prudently weigh and select priorities among the many activities that can be included into an integrated project. For instance, if poverty reduction is regarded as a strong priority in a specific area, the selection of activities will favor employment and income accrual to the area population, distinct from, say, an area predominantly inhabited by a middle class population, where other criteria may be prioritized.

Cultural heritage investment projects have been initiated and implemented over the last 8-10 years in numerous developing countries, large and small: Romania, China, Bolivia, Morocco, Brazil, Ethiopia and many others. A review we undertook of the different types of project designs and structures in various countries has revealed a variety of approaches (Cernea 2001a). In the region analyzed in the present volume,

⁵This is often the case of projects directed to the artistic restoration of some monuments, which require a specialized technical and artistic intervention, as distinct from broader socioeconomic development. These projects are often described as “enclave projects” and are usually not favored by development agencies, which tend to leave such projects to specialized agencies, such as UNESCO or art and architectural foundations, etc. At times, however, such “enclave interventions” are indispensable as a first step, to be followed after completion by broader-type projects that take an integrated approach.

⁶This latter category is sometimes described as development projects with a cultural heritage “component”. This wording may appear technically accurate, but it does not fully capture the underlying concept of such projects, which try precisely not to isolate the treatment of cultural heritage as a component, but to integrate it into the living surrounding social and economic context, keeping in mind the broader trends in development, environmental consideration, demographic characteristics, transportation and access to the CH, etc.

we found that both main routes outlined above have been employed, but the “component” approach is prevalent, much more frequent than the full-scale, stand alone cultural heritage project.

Which have been to date the specific project design options actually chosen by the staff of the World Bank and their country counterparts in, for instance, the countries of North Africa and the Middle East? A review of several such different options and of the different types of “project paths” pursued in a handful of actual CH projects in various countries was undertaken elsewhere (Cernea, 2001b). We have found an array of such options and these will be described and analyzed one by one below.

Region-wide, both routes are currently employed. Projects in Jordan, Morocco, and Lebanon, have taken the component route; on the contrary, the project in Tunisia has taken the full-scale project route. Moreover, even in what we call the “component approach” there are significant differences from one project to another, and one sector to another.

8.1 Alternative CH Project Approaches.

The range of sectors and design options employed in several countries of the North Africa and Middle East for financial investments in cultural heritage during 1996-2007 *through development projects* can be summarized as follows:

- Morocco: The urban improvement option adopted in Morocco for the Fez-Medina project;
- Jordan: The tourism option pursued in the *Second Cultural Heritage and Tourism Project* (focused on Petra and Wadi Rum areas) (World Bank 2007); and also in the *Third Cultural Heritage Tourism and Urban Development Project* approach (focused on five smaller towns with CH endowments) (Jordan 2007);
- Lebanon: The post-conflict reconstruction approach adopted in Lebanon after the end of the civil war in the 1990s;
- West Bank-Bethlehem: The capacity creation option in the West Bank Bethlehem project;
- Tunisia: The national program option in the Tunisia full-scale CH project; and

- Yemen: The local community approach: i.e., many, but relatively, small investments, in a large number of communities, financially through the vehicle of a “Development Fund” type of project.

The integrated approach is able to capture the synergy between sectors. The strongest synergy appears to be between support to CH assets located in urban areas integrated with investments in urban infrastructure and urban poverty reduction; or between tourism development and better heritage conservation and modern management. A number of studies on such experiences has revealed such synergies convincingly (Serageldin 1996, 1999; Serageldin and Lewcock 1983; Cernea 2001a, 2001b; Serageldin, et al., 2001).

Worthy of notice also is *what was avoided: enclave projects*, which would focus only on one or several monuments, taken separately from their context and isolated from inter-sectoral linkages. In turn, when the institutional framework of the country’s cultural sector is stronger, a nation-wide CH project may be appropriate. That is the case in Tunisia, where a large scale CH project encompassing the nation’s built heritage has been launched. Ultimately, the practical choices for channeling investments through projects boil down to two main options: either a “pure cultural heritage driven project,” or a project that integrates the cultural sector investment within a broader area development project focused on the socioeconomic systems within which the relevant CH assets are embedded.

To sum up, the economic rationale for supporting CH management is based on the “public goods” nature of CH assets and on their intrinsic economic values. These economic values are identifiable and the methodology of measuring them is continuously improving. Resource scarcity considerations are real, however, and investment choices need to be made with careful consideration of opportunity costs both ways that is, if allocations are or are not given to patrimony management. Practical experiences demonstrate that, with good project design and improved management, economic values can be captured and benefits in this sector can be significantly increased. Benefits can be channeled in ways that will not only return more funds for better management of CH assets, but also contribute towards the basic development objectives of a given country, such as poverty reduction and employment creation. Non-economic benefits, particularly in education, nation building, and identity development, are in

turn very important. Taken together, these elements place domestic CH policies and project interventions on a realistic economic rationale.

8.2 Terrorism and the Economic Value of Cultural Heritage.

That investments are necessary, and that CH assets hold enormous value and economic potential, has been recognized in a counterfactual way even by the enemies of culture and of democratic economic development. The proof was offered repeatedly by those terrorist organizations which have planned in cold blood, and then carried out bloody full-scale attacks upon, and massacres of, foreign tourists who were peacefully admiring either Egypt's Pharaonic monuments, or Yemen's unique architecture, or a monumental old Jewish house of prayer in Tunisia. Terrorists know well that killing tourists and destroying culture fosters their criminal intent to subvert national economies. On November 17, 1997, a group of terrorists (identified later by Egypt's Government as Jamaa Islamiyya members) descended on the Middle Court of the Temple of Queen Hatsephut, at that moment full of tourists. They opened machine gun fire on innocent tourists and killed 58 people – Egyptians, Swiss, Japanese and British. Instantaneously, the News agencies reported the massacre worldwide, as follows:

A structure dating from before 1400 BC became a late 20th century slaughterhouse. Blood spattered the ancient colonnades. Sandstone pillars were marked by bullet holes and bits of flesh...They now provide a gruesome picture of the Monday morning massacre in which Islamic militants fell upon the groups of tourists...They killed everyone who was still alive with a shot to the head." —*New York Times*, November 19, 1997

Within hours, thousands and thousands of forthcoming tourists, and big tourist companies, from the world over cancelled contracts with Egypt. Beyond this unspeakable human tragedy of innocent lives, for years to come, not only Egypt's cultural sector was deeply hurt, but its entire economy and population suffered the severe economic and financial consequences anticipated by the terrorists. Businesses lost contracts, employed Egyptians and their families lost their jobs and livelihoods. Such criminal attacks on cultures and national economies were in fact repeated several times, in Egypt, Tunisia, Yemen and other countries. In Egypt, it took years and vast financial resources to enhance the security of future

tourists, for the country and its economy to recover from these economic-cultural attacks.

8.3 Multi-cultural Heritage and its Economic Value.

Good CH management strategies can deliberately build upon various CH characteristics in order to more fully capture the intrinsic economic potential. This involves the identification and proper treatment of the multi-cultural characteristics present in virtually every national patrimony. Arab heritage, one of the main strains of world heritage, is interspersed with links to many other layers of culture and civilization, which predate Arab heritage or are concomitant to it. Arab culture was preceded by Greek and Christian civilizations in virtually the entire area of North Africa and the Middle East. It is also interspersed with the culture of Jewish populations, which co-existed and survived for many centuries in the midst of predominantly Arab countries, cultures and populations (Narkiss 2001). And while the colonialists' domination in North Africa and the Middle East has left a tragic inheritance, the interaction of cultures operated nonetheless and present day cultural heritage incorporates elements that bare the imprint of the colonial period as well. When culture becomes past history, the management of CH does not gain from a selective re-definition of the past: it gains from the simple recognition of what history has been and has left as a cultural testimony of past eras. This is germane to the intrinsic functions of what is defined as heritage. And if this view guides the strategies of managing the heritage, it could count on the interest of multiple populations in such heritage, including populations from other countries than those in which the heritage is located. This multi-sided appeal works in favor of the country which this population comes to visit, and thus increase in natural ways the economic benefits from the recognition and preservation of multi-cultural heritage.

Acknowledgment

This paper draws from an unpublished extensive research study carried out by the author in 1999-2000 on *Cultural Heritage Preservation and Management in the Middle East and North Africa Region*, as a "sector analysis" of the state-of-the-art in several countries of North Africa and Middle East and of the

activities of the World Bank in the area of cultural heritage conservation (Cernea 2000). The study was discussed and adopted by the Regional Management of the World Bank's MENA region as the basis for the formal cultural heritage policy in that region. The study's Executive Summary became the formal policy statement and strategy "frame of action."

7

Development of Cultural Industries in Egypt

Nora Ebeid

Introduction

Egypt faces the challenge of creating 750,000 new jobs per year in order to keep up with the demands of its expanding work force. To meet this challenge, the national industrial base must be expanded, with emphasis on small-scale enterprises. One sector that is particularly ready for such expansion, having all the requirements for fast growth and the rapid creation of jobs, is cultural industry.

Egypt currently enjoys possession of one sixth of all world antiquities, and already has a well-established infrastructure of museums, tourist facilities and transport. This year alone eight million tourists are expected to come to Egypt. That number is predicted to double to sixteen million tourists annually in the next five years. Moreover, culture-driven industries are labor intensive and can be developed geographically close to the labor market which makes this sector huge potential clear and promising.

I. Evolution of Cultural Industries

It is generally agreed that the term “cultural industries” refers to industries that create, produce and commercialize materials of cultural nature. Such industries may also be referred to (in economic terms) as “creative industries,” “sunrise” or “future oriented industries” or (in technological terminology) as “content industries.” The ambit of cultural industries takes in crafts and design, printing, publishing and multimedia, audio-visual, phonographic and cinematographic productions. For some scholars, this

concept also embraces architecture, visual and performing arts, sports, manufacturing of musical instruments, advertising and cultural tourism. (UNESCO, 2006).

Those cultural industries with which this Chapter is primarily concerned are based on tangible cultural heritage and may be classified into three main categories:

- Downstream cultural industries. These encompass mainly crafts, design and publishing.
- Upstream cultural industries. These include a wide variety of services that provide support services to museums and sites. These services include, among others, museum design and construction, exhibition design, lighting, fundraising and traveling exhibitions organization.
- Commercial Trading Tools used by Museums and Archaeological Sites to increase revenues and disseminate information. These include the licensing of images, franchising and rental of spaces.

II. Significance of Cultural Industries in the Economic and Social Development of Egypt

Cultural industries add value to contents and generate value for individuals and societies. They are knowledge and labor-intensive, create employment and wealth, nurture creativity—the “raw material” on which they draw—and foster both innovation in the production and commercialization processes. Besides, cultural industries play a central role in promoting and maintaining cultural diversity and in ensuring democratic access to culture. This twofold nature—at once cultural and economic—contributes to the distinctive profile of cultural industries. During the 1990s, cultural industries expanded exponentially, both in terms of employment creation and contribution to GDP. Today, globalization of markets offers new challenges and opportunities for their development. (UNESCO, 2006).

The development of cultural industries can help streamline poverty in Egypt. These industries train people in productive skills and do so at a reasonable per capita investment. They also help create more equitable distribution of wealth. Cultural industries also promote entrepreneurial values and, due to their modest capital and infrastructure requirements, grow quickly, which contributes to structural and geographic balance.

Additionally, because of their dependence on local materials is high, cultural industries are particularly suited to rural development. (Chamber of Tourism Products, 2000).

III. The State of Culture Heritage Related Cultural Industries in Egypt: Assessment and Evaluation

III A. Downstream Culture Driven Industries

The craft industry generally has low levels of production, sales and technology, and also offers low wages compared with other sectors. A factory in the industry employs fewer than 10 workers and runs its business with capital of less than LE 50,000. There are no unified quality standards across the craft industry, so the quality of products is uneven. (Chamber of Tourism Products, 2000).

In order to effectively emulate successful projects (whether publicly-funded like the handicraft market in Fustat or private ventures), the culture-driven industry has to follow a unified model. At the same time, while the sources of ideas for new products are diversified across a wide range of locations in many governorates, most of the raw materials are locally produced. Professional trainers are available, however, their activities need to be coordinated.

III.A.1 Cases of successful private cultural ventures

Horus

Horus is a small enterprise established by Dr. Atef Abd El Shafi. It manufactures a line of replicas of pharaonic antiquities and has recently started producing a line of items for interior decoration using pharaonic motifs. (Abd El Shafi, 2005).

Before founding Horus, Dr. Abd El Shafi helped to found a papyrus paper factory in Menoufia. After that he worked as a papyrus painter with Dr. Hassan Ragab, the founder of the Pharaonic Village. When the competition in papyrus production increased, Dr. Abd El Shafi founded a print house.

In 1987, Dr. Abd El Shafi, in coordination with Mr. Ahmed Mostafa, Egypt Tourism Counselor in France, developed exhibitions that toured French cities. Dr. Abd El Shafi produced a replica of the tomb of

King Tutankhamun and a wide range of souvenirs. The tour helped him to sell replicas to major retailers such as Carfour and Addition Atlas.

Currently Dr. Abd El Shafi continues to follow a strategy of diversification, selling the service of interior design for a newly built residential compound at 6th of October called Royal City. He employs workers from rural workforce for his production facilities in the Qanater area, located 20 KM from Cairo. He recruited young school graduates and provided training for these workers. While financing the production of small replicas did not pose a problem, he stressed that financing on a larger scale (such as the estimated USD50 million required for large scale production of replicas of Tutankhamun's tomb) was harder to get.

Production costs at Horus are higher than those of its competitors because Dr. Abd El Shafi refuses to compromise on quality. Although local materials are available, he imports part of his materials from Europe. His production costs are, in part, dependant on the change in exchange rate. His competitors, on the other hand, use cheaper—and lower quality—materials from the Far East suppliers. Even with higher costs, though, Dr. Abd El Shafi has succeeded because his Egyptian designers deliver high quality work and he has not stopped improving the production process.

Dr. Abd El Shafi proposes the adoption of the China Case Government model, which is based on promoting clusters of replica producers in one area where land and infrastructure are available. He also suggested establishing an agency to provide needed financial support and facilitate exports.

Pharaonic Village

Dr. Hassan Ragab founded the Pharaonic Village, which depicts daily life in Pharaonic times, in 1977. (Abd El Salam, 2005). Dr. Ragab was inspired by his visits to Pioneer's village in Toronto, Canada, and Williamsberg in the USA, both of which depict early settler life. The displays in the Village are based on research on manufacturing papyrus. The research lasted for 3-4 years and culminated in the production of papyrus paper of the same quality as that made in 3000 BC. Research efforts ended 1967 and the first papyrus was produced in 1973.

The Pharaonic Village, which receives between 70,000-100,000 visitors per year, is run by Dr. Ragab's son, Dr. Abd El-Salam. Ten new museums have been added to the village. They include a replica of the tomb of King Tutankhamun, the Ptolemaic Era and, most recently, Anwar El Sadat and 6th of October war.

In addition to exhibitions, the Pharaonic village sells a line of retail replicas that include pottery, dolls, sand products, jewelry and papyrus.

Dr. Abd El Salam cites the lack of patent protection on papyrus products as a business obstacle. The market is crowded with chemically treated products that look nicer than the Ragab papyrus. These products, however, use inappropriate colors and materials of low quality. If the Ragab papyrus was patented, he argues, its market position would be better. Other obstacles are labor problems. These are: the lack of appreciation of value of time, lack of commitment and discipline among employees, lack of planning and finally lack of initiation and team work. He also claims that taxes are high and represent a burden on such small business enterprises.

The project is a successful venture because both Dr. Hassan Ragab and his son, Dr. Abd El Salam Ragab, had a vision. Creativity, persistence and pride in being Egyptian are other traits that contributed to the success of this project. Market research is carried regularly to identify customer preferences as well as specifications, prices, and packaging material are also essential factors.

Although the business is sensitive to changes in the number of tourists to Egypt, Dr. Ragab and his son avoid any downsizing. That said, though, exportation of products from Pharaonic village is only done on a small scale. The orders they receive are generally limited in number and small in size, a trend that is hard to reverse because marketing, high quality packaging and shipping services are all scarce. Other problems facing the small crafts market, according to Dr. Abd El Salam, are strong competition from China, lack of legal protection for innovative products and new designs, and the reluctance to transfer proven technology.

El Darb El Ahmar Agha Khan-Social Fund Project

The Agha Khan institute, in coordination with the Social Fund, has initiated an LE70 million housing rehabilitation and infrastructure development for the Cairo district of Darb El Ahmar. (Atallah, 2005). The district has a population 150,000 with an average per capita income of around one USD per day.

The project aims at addressing health, education, solid waste management and employment in this poor district and provides a LE2 million micro-credit program focused on developing local cultural industries. This program aims to improve workshops producing small crafts from leather, mother of pearl and wood. A Business Development Center (BDC) has also been established to provide vocational training to producers with the objective of improving designs and quality. Training at the BDC, where they aim to train producers to produce higher quality and sell for higher prices, is a prerequisite for getting a loan.

One obstacle faced in Darb El Ahmar is communication with financing agencies. Substantial community networking is required to explain and justify getting low interest loans from the Social Fund.

Nadim Project / Mashrabya Institute

The scarcity of trainers and supervisors in the field of restoration of monuments prompted Dr. Asaad Nadim to found the Mashrabya Institute in 1978. (Nadim, 2005). Dr. Nadim decided to help develop a new generation of experts in the field. The Institute had four trainers who offered training for personnel recruited from dropouts from schools (dropout age at the time was 12 years old). Tutors were paid for their work per hour, with a biannual five-percent bonus based on performance. The training cycle aimed at training unskilled workers to possibly become future trainers. Dr. Nadim was responsible for marketing and sales of the output and for sourcing raw materials.

While the Institute started small, it expanded twice, first moving to a 1,400 square meter facility in Dokki, and then to its current 10 feddan facility in Abu Rawash.

The first order for the Institute came from Kuwait. Dr. Nadim was commissioned to renovate the Arab Fund for Economic and Social

Development (AFESD) offices there. More recently, he was selected to do AFESD-funded work at Cairo's Seheimy House. Until recently, the Institute focused on classical designs. However, in response to market demand, Dr. Nadim added a modern line as well.

Dr. Nadim is a proponent of the pooling and clustering of all producers of small crafts in one area and recommends that the government provides land and infrastructure. Small craft producers could be organized under one umbrella such as an NGO under the title of Society of Small Craft Producers. This NGO could conduct market studies, set quality standards, identify potential customers, promote products and support producers in exporting their products.

Institutions such as the Social Fund, governorates, business associations and the European Union could help by providing financing to small crafts producers.

American University in Cairo Press

The American University in Cairo Press (AUC Press) is the leading English-language publisher of the region, publishing annually about one hundred scholarly monographs and books in Arabic literature, archaeology and the history of ancient Egypt and travel literature and guidebooks. (El Shammaa, 2005).

The AUC Press has its own distribution network, which includes two directly-operated bookstores. Besides, they export through distributors in North America, Europe and Asia. While the Press has its own printing facilities on the university campus, it also contracts out printing in Egypt and abroad. It has developed partnerships with international publishers such as the Italian White Star Concern, and produces a "Museum Series" of books, calendars and postcards.

Lehnert and Landrock

Lehnert and Landrock is a typical retail outlet that sells cultural products such as books, calendars, postcards and posters related to the cultural heritage of Egypt. (Mahmoud, 2005). Every two years, the bookstore publishes three books on the cultural heritage of Egypt. The retail outlet sells about 20,000 to 30,000 books every year, with the average price of a book at about LE100 per copy. Its annual

turnover is close to two million pounds. The bookstore also sells about 25,000 calendars and about one million postcards per year.

Its annual turnover is increasing annually by an average of seven percent, however, the owners envisage that this could be a lot higher—more like 25 percent—if it were not for competition from the internet and multimedia. The store's clientele is 95 percent foreigners. The owners claim that the local market is rather thin, however, they hope it will grow through active sales effort addressing tourists.

Lehnert and Landrock's manager is encouraged by the recent fast growth of the market for books. Behind such growth are the following developments:

The initiation of the Family Library (Maktabet El Osra) Project. This has encouraged an immense number of new readers from the younger generation to acquire reading habits.

The increase in the number of tourists and foreigners (the main market for books) visiting Egypt.

The devaluation of the Egyptian currency also gave locally produced products a competitive advantage.

III.A.3 Key factors affecting future growth in downstream cultural industries

Five factors seem to affect future growth (Chamber of Tourism Products, 2000):

1. The investment climate is seen to stimulate the development and growth of downstream industries in Egypt. Things are getting better, however it could be improved. It still suffers from continuous changes in the laws and regulations for imports of inputs. Investors also face bureaucratic problems that delay and prolong the issuance of work licenses.
2. Production problems are also impediments to future growth. The continuous increase in the prices of raw materials and delays in the completion of infrastructure projects (water, sewage systems) in the areas where these cultural industries function, are all factors that negatively influence the growth of cultural industries. These industries also suffer from the emigration of trained workers,

lack of employee and management training and the absence of incentives for creators.

3. Marketing problems hinder fast growth. These are:
 - Lack of commitment on behalf of producers to deliver orders in a timely fashion.
 - The high cost of transportation, since production facilities are located far from markets
 - The continuous increase of prices of packaging materials.
 - The lack of reliable storage facilities.
 - The limited experience in packaging, handling and shipping to export markets.
 - The reluctance to have transparent accounting systems, which leads to disputes with tax authorities that last for several years.
 - Lack of resources for promoting new products.
4. Legal problems have arisen since the new law of the Supreme Council of Antiquities (SCA) states that any crafts producer of a replica of a cultural artifact should pay a royalty to the SCA (the institution that preserves collections of such artifacts). This article in the law affects the volume of production as well as revenues of producers. The loose application of Copyright laws in the Egyptian market leads to lack of protection for downstream cultural industries.
5. Competition since the Egyptian market is flooded by high added value and low-cost foreign products such as Chinese products. Chinese producers are benefiting from their achievements in world markets as well as from the low cost of labor.

In summary, the main factors that have to be taken into account in speeding the development of downstream cultural industries in Egypt are (Ebeid, 2005):

1. The availability of high-quality inputs. Raw materials are not yet available in Egypt at reasonable prices.
2. The need for increasing resources directed to train highly-qualified designers and craftsmen.
3. The use of quality designs and motifs that are connected to Egyptian cultural heritage.

4. The clustering of small crafts industries in order to learn from each other and to benefit from the support given to them by the government in the form of cheap price for reliable land, infrastructure, available finance at reasonable cost and tax exemptions.
5. The need for the development of NGOs dedicated to helping the small crafts industries to market and export their products.
6. The establishment of an agency with enough resources to provide soft loans.
7. The development of centers for specialized training in the design and production of small crafts and in the management of small crafts businesses (workshops, retail, etc.).
8. The presence of an agency in charge of setting quality standards for the output of small crafts workshops, factories and trading companies.
9. The development of clusters to house small crafts producers and outlets and the development of new areas supplied with all the needed facilities and infrastructure.
10. The promotion of appropriate legal and fiscal frameworks.

III.A.4 Specific factors inhibiting the growth of the publishing industry in Egypt

- Impediments for growth of publications could be (Ibrahim, 2005):
- The high rate of illiteracy.
- Reading is not yet part of the Egyptian culture.
- The perception that the value of books is low.
- Prices of books are rather high because of small batches printed (the maximum number of copies that are printed by a publisher in Egypt is 3,000 copies).
- High custom duties are charged for imported materials (paper, ink, plates etc) required for printing.
- Relatively high cost of advertising in the context of low profit margins and small print runs.

III.A.5 Specifics push-factors for the publishing industry in Egypt

There are projects in place now and others are in progress to help build the publishing industry in Egypt. (Ibrahim, 2005).

Current

- The government-initiated Family Library project, which selects the best books in every field and subsidizes both purchase and promotion costs.
- The government-initiated Read to Your Child project, which helps create awareness among future generations of the value of reading,

Future

- Special rates could be granted by the media for promoting books.
- Significant reduction of import duties on inputs used by the publishing industry, such as ink and paper.
- Committing public libraries to buy a reasonable number of copies from the publisher (especially books which are not attractive to the public at large). This could help the publishing industry take advantage of economies of scale.

III.B Upstream Cultural Industries:

Upstream cultural industries comprise an enormous range of support and service activities that are used by downstream industries and museums. They include museum master planning, design and construction, as well as the design and construction of museum exhibits, lighting, cleaning and security (including fire protection).

Such industries also include all other services that a museum may require, including (but not exclusively):

- Manufacturers of specialized systems such as fire alarms and other alarms.
- Cleaning and housekeeping operators
- Companies specializing in maintenance of museums buildings and its infrastructure such as electricity, water, lighting and sewage systems
- Information technology companies
- Image bank companies
- Database centers
- Marketing companies for visitors
- Fundraising Companies which include the following categories of companies (National Geographic Society, 2005):
- Valuation (Wyszomirski, 1989)

- Selling sponsorship
- Fundraising strategists
- Fundraising events
- Companies specialized in establishing friends of museums in the USA
- Small Crafts producers who could be outsourced by the museums
- Trading companies in small crafts
- Freelance editors, print-houses and publishers
- Direct mail companies
- Network of reliable and capable world distributors
- Retail outlets
- Management consulting firms
- Financial auditors
- Personnel training companies
- Reliable Exhibition organizers
- Transport and packaging companies
- Tourism companies
- Insurance companies that offer services to shippers of artifacts
- Furnishing companies capable of providing high quality items
- Restoration companies with competent and skilled personnel

III.B.1 Barriers for growth of upstream industries in Egypt

The amount of innovation in museums which creates demand for upstream markets is directly linked to the quality of museum management. The quality of museum management, in turn, depends on the availability of management training. Museum management in Egypt is traditionally part of the government's purview, and therefore more bureaucratically focused than market oriented. Meanwhile, universities do not teach museology. Without strong training for employees and managers, the culture of the museum is influenced by its local market. The Egyptian educational system does not give needed attention to national history, nor does it encourage students to visit museums. Media is not supportive of museums either. Therefore the local museum market is small lackluster, which is reflected in the management of Egyptian museums.

Museums in their pursuit for renovation require the presence of upstream industries. The normal cycle for industry starts with the presence of agents for international companies importing products

and services, followed by motivating those to invest in production. Upstream industries move towards providing their products and services to museums is driven by the existence of educational institutes that teach the science of museology, thus developing an awareness of the need for these services. The presence of industrial promotional organizational centers may be a supporting factor for the increase in demand for museums' upstream industries.

III.B.2 Push factors for growth of upstream industries in Egypt

To initiate upstream industries in Egypt, partnership between governments, cultural institutions, tourism authorities, industry, the Social Fund, chambers of commerce, small business associations and syndicates for handicrafts is strongly recommended. This partnership will focus on preparing a master plan for the expansion of upstream cultural industries in Egypt. This plan is expected to define the following tasks (Ebeid, 2005):

- Conducting market studies about the exact needs of museums in terms of upstream industries.
- Incorporating distribution companies (trading companies) for the products and services in the upstream category by providing finance.
- Establishing a center for human resource development.
- Creating public awareness among Egyptian entrepreneurs of the need for upstream industries.

It should be also highlighted that more attention needs to be given to developing the science of museology at educational institutions and improving import procedures, customs and tax systems, all influencing the creation and efficient functioning of such upstream industries.

III.B.3 Egyptian Museums

Scholars in the field of museum architecture highlight the following six-challenges in the construction, lighting, exhibition design and maintenance of Egyptian museums. (Bakry, 2005).

1. The construction of museums rotates around the collections and exhibition design in the first place. The Bilbao Museum represents a typical example of such concept. There, the collections belonging to old times required the construction of a sophisticated design

for one section of the building, and the collections belonging to modern times required the implementation of a simpler design. The colors of the walls and floors of the Islamic Art Museum were influenced by a study of its collections.

2. Academic courses in the field of museology to be taught in Egypt need to be improved. This will help to provide the market with skills in museum design, exhibition design and. It is the role of the government to provide scholarships for learning museology abroad.
3. Egyptian producers do not seek to carry reliable studies of international markets. Few Egyptian companies acquire licenses from foreign companies for the production of museum components, such as showcases.
4. There is lack of awareness of the importance of maintenance of museums' fixed assets. Incorporation of companies specialized in maintenance should be encouraged.
5. Egypt needs few training centers capable of providing courses as well as practical training in quality control for products and services.
6. Egyptian laws need to be reviewed and amended with the objective of supporting this emerging industry. They come in response to sudden events such as earthquakes and are, therefore, hastily written without sufficient thought for long-term effects.

III.C Museums and Archeological Sites: a Self Generated Uplift

To respond to the insufficient commercial and educational utilization of the Supreme Council of Antiquities (SCA) assets and resources, the SCA established the holding company for investment in the field of archaeology and the dissemination of archaeological culture. (Decree No. 1201, 2004). The holding company has the right to establish affiliated companies to carry their business activities and other defined related activities. It is important to point out that the holding company and its affiliated companies were incorporated under the investment law. Companies will also benefit from privileges given by the provisions of the law of public enterprise companies, the law of joint-stock companies, partnerships and limited liability companies and the law of stock market. (Lloyd).

The holding company is expected to play the role of a catalyst incorporating affiliated companies. The holding company is allowed to invest in:

- Establishing an affiliated joint-stock company by itself or in partnership with public or private legal personalities or individuals.
- Buying and selling shares in joint stock companies or sharing in their capital.
- Managing its portfolio of shares and bonds.
- Taking needed actions that help fulfilling all or some of the company's objectives.
- Activities of the holding company are expected to be (Blume, 1987):
- Producing and selling of cultural commodities.
- Publishing and selling electronic and paper publications on archaeological culture.
- Establishing and utilizing service places in the museums and archaeological sites.
- Making use of the images of the museums' collections and the archaeological sites through licensing these images to companies which in turn will use them in manufacturing of products. These products will carry the logo of either the museum or the archaeological site together with that of the company.
- Producing goods or providing services using the techniques and specifications set by the administration of the museum or of the archaeological site; together with using the Trade Mark of the museum or the archaeological site.
- Providing agreed-upon services in the different museums or the archaeological sites affiliated to the Supreme Council of Antiquities
- Offering consultations to other museums and archaeological organizations located outside Egypt.
- Offering services in the field of antiquities conservation and restoration
- Establishing the promotional image of institutions, which is inspired by the Egyptian Cultural heritage
- Availing activities licensed by the Supreme Council of Antiquities

- Establishing a library for the Egyptian Antiquities images and photos; and issuing permits to photograph inside museums and archaeological sites', while maintaining the intellectual property rights of the images by the SCA.
- Managing museums and archaeological sites.
- Implementing, supervising or contributing to the projects organized inside the museums and the archaeological sites.
- Implementing, supervising or contributing to the maintenance and cleaning works of artifacts and museums.
- Implementing, supervising, contributing to or supervising the guarding and security actions.
- All activities and projects held in the archaeological sites, in which antiquities are the main subject.

IV Conclusions and Recommendations for Future Growth

Developing countries lack the required cultural industrial infrastructure to initiate, channel and distribute their creativity, and their cultures. They lack the needed experience and know-how in trade and technology. To maintain short-term gains, they give up their right to produce and disseminate their own cultural contents. Doing so they not only undermine their national economic interests, (i.e. losses in terms of foreign currency and potential skilled workers, as well as limiting the potential income from exports), but also impoverish humanity as a whole by limiting the variety of available cultural products and services. This threatens national identity by impeding the conservation and renewal of cultural symbolic references and therefore breaking up the social cohesion of these societies.

Cultural Industries and Globalization

Cultural markets are increasingly going global. Trade in cultural goods increased five times between 1980 and 1998 (UNESCO, 2006). Cultural (content) industries are growing exponentially and will continue to do so in the future. As seen, they are to become a central pillar of the information society, driven by the move to the "knowledge society." As demand of cultural goods and services increases all over the world, production will follow. This will need oligopolistic market with a highly asymmetric

structure. The effects of this market profile are as yet unknown: while we are aware that a large share of the cultural products circulating in most countries are produced elsewhere, one knows very little about the impact of this global cultural market on citizens, audiences, businesses and governments. In this context, the following challenges need to be met:

In the past few years, culture has moved to the forefront of industrial development in response to popular demand. In this environment, cultural industries have progressively been able to surpass traditional means of production and sale of crafts, bringing about changes in cultural practices.

The issue of “culture and trade” is getting prime strategic significance. Cultural goods and services convey and construct cultural values, produce and reproduce cultural identity and contribute to social cohesion. They constitute a key factor of production in the emerging knowledge economy. This makes discussions in the field of culture extremely controversial and sensitive. As several experts point out, no other industry has generated so much debate on the political, economic and institutional limits of the regional and global integration processes or their legitimacy. When culture is put on the table, it often prompts lengthy discussions on the relationship between the economic and non-economic value of things, that is, the value attributed to those things that do not have assigned prices (such as identity, beauty or the meaning of life).

Some governments realize that international trade agreements are putting a growing pressure on their ability to influence the production and distribution of cultural goods and services within their borders. This has increasingly polarized positions in trade negotiations whenever they deal directly or indirectly with cultural issues. This mounting tension was revealed in the final discussions of the Uruguay Round in 1994, acquired momentum during the negotiations on the Multilateral Agreement on Investments (OCDE 1995-1998), and was crystallized in the preparations for the WTO Ministerial Meeting in Seattle (USA) in 1999.

Two thirds of the world population do not benefit from the new model of economic growth based on the expansion of international trade and the development of new technologies, and are excluded from the construction of the information society. This situation reveals gaps in terms

of individual countries' capacities and resources to produce cultural goods and services. In many developing or small countries, these capabilities are actually shrinking. Trade flows of cultural goods are unbalanced, heavily weighted in one direction, and cultural industries show great disparities in their structures, both within and between the various regional trade blocks.

The guiding principles that can guarantee fair commercial development for any product are access to markets, diversity of choice and competitiveness. To develop cultural industries based on tangible culture heritage, this paper presents the following recommendations:

1. Upgrading the skills of employees and workers in cultural industries by providing them with relevant training in the fields of crafts design and production, publishing and printing, the science of museology, management, sales and marketing.
2. Facilitating the availability of finance for supporting the initiation and growth of cultural industries (availability of equity finance as well as soft loans).
3. Supporting the establishment of NGOs to assist cultural industries in marketing and exporting their products and services.
4. Supporting efforts to modernize the production and marketing base.
5. Encourage and help enterprises develop their awareness of the use of efficient accounting systems. This will help fair taxation of cultural industries.
6. Facilitating entry and exit of enterprises and reducing bureaucratic impediments facing producing and selling cultural products.
7. Improving the legal framework of cultural industries, giving priority to the law for trading in cultural products and the copyright laws
8. Seeking the development of partnerships between the Ministry of Tourism, the chamber of cultural tourist products and the Ministry of industrial production and free trade to enhance support of cultural industries.

Progress has been achieved in Egypt. It is well seen and recognized. However, a lot needs to be done and could be done. The start up requires: a clear vision, strategic planning, favorable legal climate, less bureaucratic impediments and strong support for the emerging base of small enterprises.

Table I¹. Crafts industries w/ employee numbers by governorate

Governorate	Enterprises	Employees
Cairo	75,047	186,665
Alexandria	12,975	22,823
El Beheira	18,704	30,541
Damieta	20,569	72,666
Port Saied	1,962	6,066
Ismailia	1,821	3,337
Suez	1,474	3,112
Al-Sharkeya	12,719	23,565
Kafr El-Sheikh	6,199	11,125
Dakahlia	21,701	36,845
Gharbia	19,926	34,272
Menofia	4,932	12,014
Qualyoubeya	3,183	10,555
Giza	5,775	11,165
Beni Suef	1,895	2,933
Fayoum	2,099	4,573
Minya	2,472	5,051
Assyout	2,752	4,352
Sohag	3,038	4,114
Qena	7,057	11,637
Aswan	2,787	5,070
Red Sea	364	569
Wadi El-Gedid	508	1,081
Matroah	203	493
North Sinai	1,494	2,012
South Sinai	140	19
Total	231,796	506,655

¹⁾ Chamber of Tourism products. 2000. The Economic Impact for the Trading and manufacturing of tourism Products in the Egyptian Tourism Sector, Cairo.

Table 2². Workshops for tourist products and number of employees by product

	1999	1998	1997	1996	1995	1994	1993	1992	1991	1990
Tourists	4,796,520	3,453,866	3,961,416	3,895,942	3,133,461	2,581,988	2,507,762	3,206,940	2,214,277	2,600,117
Total income from tourism (million USD)	3,315	2,564	3,727	3,204	3,009.1	2,298.9	1,779.3	2,375	2,529	1,646.2
Total income from tourist products (thousand USD)	596,000	461,520	670,860	513,778	541,638	402,307	302,480	403,750	379,350	199,190

²⁾ Chamber of Tourism products, 2000. The Economic Impact for the Trading and manufacturing of tourism Products in the Egyptian Tourism Sector. Cairo.

Table 3³. Spending on tourist products 1990-99

Product	Employees	Workshops
Hand-made carpets	5,579	3,315
Wood with engraved pearl	12,100	1,041
Products of Khan El Khalily/ jewelery	1,583	1,068
Copper products	3,640	940
Cotton products (galabeyas, T-shirts)	1,700	850
Gold products	2,749	746
Glassware	1,850	217
Tourist publications (excluding papyrus)	210	38
Leather products	6,505	934
Glazed products	430	86
Marble/statues/sculpture/pottery	11,396	4,702
Papyrus	2,016	672
Total	49,758	14,609

³⁾ Chamber of Tourism products. 2000. *The Economic Impact for the Trading and manufacturing of tourism Products in the Egyptian Tourism Sector*. Cairo.

Table 4⁴. Craft industries by type and employees to 1992

Activity	Licensed Enterprises	No. of workers
Furniture and carpentry	55,892	131,615
Shoes and leather products	20,618	45,476
Engineering and Metal Industries	39,661	88,456
Carpets and kelim	3,315	5,579
Clothes design	20,418	34,457
Textiles	12,498	27,948
Ready-made clothing	4,497	15,612
Khan El-Khalili	1,068	1,583
Printing and publishing	1,778	4,616
Pottery	4,702	11,396
Miscellaneous products	20,829	47,076
Workshops	46,219	93,012
Total	231,495	506,826

⁴⁾ Chamber of Tourism products. 2000. The Economic Impact for the Trading and manufacturing of tourism Products in the Egyptian Tourism Sector. Cairo.

8

INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY, CULTURAL HERITAGE AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Nagla Rizk

“Economists ignore culture at their peril”¹

Introduction

Sustainable development is a comprehensive concept that extends beyond mere economic growth to encompass human dignity and self esteem. Most studies on Information Technology (IT) and development, however, have focused on the impact of IT on economic growth. Some have looked at the impact of IT on other aspects of development such as education and health. In this paper I argue that IT can have an additional impact on sustainable development through its role in preserving and promoting cultural heritage. At the heart of this argument is the belief that culture is fundamental to the study of economics, and that cultural heritage is essential for the betterment of human lives and is indeed an integral component of sustainable development.

The purpose of this paper is to acknowledge the impact of IT on the different components of sustainable development, and argue for the additional role that IT can play in this process, through its impact on

¹ Paul Di Maggio, Professor of Sociology, Princeton University, in Dolfma, W. and A. Klammer. See references for details.

cultural heritage. Discussing the means by which IT is used to preserve, sustain and disseminate cultural heritage is beyond the scope of this paper and is the subject of other contributors in this volume.

This Chapter deals with three main topics including 1) the relationship between culture and economics; 2) culture as it relates to economic growth and sustainable development; and 3) the role of Information Technology for development.

Culture and Economics

The relationship between culture and economics has historical roots. Culture refers to “the cumulative deposit of knowledge, experience, beliefs, values, attitudes, meanings, hierarchies, religion, notions of time, roles, spatial relations, concepts of the universe, and material objects and possessions acquired by a group of people”. This is attained over “the course of generations” and “through individual and group striving” (Samovar and Porter 1994). Culture is the outcome of human diligence, the wealth of creations of the human mind, spirit and talent. Culture unites and separates, identifies and distinguishes, characterizes and classifies. Culture enriches.

On another level, one textbook defines the science of economics as the study of “how societies use scarce resources to produce valuable commodities and distribute them among different people” (Samuelson and Nordhaus 2005). At the heart of the field are issues of human choice and the objective of maximization against a background of material scarcity.

Unfortunately, the beginning of the nineteenth century witnessed the study of economics stripped from its cultural context. In particular, the principle of “utilitarianism” under Jeremy Bentham in the early 1800s reduced human behavior into two categories: pleasure and pain. These were said to originate from simple physical sensation and could be measured and added into a total termed “happiness” (Chartrand 1990). Individual happiness, then, was believed to weight equally, and could be added up to “a social total which was equal to the common individual sensations of pleasure or pain.” These were considered “the only ultimate realities.” Such logic, hence, considered “the arts and culture as intangibles and frills in a bottom line economy” (Chartrand 1990). The Benthamite

legacy deemed culture irrelevant, for what use was culture for “rational” economic analysis that only aimed at the maximization of an abstract totality termed “happiness”? It meant the reduction of economics from a human science into a dry discipline that was concerned with calculating abstractions that were void of the human element, and that treated people as a set of homogeneous cultureless agents.

Fortunately, the twentieth century brought back the human aspect to the study of economics, along with the revival of the call for economics as a social science and the dissent against the mainstream paradigm. The study of “cultural economics” came to life with Kenneth Boulding (1972). The science of cultural economics is concerned with the influence of cultural differences on economic thought and behavior. Economic behavior, in turn, is taken to vary according to the cultural context (Chartrand 1990). Culture explains differences in choices, preferences, and achievements of individuals, social groups, and countries.

To date, one may claim that economists stand divided between a drift into mathematical modeling and abstractions on the one hand, and a socio-cultural approach that regards economics as a human science. Such a dichotomy can be witnessed in the literature, in academic forums, and indeed in academic institutions. It is my firm belief that economics is indeed a social science, with culture representing an integral component of the discipline.

Culture, Economic Growth and Sustainable Development

This debate is carried over as one attempts to answer the question: how do we measure economic “improvement”? Mainstream economists have focused on studies of economic growth which is defined as the steady process by which the productive capacity of the economy is increased over time in order to raise levels of national output and incomes (Todaro 2000). Accordingly, growth refers to the expansion in the material production of a country, typically achieved through an increase in the contribution of factors of production. This could be attained through increased investments in human and physical capital, advances in technology and improved efficiency of utilizing existing capacity. Investment and exports are usually hailed as strong engines for driving a country’s economic

growth. The accumulation of material wealth is a key element in economic improvement, according to this line of thought.

Within this definition of economic betterment, culture can still be incorporated as an engine for economic growth. The production of cultural “goods” and “services”, in the spheres of tourism and the arts can add to the national output of the country. The unprecedented advances in digital technologies in recent years offer a strong potential for the creative industries to contribute to economic growth. Moreover, endogenous growth theory has emphasized the increasing returns to investment in people and in knowledge creation.

Defining economic betterment solely in terms of output growth, however, seems limited, especially for the firm believer in economics as a social science. A broader and more comprehensive indicator of economic improvement should extend beyond mere physical accumulation to the betterment of human lives. Defined as the process of improving the quality of human lives (Todaro 2000), economic development is a preferred indicator of economic improvement. In this context, growth of output may be necessary but not sufficient. The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) focuses on “human development”, which is concerned with the enlargement of people’s choices (UNDP 2006). Within this context, the “Human Development Index (HDI)” was devised, where people’s well being is assessed based on educational and health improvements in addition to the gross domestic product (GDP) per capita.

It is the conviction of this author that economic development is a concept that should encompass a wider set of components, certainly beyond growth, and even beyond education and health as incorporated by the UNDP. Development is about enhancing human dignity, self-esteem and pride, grounded in freedom of expression, political participation, gender empowerment, equality in living standards, environmental conservation, and, equally important, identity and cultural heritage. All of these elements contribute to the creation of the true wealth of a nation, which comes from its fundamental moral ethos rather than its economic output, which may, in the long-run prove disastrous.

Consequently, *sustainable* development should be viewed as the long term thriving of human wellness. It is a pattern of development that allows

future generations to live at least as well as the current generation (Todaro 2000). Sustainable development is manifested in the dynamic perpetuation of a good quality of life, reaping the fruit of investment in people. It is development taken to a higher and broader level, wider in scope and more lasting in duration.

In line with this, culture stands out as an integral component that can play an instrumental role towards achieving sustainable development. Cultural heritage is integral to human identity, dignity, and self-esteem. Indeed the wealth of human and social capital is the key to sustainability. Culture may also provide the explanation for success in some countries and not others, for some individuals and not others. Why Japan and South Korea and not others? Why the wide range in performance amongst the European countries? Devising an assessment tool that sets a value to cultural heritage and incorporates it into the real wealth of nations would indeed alter the global development map. One cannot, therefore, divorce culture from the study of economics or from the ultimate objective of sustainable development.

The Role of Information Technology

In the previous section, I argued that sustainable development is synonymous with the betterment of people's lives. This encompasses several components beyond economic growth. In this section, I discuss how Information Technology did, and can continue to, contribute to achieve sustainable development.

There has been a wealth of literature looking at the impact of the IT on economic growth, specifically assessing and comparing the productivity impact of IT in the IT-producing, and the IT-using, industries. Studies have confirmed the positive impact played by IT on productivity since the mid-nineties in the United States, in countries that form part of the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development, and in other parts of the world economy.² Micro-studies conducted on specific firms have confirmed the positive returns on investment in IT, especially for firms that have also invested in organizational changes (Brynjolfsson *et al.* 2000 & 2002). The information revolution has also been viewed through

² Among these are studies by Jorgenson, Oliner and Sichel, Nordhaus, Bassanini *et al.*, Colecchia *et al.*, Pophjola, and others. See references for details.

a historical lens comparing the computer, Internet and information revolution to inventions during the Industrial Revolution (David 1990 & 2000, Gordon 2000 and Rizk 2005).

The above research has focused on the impact of IT solely on economic growth. From this perspective, IT can act as a driver for economic growth through its impact on increasing labor and total factor productivity. Such increases in efficiency are enhanced by organizational changes that can enable the diffusion of the technology at the firm, industry and country levels. It has been argued that investments in IT start bearing fruit only after such organizational changes have taken place, hence the lag in productivity achievement.³

The adoption and diffusion of IT can take economies a step further towards the textbook model of perfect competition. As information becomes more widely accessible, markets become more transparent and effectively more efficient. In the jargon of economists, this allows for a rightward shift in the aggregate supply curve. This simply means a virtuous effect on the economy, manifested in the expansion of total production along with a reduction in the overall price level.

In this “new” economy, IT has the potential of creating new industries. It also allows for a change in the structure of the firm and the production process. This entails more decentralization and a stronger role to be played by middle management. More importantly, the digital economy allows firms to concentrate on their core competencies, and outsource parts of their processes to local or foreign companies. Within this context, new areas of specialization emerge, bringing about new potentials for small and medium enterprises (SMEs) as part of the digital economy. Global outsourcing also brings new opportunities for developing countries especially in the service sector. Clearly this serves as a channel for economic growth, increasing exports and expanding output.

Beyond productivity and economic growth, IT can work to promote each and every component of sustainable development in its wider sense. Work on the impact of IT on economic development has

³This has been coined as “the delay hypothesis”, offering one explanation to the famous Solow productivity paradox, namely that computers are everywhere, yet they do not show up in productivity statistics.

been undertaken, mostly by international development organizations.⁴ These have emphasized the role of information and communication technologies (ICTs) in alleviating poverty, improving health, education, gender empowerment and the inclusion of the marginalized groups.

In line with this, IT has the potential of promoting the major components of sustainable development in poorer countries. IT has the capability to revolutionize the educational process, especially in poorer countries, from developing the curricula to promoting innovation in teaching and learning. In the area of health, there is a strong potential for IT to upgrade the level and delivery of health services and awareness. Political participation is another area where IT can help. The Internet, blogging in particular, has been widely used as a means for political expression and exercising freedoms. Gender empowerment, as well, could be enhanced through the use of IT. Though the empowerment of marginalized groups and encouraging SMEs, IT can work towards increasing the equality of living standards. There is equal room for using IT for improving environmental wellness.

Last but not least, there is yet another channel through which IT can work towards attaining sustainable development: the preservation and dissemination of cultural heritage. Through this role, IT can serve to enhance people's dignity and self-esteem. Through documenting cultural heritage, IT can help to sustain people's identity, enhance a nation's sense of self and accumulate national wealth. Through the international dissemination of heritage, IT serves to enhance people's pride and unite humans globally. Cultural heritage provides a link between IT and sustainable development.

Conclusion

The present study is an attempt to highlight the links between information technology, cultural heritage and sustainable development. Sustainable development is viewed as the perpetuation of human wellness which extends beyond material accumulation inherent in the concept of economic growth. The central argument of the present work is that culture is an integral component of economics as a science, and of sustainable

⁴These include studies by OECD, World Bank, UNDP and the International Development Research Centre (IDRC of Canada), among others. See references for details.

economic development as an objective. Accordingly, preserving and disseminating cultural heritage promotes sustainable development.

To date, IT has played an instrumental role in promoting economic growth, mostly through its impact on increasing efficiency and factor productivity, restructuring of markets, and creating new business ventures. In addition, IT has a strong potential for promoting other aspects of development, namely education, health, individual freedoms, political participation, gender, environment, and the inclusion of marginalized groups. Through its role in preserving cultural heritage, IT has yet an additional channel through which it make an impact on sustainable development. This latter channel needs to be enhanced, particularly in nations that possess rich cultural heritage resources.

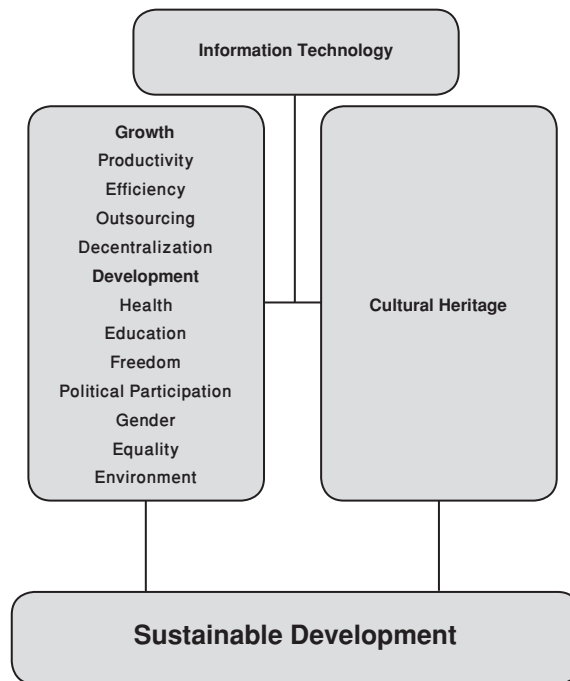


Figure 1. Information Technology, Cultural Heritage and Sustainable Development

Sustainable Tourism Planning in the Arab World: The Egyptian Case

Eman Helmy and Chris Cooper

Introduction

The economic importance of tourism is now widely recognized by all regions of the world, recording international tourist arrivals that exceeded 800 million worldwide in 2005 and international tourism receipts estimated at US\$ 680 billion in the same year (UNWTO, 2006). The Middle East and North Africa regions comprise all the Arab countries and are referred to as the MENA Region in UN World Tourism Organization Reports (UNWTO, 2003a). In the early years of the twenty-first century, the MENA region is witnessing a boom in tourism development, not only in well-established destinations such as Tunisia, Egypt, Lebanon, Morocco, Jordan and Dubai, but also in emerging destinations such as Oman, Bahrain, Libya and Qatar. This interest has been interpreted into a set of policy-related actions ranging from establishing independent tourism bodies to boosting investment in tourism development projects. As a result, the UNWTO forecasts that the regions of the Middle East and Africa are among those which will record annual growth rates of over 5% to 2020 (UNWTO, 2003b). Table 1 shows the MENA tourist arrivals and receipts in 2004 and 2005 (UNWTO, 2006).

Table 1. MENA Tourist Arrivals and Receipts in 2004 and 2005

MENA Region	International Tourist Arrivals (Million)		International Tourism Receipts US\$ Billion	
	2004	2005	2004	2005
	Middle East	36.272	39.1	25.274
North Africa	12.770	13.7	6.093	7.0
Total	49.042	52.8	31.367	34.6

Source: UNWTO (2006).

Tourism and Cultural Heritage in the MENA region

Mckercher and Cros (2002) argue that “cultural tourism” is the oldest of the “new” tourism phenomena. Heritage and tourism are collaborative industries, with heritage converting locations into destinations, and tourism making them economically viable as exhibits (Smith, 2003: 13). In the MENA region, this interchangeable relationship is both an advantage and a disadvantage. The MENA region relies on its heritage as a crucial component of the tourism offering. The region is famous for a wide range of cultural heritage resources such as desert atmosphere, archaeological sites, architectural designs, traditional costumes and folklore. In addition, the region has a large number of cultural properties inscribed on the World Heritage List in Algeria, Bahrain, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Oman, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, Yemen and Morocco (UNESCO, 2006). However, there are three sets of challenges to the sustainability of the cultural heritage in the MENA region:

1. Firstly, in many established destinations, the tourism industry relies upon mass tourism and packaged tours. There is a danger here that the short-term imperative for economic development will impede the sustainable development of tourism in such destinations. The challenge of conserving vulnerable heritage resources whilst meeting economic goals calls for highly sophisticated planning approaches.
2. The Middle East conflict is also a threat to heritage sites in the area and creates a challenge as to how to conserve cultural properties

from destruction during armed conflicts. The International Committee of the Blue Shield (ICBS) has indicated that there is a considerable risk that the cultural heritage of the region will suffer permanent losses (ICBS, 2006). The looting of museum artifacts in Iraq during the war is an example here. This challenge also entails a wider vision of sustainability to ensure the preservation of priceless and irreplaceable resources during the periods of war and political disorder when tourism is not active.

3. The third challenge is the role that heritage can play not only to bring economic benefits to the region's local communities, but also to reflect the realities of the region's culture, people and authenticity in the face of international media stereotypes. If this can be accomplished, it will demonstrate that sustainable tourism in the MENA region has a genuine cultural and community dimension to offer opportunities for cross-cultural exchange.

Sustainable Development and Tourism

The term 'sustainable tourism' usually denotes the application of the more general concept of sustainable development to tourism as a specific economic sector (Bramwell and Sharman, 2000). Emergence of the sustainable development concept has focused attention on the need to safeguard tourist attractions from the negative impacts of tourism. Resource-based attractions such as heritage sites in particular, require the development of efficient management systems and planning processes to bring tourism in line with the main principles stated by the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) and Agenda 21.

There is a growing global consensus that tourism development in any region must stand upon three main pillars to remain sustainable: economic, environmental and community considerations. Arguably, to achieve such sustainable tourism development, tourism should be approached as part of the development framework of each state and must be related to other economic and social activities whilst also benefiting local citizens, safeguarding the natural and cultural environment and satisfying political objectives. This goal requires highly sophisticated planning approaches as a key factor in implementing sustainability.

Sustainable Tourism Development and Planning

Since the first Earth Summit, held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, sustainability has become a central issue in tourism development policies throughout the world. It has become the organizing framework for tourism planning and research (Mason, 2003; UNWTO, 2002). In tourism planning there are two key issues. The first emphasizes that tourism has environmental implications, both positive and negative, and that they can be controlled through the systematic implementation of planning and monitoring techniques. The second implies that the social impacts of tourism also need to be mastered, in order to avoid destroying the social fabric and values of traditional societies (UNWTO, 2002).

Sustainable tourism must meet the needs of both the tourist and host community, without diminishing opportunities for the future. Sustainable tourism also implies optimum use of resources and maximization of benefits to conservation and local communities (Beeler, 2002). To put sustainability in practice, these sustainable development goals should drive tourism planning and management systems in tourist destinations. As a result, policies for sustainable tourism have been integrated into a wider national environmental and sustainability policy or strategy in a number of countries (UNWTO, 2002).

According to Ritchie and Crouch (2003), the act of planning provides no guarantee that a destination will succeed, but it does improve its chances. They emphasize that a tourism development plan can potentially: identify the best courses of action, maximize community and industry support, mobilize effort towards a shared goal and ensure the efficient use of resources. However, there are certain preconditions for achieving a sustainable approach to tourism planning. These are co-operation, industry co-ordination, strategic planning and commitment to sustainable objectives. Mason (2003) argues that the task requires partnerships involving the voluntary sector as well as links between private organizations and public bodies. While the private sector is likely to have the best information about demand and influential marketing techniques, the public sector will be most aware of acceptable levels of tourism impacts and be able to apply sanctions in relation to agreed resource capacities (Mason, 2003). In addition, a number of stakeholders (visitors and host communities) will also impact on the outcomes of the tourism planning process. However,

these stakeholders make implementing such an alternative view of tourism planning a difficult task simply because there are so many stakeholders involved with differing and often conflicting interests (Burns, 1998). For example, where archaeological sites are concerned, there are conflicting views between archaeologists, visitors, managers and the community as to the management of, and access to, the resource.

Arguably, policy acceptance of the principles of sustainable tourism development is only the first step (WTO, 1994a). The next and most significant step is the demonstration of commitment through action rather than words, by establishing an appropriate framework for planning and management which takes into account the spatial, political and temporal parameters of the implementation process (Weaver, 2001). Ashworth (1995) suggests that the most effective level at which to implement strategies for sustainable tourism development planning is the local, because it is at this level that the problems are most apparent and policies are likely to receive most political support. Despite the necessary focus on the local level, Helmy and Cooper (2002) argue that for sustainable tourism development to be achieved, principles of sustainability must be integrated into all levels of the planning process, from policies, through plans at the national and regional level to management programmes at the local and site level. A policy thus may be considered as the inspiration and guidance for action, a plan as a set of coordinated and timed objectives for implementing the policy, and a programme as a set of projects in a particular area.

Tourism Planning for the Archaeological Element of the Cultural Heritage

In the past, the assumption was made that cultural tourism was a niche form of tourism, attracting small numbers of well-educated and high-spending visitors, and hence posing less of a threat to the destination and its indigenous population. However, both the growth of international tourism and the diversification of the tourism product have led to an increase in demand for cultural activities, which are now becoming an integral part of the visitor experience (Smith, 2003: 45). The responsible visitor may be aware of many nuances of management, function and interpretation, and be able to take them into account in seeking what he

or she came for. The mass-tourist, however, does not have the time, and often not the inclination, to react through discerning and judgmental filters (Boniface and Fowler, 2003). Large visitor numbers, poor interpretation and information, crowds, congestion and pollution, seem to be the main threats affecting the quality of both the tourist experience and resource preservation, resulting in a complex relationship between visitation and conservation (Shackley, 1998a).

Arguably, archaeological heritage is the focus of cultural tourism defined by the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) as “the basic record of past human activities . . . its protection and proper management is . . . essential to enable archaeologists and other scholars to study and interpret it on behalf of and for the benefit of present and future generations” (ICOMOS, 1999a: 1). The planning and management of archaeological heritage resources is a specialised area that is now receiving increased attention, following on from earlier work on managing the heritage for visitors (see Dartington Amenity Research Trust, 1976; Herbert & Prentice, 1989; Millar, 1989; Wager, 1981; Boniface and Fowler, 2003). The publication of manuals of heritage management is now testament to the increasing concern and attention being paid to this field (Hall & McArthur, 1998; Harrison, 1994; Shackley, 1998b; Ambrose and Paine, 2006; Mckercher and Cros, 2002).

These concerns for dissemination and development of good practice are also being developed by international conservation bodies such as The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), ICOMOS and The International Committee of the Blue Shield (ICBS). At the national level, agencies such as the UK’s English Heritage are developing and disseminating good practice in the management of the archaeological heritage through showcasing their work, as at Stonehenge where the general principles of visitor, traffic and interpretive planning are being applied (English Heritage, 2002).

There is now a consensus that the way forward is to manage heritage sites to maximise the quality of the visitor experience, whilst minimising the impact on the heritage resource (Hall & McArthur, 1998). However, this is not simple and a number of issues come to the fore in terms of the approaches to heritage management and sustainability. Many of the debates relate to the dilemmas that confront heritage sites, particularly in terms of maintaining the sensitive balance between conservation,

visitor management and community involvement. Other issues relate to the problems of funding and the extent to which the commercialization of heritage and museums (e.g. through tourism and retail development) compromise their core function (Smith, 2003: 38). There are also controversial and sensitive issues relating to the ownership, interpretation and representation of heritage (Smith, 2003: 81). Hall and McArthur (1998) summarise the key issues for management as the fact that the identification and management of heritage is dependent upon our perceptions and values. Increasingly, heritage managers realise that it is not sufficient just to manage the physical heritage resource in isolation from the people who are the 'owners' of the heritage and those who come to experience it (Hall and McArthur, 1998: 5).

This paper is clear that the sustainability of archaeological sites in those tourist destinations dependent on heritage tourism cannot be fully met if it is not professionally integrated into the planning framework of the tourism sector. In addition it must be co-coordinated and integrated into the planning frameworks of other relevant authorities – such as conservation agencies. In the light of this context, the Egyptian case study outlined in this paper offers an example of a destination based upon distinctive archaeological resources, yet whose historical sites have been facing the threat of tourism pressure. It demonstrates the important role that can be played by sustainable planning and management of the use of these sites, whilst also highlighting the difficulties of applying sustainable planning to a resource that is the focus of many stakeholders' livelihoods and interests.

An Overview of Egyptian Tourism

Egypt is one of the most prominent tourist destinations in the MENA region and the dominant country for international visitors to the Middle East. Although Egyptian tourism policies have managed to diversify its tourist product through the development of leisure and recreational activities such as beach tourism, safari, diving and golf tourism, it is the archaeological heritage in the form of archaeological sites that is still considered to be the world-class attraction visited by tourists. Egypt's archaeological heritage has been structured around the cultural circuit of the Pyramids of Giza, El-Menia, Luxor, Aswan and the temple at

Abu Simbel (Boniface & Cooper, 2001). This form of tourism grew in popularity in the 19th century with the development of package tours from northern Europe and steamship services on the Nile established by Thomas Cook (Boniface & Cooper, 2001). Although the Pyramids and tombs of Giza and Thebes are some of the ancient world's most significant and familiar monuments (ICOMOS, 1999b; Shackley, 1998; Siliotti, 1997), Egypt also has a large number of other archaeological sites as identified in the World Heritage List (UNESCO, 2006)(Table 2). On the national scene, concern to protect Egypt's ancient sites and control the export of antiquities led to the foundation in 1858 of the Egyptian Antiquities Service. The Ministry of Culture now confers responsibility for the management and preservation of antiquities sites to the Supreme Council of Antiquities (Rivers, 1998).

Table 2. Egyptian Archaeological and Natural Sites Inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List.

World Heritage Site	Site Classification	Date of Inscription
• Abu Mena.	Archaeological Heritage	1979
• Ancient Thebes with its Necropolis.	Archaeological Heritage	1979
• Islamic Cairo.	Archaeological Heritage	1979
• Memphis and its Necropolis (the Pyramids field from Giza to Dahshur).	Archaeological Heritage	1979
• Nubian monuments from Abu Simbel to Philae.	Archaeological Heritage	1979
• Saint Cathrine area.	Archaeological and Natural Heritage	2002
• Wadi Al-Hitan (Whale Valley).	Natural Heritage	2005

Source: Extracted from UNESCO (2006).

Egypt's economy cannot provide full employment and consequently the Egyptian government has been using tourism as an instrument to achieve more satisfactory economic goals as the economic benefits of Tourism filter down to the lowest levels of society (UNWTO, 1994b). In 2005, tourism accounted for 11.3% of Egyptian GDP (Gross Domestic Product) was estimated at 11.3% and supported 12.06% of Egyptian jobs (direct and indirect)(MOT, 2006). Egyptian tourism has shown a remarkable increase in the number of international visits to reach 8.6 million in 2005,

contrasting with 5.5 million visits in 2000. Although figures shown in Table 3 demonstrate a recovery from the downturn in international demand in the late 1990s following attacks on tourists, the yield per tourist is an issue and Egyptian tourist policies are still unable to achieve the average tourist expenditure per night recorded before the Luxor massacre in 1997 (MOT, 2006). This implies the need for a review of the current policies that target mass tourism. Relevant to this issue is the fact that Egyptian tour packages achieve low rates due to price pressure from international tour operators. Reducing prices is a natural response in a time of crisis, but the pricing policy must be reviewed after the recovery.

Table 3. International tourist arrivals, rooms and expenditure in Egypt, 1990-2005.

Year	International arrivals (000s)	Rooms	International expenditure (US\$ million)
1990	2600,1	35230	106,2
1995	3133,5	64958	2683,6
1997	3961,4	75679	3727,2
1998	3453,9	82925	2564,6
2000	5506,0	113611	4345,0
2004	8100,0	148040	61000,0
2005	8600,0	170000	68000,0

Source: Egyptian Ministry of Tourism (MOT) 1991, 1996, 1999, 2006; UNWTO 2002.

As Table 3 shows, 2005 recorded a growth rate estimated at + 6.3% in the number of visits and at +11.5% in tourist revenues compared to 2004. Egypt's tourism policy is ambitious, forecasting that by 2011 Egypt will receive around 14 million tourist visits spending 140 million tourist nights (on a base of 85.2 million tourist nights in 2005). As a result there are plans to expand accommodation capacity to reach 240,000 rooms in 2011 (MOT, 2006).

As discussed in the following sections, Egyptian tourism policy does not clearly take into account the share of cultural tourism in general and heritage tourism in particular in the above forecasts of tourist arrivals. It is this increase in visitation to Egypt's archaeological sites that threatens

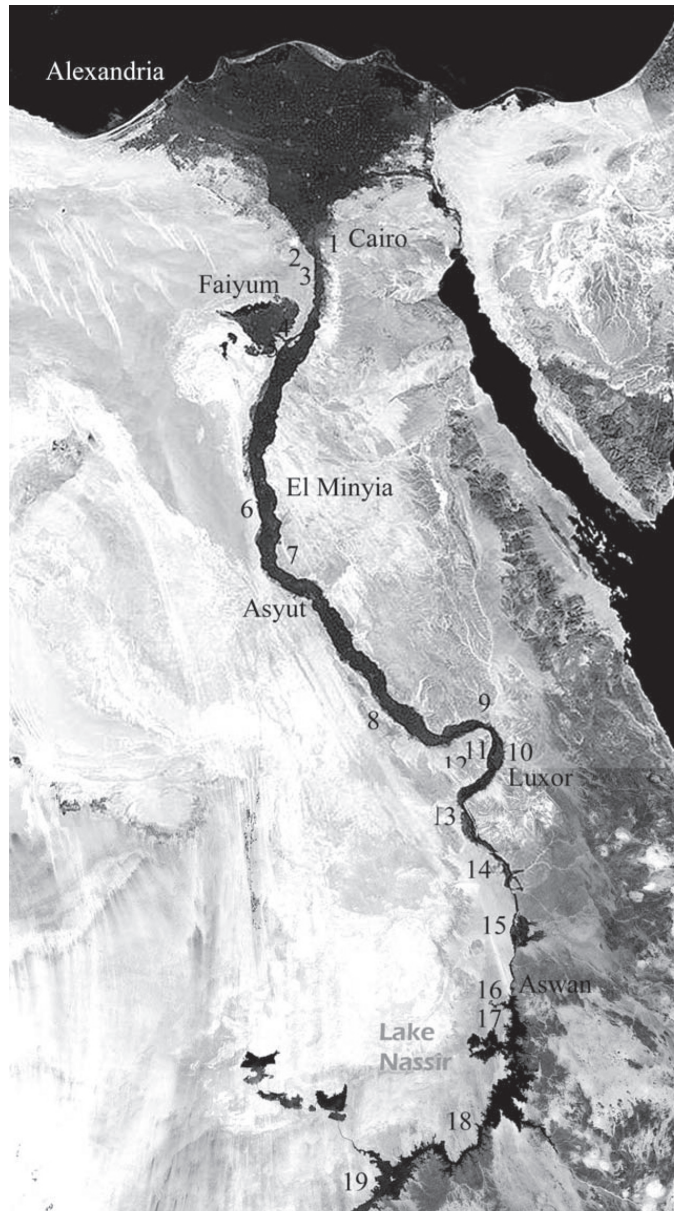


Figure 1. A selection of key tourist sites along the Nile in Egypt.: 1. Monuments and museums in Cairo, 2-Pyramids of Giza & Saqqara, 3. Dahshur Pyramids, 4. El-Lahun and Hawara Pyramids, 5. Ihnasyia, 6. Tuna el-Gebel, 7. Tell El Amarna, 8. Abydos, 9. Dandara, 10. Karnak and Luxor, 11. Valley of Kings, 12, Valley of Queens, 13. Isna Temple, 14. Edfu Temple, 15. Kom Ombo Temple, 16. Kalabsha, 17, Philae, 18. Wadi El Sebou, 19. Abu Simbel;.

their very sustainability. The planning and management task involved to both conserve and present these sites is a significant one, demanding cooperation between different parties and stakeholders, although as shown above, international best practice exists to help Egypt succeed in this task. The key issue is the imperative to factor in effective tourism planning and management to the heritage sites to complement the high levels of conservation and scholarship that are already in place. However, the impediment to this process is the fact that Egypt's archaeological heritage is not only a resource for the tourism industry, but it is also a source of income and employment for many Egyptians, underlining its utility for a myriad of stakeholders, each with differing views and vested interests in its future. What is needed is cooperation and coordination among the different parties who have a say/power in the future of Egyptian heritage sustainability to (i) draw up an identified policy for archaeological site management and (ii) to push tourism stakeholders to apply best practice in tourism planning and management for archaeological sites. Figure 1 shows the geographical distribution of the Egyptian archaeological heritage as well as Egyptian World Heritage Sites.

Research Methodology

Based on the literature review above, planning is a prerequisite for the implementation of a sustainable archaeological heritage at any destination. This research examines the effectiveness of the Egyptian tourism planning framework in delivering sustainable archaeological heritage. A comprehensive assessment of the performance of the planning frameworks at Egyptian archaeological tourism destinations has been achieved not only to highlight points of strengths and weaknesses in the planning framework to achieve sustainability, but also to monitor changes and modifications at the different levels of the planning framework to fully encompass the various dimensions of sustainable development at archaeological heritage sites. Here, the tourism-planning framework was classified into three levels: (i) policies, (ii) plans and (iii) programmes/techniques. A set of key criteria representing indicators for the sustainability of the archaeological environment was then identified by an extensive review of the sustainability literature. Where indicators were clearly not relevant to the archaeological environment they were rejected. These criteria were used to examine the

Level of Planning Framework

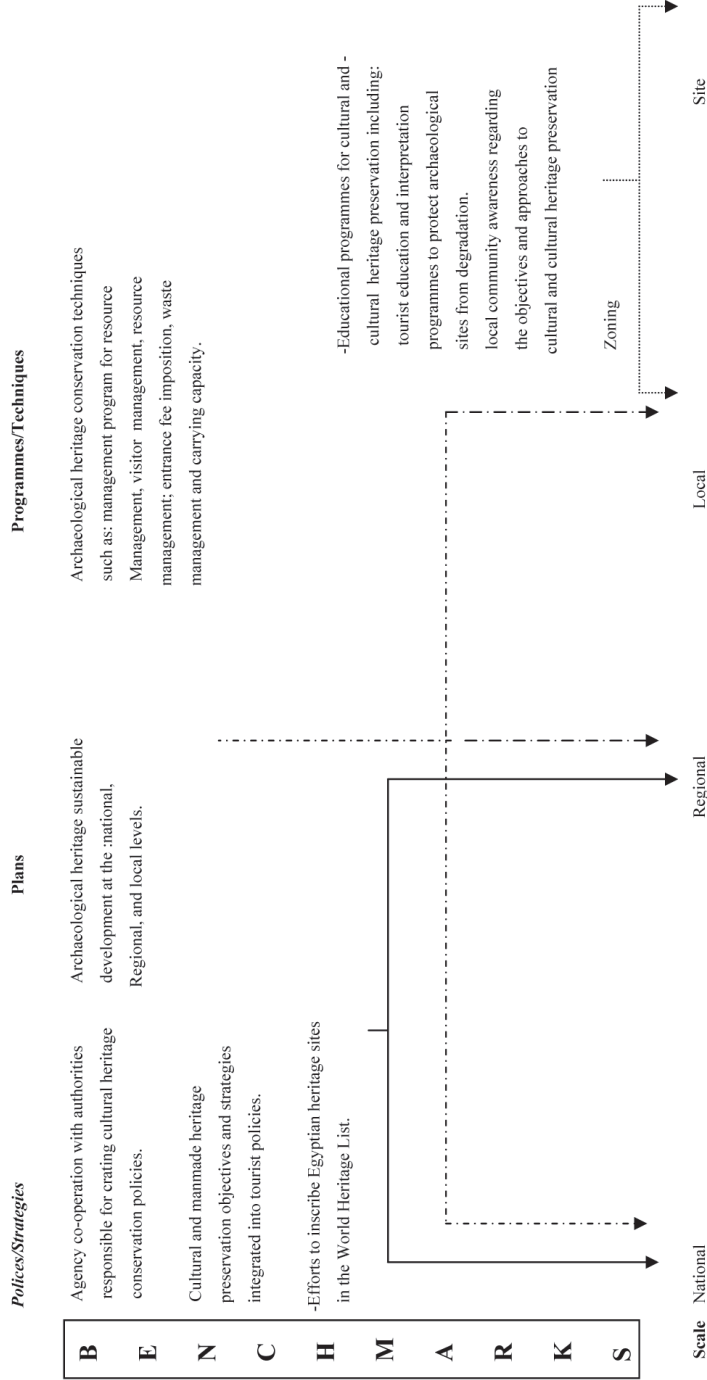


Figure 2. Criteria to Evaluate the Egyptian Tourism Planning Framework Regarding the Sustainability of Archaeological Heritage Sites.

effectiveness of each of the three levels of the planning framework and were designed to be accurate, unambiguous and flexible enough to be interpreted in an interview with stakeholders (see Figure 2).

To reach a reliable and adequate evaluation of the sustainability of the archaeological heritage within the context of Egyptian tourism planning, an in-depth interview survey with leading opinion leaders was undertaken in 2006. This was based upon a basic survey undertaken in 1997 where discussions on sustainable tourism planning for the Egyptian archaeological heritage had been drawn and findings along with recommendations were published in the *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* in 2002. This second phase of the field survey was primarily to track the changes that have been done in the field of archaeological heritage sustainability with regard to up-to-date political, economic and environmental circumstances. As the number of international tourist arrivals to Egypt has greatly increased since the date of the first survey, examining the articulation of Egyptian tourism policy to the main policy of archaeological heritage sustainability was a core issue in the 2006 survey. The task also entailed visits to a number of heritage sites in Egypt in 2006 including the Pyramids area, Egyptian museums, Alexandria and Luxor. The interviews focused upon evaluating the Egyptian tourism planning system and examined the elements of sustainability of the archaeological heritage within the tourism planning context. While the sample of the basic survey conducted in 1997 comprised 54 respondents, directly or indirectly involved in the management and presentation of archaeological sites in Egypt, the updated survey included 17 respondents (some of whom were interviewed in the basic survey to help trace changes). The sample was drawn from official tourism authorities, the private sector, the Environmental Affairs Agency, archaeological authorities, tourism consultants/planners, tourist guides and academics. To ensure comparability between the groups, the interview was designed to include a series of questions common to all groups plus a number of specific questions to particular groups with a focus on recent issues, efforts and challenges relevant to the field of archaeological heritage sustainability.

Discussion and Results of the Stakeholder Survey

Level 1: Policies and strategies

Egyptian World Heritage

Discussion by respondents of Egyptian World Heritage Sites identified two main facts. The first concerns the fact that all Egyptian heritage sites included in the World Heritage List, apart from Saint Catherine, were inscribed in 1979. Although Egypt still has very distinctive archaeological treasures, the pace of inscription of more sites in the World Heritage List has to be accelerated. Respondents pointed to the archaeological sites of El-Menia, Dendara, Edfu and Kom Ombo Temples in Upper Egypt and the Submerged Antiquities (dating back to Pharaonic, Ptolemaic and Byzantine eras) of Abu Qir in Alexandria as good examples. It is also worth mentioning here that Abu Qir is also significant in modern history as the location of the decisive naval battle between the English commander Wilson and Napoleon. The second fact reflects recent commitments by the environmental authorities that heritage is no longer solely archaeological. This resulted in the inscription of the first Egyptian site which is solely natural (Wadi Al-Hitan) in the World Heritage List in 2005. There are also other natural sites waiting to be included in the World Heritage List.

Agency structure

Some respondents supported agency structure while some raised issues of articulation among authorities, integrated strategies of various stakeholders and adequate funding. All respondents agreed that having all archaeological sites under the auspices of the Supreme Council of Antiquities (an authority of the Ministry of Culture) is crucial in maintaining conservation of sites. The responsibility of this Council ranges from excavation work, scientific studies, restoration and renovation of the existing monuments to the management and supervision of all the archaeological historical sites including museums. Whilst these activities impact positively upon sites, as this authority is solely accountable for generating and implementing strategies and plans, respondents identified the lack of cooperation with other parties as problematic.

With regard to tourism as an activity at archaeological sites, respondents also identified a range of other tasks that the Council is responsible

for, but which fall firmly into the area of tourism management. These included:

- Assessing tourist impacts on archaeological sites;
- Determining the appropriate visitor carrying capacity of each site;
- Planning the use of the sites for tourism activities, including visitor management, interpretation and charging; and
- Optimizing the visitor experience, enjoyment and satisfaction through smart management techniques.

As long as the work in such sites is not merely restoration and excavation, the Council still needs to consider a number of personnel with specialized job descriptions such as site managers and planners with management and planning educational backgrounds. Council staff mainly comprise those who hold a university degree in archaeology, Egyptology or architecture. In the light of this issue and as will be discussed in the following section, implementing a policy for the sustainability of the archaeological heritage will require a joint effort among various parties - many of which are tourism stakeholders.

All respondents agreed that Council heads have managed to draw international attention to Egyptian archaeological treasures. This has been done through a number of events, activities and projects including the Grand Egyptian Museum (which is still under construction and will be completed by 2010), the temporary exhibition series of Egyptian monuments in foreign countries, recent monument excavations, efforts to return some of the Egyptian monuments displayed in international museums to Egypt and activities to protect and restore monuments.

In the context of monument restoration and conservation, the statue of Ramses II has recently been transported from one of the most crowded squares in Cairo to the Grand Egyptian Museum overlooking the Giza plateau where it will be subject to restoration activities and will be one of the remarkable exhibits upon the inauguration of the museum. For over 50 years, the 3200 year old statue stood in a square, bearing its name, threatened by heavy traffic, underground railways, bridges, car vibrations, fumes and smog. Although the transportation of the statue took ten hours and was broadcast by local TV channels, the Egyptian tourism sector did not use this as a tourist event.

The Supreme Council of Luxor also has the potential to boost the sustainability of the cultural heritage in Luxor. The city faces various inherited development problems and has recently implemented a set of actions to consider comprehensive planning of all the economic and social development aspects of the city. In terms of organization, the Council has formed a higher committee to be represented by members from the Ministry of Housing and New Urban Communities, the Ministry of Culture (mainly the Supreme Council of Antiquities), the Ministry of Tourism, the United Nations Development Project and the Luxor Council itself. As the Council has been able to involve UN agencies (such as UNDP and UNESCO) in the development plan, a fund of US\$ 11 million will be spent to launch a series of projects up to 2010 with the assistance of international expertise. Some of these projects are for the development of heritage sites.

Archaeological heritage in Egyptian tourist policies and strategies

As shown in the previous section, tasks suggested by respondents to conserve the Egyptian heritage entail the adoption of the principles of sustainable development in the protection of archaeological sites and reflect international best practice. To put this objective in practice, the policy for cultural heritage conservation should be included in sub-policies for the sustainability of the archaeological heritage crafted by other authorities. In particular, one of these sub-policies should be crafted by the Ministry of Tourism and integrated into the main policy for conservation of the archaeological heritage.

Although Egyptian tourism policies have announced the adoption of sustainable development as one of their objectives, when it comes to the issue of sustainability of archaeological sites, this objective seems too general. For example from a marketing perspective, the tourism policy targets 14 million tourist visits in 2011 and 27 million in 2017 but the policy does not identify the approximate share of heritage tourism. The survey also showed that the policy has not tailored strategies to attract independent tourists motivated to visit Egyptian archaeological sites, but gives more opportunities to the expansion of the low-yield package tour business. Also, the recession in tourist numbers from certain high spending nationalities has not been properly addressed. Indeed, to compensate for their loss, marketing strategies have focused on growing geographical markets

best described as generating mass tourism markets – resulting in a growing pressure on many archaeological sites.

From a destination management perspective, the survey showed that tourism policies only support the provision of enhancement activities at some archaeological sites. Here, respondents identified five problems relating to the structure of the Egyptian planning process for the archaeological heritage within the context of tourism:

1. Undetermined objectives for cultural heritage sustainability – the tourism policy has a very general objective but fails to address more specific objectives in the area of protection of archaeological sites.
2. A gap between the general tourism policy and the strategy for cultural heritage conservation, a sub-policy for the protection of cultural and historic sites needs to be created to link the main tourism policy and the strategy for cultural heritage conservation.
3. Absence of accountability – a specific authority needs to deal with all heritage conservation issues in tourism plans and to act as a link between the tourist and archaeological authorities.
4. Co-operation between the tourism and archaeological authorities – policies created by tourism authorities for the sustainability and protection of historic sites should be harmonised and integrated with the policy of archaeological authorities. The cooperation currently existing in Luxor under the umbrella of the Supreme Council of Luxor is a good example of the change that is needed.
5. Insufficient strategies – due to the above problems, the strategies and thus techniques and programmes implemented are inadequate and should be reviewed.

Challenges to tourism policies and strategies

In spite of the recognition by both the archaeological and tourism authorities of the importance of adopting a policy for the sustainability and management of archaeological sites used in the field of tourism, the survey identified two key constraints and challenges to the future adoption of such policy:

- **Lack of funds:** Any policies to be implemented require adequate funds to achieve satisfactory results. Lack of funds might have a direct influence on the efficiency of implementing these tasks or

at least the capability of implementing all of them. In most cases, the authorities give priority to the most urgent tasks – such as renovation.

- **Expertise and personnel:** Implementation of the policies requires skilled personnel. Although there are a sufficient number of archaeologists and architects in Egypt, other specialists such as impact evaluators for historical sites, cost-benefit analysts and site planners are in short supply.
- **Policy and strategy monitoring and feedback:** In most cases the policy and thus its strategies are mainly monitored by financial data and targets. Methods of policy and strategy evaluation need to be based on more scientific principles. The inefficient data base system is part of the challenge.

Level 2: Tourism plans for the archaeological heritage

Planning at the national level

If the Egyptian tourism planning system is to adopt international best practice then the following deficiencies identified by the stakeholders, need to be addressed:

1. National tourism plans need to conduct scientific research to forecast the number of tourists motivated primarily by heritage tourism in general and the expected number visiting each archaeological site. This should be discussed in advance with the archaeological authorities for the determination of suitable carrying capacities.
2. National tourism plans need to consider a number of “what if?” scenarios to predict the potential impacts of tourism and to study possible remedies to confront such impacts (Shackley 1998a). What if the tourist numbers visiting heritage sites doubles? What if replica and model sites are constructed? What if visitor centers with technological devices such as storyboards and audiovisual amenities are adopted?
3. Involving tourism stakeholders in the implementation of sustainability schemes. All identified stakeholders should be informed of the benefits of sustainability and trained in how to play a role in its application. Although the Egyptian tourist guide actually acts as a leader throughout the tour and plays the role of

culture interpreter in addition to providing the information on the site, his/her skills can go beyond such tasks to be a key player in the visitor management process. This entails encompassing courses of visitor management and resource management in the educational program offered to qualified guides. Currently such skills are considered very personal, dependent upon the guide's background and attitude.

As the tourism authorities are responsible for informing the archaeological authorities of the forecast tourist numbers visiting each site, the archaeological authorities should be held responsible for providing the tourism authorities, several months in advance, with the following:

1. Sites that will be temporarily closed for restoration and renovation.
2. Up-dated entrance fees to be imposed and dates of application.
3. The maximum permitted number of tourists to each site calculated in tourist/days.
4. Sites that have recently been discovered and can be used as tourist attractions.
5. Current pressures and threats to sites due to tourist activities.
6. Although the survey conducted in 2006 shows progress towards the execution of the first two points stated above, the final three issues still await more effort to hold periodic meetings between the representatives of both authorities, as Figure 3 shows.

Planning at the regional and local level

The 2006 survey shows an improvement on the regional planning level in particular regions, while in some other regions and sites the implementation of sustainable development is still problematic. Luxor, which currently receives over one million visitors annually is expecting a boom in tourism activities to 2020 estimated at a seven fold increase in visitor numbers, while the population of its residents will also increase by 50% during the same period. To absorb the expected growth, the Supreme Council of Antiquities in Luxor has crafted a comprehensive development plan covering all issues of urban development, investment opportunities, infrastructure development, diversification of economic activities, heritage conservation and tourism development.

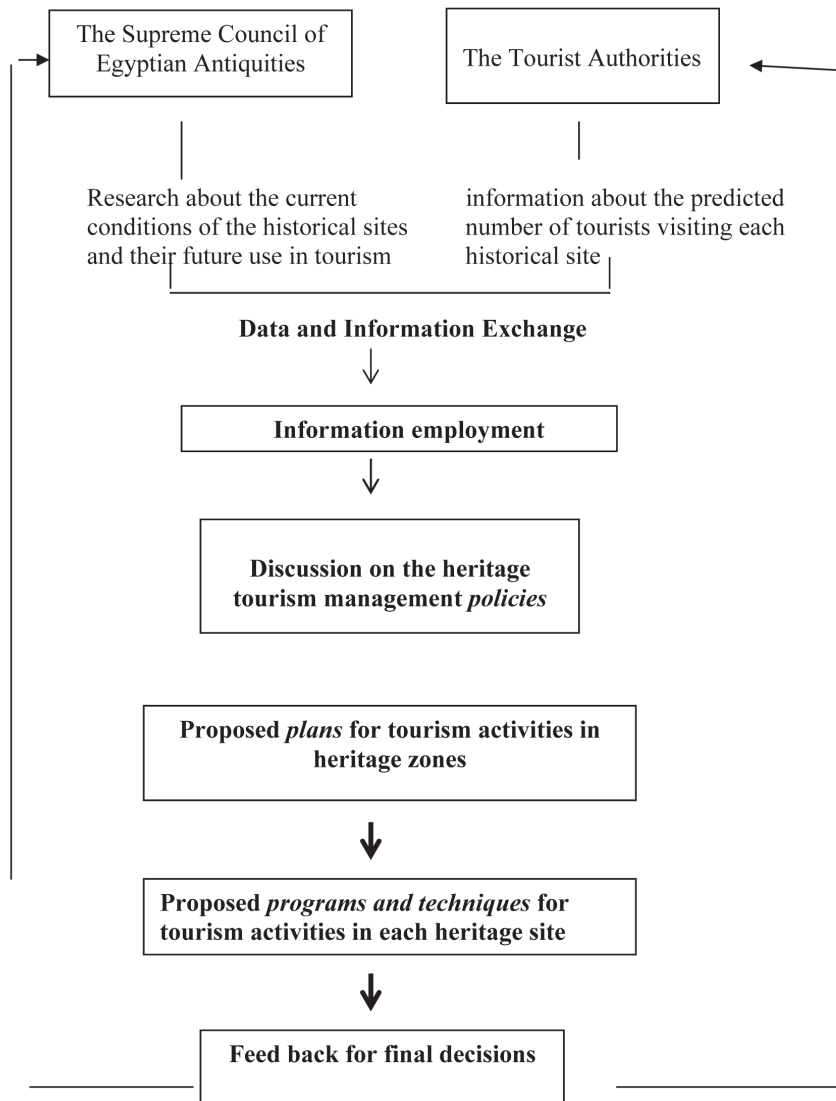


Figure 3. A Suggested Network System for the Tourism Authorities and the Archaeological Authorities. and Expenditure in Egypt, 1990-2005

For example, to face the problem of expanding residents' houses and neighborhoods onto archaeological sites, the Council has constructed a residential village to move residents who currently live in the "Valley of the Kings" in the West Bank and who constructed their houses tens of years ago very close to the Pharaonic tombs - in most cases, above the tombs. Although such haphazard expansion is illegitimate and despite the absence of infrastructure and social services in such poorly constructed houses, the Council currently faces resistance from residents. They still prefer living in poorer conditions and having direct access to their livelihood through their existence in the area, rather than moving to better conditions. While this issue represents a "conflict of interest", it also suggests that local community involvement in decision-making in less mature societies should be sensitively implemented as it might render adverse results - contradicting the principles of sustainability itself. It also entails the use of communication strategies to deliver the sustainable development message to local communities. In the "Valley of the Kings" case, communicating to the younger generations who are eager to offer a better quality of life to their children and are more flexible to accept change, might result in more positive outcomes.

Respondents discussed the need to improve tourism activity in Luxor's West Bank area. In the 1980s tourists had to take a ferry to move from the East to the West bank of the Nile and then take a bus or taxi to the sites. This operation was problematic due to the shortage in the number of ferries, crowding and hassle at the ferry quays and traffic congestion. In addition, coaches parked close to the sites leaving tombs in danger of coach vibration. A visitor center project was proposed during the 1990s to manage visits to the West Bank but was aborted and eventually converted into a museum due to another "conflict of interest". This was because, if built it would have affected transport operators to the West Bank. However, the 1990s witnessed some other achievements. By early, 1998 a bridge linking the East and West banks was constructed and coaches were permitted to leave tourists at a drop-off point reasonably far from the sites. Coaches have to use the parking area until tourists complete their visit and return to the pick-up point. Although having all vehicles some distance from the sites is a prerequisite to sustain the tombs

and the viability of their construction, tourists had to walk hundreds of meters to access the site. As a result, a land-train run by a private sector company is currently in use from the drop-off point to the site and vice versa.

Nonetheless, respondents felt that the West Bank still lacks many services. These include:

Infrastructure such as electricity to many of the heritage site areas; and Management services such as signage, interpretation and visitor centers equipped with technological devices such as audiovisual, storyboards and IMAX shows to augment the experience while offering an authentic sense of place.

As mentioned in the section on policy and strategy, the Supreme Council of Luxor has received international aid to develop the East Bank. This will have a positive influence on the Karnak and Luxor temples by helping to confront residential expansion onto the sites. In addition, a marina accommodating 180 floating hotels is to be completed by 2009 to change the current situation of pollution, close proximity of many cruises stacked alongside each other and poorly equipped docks.

Meanwhile, many other heritage regions in Egypt are still awaiting serious planning treatment. For example, the whole area of Islamic Cairo needs a sustainable development plan to include a set of conservation programs for the Islamic sites and a comprehensive urban and social planning approach to the surrounding districts. Also, the Pyramids area is surrounded by poorly developed neighborhoods and threatened by underground water and sewage from the village of Nazlet El-Sman close by. Generally speaking, respondents felt that all Egyptian sites need to implement more up-to-date programs and techniques especially for resource and visitor management.

If the Egyptian tourism planning system is to adopt international best practice then the following deficiencies in regional and local tourist plans identified by the stakeholders, need to be addressed:

1. Effective planning for and distinction between 'touring areas' and 'site areas' with restricted buffer zones to prevent residential expansion and to control any activity inside the zone.

2. Managing tourist visits to some sites, including provision of appropriate amenities – trails and walkways, visitor centers, signage, audiovisual amenities, cafeterias and car parks. These facilities, if well managed, can become a source of revenue for the archaeological area.
3. Involving the local tourism bureau in the tasks of archaeological resource management and interpretive activities.
4. Considering fragile archaeological sites as protected areas and thus applying protected area management of tourism activities.

Level 3: Tourism planning programs and techniques for the archaeological heritage

Conservation programs for the archaeological environment

Respondents agreed that most archaeological sites still need scientific research and management intervention programs with implementation time frames and predetermined techniques. All respondents said that legislation and penalties should accompany management activities. While the archaeological authorities have showed progress in implementing specific techniques such as prohibiting camera flashes inside enclosed sites (such as tombs and museums), other management techniques still need to be considered to protect monuments from visitor impacts. These include fingerprints, humidity, stone climbing and footsteps. In addition, national school trips to local archaeological sites need to be organized in a way that educates pupils to respect and safeguard their culture and archaeological sites.

Moreover, tourism facilities in some sites are inadequate. For example, it is very important to provide shaded and green areas, proper parking areas along with an adequate number of seats for visitors. Some respondents used the Pyramids area as an example of a site lacking adequate management. The whole area still needs extensive management programs including:

Resource management programs to organize visits inside the Pyramids and reduce the impacts of visits,

Visitor management programs to control and supervise souvenir vendors and camel riding activities and provide updated signage and interpretation activities,

Aesthetic programs to enhance the appearance of the site entrance, admission fees kiosk, administrative offices and car parking areas to reflect the authentic spirit of the place.

Other respondents used Esna and Edfu as examples of the lack of management programs in current tourism plans. Tourism facilities in these two regions are very modest and require site planning and management.

As for the museum management program, the Egyptian museum authority has offered new sections such as the “Royal Mummies Hall” exhibiting mummies from the Ramesside Period (20th dynasty, c. 1183-1107 BC.) and Priesthood Rulers Period (21st dynasty, c. 1064-935 BC.). There is also an exhibition section representing a series of research, expedition and excavation activities on Egyptian ancient history besides the famous “King Tutankhamun Hall”. However, respondents still felt that the museum lacks many management activities. For example, labels on some exhibits have already faded and many artifacts are not protected from fingerprints. Above all the museum lacks many of the innovative techniques of modern museum management and has become too small to accommodate all the artifacts, resulting in a large number of monuments kept in storage. In addition, the increased number of visitors has resulted in crowding in some sections such as at the “Tutankhamun Hall” which undermines the visitor experience.

Fortunately, Egypt plans to replace the present Egyptian Museum with the Grand Egyptian Museum to be built in the shadow of the Pyramids plateau in Giza for 100,000 artifacts. According to respondents, the Grand Museum will be the largest museum for Egyptian history in the world and will be provided with up-to-date museum management techniques. The Grand Museum Project will cost about US\$550 million and will be completed by 2010. At present, respondents still consider the Nubian museum located in Aswan as a good example of an up-to-date museum satisfying the needs of tourists within the context of heritage conservation and preservation. It displays the different faces of the Nubian heritage: not only the historical and archaeological, but also culture and daily life.

Management techniques for the archaeological heritage

- **Resource management:** Respondents felt that a number of techniques should be considered by the relevant authorities, including establishing buffer zones, restricting expansion of residential neighborhoods, providing more adequate signage and interpretation activities in heritage sites and employing technology to mitigate pressures on fragile sites (such as storyboards and audiovisual devices). This technique will shorten the visit duration especially to fragile sites such as tombs. Fines also should be introduced as a policing tool.

While authentic archaeological sites are under the auspices of the Supreme Council of Antiquities, the tourism authority must consider initiating “Replica and Modeling techniques” to cater for the increase in the number of tourist visits. A replica project copying Egyptian archaeological sites with the authentic colors, illustrations and architecture of the time, along with a lively demonstration of the daily life of the ancient Egyptian, can stimulate visits as a tourist attraction. This technique can reduce pressure on the authentic sites.

Renovations must be considered within the context of resource management programs and techniques. The Bibliotheca Alexandrina (The Library of Alexandria) is a good example of renovation. The old Alexandria library was established during the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus and was been renewed and inaugurated in October 2002. According to respondents, the ‘New Alexandria Library’ has become one of the landmarks of Alexandria as an important tourist site. The library compound includes the central library, youth library, library for the blind, scripts museum, science museum, the international institute for information studies, a planetarium where IMAX shows are presented and a very well equipped conference center. Notably, all IMAX shows presented in the planetarium are international films on scientific issues which mainly attract Egyptians – it would be more relevant if a number of shows were produced on the history of Alexandria or on the Ptolemaic era when the library was constructed. This would be an exciting attraction for the many international visitors who currently visit the library,

augmenting their experience while generating revenues to the library administration.

- **Visitor management:** There was a consensus by respondents that many archaeological sites need to establish visitor centers to manage visits and offer the necessary interpretation to enhance the tourist experience. Currently, heritage sites lack such visitor management activities which help visitors to play a role in the conservation issue while having a more informative and enjoyable experience. For example, information on the artifacts of Egyptian museums is still offered verbally by tourist guides inside the museum. In crowded museums, such as the Egyptian museum where tens of guides accompany different groups of tourists speaking loudly in different foreign languages, visitor satisfaction cannot be reached even if the guide is highly qualified. However, all tourist guides interviewed in this survey are against the technique of using “audio guides” inside the site, as they perceive it as a replacement to the human guide affecting their future earnings. In spite of opposition to the audio guide technique from the guides, it has been planned to adopt the technique in the Grand Egyptian Museum to keep up with trends in museum management. This will give visitors the freedom to select the exhibits they are interested in and to determine the amount of information they need while receiving accurate information on each artifact. Although the role of the human guide goes beyond just offering information on the site, such opposition reflects a “conflict of interest”.
- **Entrance fees:** The Supreme Council of Antiquities is the only authority that has the right to levy fees. A number of respondents representing the tourist authorities and the private sector felt that entrance fees recently imposed on foreign tourists to certain sites such as Pharaonic tombs have become very high. However, the archaeological authorities take the view that admission fees are reasonable as such sites are sensitive to any change and require regular conservation activities. If replica projects are to be adopted, a standardization of entrance fee rates would be sensible with higher fees to the authentic sites.
- **Carrying capacity:** The survey showed that carrying capacity is problematic and a real challenge to the Egyptian tourism plan which targets doubling the number of tourists in less than ten years. Most

of the Pharaonic archaeological sites used by tourism (especially tombs) are under pressure due to the increase in the number of visitors and their carrying capacity has been exceeded. This over-capacity problem might have arisen due to a lack of management rather than an increase in the number of tourists. There is no doubt that a few tourists, if not properly managed, can have at least the impact of a larger number. To tackle the carrying capacity problem, the archaeological authorities are opening similar historical sites for visits alternatively according to specific rotation – the tourist stakeholders still view that this technique should be executed with the co-ordination of the tourist authorities in order to inform the international tour operators of the available sites to be visited during each period. Visitor centers should be considered by the Egyptian planning framework as an effective technique to manage carrying capacities to the archaeological sites.

Conclusion

The survey findings intimate that the archaeological agencies in Egypt underestimate the ability of the tourism sector to implement planning techniques for the sustainability of archaeological sites. On the other hand, the tourism sector considers implementing such techniques as tasks outside its responsibility. Effectively, sustainability of the Egyptian archaeological heritage cannot be approached without having a cooperative planning framework between the archaeological and tourism authorities. Within this context, a committee that consists of representatives from both parties should be established. The terms of reference for this committee should be to consider the issues related to archaeological sites, predict the number of visitors to these sites and recommend the most appropriate approaches that can be implemented to avoid problems of over-capacity at each site. It is recommended that a specific authority should be established under the umbrella of the Ministry of Tourism to manage tourist activities at cultural and historical sites. This authority should represent the Ministry of Tourism in co-coordinating its plans and strategies with the other designated authorities in the domain of cultural heritage conservation. Hence, this authority will be responsible for developing, implementing and evaluating a tourism sub-plan for the conservation of the archaeological heritage.

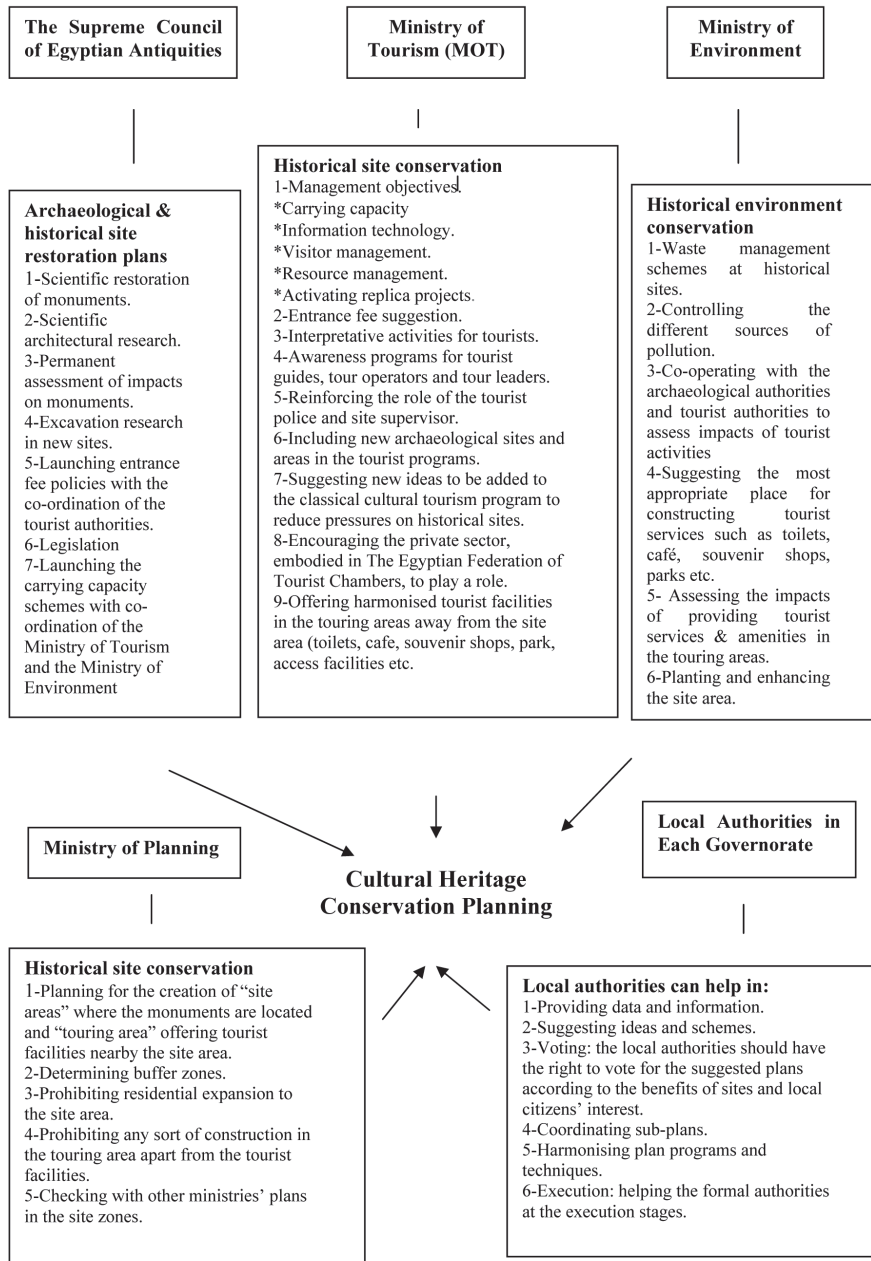


Figure 4. A suggested model of a Network Planning Framework to save the Cultural Heritage from Degradation.

As Egypt continues to experience increases in the number of tourists and a boom in tourism investment, this chapter recommends that a sub-plan should be crafted to anticipate any problems that will continue due to tourism's exploitation of the archaeological heritage. This plan must recognize the crucial role of carrying capacity in determining visitor numbers. The sub-tourist plan for conservation of the archaeological heritage should be created and coordinated with other authorities' sub-plans, which should, in turn, be integrated to form a general cultural heritage conservation-planning framework. Figure 4 suggests a model of a network planning framework to save the Egyptian cultural heritage from degradation.

To achieve sustainability of the archaeological heritage in practice, Egypt needs to consider a set of techniques as key instruments. Firstly, buffer zones should be strictly identified and divided into two main areas: "site areas" where the monuments are located - where tourist activity is highly managed and supervised - and "touring areas" offering tourist facilities in close proximity to the site area. Visitor centers should be established as a crucial part of the touring area providing briefings, interpretive activities and publications. Key archaeological sites should be converted into protected areas and should apply legislation to control the negative impacts of tourism activities. As many Egyptian archaeological sites urgently require visitor centers, the suggested touring area must be able to offer entertaining activities based on properly applied technological devices such as IMAX shows on the various stories of ancient Egypt. Such shows employing the virtual reality techniques together with the classical "Sound and Light Shows" presented at the Pyramids plateau and the Luxor temple can generate higher revenues for the sites.

To face the carrying capacity problem some new archaeological sites should be included in the Egyptian tourism programmes, approved by the archaeological authorities and promoted by travel agencies in order to reduce the pressure on sites currently used on the tourist circuit. This chapter also argued that tombs can be presented by using interpretive media outside the tomb to present and explain the tomb's contents. This means that tourists do not have to enter the interior of the tomb or may spend a shorter period of time inside the tomb. Replicas can also be used.

The future sustainability of Egypt's archaeological heritage will depend upon the recognition by political decision makers of the importance of integrating international best practice in site and visitor management into the Egyptian planning frameworks. This will sustain Egypt's cultural heritage and thus sustain the tourist revenues that depend on such heritage. This should be executed with a full belief that there are three elements to sustain while discussing the issue of sustainable development for cultural heritage in the Arab World: heritage resources, revenues gained from resource investments and authenticity.

Sustainable Development of Saharan Tourism and Heritage

Rachid Sidi Boumedine

Introduction

Tourism today provides favourable conditions to be harnessed in seeking developments that can contribute to the eradication of poverty. Indeed, as highlighted by G. Cazes (2001, 98): “at the global level, it is the irresistible increase in destinations of the developing countries of the South which should be strongly emphasised: a scrupulous country by country analysis shows that countries of the Third World currently receive almost a third (31.5 % in 1995) of world arrivals as compared with only a sixth (17%) in the seventies and a twelfth (8%) in 1960.”

In this context, the objective will be to influence development policies and strategies of the Sahara to include measures to alleviate poverty by involving the populations in activities that will also ensure safeguarding and enhancing the value of the cultural and natural heritage.

- How can tourism be developed in the Saharan countries while contributing to safeguarding the environment and protecting the cultural heritage?
- How can socio-economic development generated by tourism be reconciled with the management of natural and human resources with a view to the sustainable management of ecosystems?
- How can optimal distribution of the profit from tourism be ensured? And what measures should be taken to guarantee its contribution to the eradication of the poverty that threatens certain parts of the Saharan population?

Controlled management is necessary to avoid the negative effects of tourism, be they socio-cultural or environmental, which represent a cost for the community and for development generally. Another pitfall to avoid in certain areas of the Sahara is making tourism virtually the only activity. Such a scenario would weaken development by making it too dependent on external factors like unfavourable monetary fluctuations or regional and international events which dissuade tourists from visiting.

The countries which share the Sahara have grown aware of the exceptional tourist resources that Saharan tourism represents, namely the wealth of cultural and natural heritage, and the proximity of Europe, the leading tourist market worldwide.

The Current Status of the Sahara

Tourism in the Sahara provides travellers with an opportunity to experience the silence and immensity of the desert and to see changes of scenery and forms of exoticism that are attached either to the original quality of the sites (dunes, vast stretches of land and silence) or to living human productions (dwellings, cultures, arts and crafts and various lifestyles) or the state of vestiges (engravings, paintings and ruins, etc.).

This means that a sustainable tourist industry should have a direct interest in the preservation, if not the rehabilitation, of the original context, whether natural or cultural. That may serve as a lever to increase the production of goods, whether material or symbolic, without being exclusively focused on tourists. Therefore, such tourism should be viewed within the context of a more holistic approach to development, the sustainability of which hinges on maintaining and strengthening the natural and cultural diversity.

In the Sahara, forms of settlement have always been closely linked to the availability of resources indispensable for human life within an arid landscape. Both the human and the natural environment are now threatened. In places where the presence of underground water resources has for long enabled the existence of sedentary settlements, it is the over-exploitation of such a resource that now constitutes the greatest threat to the fragile oasis ecosystem. This is now compounded with the increased scarcity of rainfall and plant cover.

Between the growing demand for resources and the limited capacities of the environment, there is a delicate balance that can be achieved. Imbalances generate migrations towards the cities, towards regions or neighbouring countries that are better.

The aridity of the desert is maintained through mechanisms on a planetary scale. This is either reinforced or weakened by local factors such as the degree of evaporation, the permeability of soils (sand, sandstone and rock) and also the relief of the terrain, whether there are depressions or not that facilitate the accumulation, drainage or infiltration of rainwater. Such aridity becomes extreme (hyperaridity) in places where the absence of any significant relief exposes water to extremely rapid evaporation (all the rainwater in some instances) or to its disappearance without any effect.

The complex interplay of rainfall, its regularity and amplitude, and the nature of the rock formations with various degrees of erosion, introduce patterns of regularity in major areas, but also considerable variability in local practical climatic conditions with effects on wildlife.

In the Sahara, extensive plains or plateaus (such as the Air or the Tamesna in Niger) benefit from tropical rains coming from the Gulf of Guinea, and are also irrigated by floods from the Hoggar and the Tassili. What is distinctive about these areas is that they contain a vast variety of species (leguminous, grasses, and *Tamaricaceae*, etc.) of enormous ecological value covering herbaceous, bushy and arborescent strata including the famous acacia as well as the tamarisk.

Restricted landscapes in the Sahara can either be man-made waterholes (*foggara* oases, etc.), or springs or natural water collection spots (*gueltas*) in low-lying land, more usually along lines of depression.

The remarkable feature of these places is that they are the location of micro-climates resulting from the conjunction of a multitude of factors which have not only enabled particular species (both vegetable and animal) to develop, but have also ensured the conservation of ancient species (fish and amphibians) which would otherwise have disappeared.

Aridity and Population Patterns

After a period of rainfall that ended five thousand years ago, sedentary life gave way to semi-nomadic and nomadic lifestyles. Nevertheless, the peoples

who provided a link in historic times between the two outer boundaries of the Sahara acted as guides and escorts for the commercial caravans and, quite logically, followed the paths marked out by the availability of watering holes, namely westwards via the Touat and the Saoura, and towards the centre via the Tassili (East and West routes).

This North-South movement was combined with two East-West movements. To the North, this involved caravans heading from Egypt towards Tripolitania in order to link up with the North-South axes and, in the central area, trade between the oases of Touat and Tidikelt and the Hoggar-Tassili region.

The gradual drying up process made farmers retreat towards the lacustrine basins of the southern Sahara, while the North developed its agriculture around the oases. These human settlements, that were made viable through the presence of water in the depressions, were marked out along the caravan routes.

It was the specific nature of what was produced in the Sahelian South (gold, copper, pelts and livestock) and the North (wheat, dates, salt, etc.) which provided the basis for regular caravan traffic over several centuries (until the early twentieth century) and facilitated, through the stability of commercial networks, the expansion of Islam into the Sahel, inter-ethnic alliances (including those by marriage) and the birth of a Saharan culture, both common and diverse.

The sedentary settlements are recognized by the *Ksar* (the *casbah* or *ribat*, terms which translate the notion of fortification) and the social organization that favors the emergence of leaders to protect the populations of the oases. By contrast to the privileged leaders, the farmers occupy an inferior position in the social hierarchy. They are often called *Harratin* (from the singular *Hartani*, that is to say a second-ranking free man, an emancipated slave, etc.) or *Iklan* (singular *Akli*) governed by the *Chorfas* or *Imajeghen* ("freemen" in the Berber language). The governing lineage controls the main resource, water, and its corollaries, cultivable land and pastures, while the forms of "domination-possession" are variable.

Skills, and particularly traditional know-how in coping with a hostile environment that is scarce in resources, appeared in the development of techniques enabling water (and land) to be used more judiciously, whether available permanently or cyclically.

In sedentary establishments, the quest for protection against wind and sun extended to the design of architecture and town-planning in which technical solutions, ranking as an art, lent a specific aesthetic dimension to dwellings and the urban fabric. Regardless of the variety of forms or formal architectural styles – which gave regions their special identity – the same guiding principles were always implemented.

On account of the arid climate of the Sahara, it was the groundwater reserves which made up the main sources of the oases. The actual location of oases took account of the possible combination of three factors, namely the level of the groundwater and the method of drawing on it, the presence of cultivable alluvial soils and protection against the wind and heat.

The combination of the last two factors often led to the selection of the edge of depressions because water could be pumped (by shaduf, pendulum wells, water-wheels and norias) or collected and distributed by gravitation through subterranean conduits (*foggaras*) when water is located at a higher altitude than that of the chosen site. In the latter case, the most striking example by its size, the number of structures (900), and the length of the tunnels (up to 14 km at Timimoun, Algeria), is that which is to be found in the Touat, Gourara and Tidikelt in Algeria. Similar installations are to be found at Ouarzazate and Ghadames, also in Algeria.

In some oases, it was the combination of several solutions that was adopted according to the actual availability of water (whether in the water table or through river flooding): reservoir dams and derivation dams (in the foothills of the Upper Atlas and the Saharan Atlas) combined with artesian wells (M'zab and Djerba, Algeria), submersion (Saourra, Adrar des Iforas, Algeria) combined with dams (Goulimine, Algeria) or animal traction and pendulum wells (Taforalt, Morocco).

The next task was to distribute water according to shares governed by geometry (that of the *ksairiates*, the width of the indentation which regulated the flow) or by periods of drainage of the common canal *seguias* which distributed water to the various plots of land.

The architecture of the oases was not remarkable for its use of local materials (clay or stone) used in their raw state (Timbuktu in Mali and Ouzarazate, Timimoun and Adrar in Algeria) or painted (M'zab and

Djerba, Algeria) but by virtue of the fact that it used the palm tree to advantage. It also provided a lesson in bioclimatic habitat for several reasons: the adoption of thick walls, the structuring of space to enable an adequate flow of air through convection by the *chebek* (window) which dominated the central patio (*wast ad dar*).

The width of the streets and alleyways obeys a strict hierarchy aimed at enabling animals, whether laden or not, to pass each other; the central square, patios and access ways were designed according to a human scale. The broken line of the passages and streets, making way here or there for covered passages play a part in creating shadows and obstacles to the passage of the wind, thereby creating areas of coolness and giving to the *Ksar* (settlement) as a whole the same bioclimatic features as the dwellings that make it up.

The living heritage of the Saharan peoples is composed of practices that are the result of slow, patient adaptation to the hostility of the environment and the scarcity of its resources. It also comprises representations and images of the human spirit and of the world devised through such continual confrontation.

In fact, confrontation with nature, and the delicate balance that results from it, is the very source of a precious intangible heritage for the identity and integrity of the populations.

Assuming that an order or hierarchy is possible, there is, first and foremost, the cosmogony, vision and explanation of the world which a religion (Islam, in this case) provides, regarding man's *raison d'être*, his passage on earth, his future and the paths he must follow.

While the rites of initiation and the ceremonies which they give rise to reflect the importance granted to symbolic access to such awareness, they are also an opportunity to reassert the culture and origins of the social group. Consequently, poetry, rhyming verse, song and instrumentation are a means of perpetuating the collective memory and identity, particularly precious in the absence and written works.

Intangible heritage thereby encompasses the most fundamental aspects of the identity of a culture and its living traditions: oral traditions, customs, languages, music, dance, rituals, festivities, traditional medicine and pharmacopoeia, the culinary arts, traditional skills (tools and dwellings) and arts and crafts.

The latter are given expression through a series of tangible cultural objects (musical instruments, masks and costumes, etc.) often produced by skilled craftsmen who owe their know-how and techniques to their transmission from generation to generation; the art and manner of producing them are intangible.

The thousands of manuscripts deposited in the family libraries of Chinguetti, Ouadane, Tichit and Oualâta (Mauritania) reflect the intense intellectual activity of the Sahara since the Middle Ages and the wealth of knowledge conveyed by the caravans (the Quranic sciences, the history of the art of calligraphy, astronomy and medicine, etc.). The Mauritanian Institute for Scientific Research in Noukchott has preserved 6,000 of these ancient documents, half of which are now on microfilm. Since these manuscripts were classified by UNESCO as part of the cultural heritage of humanity, in 1989, the Mauritanian Government and the international community have encouraged the drawing up of an inventory of the library and the restoration and reproduction of as many documents as possible, while leaving this heritage in the hands of its owners.

The rituals and festivals celebrated in these regions have all the more importance insofar as they were supported by songs, customs, traditional jewellery and culinary specialities produced by “archivists” who were the custodians of their specific skills. The oral tradition, languages, spirituality, rites, music, poetry, dance, trading styles, arts and crafts and know-how (building, weaving and engraving), cookery, hunting, medical practices and environmental knowledge (astrology, landmarks, etc.) made up an essential part of the Saharan cultural heritage.

Threats to Intangible Heritage

Thanks to globalization, modernization and the introduction of new technologies, this minority, which is the custodian of the knowledge of its forebears, has become marginalized, is disappearing and is now threatened by new transformations in the economy. The passing on of the know-how of the ancestors who acquired outstanding expertise in their culture has been interrupted by these new social processes (globalization, tourism and the commercialization of culture) which threaten authenticity and tradition in order to put forward innovation and exoticism.

Nevertheless, on close examination of the legislation that is designed to ensure the protection of intangible heritage, a common feature comes to light in the case of all the regions concerned, namely that there is no clear reference to the heritage to be protected which is not clearly identified and consequently rarely well-defined. It is obvious that when the situation is observed in the field, the definition of intangible heritage has only been partially explored.

The process of sedentarization of the desert populations which began several decades ago has now led to growing difficulties due to widespread impoverishment of most of the rural areas, a massive rural exodus and poorly controlled urban growth are all factors that have contributed to destroying the ancestral equilibrium of those populations.

Connections with the modern world have also produced new modes of consumption which have led to a drift from the oases to towns and a disappearance of caravan routes. The disappearance of the caravan routes transformed the sites along these routes into isolated places. New lifestyles and methods of production made equipment, products and means of transport obsolete.

The complexity linked to rules governing inheritance and the joint ownership of property between several members of the same family and their dependants constitutes an obstacle to individual, private or public acquisition of properties which can then be enhanced. Old buildings are suffering from deterioration and traditional architecture is threatened by the advent of cement breeze blocks, corrugated iron roofing and reinforced concrete floors. There is also the loss of traditional know-how among building craftsmen when traditional dwellings are transformed into “modern” houses; competition generated by new building models imported from major conurbations.

Tourism and the Alleviation of Poverty

During the 1980s, the public authorities in various Saharan countries already contemplated the development of tourism as a potential response to the economic recession and to the degradation of the environment (Tamanrasset or Djanet in Algeria, Tozeur and Douz in Tunisia, Ouarzazate and Zagora in Morocco and Aïr and Ténéré in Niger, etc.).

As a transversal activity, tourism can provide positive economic spin-offs for the populations. Jobs created, both directly and indirectly, are numerous and can help to improve local living standards. In the Sahara, the main jobs created directly by tourism are those of camel-driver, guide, and all activities directly linked to catering for tourists. However, when it comes to eradicating poverty, it is essentially the jobs created indirectly which need to be increased, by enhancing the value of and development of natural and cultural activities that would benefit both the local populations and the tourists (for example: local produce such as dates and cheeses, and craft goods).

Attempts to increase sustainable development through tourism will have to deal with the factors that are associated with and that contribute to poverty, namely:

- **Illiteracy:** Globally, the ten States which share the Sahara have a deplorably high rate of illiteracy. Niger, has one of the highest rates in the region at 84.7% of the population, but there are significant differences from one area to another. Furthermore, differences are still very considerable between rural and urban areas: on average, 52% of children living in urban areas attend school as opposed to only 28% in rural areas.
- **Malnutrition and poor access to water:** Problems related to malnutrition widen the gap between the countries of the North and those on the South of the Sahara. The populations of certain Saharo-Sahelian countries are particularly affected.
- **Insalubrious housing:** The ever increasing and uncontrolled pace of urbanization has led to the growth of dire poverty through *inter alia*, the development of ill-equipped and insalubrious housing. In addition to the question of supplies of drinking water, drainage has become an ever more acute problem. In the absence of adequate facilities, waste water is poured into the streets or sometimes even used for watering local crops consumed by the population.

Vulnerability: towards the feminization of poverty

Whenever the basis of productive activity is subjected to the ups and downs of relative scarcity (fall in resources or overpopulation) or drought, groups

of producers are usually the first to be subjected to the consequences such as poverty, exclusion and inevitable economic migration.

Saharan Tourism: A Common Field of Interest

While building a strategy for the sustainable development of tourism depends on the attractiveness of the Sahara, it also raises the question of the viability of the “tourism” option as such. What is the outlook for the development of tourism in the coming years? What is the potential share of Saharan Africa in such activities? Can ecotourism and cultural tourism in the Sahara expect to acquire a share of these new markets?

We shall endeavour to focus on these questions and report on progress achieved in tourism policies pursued by the various countries concerned by making a brief assessment of the state of the institutions and structures set up in order to launch and manage such development.

Policies and Tools for Tourism Development

The Sahara is still relatively free from the effects of underdevelopment, the exhaustion of resources, the deterioration of the environment and the collapse of traditional equilibriums, which are seen, to varying degrees, as threats in most of the Saharan countries, with their assortment of ill-effects such as worsening poverty and the advance of desertification. Faced with this situation and conscious of the Sahara’s extraordinary tourist potential, the countries concerned have devised development policies which, to varying degrees, have selected tourism as a response. Attention must now focus on the enhancement of the value of tourism “upstream” in order to anticipate and avoid the dangers which threaten favourable development conditions.

While tourists visiting the Sahara are more varied in origin, they tend to comprise middle and senior management executives, teachers, members of the professions, medical circles, and industrialists. They usually enjoy a comfortable income. Travelling to the Sahara generally reflects an intellectual and spiritual initiative. Sensitive as they are to respect for human beings and their environment, these tourists are fascinated by the pristine nature of the Saharan environment, attracted by nomadic life and ready to follow advice on behaviour.

Nevertheless, with charter flights and evidence of increasing mass of Saharan tourism, the clientele as such has changed. Tourists have become more interested in new experiences and less respectful of the environment. A classification of tourists would seem worthwhile as they are the people who respond to the demand, and it is their expectations which guide tour operators.

It is difficult, virtually impossible, at one and the same time, to prepare a population to host and guide foreigners, and to seek to develop tourism in an area which suddenly becomes easily accessible at a cheap price. Tourism professionals and tourists themselves bear responsibility in such circumstances.

Adventure tourism is essentially itinerant and thus different from traditional tourism which concentrates tourists in specific accommodation with previously trained personnel. It is difficult to guide or concentrate such adventure tourism according to any predetermined plan to certain specified locations.

The impact of tourism on the environment and the impact of the environment on tourism are interconnected and related in a variety of ways. The long-term development of tourism cannot be envisaged without a quality environment. Similarly, it would be inconceivable that tourism should destroy the environment and resources which nurture it. Deterioration of the environment has become one of the main factors for rejecting destinations.

New forms of tourist behaviour have developed over the last 10 years bringing into play new tourism practices. Gone are the times when mass tourism involved “sea, sand and sun”, amounting to holidays spent on one square metre of fine sand.

The quest for authentic, green destinations and holidays spent in protected areas and sites of ecological value have opened up new markets. Travelling differently, respecting the environment, feeling closer to nature and discovering unfamiliar cultural, culinary and clothing customs feature as criteria in the choice of new types of holidays.

An increased awareness that leisure holidays may be privileged moments for discovering, learning and sharing new experiences, has made substantial progress since the Rio Summit in 1992, when sustainable

development became the choice of lifestyle for human beings in the twenty-first century.

Tourism in protected areas (national parks and nature reserves) has developed considerably in response to a lifestyle in which human beings today are seeking their rightful place in the ecosystem. The trend in northern Europe is increasingly towards nature tourism and, more particularly, ecotourism. This is consequently the type of tourism to offer in the Sahara, especially when 57% of the clientele for North Africa is European.

Integrated Management

The notion of integrated management of destinations is seen from a global standpoint and relies on the integration of quality at every stage of management. All Saharan tourism operators and actors view this approach in terms of the respective territories, companies and travel packages.

Recent years have been marked by the development of many brands, certifications, Agenda 21, good practice guides, charters and codes of ethics for travel operators and travellers alike. These criteria have become decisive in determining the choice of destination or product.

Evidently, new professions will emerge through the specialization of markets, products and offers. This will be particularly the case in the fields of training, project accompaniment, visitor reception and guidance where there is a high demand for men and women capable of hosting visitors in the specific context of each territory and its way of life.

This is all the more important as tourism can, paradoxically, become the mirror of poverty because it highlights in stark terms the disparity that exists between the living standard of the host populations and that of foreign visitors.

If co-operation means working together towards a common objective, the 10 Saharan States have more than one thing in common. The singular relationship between the geological and climatic history of the continent, the history of its populations' adaptation to the slow process of desertification, its tangible and intangible achievements and the exchanges which have marked the Sahara in all directions over the centuries, are all

factors which explain why the Sahara is both a shared possession and a diverse one.

The multiplicity of its languages and the variety of its local traditions conceal a unity that is always ready to reappear, such as the joint sharing of a particular resource, vital solidarity for enhancing a particular territory, and patterns of exchange which for centuries have extended beyond mere commerce to encompass family ties.

Ethical and Sustainable Tourism in the Sahara

The *WTO Global Code of Ethics for Tourism* underlines the importance of “promoting equitable, responsible and sustainable international tourism, whose benefits will be shared by all partners: states, tour operators, local populations, local authorities and civil society”. Given the fragility of the various environments in the Sahara, the promotion of sustainable, shared tourism requires not only to fix a limit on the number of tourists, well below the capacity of each particular site, but also to establish rules of conduct to be adhered to by every visitor and, *ipso facto*, every organizer.

Generally speaking, the idea of concentrated, mass tourism must be totally excluded on account of its destructive effects but also because it is inconceivable to imagine such a situation in the Sahara. Preference must be given to more carefully targeted tourism, in terms of both the clientele and the purpose of the visits. It is vital to realise that the very spirit of a trip to the Sahara would disappear with mass, low-priced tourism which would also penalize the visitor, the host and the natural and cultural resources on which it is based. A large quantity of visitors is not compatible with this extremely sensitive human and natural environment. Travel of that kind would lose its very purpose and therefore sustainability would be out of the question.

The contribution that Saharan tourism could make to the eradication of poverty and extreme poverty will be all the more effective if three conditions are fulfilled: (1) generating income, (2) generating sustainable development, and (3) ensuring that these resources reach the destitute people who are most in need. As tourism is seasonal, it should primarily generate income in from directly or indirectly related jobs (accommodation, tourism services, guides, etc.) and, secondarily, have a leverage effect

on other sectors of activity by increasing demand for products that are produced throughout the year (craft industry, livestock-breeding and agriculture, etc.).

What nurtures this form of tourism is a complex combination of the natural landscape settings of the tangible heritage (architecture, town planning, artefacts, etc.) and intangible heritage (folk music, dance, recitations, etc.) which are currently under threat. From that point of view, the desire on the part of the ten Saharan States to develop environmentally friendly tourism means reversing the process that generates poverty, protecting the most vulnerable populations, and increasing available resources for their benefit. In light of this ethical framework, the following principles are to be followed in developing a strategy for the development of sustainable tourism in the Sahara

Preservation the Sahara's Cultural and Natural Heritage for Future Generations

Cultural and natural heritage is a resource that is both tangible and spiritual. Cultural diversity and biodiversity are necessary for the development of humankind, and make up the common heritage of humanity. Their importance should be asserted for the benefit of present and future generations.

Programmes for the protection and enhancement of the tangible and intangible cultural heritage, as well as the natural heritage, should foster a better understanding and greater awareness of the significance of heritage among Saharan populations and visitors alike.

Tourism is one of the main vehicles for cultural exchanges and generates economic and social development which makes of it an instrument for eradicating poverty. On these two accounts, it is a factor for prosperity and peace. Its dynamic relationship with culture and the environment must be managed in a sustainable fashion for the benefit of present and future generations.

Tourism as an Instrument in the Service of the Eradication of Poverty

Eco-cultural tourism must play its part in the context of UNESCO's contribution to implementing the United Nations Millennium Declaration and, more particularly, to achieving the objective of halving poverty by 2015, as well as in the context of the follow-up to the Johannesburg Summit on Sustainable Development (25 August-2 September 2002).

Poverty, viewed as a denial of human rights and which involves economic, social, educational, cultural and ethical dimensions, can be combated through quality tourism, based on a strategy that integrates due consideration for impoverished populations as a dynamic factor in its development.

The direct involvement of the populations concerned in breaking out of the poverty trap is a determining factor. With that aim in mind, the effective participation of the populations and, more particularly, populations in dire poverty will be encouraged in the design, implementation and evaluation of tourism programmes and policies. Such action will be supported by appropriate training programmes.

Tourism Policy, Aesthetics and Economy

Projects for the development of tourism and infrastructure must take due account of aesthetic, social and cultural factors, natural and cultural landscapes and the significance of sites. Decisions must be taken after due consultation with local populations adequately informed of the consequences of implementation of the projects through impact studies, particularly on scarce and fragile resources. As regards infrastructure, preference will be given to local materials and to consideration of the specific features of local architecture.

Programmes to raise awareness of the cultural, environmental and social aspects of tourism will be organized for public and private tourism actors, as well as for the local populations and tourists. The training of local actors and professionals and the creation of brands and standards for tourism products will be determining factors for the quality of tourism and the success of visitors' experience of tourism.

The active cooperation of Saharan tourism partners in the design and implementation of tourism policies and programmes is essential in the quest for innovative and sustainable solutions to the challenges of Saharan tourism. The mobilization of capacities at the local level, and the part played by local authorities in seeking to establish an appropriate balance to ensure the sustainability of tourism, are essential.

Saharan Communities and Tourism Development

Programmes to educate and raise awareness of the values of the heritage among Saharan populations must encourage the development of qualifications for heritage interpreters and guides. Such programmes should promote knowledge and respect among local people for their heritage and encourage them to take charge of its protection.

Programmes for tourism development should include measures to ensure training in culture and environmental tourism, trades aimed at young Saharans in particular. The promotion of intangible heritage will include measures to support creativity in the craft industries and through artistic expression.

The Saharan populations will command conditions of access for tourists to the sites near to where they live and they must even be in a position to refuse access for reasons of fragility or spiritual identity, if the presence of tourists is considered to be incompatible. Financial spin-offs from tourism should be shared fairly to cover the costs of protecting and managing the heritage, as well as to improving local living conditions, particularly as regards access to essential facilities such as water, food, accommodation and education.

Co-operation between the Saharan States

Taking up the challenge of developing sustainable tourism in the Sahara will require strengthened cooperation between the countries involved to harmonize their policies in the tourism fields and in the identification, protection and management of heritage. To meet this challenge, experience acquired through the sites on UNESCO's World Heritage List and the

biosphere reserves of UNESCO's Man and the Biosphere Programme will be useful.

Besides the countries concerned, the partners in this cooperation will include intergovernmental organizations, particularly regional ones, tourism companies and the local populations represented by their local authorities and associations. Cooperation will be aimed at facilitating tourist flows within the Sahara, encouraging ethical tourism that is respectful of the populations and non-polluting, through the implementation of a code of conduct by tour operators and an ethical charter for visitors to the Sahara.

Coordination of policies in fields related to the project will be established on the basis of implementation of the best measures and practices identified in the various countries concerned. An exchange of experience and know-how will be conducted in the context of thematic cooperation between the Saharan States.

Tourist Institutions: Principles and Proposed Actions

On the basis of the principle of ethical documents (charters and codes) rules need to be set up, to be abided by all involved, as regards sustainable tourism in the Sahara. These must be aimed at raising awareness, and informing and convincing all the actors to adopt the principles contained in those charters and to put them into practice. This moral code requires transparency so that tourism responds to the criteria of equitable trade and can serve to promote, whenever possible, the activities which contribute to improving the living standards of local inhabitants. The following is a series of actions that need to be taken.

- **Market survey:** There is little information available today in terms of statistical data on measuring tourist flows, and the economic spin-offs and impacts of tourism in the Sahara.
- **Development of a sustainable partnership strategy:** between all those who intervene in this sector, including air and land transport, the hotel trade, cultural activities and visits to centres of interest responding to a quality charter guaranteeing the design and marketing of innovative and original tourism products, an assurance of sustainability.

- **Joint implementation of circuits for marketing tourist products according to fair trading rules.**
- **Support for the training of specialized guides (guide-interpreters).**
- **Strengthening of airline services:** as tourism and air transport are interdependent, neither can succeed without the other. It would be helpful to devise policies to make fares more attractive.
- **Facilitating transit between adjacent States** by increasing the number of border transit points and simplifying procedures relating to border police, customs and health authorities.
- **Extending tourism cooperation to the countries of origin** of the tourists who could assist the authorities of the Saharan countries in their efforts to plan and manage tourism (legal framework, development of human resources, training of guides, heritage protection, implementation of infrastructure and information and commercial organization).
- **Creation of an international Saharan tourism centre:** training is an essential axis of these recommendations; professional skills enable people to exercise a proper trade and to receive the corresponding pay. Training programmes will be adapted to the various tourism professions and should enable people to achieve greater professionalism thanks to transversal programmes (history and geography, organization techniques and travel management, understanding foreign tourist expectations, respect for the heritage and the learning of languages, etc.).
- **Setting up a genuine strategy for promoting the resources of the Sahara:** through the organization of training courses, particularly for travel agents, hike organizers and guides.

Tour Operators: Towards an Improvement in the Quality of the Product

The formulation of a code of conduct for travel operators including equitable contracting methods and greater transparency regarding the components of the price of trips is necessary.

Transmission of know-how and financial support to local tourism actors

Host Communities: Training and Structuring

- **Awareness and training:**
 - respect for local populations (no exploitation of ignorance, no cultural integration or reduction of local customs to mere folklore),
 - respect for the environment (fuel use, waste management, judicious use of water, etc.) and for the historic heritage (plundering of neolithic sites, etc.),
 - training in negotiation and raising awareness of the difference between a quick profit and a sustainable tourism.
- **Contracts with the staff:** For want of full social cover, meeting health costs and accident/sickness insurance should be more systematic.
- **Quality manufacturing methods and fair remuneration for services.**
- **Increasing local employment and making maximum use of local resources in the preparation of food (use of market and garden produce).**
- **Structuring and respect for the legal framework of the countries concerned:** unions for guides, micro-credit facilities and participation in the creation of professional associations with which negotiations could be conducted on rental charges for camels and escort services (camel-drivers, cooks, guides and chauffeurs).
- **Support for the self-managed development of non-permanent hosting facilities** (nomadic camping facilities).

All these endeavours could be preceded by the creation of a **quality charter for professionals**.

Travellers: Quality Actors

- **Raising intercultural awareness**
- **Funding:** through the payment of an eco-tax. As in the case of national parks in a number of countries (United Republic of Tanzania, Kenya, Rwanda and the Congo, etc.), the introduction of

an admission tax may be the best means of ensuring the protection of the heritage and environment, if such a tax were used for creating and maintaining Saharan brigades. The tax could also go towards funding the creation of health and educational facilities (such as dispensaries and schools). Similarly, Saharan tourism solidarity funds would enable travellers to take part in the development of pilot projects.

The Host Populations: An Authentic Welcome

- Enhancing the natural and cultural heritage and raising awareness and respect for the environment and of the expectations of travellers
- Support for the creation and development of peripheral trades
- Awareness of and support for hospitality from local inhabitants
- Setting up of micro-credit facilities for the creation of small enterprises which would enable the beneficiaries to structure their endeavours and envisage the marketing of their products.

Protection and Valorization of the Saharan Natural and Cultural Heritage

General measures

- Institute a procedure for an impact study prior to the development of any tourism project
- Organize research to respond to the needs that arise in the process of the development of cultural tourism
- Establish research centres
- Involve the inhabitants/beneficiaries in territorial management
- Use new information and communication technologies to protect the natural and cultural heritage and to ensure the safety of tourists on the sites. The military must be involved in this particular task.
- Encourage the States to propose the inscription of sites (simple, mixed or trans-frontier) which could be classified as World Heritage of Humanity or Biosphere Zones and launch candidatures for the UNESCO list of masterpieces of intangible heritage.

The Natural Heritage: From Protection to the Renewal of Resources

Care must be taken not to create a cleavage in this field between wild and domestic natural heritage, as the diversity which is a feature of both of them is, first and foremost, a guarantee of their survival, and each of them reflects the adaptation of species to the environment.

1. Preserve, safeguard and rehabilitate environments
2. Protect the survival of species

These measures can be defined as follows:

- Constitute a bank of species for the Sahara as a whole
- Reconstitute the diversification of pasture
- Develop and broaden knowledge of the indigenous plants and their medicinal qualities
- Encourage the breeding, possibly on a semi-extensive basis, of threatened species (dorcas and maned moufflons) by choosing appropriate breeding grounds (stony ground, ergs and mountainous areas)
- Re-examine the well network (to be deepened, cleared and equipped) according to real needs, available water supplies and their fragility
- Define, in consultation with the nomads, sedentary settlements which they would like to preserve or create, so as to permit complementary subsistence farming for the benefit of their families
- Ensure the transmission of the relevant traditional know-how to the guides/keepers of fragile natural areas, regardless of the legal status governing protection, by recruiting young people (from school or university) on a local basis and ensuring the transfer of the knowledge of that environment
- Move towards relative autonomy for the parks
- Adapt any approach to development to the physical features of the sites and the aspirations of their occupants
- Promote the sustainable development of ecosystems
- Protection and Valorization of Archaeological Heritage
- To protect and subsequently enhance archaeological sites against deteriorating factors, various lines of action can be put forward:
- Conduct a comprehensive identification of sites and evaluate needs in terms of protection
- Prepare archaeological studies prior to major repairs
- Demarcate sites in their landscapes

- Strengthen or create national parks which would encourage the rational use of resources, and recruit competent officials for park offices in charge of conservation, having at their disposal adequate information, supervisory patrols, computer equipment and financial means (a portion of the admission fees could be allocated to the guides as a bonus)
- Gather together and analyse the archives (inventories and maps) in order to select potential archaeological sites for tourists to visit.
- Develop training in Saharan archaeology.
- Create “site museums” and national museums:
- Any measures to safeguard inhabited sites should involve action as follows:
 - Equip basic infrastructure to enable the local population to enjoy better living conditions and to meet the expectations of tourists
 - Improve traditional building techniques to make them more durable and more in accordance with contemporary accommodation criteria
 - Define a perimeter of protection around sites and evaluate their capacity
 - Preserve and promote intangible heritage
 - Inventory and revitalize Saharan intangible heritage as well as local institutions that encourage the safeguarding and revitalization of intangible heritage
 - Create opportunities for the expression of folk art sustained by interregional and international competitions in order to motivate and encourage the protagonists of the cultural heritage and enable them to illustrate the value of their identity, culture and heritage; promote events which enhance the value of contemporary creativity (in the field of fashion, for example)
 - Raise awareness among local populations and tourists of traditional locating techniques
 - Identify and enhance the value of Saharan oral traditions and music
 - Organize an international desert festival on the basis of an international “craft industry and folk expression” day
 - Develop thematic activities focusing on human settlements
 - Set up and support documentation centres, libraries, museums and archive services specialized in traditional and folk culture
 - Support creativity and the transfer of craft skills

- Develop and enhance natural and cultural productions
- Enhance the value of fresh produce which can generate income
- Enhance processed produce (vegetables, dried fruit and cheeses)
- Enhance the cultural heritage
- Enhance craft industries

Conclusion

If a conclusion is to be drawn from what has been said above, it should not be a curtain call but, on the contrary, an overture. What lesson have we learned from what initially seemed to be but a mass of rock or an ocean of sand? The answer is that it is all a matter of subtlety in these vast territories: the delicate fragility of its flowers which just a few drops of rain are enough to bring to life, the delicate balance of the oasis ecosystem hanging on to the quiet murmur of running water, and the tricky relationships between humanity and a universe that is singularly fine, threatening, colourful and grandiose.

We might well be tempted to brandish the famous Tunisian tourism slogan, “Tunisia also means human beings” and add that “sustainable tourism is, first and foremost, human beings”. This formula is accurate enough if we bear in mind that sustainable tourism does not claim to be a mono-activity. In this instance, it is considered to be one of the factors which can increase resources for the benefit of populations, particularly for the poorest sectors of society.

Going beyond the stage of safeguarding and maintaining in order to reach, in some instances, towards reconstituting, even reconstructing the natural and cultural heritage is an ambitious objective, whereby any proposal or decision should focus, first and foremost, on the peoples of the desert. There is an obvious link between sustainable tourism and the reaffirmation of the basic rights of populations, particularly those that are most fragile, that are most exposed to losing everything as they have lost almost every right (to the point of sinking into non-existence).

The ten countries which share the Sahara could, if they wished, adopt guiding or binding formulas, to work their way towards strengthening their cooperation. Such synergy on the national and sub-regional level is a fundamental condition for sustainable development of the Sahara with

its diversity of local circumstances, complex socio-political conditions, fragility of its ecosystems and its difficulties of accessibility.

The proposals put forward in this document are all aimed at the feasibility and efficiency of human endeavours for the benefit of the inhabitants of this immense and diverse subcontinent that is called the Sahara.

Recognition of cultural diversity as a source of enrichment and development enables the countries which share the Sahara, blessed with its peoples and their cultures, to become closer and more united beyond the limits of their borders in accordance with UNESCO's Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (2002).

Therefore a strategy for sustainable tourism development in the Sahara offers the opportunity to all the actors who so wish, to join together to advocate respectful and enhancing development, to rehabilitate the values of cultural heritage and to eradicate poverty in all its forms in order to ensure that the Sahara, has its rightful place among the heritages of universal value. This project could thereby constitute an exemplary application of the conclusions of the Johannesburg Summit, of which the ten States could be rightfully proud.

The Hammam: Scenarios for a Sustainable Future

Heidi Dumreicher

Introduction

Traditionally, the Islamic public bathhouse, hammam, is a place of complex societal relations and activities. At the same time, hammams are an integral part of the Islamic city and are well embedded in the historic urban fabric.

The hammam as an urban nucleus for the neighborhood had, and in some cases still has, a complex variety of functions: a place for relaxation and meditation, a support for health care and hygiene, a meeting place for travelers and merchants and their negotiations, a provider of drinking water, one of the rare public meeting places for women in the Islamic context, a place for confidential political discussions and a place for artistic and ceremonial activities such as story telling, music and pre-wedding celebrations. In this sense, the hammam has the tradition of being an icon for the community as a whole within the overall entity of the Islamic city. In its unity and variety, it also has relevance to the urban context and tight connections to a network of social buildings, like the *Madrasa* (religious school), the *Kutab* (children's school), and the *Zawia* (small praying hall).

Thus, besides its architectural and urban value, the hammam is a social space associated with local social customs and habits, which are part of a rich intangible heritage.

History and Present

Bathhouses have existed around the Mediterranean since the Hellenistic period and flourished throughout the time of the Romans and Byzantines. Although the bathing tradition died out in most European regions, it continued in the Levant after the arrival of Muslim Arabs in the 7th century and still exists in Islamic Spain, North Africa, the Middle East, the Yemen, further east in Iran, Central Asia and India and is also still to be found in Hungary and South Eastern Europe. In the context of migration, the hammam was also culturally exposed to Central Europe and has found its place in common urban daily life.

In the Mediterranean context today, most North African towns and villages still have their hammams which are used by the local dwellers. In addition to this, there is a new trend in some cities, to develop hammams for economic purposes and cultural tourism.

The Islamic bathhouse is a key cultural heritage building, which played a central role in Mediterranean civilisation. Existing historic hammams are living examples of vernacular technologies and traditional social customs and habits. The hammam also provides an example for the operational management of a heritage facility as order and cleanliness are essential and were traditionally enforced by law.

Today, in some cities, hammams located near major historic attractions have benefited from funding for their restoration and the revival of their original function. In other cases, private owners have introduced new facilities such as showers and beauty salons to meet the requirements of contemporary life. Some hammams have had a complete change of function and have been transformed into cafes or exhibition spaces. However, the vast majority of historic hammams, particularly those away from tourist attractions have had a less fortunate development as they have been closed and left to decay.

Studies on the hammam as a heritage building type are very few. The early history of hammams is still obscure and the way in which hammams developed from their Roman prototypes is still far from clear. Edmund Pauty made an extensive survey of the hammams in Cairo in the 1930's. Slightly later Claude Ecochard and Michel Le Coeur published a major reference work on the hammams of Damascus. More recently a

survey was carried out on the Islamic baths in Palestine. No studies are available on the technological, social, urban and architectural context of the hammam. There are also no studies about future scenarios for these important cultural heritage sites.

The Case-Study-Approach: Six Hammams in Six Mediterranean Countries

The HAMMAM study uses a case study approach, which starts the investigation from the local situation (cultural, economical and technical) of six specific hammams in six different Mediterranean countries: Morocco, Algeria, Egypt, Syria, Turkey and Palestine. A principal goal of this study is to understand and evaluate the function, the concept, the technology and the rules for the running of a hammam. Besides the study will assess risk factors arising during the revival process of traditional hammams and carry out a users' risk assessment for a cultural heritage building that has a day-to-day usage. The result will be a guide for designing a hammam that has its place in the dynamics of transformation within Islamic society, containing rules and recommendations.

The chosen sites are rich and diverse with high architectural, historical and socio-cultural relevance. The research-partners in the six countries all have a good relationship to the city in which we case-studies are selected. The study also integrates input from the local dwellers in the evaluation and scenario development of the hammam under study.

The study shows the possibility of maintaining and re-valorising the hammam as a cultural heritage site full of architectural, technological, historical and social values, adapting it to the necessities of contemporary life linked to comfort, gender issues and management; a result that concerns different stakeholder groups like city administrations, waqf (charitable foundation), dwellers and hammam staff as well as possible donors. The future scenarios take into consideration the requirements of the local stakeholders and dwellers in order to develop the hammam into a sustainable resource for the urban neighbourhood and the city (see below).

The study considers the revitalisation of hammams in the context of sustainability, studying proto-sustainable features of the hammam like the

energy supply, potential use of renewable energy, water recycling, recycling of garbage, the water heating and distribution engineering systems, systems of natural lighting and building techniques based on local materials such as limestone, basalt and locally produced burnt clay bricks.

Integrated Technologies

We will develop a tool for integrated technologies which shall lead to a sustainable approach towards the restoration and adaptive re-use of the hammams. Particular attention will be paid to the vernacular technologies, the revival of traditional construction know-how, the recycling of water, the reduction of environmental pollution and the use of renewable energy.

Technology for People

The hammams that we have chosen for this study are all still working today. They have been maintained and renovated over centuries, mostly by the local dwellers. We will assess the existing technologies – for restoration as well as for maintenance – and develop strategies for the future that combine the expert knowledge of the researchers with the local knowledge of the critical reference group chosen out of the interested dwellers and stakeholders.

We consider that the interest shown in the historic hammams will have a positive impact on increasing local people's awareness of their cultural heritage and traditional building know-how. It will also provide a strong incentive for local stakeholders in understanding the processes of revitalisation of a cultural heritage building combining vernacular technologies with appropriate contemporary technologies.

Scenario Making

Scenarios for the adaptive reuse of the hammam as a public service center for Mediterranean cities are a central topic of the interdisciplinary research attempted in the HAMMAM project – in terms of applicability as well as in terms of finding a method to interweave the interdisciplinary approaches.

The future scenario-making based on a multi-disciplinary approach is providing innovative strategies for the use and revitalisation of heritage buildings to benefit a sustainable life-style. The study reflects strategies and designs new concepts of adapting the old hammam features to contemporary Islamic life, at the same time assessing possibilities for a joint usage of the hammam by the local dwellers and tourists interested not only in architecture, but also in raising their awareness and knowledge concerning other culturally embedded life styles.

The scenario-making process, as the hammam project understands it, is a suitable and special method to generate and accompany a process of knowledge generation between the disciplines involved in the HAMMAM study. The basic assumption is that the consortium in its composition represents the necessary knowledge for this scientific endeavour. In the case of any missing detail, the team had to identify the missing knowledge and try to find a person representing it – for instance a hygiene specialist in the context of the Cairo Hammam. The aim is to generate a common knowledge base on a series of face-to-face meetings and singular research work. The final decision should be carried by the whole consortium and represent the “desirable sustainable hammam” as an ideal type. The final “desirable scenario” should be organized in such a way that the whole consortium agrees with it and could “sign” it (Fig. 1).

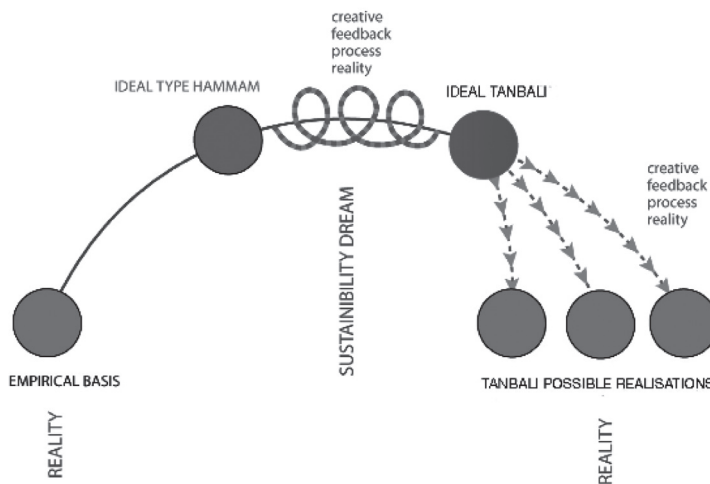


Figure 1. Scenario-making: the example of Hammam Tanbli, Cairo. Graphic by Heidi Dumreicher, Christian Sturminger

The process of knowledge generation is an innovative approach, and we make every possible effort to make the process that the consortium is hereby undertaking as transparent as possible. In order to work with other disciplines, every researcher is asked to go to the limits of her or his own research discipline so as to meet the other researcher there, creating new knowledge at the edge of the discipline and at the interface. In a first step, the scenario-making process invited a collection of all the factors that have a relevance for the Hammam. This process was done in several rounds of disciplinary, modular, as well as interdisciplinary discussions in small groups to make sure that no factor is left out.

Building up a Common Knowledge Base: Basic Notions and Definitions in the HAMMAM- project

The interdisciplinary process (workshops, module groups, plenary) was crucial and contributed to the continuous reconceptualisation of the basic approach and the integration of new questions and data into the emerging corpus of knowledge.

One relevant achievement is the creation of a simplified and easy to use transliteration system suitable for an intercultural study; and the material we produce is always multilingual – like in the hammam-booklet published in June 2006 that gives a first idea of the overall project issues and contains texts in English, Arabic and Turkish. Significant in terms of scientific results is the progress that has been made in drawing into the scenario building process of other hammam experts, both from different disciplines as well as different countries. The researchers are, step by step, building towards a consensus of how to conduct such processes and what sustainable alternative scenario building can mean in promoting both civil society processes as well as urban sustainability.

The consortium has had numerous face-to-face and email discussions in order to establish a basic common understanding of the approaches to a sustainability-oriented hammam in the Islamic Mediterranean countries. Based on existing sustainability theory, the researchers are following a “five-Star-thesis” (Fig. 2) , that takes into consideration the following five issues, which are regarded as crucial for a sustainable future of the hammam in the realms of both the tangible and the intangible. These issues consist

of Ecology, Economy, Socio-culture, Built environment (Urban design / architecture) and Governance (see below).

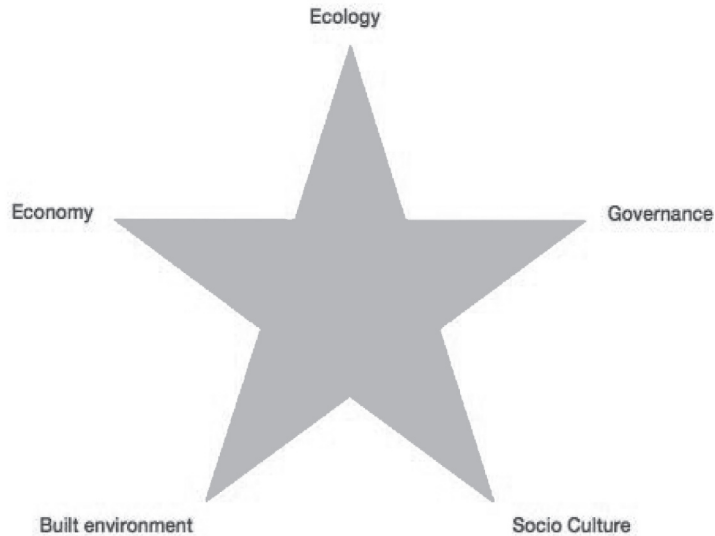


Figure 2. Five-Star-model highlighting the five issues considered crucial for a sustainable future of hammams; Ecology, Economy, Socio-culture, Built environment (Urban design / architecture) and Governance.

Perceived Values of the Hammam

The researchers and the local dwellers both found common values related to the hammam, although its role in the medina varies greatly from town to town. In Egypt, the institution is in decline – yet in Morocco, for example, hammams are built even in new, modern quarters: the study shows that the contribution of the hammam to the life quality of the dwellers is still very much alive. One value is its historic quality which is sometimes recognized by the local authorities; sometimes only by the dwellers or owners themselves. Another value is the social value for women who find a semi-public meeting place and enjoy being relaxed in such a friendly and positive (beauty and health-related) atmosphere. The building is also valued as having a health-promoting role. From the community meetings it became clear that reasons for people from the neighbourhood not going to the hammam were: 1. concerns about water quality and general hygiene,

2. no free-time leisure culture, 3. economic stress and pressure, 4. no good reasons to go, 5. don't like to get undressed in front of anyone (especially women). 6. "not respectable for my wife to go to the hammam", as one husband said. The other set of challenges concern the vulnerability of the hammam operation vis-a-vis the authorities: the moral vulnerability and the threat from the police and the media; the safety and vulnerability regarding water quality and fuel-handling with concerned authorities such as the ministry of health and the civil rescue authorities; the historic vulnerability where repair and improvements are in contradiction with the preservation of the historic integrity of the monument monitored, in the case of Egypt, by the Supreme Council of Antiquities.

Future Ideas for the Hammam:

Future scenarios need to take in consideration both micro and macro levels. On a macro level: How is the rehabilitation of the quarter planned by the Municipality and the Government? Is it a vision of rehabilitation or renovation? Can the hammam survive in an isolated way or does it need to be embedded into an urban context? It seems that in some cases – like the Şengül hammam in Ankara - the hammam is valued as a historic building, but not its surroundings. On a micro level: how to improve the number of clientele? How to renew the use and attract more people? How to open this space for new activities without destroying its own nature (as both private and public space)?

Future scenario-building has not only to take into account the technical or physical reconstruction of the hammam and better conditions concerning hygiene, but also the reconstruction of the images and the social embedding of the hammam. Based on the research results and on the hammam users "wishlist", several topics describe the basis for a future hammam, summarised in the need for a renovation that includes traditions and authenticity as well as modernity. As a result hammams have to keep pace with the rising living standards and the implementing of Western standards and values within the Islamic culture.

Revitalising Hammams: Guiding Principles

Support the hammam as an “energy point” for the neighbourhood, from the tangible as well as from the intangible point of view. The hammam as a space of architectural value and as a place for leisure, social relationships, health/well-being (the hammam as a Health Promotion Venue). Potential users were concerned about hygienic standards and are likely to change hammam if another one offers better service or service with higher quality.

- **Economic aspects:** The economical analysis of cultural heritage is a new discipline. The understanding of the value of the monument and its provision of services needs new tools. The market rules – well known and well analysed by the economists – are not sufficient enough to provide us a frame for the understanding of the hammam now and for elaborating future scenarios. We need to transcend these market rules for improving this cultural heritage (the monument as well as the use). The hammam has an exchange value (a classical one) and a use value. So, we need, in theoretical means, new tools to wrap up these two values.
- **Socio-cultural aspects:** As a cultural heritage, the hammam has the potential to contribute to the making of local identity if the dwellers from the neighbourhood have greater access in response to attractive services. The hammam as a building, as well as a social entity, needs upgrading to contemporary standards – this not only concerns the hygiene, but also the aesthetic value of the building itself. It also concerns the socio-cultural service that it may offer. The access for people of low income groups has to be guaranteed as the hammam is especially needed for households that have no facilities at home like hot water. We found two kinds of Hammams in our case studies: (1) the so-called embedded hammam that mostly serves the neighbourhood, and is accepted as a part of their daily life, and (2) the isolated hammam which has a clientele from all over the city. In Ankara, access for people of low income groups was limited due to high entrance fees. Most hammams combine charge systems of an official entrance fee with payment for services based on personal appreciation. On occasions, managers offer free entrances to poor clients.

- **Built environment:** There is a lack of a public place in front of all the surveyed hammams. Accordingly, extending the urban quality, as well as expanding the social dimension of the urban space of the existing hammams are critical for their future scenario-making. Local cultural etiquettes have also to be taken into consideration, like the emerging need for separate entrance doors for men and women in specially gender sensitive areas
- **The Hammam as a living cultural heritage:** The hammam is a monument with a history and is often owned by a Wakf [charitable] foundation. So the rehabilitation of the hammam must take into consideration the political and religious contingencies when undertaking a rehabilitation of the building and renew of its use.

The Hammam Tanbali in Cairo: The Hammam as a Living Cultural Heritage

The study of Hammam Tanbali in Cairo is, so far, the most developed in this project. The scenarios include all the modules discussed above: socio-culture, built environment, ecology and economy. The results have been presented to the governmental authority in charge of archaeological heritage- the Supreme Council of Antiquities (SCA) with the objective of restoring the building with a view to re-use it.

- **Hammam Reuse:** From a socio-cultural point of view, it is possible to carry out the restoration of the Tanbali so that it will become an operating hammam.
- **Socio-cultural Aspects:** As a cultural heritage, the Tanbali hammam can have a role in the neighbourhood: It can act as a meeting place, and can contribute to enhancing equity in the neighbourhood. A living hammam can support continued performance of rituals and traditional customs, in accordance with the UNESCO heritage, while partaking of the benefits of modernity in hygiene, fuel, and water services.
- **Tanbali has a unique potential in the context of the hammams in Cairo:** the memory of its recent past as a working hammam is still alive. The new owner can build upon this memory of well embedded, well working hammam that contributes to the life

quality of the neighbourhood. This basic attitude is an important prerequisite for a concept of revitalisation.

As a result of the sociological study, we can outline that the people in the neighbourhood – the so-called stakeholders – are willing to contribute to the future of Tanbali and want to contribute their ideas as to how this highly renowned hammam can be operated in the future. They see the building as a space for people's personal activities like having a bath, but just as well as a place that gives the occasion for fulfilling their demands of social representation. The inhabitants are concerned about the ways in which a rehabilitation can take place, they feel that the building should offer good standards – when one of the interviewees speaks about people using the hammam, she sees ceramics as the major feature that makes the difference between a “hammam baladi” (simple Cairo bath-house) as opposed to the desired, beautiful one.

Even under today's poor conditions in which the Tambali hammam is a building in severe deterioration, the interviewees who remember how they used this place, describe the hammam as a clean place: “Tambali was the cleanest hammam and that's why they (people) went there” (respondent 1).

Another issue dear to the residents is the traditional function of the hammam as a place for family ceremonies and important life events. “There are people who are used to go to the hammam. brides also went.” (respondent 2).

This perception of the dwellers is a welcome precondition for a revival, matching the UNESCO convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible 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, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity.”

Implementing this “Tanbali new formula” is an endeavour that has a high chance of succeeding as many of these topics are still to be found in the neighbourhood.

Researching the neighbourhood of the Tanbali hammam, we could differentiate between the local buildings on the one hand, and the people living in these buildings as future clients of the hammam

on the other. It was obvious that the interviewees have a vibrant relation to the co-inhabitants: one interviewee showed, with his photos, a whole panorama of hammam community persons who, according to his memory, were using the Tanbali and were part of the network of social relations between the users. The hammam had a double clientele with its different social backgrounds. It was partly a place for the neighbourhood, but it was also open for people from all of Cairo.

The hammam is an important component of the neighbourhood life. It is important to the urban fabric and can be a motor of active stakeholders. Future design of the hammam will take into account the provision of additional facilities around the building which will serve the surrounding neighbourhood – for example a little park, or a wedding parlor.

- **Economy and Management:** The hammam has an economic value beyond its financial management. It is a combination of public and private management, because it is an institution for leisure and for providing services to the neighbourhood. It can enhance the civil and the economic activities in the neighbourhood.
- **Ecology:** Restoration of the hammam will take into consideration ecological factors such as renewable energy, recycling of waste water and measure of cleanliness with the hope of providing ecologically sound and energy saving services.
- **Governance:** When dealt with relevant input, our experience shows that it is possible to attract the attention of the authorities to this neglected cultural heritage building and to get their interest in the research endeavour.
- **Socio-culture:** when embedded into a process of participation in the neighbourhood, the hammam can contribute positively to life quality of the dwellers.

Conclusion

The aim of the study of Hammams is to develop strategies and scenarios for safeguarding, revitalising and adaptive re-use of historic Islamic public baths (hammams) as valuable social spaces and facilities within the contemporary and future settings of Islamic Mediterranean cities. The

sustainability-oriented strategies of the adaptive revitalisation of hammams in Mediterranean countries aim to improve the role of hammams as places of experiencing cultural heritage for local communities and tourists. It may serve as an example of good practice for the neighbourhood and a pilot for hygiene, for healthy food in the neighborhood and for ecologically sound restoration practices and management. This may be inspiring for other cities and countries.

The HAMMAM project has a strong participatory basis, including the local dwellers into the generation of knowledge. Hence, the process of participation shall be sustained into the future. It is hoped that the results from this project will highlight the possibility of sustainable, adaptive re-use of hammams with a consideration for the inter-relationships between the environment, socio-cultural components, economy, architecture, urban design and governance.

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THE INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE: ITS DEFINITION, DOMAINS, CONSERVATION AND PRESERVATION

Ahmed Mursi

Introduction

Cultural heritage, in particular its tangible aspect, has received great attention in many countries. However, the other aspect, namely the intangible, which represents the vibrant dimension of this heritage has not received the same amount of attention and care, hence preservation and protection.

This is reflected in the fact that international laws and conventions, like local laws, have concentrated on the legal and international preservation of the material heritage. This has led to the negligence of the intangible heritage compared to the material heritage, for which laws have been issued, and conventions signed to protect it from plundering, illegal excavating, trafficking, and from violation and destruction in the case of the breakout of armed conflicts etc. However, human communities have come to realize the role played by intangible cultural heritage in the social, cultural and economic aspects of life, and to the dangers threatening its survival, continuity, growth and renewal, which made these communities seek to close the gap that exists between local and international laws in this respect.

Tracing the History of UN Efforts to Preserve Intangible Heritage

We need to go back to 1972 to perceive the beginnings of serious interest in intangible heritage, when an agreement for the protection of the cultural and the natural heritages was reached. In 1973 the government of Bolivia suggested the addition of a protocol for the preservation of folklore appended to the international convention for copyrights. Since then UNESCO and the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) have embarked on supporting initiatives which seek to conserve the intangible heritage and to study the means for preserving it, in accordance with the missions of each. In 1982 the two organizations reached an ideal bill which may be a guideline in national legislations for the protection of various forms of folkloric expression from abuse and other forms of harm.

In November 1989 the UNESCO General Conference adopted a recommendation concerning “traditional and folk culture”. Although the recommendation was not in the form of an obligation, it did draw attention to this culture, and hence it endorsed the first set of international rules particularly concerned with the intangible heritage which is referred to in the above phrase as well as the requirements for the conservation of this heritage. In 1999 the 30th Session of the General Conference called for the completion of a preliminary study of the feasibility of issuing an international legalization that provides protection for the traditional and folk culture. The 31st Session of the Conference (2001) decided that this issue has to be legalized within the framework of an international convention, following the model and the success of the 1972 Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. The Third International Round-table Meeting of Culture (November 2002 – Istanbul, Turkey) issued the Istanbul Declaration which links intangible cultural heritage and identity. In the period from September 2002, a number of meetings were held between international governmental experts. I had the honor of participating in these meetings – with the aim of identifying the sphere for the application of the first project of the international convention concerning the intangible cultural heritage adopted by the 32nd Session of the General Convention in October 2003. There is no doubt that this Convention is a more legally accurate and comprehensive statement than the Recommendation of 1989, and provides in the end an

international legal framework for the conservation of the various forms of expression of the intangible cultural heritage. This Convention states in Article Two, Paragraph One that “intangible cultural heritage” refers to 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 is passed on generation after generation, constantly recreated by groups and communities in accordance with their environments and their interaction with nature and history. This nourishes the sense of identity and its continuity, enhancing the respect for cultural diversity and human creative capabilities.

This definition combines the requirements of the scientific and anthropological aspects of intangible cultural heritage on the one hand, and the requirements for a clear formulation of the international convention on the other. It thus identifies the range of the qualitative jurisdiction of the convention for the conservation of the intangible cultural heritage.

The Convention also clarifies the domains in which intangible heritage may manifest itself (Article 2, Paragraph 2). These domains include *inter alia* the following:

1. Oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of intangible cultural heritage.
2. Performing arts.
3. Social practices, rituals and festive events.
4. Knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe.
5. Traditional craftsmanship.

These forms mentioned by the Convention confirm that this intangible heritage forms the vivid aspect of the general cultural heritage of a community or a society, and forms, at the same time, a collective memory which is the basis for the artistic creativity which enriches and inspires the present. It is this memory that establishes the knowledge and experience of the society’s cultural history, hence allowing the society to feel reassured about its past, and work with confidence for its future. It allows the society to become an influential cultural force, an essential moral motivation, and an unceasing spiritual source throughout human

history. Hence the collection and documentation of this heritage is the best means to preserve it. If this memory is lost, the heritage of the past disappears too, and identity is lost.

The issue is culturally and socially dialectic, requiring much serious work for the preservation of what provides humanity with existence and identity, thus the preservation of this existence and identity; in other words, humanity's survival and the continuity of humanity's culture which forms one side of this heritage.

Tackling the Issue of Economic Development in relation to Intangible Heritage

Intangible heritage may be the foundation for a socio-cultural renaissance that contributes to the economic development of the community and the society. In other words, we can benefit from the songs, tales, music, knowledge, traditional vocations and other forms of this heritage to achieve society's economic development. It should not be forgotten that many respectable works of art that have become popular and widely spread, surviving on the universal level, have their origin in tales, epics, biographies, music, dance and songs performed by anonymous singers, story-tellers and dancers.

Yet the economic development of intangible heritage requires many complicated practical procedures. These should follow sound scientific planning, preserving a certain level of quality, accuracy and observation, to avoid the desecration or distortion of this heritage in the form of products lacking in authenticity, tending to cheap dissemination, which has negative effects on it and on the culture it expresses.

Here we need to bear in mind modern technologies that are considerably and in some senses dangerously effective in the evolution of this heritage, and its traditional cultural expressions. Here, too, it is necessary to point out that these technologies may be advantageous, with the influence of the revolution in communications, linking this traditional aspect of culture with the direction human communities are taking in the light of globalization. Yet, on the other hand, these technologies may cause the loss of identity and authenticity, making these communities a target for conflicts, pillage and abuse. Globalization is in fact a double-edged weapon. On the one

hand, it may supply the national cultures with enriching aspects, enhancing them through their communication and confrontation with other cultures. On the other hand, however, globalization may be a danger threatening cultures through its acts of dominance and hegemony which tend to be boundless. Here the importance of the traditional aspect of intangible cultural heritage becomes apparent. It carries the authenticity and ancestry which together form the line of defence for the preservation of this culture from extinction, conserving it from melting into other cultures, as well as reviving its youth and providing it with a distinctive character that guarantees its survival, continuity and influence.

We may not be adding anything new when we indicate the connection between this cultural heritage and its traditional expressions tied to its environment and its society, affecting and being affected by culture, just as this heritage has in turn provided human value that cannot be denied or ignored.

We all observe now the distortion of the environment and of the human cultural heritage, due to the new heavy products and distribution industries, with the accompanying publicity promoting these industries and highlighting their benefits. This has affected the change of people's interests to mere materialistic utilitarian aspects, and has led to the pollution and the distortion of both the environment and culture.

I do not think we need to point out the effect of this on the various aspects of cultural heritage, for they are not safeguarded from all of this. Nor do we need to provide examples, for it is enough to mention one instance here of the effects of unsystematic or unplanned tourism on the environment, which becomes distorted and ugly, and on the culture, which becomes cheapened and vulgarized.

We cannot overlook the effect on the short and long terms, as well as the economic and cultural loss resulting from the deterioration of the inherited features of heritage, losing its value and respect which are linked to its quality and authenticity. In the end this leads people to desert their culture, turning their back on it, and hence it falls into oblivion and is lost! Hence on the materialistic level, the people lose what they thrive on, and on the socio-cultural level they lose systems, customs and traditions that have been molding their lives, forming the foundation on which their values are based, their behavior patterns are defined and their identity built.

Hence we do not exaggerate if we reiterate that the interest in intangible heritage and its diverse traditional expressions has come, not only from its cultural, social or economic importance, but also because it has a global human significance. It will contribute to enriching diverse global cultures as well as establishing connections between them. It works on establishing strong foundations for true peace for all human beings, based on socio-cultural communication and continuous development for all.

The Egyptian Parliament recently ratified the international convention concerning intangible cultural heritage. The Egyptian legislator also adopted what has been stated in the model legal bill for the protection of folklore, including it in Paragraph 7 of Article 38 of the Intellectual Property Protection law. It states that:

National folklore: is any expression represented in the distinctive elements which reflect the traditional folkloric heritage which originated or survived in Egypt, in particular the following forms of expression:

1. Oral expressions such as tales, fables, riddles, folk ballads, and other traditional forms.
2. Musical expressions such as folk songs accompanied by music.
3. Performing expressions such as dances, plays, artistic forms and rituals.
4. Tangible expressions such as formative folk art products, in particular line drawings, engraving, carving, pottery, plaster, and woodworks, or formative, mosaic, metal, and jewelry inlaying, as well as handmade bags, embroidery, textiles, rugs and clothes, musical instruments, and architectural styles.

Folklore, which forms the intangible cultural heritage, appears in many shapes that are difficult to survey in brief. Yet it can be said that intangible cultural heritage is present in the different aspects of life that are expressed through folk ballads, songs, music, proverbs, sayings, customs, traditions, rituals, charades and games, vocations and crafts, and folk dance. In addition it is perceived in the architecture and construction styles, as well as the folk medicines and many other forms of folk knowledge.

The intangible cultural heritage, in fact, is the accumulative outcome of socio-cultural traditions which are inherited by individuals and communities.

These people also undertake the preservation, the transmission and the development of the heritage, as well as practicing it as a main basis of their cultural identity.

It has been observed that this heritage has been facing for some time dangers that threaten it and its survival and continuity, which may lead to its extinction – which is already about to happen.

One of these dangers is that heritage does not receive the necessary care in proportion with its importance. This may lead it to fall into oblivion. Another danger is that it is transmitted in most cases orally and not through the educational system which may, with the passage of time, lead to its loss. Further, the circumstances in which heritage exists may not be adequate or even threatened in themselves. Many social and cultural traditions, which are considered the main sources for the collective identity and memory of individuals, communities and peoples, are now threatened to become extinct because of globalization and the attempt of one culture to dominate. Other threats are armed conflicts and wars, the migration from the countryside to the city, random tourism, the deterioration of the cultural environment, and the lack of the necessary potential for conservation and protection.

Measures for Ensuring the Protection and Conservation of Intangible Heritage

The question that poses itself today is how to achieve an effective protection and conservation for this heritage in the light of its social, cultural and economic significance. We may all agree that the answer to this query includes the following:

1. The true recognition, through practical, scientific and legal measures, of the intangible cultural heritage as being – in accordance with our conception of it – the other side of our cultural heritage. This requires by necessity working towards raising awareness of its cultural, social, historical and economic value, using all available means, whether in educational curricula, modern means of communication or any other.
2. Establishing a valid scientific national database or archive that works on collecting, documenting and classifying the elements

of this heritage, with individual scientific databases for each item. Human and material capacities should be provided for this archive, removing all obstacles from its path that may prevent it from playing its highly significant role in this respect. This archive or database, in addition to the collection, safeguarding and documentation it is to undertake, should also work on training experts, whether centrally or through local training centres, and to provide the best means for gathering, documenting, classifying and protecting – I stress “protecting” – the heritage elements.

3. Setting up and implementing a methodological plan for the identification of the heritage elements, their necessity and their significance in coordination with the Youth Authorities and the Vocational and Technical Education Authorities, for continuous training and education. Working on providing experts and technicians in this domain is necessary to help in safeguarding the manifestations of heritage in their various forms, hence reproducing them. Also setting policies that aim at raising the awareness of the conservation and development of heritage while safeguarding its content and essence.
4. The necessity of providing human and material support for the preparation of a database and an archive, which aim at the preservation and documentation of heritage elements, as well as making them available to artists and others, while protecting the material and moral rights of the owners.
5. The necessity of providing legal protection both locally and internationally for the heritage elements. It is worth reminding of the international efforts and endeavors towards establishing a legal mechanism which ensures this protection. Though such efforts have been exerted they remain in the phase of endeavors, and remain incapable of adequate international protection in line with the importance of the heritage and the dangers it is exposed to. Unfortunately, the national legislations for the protection and safeguarding of intangible heritage remain incomplete or too general and have therefore often been ineffectual in the practical assistance they offer.

Effective measures need to be taken on both the local and the international level for the protection and safeguarding of heritage.

International organizations, such as UNESCO and the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO), as mentioned above, strive to realize this aim. This is based on the facts that:

1. Culturally, the elements of this intangible cultural heritage are a part of human cultural heritage, both locally and internationally. They support the cultural identity of the people, and reiterate the cultural diversity that enriches human culture and promotes human rights.
2. Socially, these elements may be a means for approaching different social categories within the same society and across societies.
3. Economically, these elements have been – and remain – an important economic resource for people, as individuals, communities and societies. They are also threatened by many factors of deterioration, distortion and extinction.
4. The projection of legal protection onto the economic and moral (social and cultural) rights of the artists, performers and bearers of heritage is essential for the empowerment of individuals and communities to benefit from the fruits of their creativity and performances.
5. This form of protection promotes creativity, preserves distinguished performance, and safeguards the continuity, development and circulation of the heritage elements. This contributes to social, cultural and economic development.

Conclusion

The responsibility for protecting this heritage, in the light of its economic, cultural and historical values, requires joint efforts on the national level. This can only be achieved through the collaboration of the parties in charge of the preparation of the heritage data lists, of the concerned ministries, of those in charge of the educational and media programs (including training and development programs in folk crafts and industries), and of all others involved in working with heritage, be they individuals or organizations.

In sum, the national archive or scientific database which documents the intangible cultural heritage is the backbone and the starting point for all that has been mentioned above, when it is supported by necessary scientific expertise, and when the essential financial needs are met.

HERITAGE PRESERVATION IN LAW AND POLICY: HANDLING THE DOUBLE- EDGED SWORD OF DEVELOPMENT

Alexander A. Bauer

Introduction

In March 2004, the construction of the new museum at the Athenian acropolis was suddenly brought to a halt, and criminal charges were brought against almost all the officials involved in the project by the state prosecutor. This project, with costs estimated at 94 million Euros and in planning for 15 years, and meant to be a state-of-the-art facility aimed at both preserving and promoting Greece's ancient heritage, ran into trouble when concerns were raised about the potential destruction to archaeological remains of that very same heritage discovered at the building site. Following several lawsuits that halted the work, construction is now back on track with hopes to complete the project in 2006 (Stavrakis 2005).

The unusual rock formation in northeastern Wyoming known as "Devil's Tower" made internationally famous by the Stephen Spielberg film *Close Encounters of the Third Kind* was declared the United States' first National Monument in 1906. Since then, the unique landscape's attraction for tourists has meant that rock climbers from around the nation and the world have visited the site to scale the exposed basalt feature, bringing in important tourist revenue to an otherwise economically depressed region.

Use of the site in this way, however, angered local Native American groups who regard the feature as a sacred landscape, and in 1994 a compromise was reached where access to the site was limited during the month of June the time when most sacred rites involving the monument are performed (Brown 2003:151ff., Watkins 2005).

Following its slogan “*Baohu Jiushi Fazhang*,” or “to preserve [Dai culture] is to develop it,” China’s state-supported tourism agency charged with transforming China’s Dai ethnic minority and its traditional heritage for touristic purposes has embarked on an aggressive series of ethno-tourism projects aimed at celebrating and using Dai cultural traditions as a valuable economic resource. Performances of Dai music, festivals, and rituals for tourists has brought revenue to the region and to members of the Dai community, but at the same time, tight controls over what gets represented for tourist consumption has meant both efforts to suppress of any kind of “modern” Dai identity (such as the building of non-traditional houses) and to present a tightly scripted, and questionably “authentic” version of Dai practices considered most marketable to the consuming public (Li 2004).

These examples—and there are numerous others that could have been mentioned—serve to highlight the fact that projects aimed at promoting cultural heritage can often act as a double edged sword, at the same time promoting and threatening the preservation of cultural artifacts, monuments, and practices. In the legal sphere, domestic and international laws and policies have been drafted to intervene in this process, to help promote preservation efforts and mitigate the potential destruction caused by the expansion of infrastructure, construction projects, and tourism. While in many cases, particularly when it comes to mitigating the destructive effects of development, law may be a useful tool for preservation, legal regimes are not always the best mechanism for protecting and maintaining heritage as a vibrant component of living cultures, however. This is because law and policy approaches, which depend on clear definitions and expectations, necessarily treat culture and cultural significance as well-defined and static concepts (e.g. a building either is or is not important, and a cultural tradition is only practiced in a specific way). The reality on the ground is that promoting cultural preservation is an elusive goal, as just when we think we’ve defined the part of culture we want to protect, its parameters seem to change on us.

In this paper, I will briefly review the two main ways in which law is invoked to deal with heritage and development issues—as a way to mitigate destruction on one hand, and promote preservation on the other—with regard to the so-called “tangible” and “intangible” cultural heritage, drawing on examples from both the United States and the international regulatory sphere. I will treat these two types of heritage separately, not because they are necessarily separate—and in many ways they are not—but because they have been treated differently in the policy arena. But while laws aimed at preserving the “tangible” world have been largely successful, prescriptive policies aimed specifically at preserving living culture have been more problematic, in that they often restrict, rather than promote, cultural life. Given this situation, and given the interrelationship between “tangibles” and “intangibles,” I contend that preservation of the former may provide the best way to preserve the latter, as the “tangible” world provides the space, both literally and figuratively, for living cultural practices and meanings to flourish. In my review, I will address the strengths and shortcomings of the various legal approaches developed to date, and I will pay particular attention to recent initiatives that emphasize dialogue and extra-legal solutions as examples of more flexible and thus potentially successful preservation policies.

Laws aimed at preserving the “tangible” heritage

The destruction of cultural monuments and moveable objects has been an issue of major concern to local communities, national governments, and the world at large since at least the turn of the 20th century, when first the Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907, then the Roerich Pact of 1935, and finally the Hague Convention of 1954 were adopted to prevent the destruction of cultural property in times of armed conflict. These treaties have been signed by a large portion of the world’s nations (a notable exception is that the United States has still not ratified Hague 1954), and have even provided the basis for war crimes charges (Merryman 1986).

But the threat to cultural heritage preservation is not limited to war. Rapid expansion of urban areas, changing land use, and development projects, even those promoting cultural tourism, increasingly endanger cultural monuments, sites, and practices. The Three Gorges Dam project on China’s Yangtze River is one recent example of how an important

infrastructure project can threaten not only countless archaeological sites but even the way of life of local cultural groups living in the region (Qing 1998). And the increasing number of tourists at sites such as Macchu Picchu, which gets as many as 2500 visitors a day during the high season (Lama 2005), while perhaps good for the local economy, may cause irreparable harm to important cultural resources.

Concern for the preservation of historic sites and monuments in the face of rapid development in the postwar era led the newly formed International Council on Museums and Sites (ICOMOS) to adopt the *International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites* (known as the Venice Charter) in 1965 (ICOMOS 1965). This charter, though primarily intended as a standard-setting document for the techniques of conservation and historic preservation, entered new territory by including reference to maintaining historic settings, the integrity of groups of buildings and their constituent parts, and the social utility of such monuments in the daily life of living communities. This acknowledgement of the interplay between the living and preserved culture is an early exception that set the stage for the development of even more integrative policies, such as the Burra Charter (Australia-ICOMOS 1999), which I will discuss later in this paper.

Citing the destructive effects of development and tourism—in addition to environmental factors such as erosion—on cultural heritage, UNESCO for its part adopted a series of Recommendations and Conventions aimed at mitigating them. The first, and arguably most relevant to the present discussion, is the *Recommendation Concerning the Preservation of Cultural Property Endangered by Public or Private Works* adopted in 1968 (UNESCO 1968). This document, though not a treaty, outlines general guidelines for the protection and conservation of cultural remains threatened by infrastructural expansion and other public projects. In contrast, the *Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property* (UNESCO 1970), adopted two years later, while not focused on the problems posed by development, does provide legal sanctions for treaty violations, such as the removal of cultural materials from standing monuments and archaeological remains (activities sometimes engaged in by less scrupulous tourists and developers).

In 1972, UNESCO adopted the *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* (UNESCO 1972). While it is not a “hard

law” in that it does not include specific sanctions for violations of the convention, it has played an important role in promoting the preservation of monuments worldwide. I would imagine that most people have either heard of or encountered a “World Heritage Site,” the designation given to those monuments listed in accordance with the 1972 Convention. But while earning a “World Heritage” designation provides some important resources to States for their preservation and rehabilitation, the moniker has proven even more useful in attracting tourists, and has come to be seen by many as a quick and easy way to increase tourist revenue (Adams 2003). As a result, and given the potential damage increased tourism can cause to a site or region when not managed properly (NWHO 1999), it is not clear that this Convention has been uniformly positive for heritage preservation.

Aside from promoting a list of globally-important places, the 1972 Convention also provides a mechanism for bringing extra attention to particularly endangered sites and monuments (Article 11), thus also acting as a measure to preserve cultural remains endangered by human and environmental processes. Similarly, the more recent *Convention on the Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage* (UNESCO 2001) and *Declaration Concerning the Intentional Destruction of Cultural Heritage* (UNESCO 2003b), while they do not contain enforcement mechanisms, do condemn the destruction caused to cultural heritage by human action, such as the exploitation of maritime resources and a State’s peacetime activities.

Many individual nations, however, provide extensive legal sanctions against destroying cultural resources in public works and development-related projects. In the United States, the first significant heritage protection law, the Antiquities Act,¹ was passed in 1906 and remained a strong mechanism against the looting and theft of materials from monuments and sites until a constitutional challenge in 1974 on the grounds that its definition of “antiquities” was too vague.² Though the Act still stands for the protection of many natural and cultural monuments, the protection of archaeological resources was seriously undermined until the Archaeological Resources Protection Act (ARPA) was passed in 1979.³

¹ 16 U.S.C. §§431-433

² *U.S. v. Diaz*, 499 F.2d 113 (9th Cir. 1974)

³ 16 U.S.C. §§470aa-470mm

The most significant historic preservation law in the U.S. is the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA), adopted in 1966.⁴ This law created a framework and fund for the preservation of buildings and sites, and perhaps more important, established the National Register of Historic Places, a list to which buildings and sites could be nominated for preservation and grant eligibility. In general terms, the NHPA acts somewhat like a domestic version of UNESCO 1972, in that listing with the National Register raises the profile of sites and buildings, promoting their value for historic interest, for neighborhood and urban renewal, and for tourism. Listed structures are also granted increased preservation protections, although these are often limited to preserving the façades, and not the interiors, of buildings. This vulnerability to façadism—preserving the historic façades while gutting or completely rebuilding the interior of a building—, along with the limited protections that can be applied to privately owned buildings, represent some of the weaknesses perceived in the U.S. framework (ICOMOS 2000).

Perhaps even more important in this discussion for its focus on mitigating the destruction of cultural resources caused by public works and other construction projects, however, is the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) of 1969.⁵ This law, which followed on the heels of the NHPA, was mainly a non-archaeological law, but provided for the federally mandated (and funded) archaeological investigations of sites threatened by construction and development projects. Two parts of NEPA are of particular importance. The first is the action-enforcing aspect of the Act, what has become known as the “Environmental Impact Statement.”⁶ In short, all proposals for land-altering activities (construction, development, land-use) must first include an assessment of that project’s potential impact on the environment. The second part is the inclusion of the words “cultural” and “historic” along with “natural” as describing what the affected “environment” itself entails.⁷ The result of this law has been the protection and conservation of many cultural materials which would otherwise have been damaged or destroyed.

⁴ 16 U.S.C. §470 et seq.

⁵ 42 U.S.C. §§4321-4347

⁶ 42 U.S.C. §4332.

⁷ 42 U.S.C. §4331(1)(b)(4).

Laws aimed at preserving the “intangible” heritage

Protecting and promoting the “intangible” heritage has been a relatively recent concern, compared with the preservation of “tangibles” and the built environment, only becoming a focus of international debate within the past 20 years or so. Even so, it is already clear that “intangibles” raise issues that are not easily accounted for or resolved, particularly within Western legal frameworks (Brown 2005).

In the first place, what comprises threats to the preservation of intangible heritage is a good deal more difficult to assess, even if its effects have not been felt any less acutely. Cultural appropriation, misuse, commercialization, the circulation of cultural secrets, and the discontinuation of a practice itself may all be considered threats in one way or another. The West’s appropriation and deconstruction of “traditional” cultural forms within the emergence of global genres, such as “fusion” cuisine and “world” music (Feld 1996), popular with the consumer market, has fueled concerns over the preservation of “traditional” ways of life and cultural expressions in the face of an ever-expanding reach of Western culture to all corners of the globe.

In spite of these concerns, however, attempts to legislate protections for intangible heritage have been particularly troublesome as different practices and categories of knowledge seem to require different approaches. Though developed to protect the rights of individuals to their ideas, the copyright, patent, and trademark protections comprising Intellectual Property (IP) law were almost immediately recognized as insufficient for safeguarding the rights of cultural groups to their traditional knowledge and practices on several grounds (Greaves 1994, Tsosie 1997). First, copyrights and patents do not easily protect the “shared knowledge” of many cultural properties, as these frameworks were designed to protect original works of individual creators rather than communally-practiced “traditional” expressions. Furthermore, IP only grants rights to persons for a limited time, with the ultimate purpose of enriching the public domain, which is often the opposite goal of groups seeking to protect their traditional knowledge from exploitation and appropriation by others. In many people’s eyes, IP regimes, which treat knowledge and creative expressions as alienable commodities—and regard “folk” traditions as being in the public domain already—actually served corporations

in appropriating and commodifying traditional knowledge against the interests of its practitioners (Janke 2001).

Responding in part to the problems in applying IP law to cultural knowledge and practices and in part to their own historical overemphasis on cultural “tangibles” such as artifacts and monuments, UNESCO in 1989 adopted its *Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore* (UNESCO 1989). Based largely on a model implemented in Japan in the 1950s, this policy was the first step in what has become a significant component of UNESCO’s work on protecting and preserving the “intangible” heritage. As a result of the *Recommendation*, in 1997 UNESCO instituted the “Masterpieces of Oral and Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity” program, in which would be listed significant cultural traditions and expressions thought to be of “outstanding value” and in need of safeguarding against disappearance in the face of globalization, with plans to announce listed masterpieces in a series of proclamations, the first being issued in 2001. This program was aimed at complementing the World Heritage program established by the 1972 Convention, which was focused exclusively on the “tangible” and “built” heritage and disproportionately represented heritage in the Western, Industrialized world—countries with significant standing monuments. Deeming “intangible” traditions, considered more common in non-Industrialized countries, as worthy of protection too provided them with their fare share of the benefits resulting from UNESCO designations and other structures of the heritage industry (see also Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004).

As a next step in its efforts to preserve cultural practices, in 2003 UNESCO adopted the *Convention on the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* (UNESCO 2003a). The 2003 Convention (and its antecedent “Masterpieces” program) requires that Member States draw up lists enumerating precisely what their important intangible heritage is, and develop management programs for their preservation. Along the way, this often means deciding who can and cannot claim to be practitioners, and which particular variation (of what is likely a dynamic and (re)creative practice) will be codified as the “authentic” one. This is perhaps taken to its extreme in UNESCO’s related “Living Human Treasures” program, also based on a Japanese model, which gives official recognition to individual cultural practitioners for their virtuosity in a particular cultural practice.

The preservation of particular cultural expressions is also the focus of the *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions*, adopted by UNESCO at its general conference in October 2005 (UNESCO 2005). While more specifically focused on protecting cultural expressions from misuse, appropriation, and disappearance in the face of overwhelming competition in the global (and perhaps more importantly, local) marketplace from Western (and in particular, American) cultural products, this Convention shares with its earlier counterparts—and not to mention IP law and other attempted regulatory frameworks—a fundamental difficulty with the regulation of the living, “intangible” aspects of culture (Bauer 2005).

By seeking to protect—and secure market share for— specific cultural expressions, this convention ends up promoting a definition of cultural content as a mobile, extractable resource, at once alienable, appropriable, mimetic and commodifiable. Behind such claims are both national interests discovering the economic opportunities offered by local cultural expressions and the private and corporate interests of cultural industries in controlling the expansion of, and access to, IP rights and the public domain. Thus, offered as an alternative to IP regimes, these newest UNESCO instruments present a paradox in that they require defining and documenting cultural expressions and products—so that they may be regulated—by adopting the very frameworks of objectification and commodification these international efforts supposedly have been developed to oppose, and in doing so, replicate many of the same problems most advocates for securing the rights of cultural groups to their “traditional knowledge” had identified in IP.

Similar problems are presented by domestic frameworks aimed at protecting and promoting cultural expressions. In the U.S. the most striking example of such a law is the Indian Arts and Crafts Act, passed in 1990.⁸ This law, drafted with the purpose of stemming the trade in counterfeit or imitation Native American handicrafts, makes it a felony punishable by up to a quarter of a million dollars in fines and up to five years in prison, to “falsely suggest” that items are Native American when in fact they are not. In a similar way to the international regimes adopted by UNESCO, this law seeks to secure the survival of a valuable cultural

⁸ 18 U.S.C. §1159, 25 U.S.C. §305 et seq.

tradition by identifying certain expressions and practitioners as being “authentic.” Also, similar, however, are the problems such a regime raises. First, and as a result of the history and structure of Indian law in the United States, the Act only recognizes as a practitioner “[an] individual who is a member of an Indian tribe, or for the purposes of this section is certified as an Indian artisan by an Indian tribe.”⁹⁾ Because enrollment criteria vary among tribes, and because “ethnological definitions that take into account ancestral and kinship factors, and racial definitions that take into account blood quantum, do not necessarily map onto legal ones... some persons [may be] Indian ethnically or racially but not politically or legally” (Hapiuk 2000-1:1012), making their work ineligible for “Indian” designation by the Act. In addition, the dependence of artists on tribal and federal authorities for the designation of themselves and their work as “Indian” allows those groups to effectively dictate what kinds of creative expressions may be considered “authentic.”

Problems raised by heritage preservation regimes

As I have tried to show in the preceding overviews, law deals with heritage and development programs in two ways. First, and more effectively, are laws aimed at mitigating the destructive effects of some development projects, whether they involve the construction of public works, the reconstruction of monuments, or the promotion of cultural consumption. More problematic are those frameworks established to promote cultural preservation and celebrating heritage. This is partly a symptom of the law itself, which in an open society is more effective at constraining behavior with proscriptive measures than compelling behavior with prescriptive measures. Put simply, promoting heritage is more a matter of policy than law.

But at the heart of all attempts to preserve cultural heritage is the problem of selecting which heritage gets slated for preservation or celebration. If cultural heritage is potentially anything and everything, then preserving it all is not reasonable or even desirable. So we are thus faced with the difficult task of defining what heritage is most important, or significant, or “authentic.” Authenticity is a particularly thorny issue, especially with regard to living traditions—the so-called “intangible”

⁹⁾ 18 U.S.C. §1159(c)(1)

heritage—not only for requiring that we determine which cultural elements are the most important to preserve, but because culture and cultural meanings themselves are always changing: an expression may look different today, both literally and figuratively, that it does tomorrow (see Handler 2003).

An anthropological view of culture as fluid, multivalent, contested, and continually re-enacted by its constituent and evolving social groups is difficult to reconcile with the fixed and “essentialized” or bounded notion commonly required for executing law and policy. Thus, what denotes something to be sufficiently “traditional” or “authentic” heritage is similarly difficult to define. The danger in attempting to protect or preserve certain “traditional” expressions as the “authentic” version—such as through UNESCO’s “masterpieces” program—is that it has the effect of freezing one moment in the long, if sometimes gradual, evolution of a specific cultural tradition and both isolating and reifying it as the official and thus ultimate manifestation of that tradition for all time. This transforms it from being a dynamic expression of culture to a static, musealized relic, forever insulated from outside influence, but also cut off from the kinds of creativity and innovation that may have produced it in the first place.

In order to illustrate this tension between preserving culture, on the one hand, and in a way mummifying it, on the other, let us consider a couple of brief examples. The first one regards the celebration of carnival in Puebla, Mexico, whose city center was designated a World Heritage site in 1987. Nancy Churchill (2006) has described the recent efforts of the regional and national government to promote a more “authentic” carnival celebration, more appropriate to the historical nature of this heritage site, and also more attractive to tourists. In particular, they have outlawed intrusive elements such as costumes containing American cartoon characters like the Flintstones and Mickey Mouse, required more elaborate and covering costumes for the males who dance the female roles (to make their transvestism less obvious) and forbidden the consumption of alcohol. All of this has resulted in a sterile version of a celebration that was meant to be socially subversive—and the appropriation of Western elements such as the cartoons were part of this creative challenging of the social order and Western dominance—which bears little relation to the carnival which contained these elements celebrated in Puebla over the past century, begging the question, how far back in time do you need to

go to find “authenticity”? Certainly it suggests that it is not authenticity as much as palatability for tourists and a growing middle class that motivates these changes.

Second, and even more briefly, when Native American groups in Alaska and the Pacific Northwest were recently allowed to resume a certain degree of whale hunting, there was outcry from some quarters that they were using harpoon guns and rifles rather than more “traditional” mechanical harpoons and spears in their hunt (see Firestone & Lilley 2005). This example too raises the question of “authenticity” and what we are hoping to preserve. When we think about what it means to safeguard cultural heritage, we should try to remember the big picture that preserving culture also means safeguarding its fluidity, dynamism, and creativity.

These changing cultural ideas can go for “tangible” culture as well, even though it is more to do with what we consider heritage that changes, rather than the expression itself. Computers, for example, despite to their shallow history, have been recognized as an important heritage to preserve (Williams 1989). At the same time, other objects, such as Native American skeletal remains, are now seen as less important to “preserve” on a museum’s shelf—in light of other values, such as respect for Native Americans—and are more appropriately returned to Native American groups for reburial (Watkins 2003).

One question that is rarely discussed in all this is whether culture change—using metal harpoons, or using contemporary references to cartoon characters in a festival—is necessarily a bad thing. On the face of it, it may be, at least from a “safeguarding heritage” perspective. But the question that must be asked is, what “heritage” is being safeguarded? Are traditions only changing now, or have traditions always and continually changed, and they only seem “timeless” from our present-day vantage point? Are we just fetishizing a “past” that does not really exist? After all, Eskimos certainly used a precursor to the wooden harpoon that we regard as “primordial.”

Allowing for change—whether the result of globalization or other processes of cultural motion—necessarily involves saying goodbye to traditions as we know them, and this is never easy and often sad. There is a reason most people think fondly of their childhood and “the good old days,” because they did not know how things had changed up until

that point. The truth is that “the good old days” were born of countless generations of “good old days” before that. But that’s just it: change rarely involves the complete annihilation of earlier tradition. New traditions are always the result of earlier ones, and it is extremely hard to eradicate entire ways of life, no matter how hard some may try. Where I work in Turkey, for example, along the Black Sea coast, there was a massive displacement of minorities in 1922-23, where Greece, Bulgaria and Turkey exchanged their minority populations (Ladas 1932). Greeks, who had settled throughout the Black Sea coast, were resettled in Greece and Turks from the other countries were moved into the area. In spite of the tremendous efforts made, however, longstanding Black Sea traditions of fishing, embroidery, woodworking, olive growing and music continued as if nothing had changed (Meeker 1971).

Thus it makes me wonder whether much of the support for such regulation—to preserve heritage—isn’t actually coming from Westerners seeking “authentic” traditions unaffected by Western influences, as concerns often seem to be stronger for preserving the traditions than the people practicing them, but who also may want to change them. If so, this leads to what may be an even bigger question, namely who gets to make the determination of what gets protected and what left alone? Who gets to say which piece of heritage or version of a tradition is the “authentic” one?

The issue with many international efforts, especially those developed by national governments through UNESCO is that they invariably—and necessarily, given the structure of UNESCO—leave the decision-making power to national governments. As Brown (2003:214) observes, reiterating a point made by Foucault, regulatory frameworks act to shift power to the regulators, so that “as indigenous heritage is folded into comprehensive regimes of protection it becomes another regulated sphere of activity, something to be managed, optimized, and denned by formal mission statements.” As a result, the issue of what gets preserved ends up often being those things that serve some national interest, whether politically or economically. For instance, it they help to reinforce a nation’s vision of itself or philosophy, or if they can successfully generate tourist revenue. World Heritage designations, for example, are often sought with the hope that they will be an instant money-maker in terms of tourism (Adams 2003). A similar assumption goes with the “Masterpieces” of the Intangible

heritage. And the recent cultural diversity convention is explicitly market-oriented, with its talk of “cultural industries” such as film, music, and food products.

Providing the “space” for heritage

So, given the problem that in order to safeguard culture, you need to define it, but once you define it, it ceases to be alive as an ongoing and vibrant practice, is all policy aimed at “preserving” cultural heritage thus doomed to fail? There are two answers to this issue, I believe. First is that since many solutions to heritage issues really operate outside the realm of law, laws and frameworks that leave room for dialogue and extra-legal solutions may be a more successful approach.

Certainly this seems to be the case with regard to two recent heritage preservation-related laws, one from the U.S. and the other in Australia. In the United States, the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990 (NAGPRA) was initially feared by a large portion of the museum and scientific community because it required that museums inventory their collections of Native American materials with the aim of repatriating human remains, funerary items, and other sacred objects to tribes that request them. In practice, however, the law has encouraged collaborations and dialogue among archaeologists, museums, and tribes, and most repatriation claims have been resolved outside the courtroom (Nafziger & Dobkins 1999, Preucel et al 2003).

A different situation is presented by the Burra Charter, a set of historic preservation guidelines drafted by Australia-ICOMOS as a local follow-up to the Venice Charter discussed earlier (Australia-ICOMOS 1999). This Charter builds on its forbear in several important ways, particularly with respect to how it assesses “significance” and in its recognition that multiple cultural meanings for different groups may not only exist but conflict with each other (Article 13). In response to this, the Charter encourages dialogue among parties, including local communities and descendant groups, to reach cooperative and equitable solutions to preservation.

The Burra Charter may also illustrate the second solution I wish to offer, namely that with respect to the problem of safeguarding “intangible” practices, we need to recognize the interrelationship between “tangible”

and “intangible” heritage and that laws aimed at preserving the former may in fact provide the best approach for preserving the latter. Article 1.2 of the Charter states that “cultural significance,” which is the rationale for protection and preservation, “is embodied in the place itself, its fabric, setting, use, associations, meanings, records, related places and related objects.” In other words, the approach taken by the Charter explicitly links the ongoing, living values and traditions associated with a place with the place itself. While on the face of it, such a definition may not seem all that unusual—all places are “meaningful” because they have meaning for people in the present—what is different here is the idea that preservation of the place must seek to preserve the physical place not just for its own sake, but for the sake of and because of those living values and practices associated with it and that make it meaningful (see also Article 7). This approach is not so different from the concept of “adaptive reuse” advocated by Serageldin (1986). As explanatory notes issued with the Charter go on to explain, “cultural significance may change as a result of the continuing history of the place,” an acknowledgment that practices and values change, and thus a place culturally significant today may not be fifty years from now, and vice versa. This provides a sharp contrast to the case of Puebla, Mexico I referred to earlier, in which attempts to control the tradition of Carnival may effectively end it as a living practice of the local community, and thus may forever change the atmosphere and significance of the city’s historic downtown.

As a final and brief example illustrating my point, we can look to the fascinating, but wholly appropriate designation of Jemaa el-Fna Square in Marrakech, Morocco, as one of UNESCO’s “masterpieces of the oral and intangible heritage of humanity.”¹⁰ At first glance, such a designation might seem odd: after all, it is a built space, so why not declare it a World Heritage Site, under UNESCO 1972? The answer is because what makes the place significant are the living cultural practices, the storytellers and artists, musicians and merchants, that inhabit and animate it. These cases suggest, to me at least, that perhaps the best way to preserve “living” culture is to provide the space—literally and figuratively—for the ongoing practices and values of life.

¹⁰ See <http://www.unesco.org/culture/intangible-heritage/masterpiece.php?id=14&lg=en>

INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE, TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE AND FOLKLORE: DILEMMAS IN RELATION TO INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY AT THE INTERNATIONAL LEVEL

Ahmed Abdel Latif

Introduction

With globalization, the development of new sectors of economic activity such as biotechnology, traditional knowledge, particularly traditional knowledge associated with biodiversity and genetic resources, has acquired significant importance in the global economy. Yet, often, this traditional knowledge is exploited without the consent of traditional communities and peoples who are responsible for its discovery, development and preservation. Similarly, over the years, traditional communities and peoples have witnessed the unauthorized reproduction of their fixed, and unfixed cultural expressions such as artistic works, handicrafts, designs, dances and musical and dramatic performances. Consequently, pressing demands for the protection and preservation of traditional knowledge against such misappropriation have been articulated placing this issue firmly on the global agenda. There is also a growing recognition that protection

and preservation of traditional knowledge is an important element of sustainable development policies (Bellmann, 2003).

This global trend has been echoed in the Arab World where there is an increasing concern about the erosion of intangible cultural heritage under the combined effects of modernization and globalization. Numerous conferences and seminars have been held in the Arab World, in recent years, highlighting the importance of preserving intangible cultural heritage, especially traditional knowledge, expressions of folklore and the artifacts associated with them such as traditional handicrafts. The actions of Arab countries have mainly focused on awareness-raising and documentation, where a number of valuable initiatives and projects have been carried out. Nevertheless, these efforts remain partial and stop short of establishing a comprehensive legal regime for the protection of intangible cultural heritage. A major reason for this relates to the absence, for a long time, of a comprehensive international normative framework which could serve as a model for Arab countries, or at least provide them with guidance, in this regard, at the national level. Arab countries, as many developing countries, are particularly sensitive and responsive to new international norms as they are often required to implement them nationally, at a subsequent stage.

Traditional Knowledge and Folklore as Intangible Heritage

Grasping the way in which traditional knowledge and folklore have been addressed at the international level is essential for understanding the challenges lying ahead for many developing countries, including Arab countries, in order to provide them with effective protection and particularly in relation to the intellectual property aspects of such protection.

In this regard, it can be observed that, in recent years, traditional knowledge and folklore have become the object of increased attention in a number of international organizations and fora such as the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD), the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), the United Nations Organization for Education, Science and Culture (UNESCO), the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) and the World Trade Organization (WTO). Extensive deliberations have taken place in these fora on the protection

of traditional knowledge and folklore. Many studies have been carried out and proposals submitted and, in certain cases, new international norms have been elaborated (Correa, 2003). The “proliferation” of organizations and fora examining the protection of traditional knowledge and folklore raises many questions concerning the relationship between their normative activities in this area. Many countries, particularly those with limited legal and policy-making expertise, often have difficulties in fully grasping the complexity of these relationships and their interconnections.

Bridging the Gap between the UNESCO 2003 Convention and the IGC

Despite the importance of safeguarding the intellectual property rights of intangible cultural heritage, there have been relatively few writings on this subject. Yet, there is a growing realization that the interface between intangible cultural heritage and intellectual property is a central issue to be examined if efforts towards safeguarding this heritage are to be effective. The relationship between the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage and on-going deliberations on intellectual property, traditional knowledge and folklore in the context of WIPO, and its Inter-Governmental Committee on Intellectual Property and Genetic resources, Traditional Knowledge and Folklore (commonly referred to as the IGC) is a case in point.

The UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, adopted in October 2003, is an integral part of global efforts to protect traditional knowledge and folklore. It is also a landmark development in UNESCO’s efforts to safeguard the world’s heritage as previous UNESCO conventions for protecting cultural heritage, had only dealt with tangible heritage such as objects and monuments. In adopting the 2003 Convention, UNESCO made a substantial step towards bridging a gap in its normative work by concluding the first binding international instrument, under its auspices, for safeguarding the intangible cultural heritage.

In its Article 2 (1), the UNESCO Convention defines “intangible cultural heritage” as “*the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge skills- as well as the instruments, objects, artifacts, and cultural spaces associated therewith- that*

communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals as part of their cultural heritage.” In the following paragraph, the Convention stipulates that “*intangible cultural heritage*” is manifested *inter alia* in the following domains: (a) oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage; (b) performing art; (c) social practices, rituals and festive events; (d) knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe; traditional craftsmanship.”

In Article 2 (3), the Convention stipulates that “safeguarding” means “*measures aimed at safeguarding the viability of the intangible cultural heritage, including the identification, documentation, research, preservation, protection, promotion, enhancement, transmission, particularly through formal and non-formal education, as well as the revitalization of the various aspects of such heritage.*”

It is interesting to note that the abovementioned definition of intangible cultural heritage carefully avoids any specific reference to the terms “traditional knowledge” and “folklore” which, on the other hand, are explicitly mentioned in the mandate of WIPO’s Intergovernmental Committee on Intellectual Property and Genetic resources, Traditional Knowledge and Folklore (commonly referred to as the IGC) which was established by a decision of the WIPO General Assembly in 2000 and held its first session in April 2001.

Although UNESCO had adopted, in 1989, a Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore, the deliberations leading to the adoption of the 2003 Convention had shown a preference for the use of the terms “intangible cultural heritage” which was perceived as being of a more general nature. In addition, indigenous people felt that the term “folklore” did not accurately describe their traditional cultural heritage and could even have a demeaning connotation (Janet, 2002). Despite these terminological nuances, the definition of “intangible cultural heritage” as stipulated in the Convention is certainly wide enough to encompass practices, expressions, and representations that fall respectively under the categories of traditional knowledge and folklore as discussed in the context of the work of the IGC. Thus, it can be said, that despite differences in terminology, both the UNESCO Convention and the IGC process address a very similar subject matter, even though it might not be identical.

This point is important to bear in mind when examining the relationship between the UNESCO convention and the IGC process in relation to intangible cultural heritage and intellectual property issues.

First, it is important to note that there was a deliberate intention on the part of the UNESCO Convention precisely not to address intellectual property issues relating to intangible cultural heritage or to touch on WIPO's work in this area, particularly in view of the fact that the IGC had started its work in 2001. This intention is clearly reflected in Article 3 (b) of the Convention according to which "*Nothing in this Convention may be interpreted as affecting the rights and obligations of State Parties deriving from any international instrument relating to intellectual property rights or to the use of biological and ecological resources to which they are parties.*" The formulation of this article indicated that the UNESCO Convention was not aiming to interfere with, or alter, the contractual obligations of State Parties in the field of intellectual property, nor more generally to interfere with the way the intellectual property system operated in relation to intangible cultural heritage.

This intention is also clearly reflected in the statement made by the representative of UNESCO, at the sixth session of the IGC, when he presented the main features of the Convention recently adopted by UNESCO. He was explicit in stating that "the 2003 Convention only covered cultural aspects of intangible cultural heritage and did not touch on the activities of WIPO or of other international organizations. It was decided that this Convention would cover cultural aspects and that WIPO would deal with the international regulations on technical aspects and legal aspects applicable to traditional cultural expressions and contained in the definition of intangible cultural heritage" (WIPO/GRTKF/IC/6/14, par. 54).

It seems that a "division of labor" had gradually developed between UNESCO and WIPO in relation to traditional knowledge and folklore, whereby "UNESCO addressed the overall question of safeguarding this heritage, while WIPO dealt with intellectual property aspects of protection" (Blake, 2002).

There are several reasons for this "division of labor" and UNESCO's decision not to address intellectual property rights issues in relation to

intangible cultural heritage in the 2003 Convention. First, doing so could have significantly delayed deliberations leading to the adoption of the Convention - given the complexity and difficulties associated with this matter. Second, being part of the UN system, UNESCO seemed keen not to impinge on the work of another agency, in this case WIPO, the UN specialized agency with a mandate to deal with intellectual property matters. As stated by one author: “UNESCO should leave the development of a *sui generis* protection of intangible heritage based on intellectual property rights to specialist agencies such as WIPO which have a specific mandate in this area” (Blake, 2002).

However, it is to be noted that UNESCO has a mandate in relation to intellectual property, particularly copyright, as a depositary of the Universal Copyright Convention (1952). UNESCO also has a record of norm setting in the area of intellectual property in relation to intangible cultural heritage in the form of the Model Provisions for National Laws on the Protection of Expressions of Folklore against Illicit Exploitation and Other Prejudicial Actions, jointly elaborated with WIPO in 1982. In 1989, UNESCO adopted the Recommendation for the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore. It is also important to recall that the first international discussions on the international protection of folklore came as a result of a memorandum of the Government of Bolivia to the Director General of UNESCO, in April 1973, requesting the organization to examine the opportunity of drafting an instrument on the protection of indigenous creative works in the form of a protocol to be attached to the Universal Copyright Convention, which is administered by UNESCO.

For several practical and legal considerations, UNESCO did not deal with the intellectual property aspects relating to intangible cultural heritage in the Convention. However, this deliberate choice, cannot be dissociated from a general trend observed in other international fora and organizations such as the CBD, the WTO, UNCTAD and the ITU where a number of countries, particularly developed countries, actively work towards channeling the intellectual property aspects of the issues under consideration to WIPO and this despite the fact that, in many cases, the respective mandates of these fora and organizations allows them to examine the relationship of the issues under consideration with intellectual property matters from their own perspective. This has been particularly

the case in relation to traditional knowledge where WIPO, and more specifically the IGC, have been actively promoted in different international fora as the “appropriate forum” to address intellectual property issues in relation to genetic resources, traditional knowledge and folklore.

It is for this reason, that at the insistence of developing countries, when the mandate of the IGC was renewed in 2003, and in 2004, it was specifically stipulated that the work of the IGC “*should be without prejudice to the work pursued in other fora*” (WO/GA/30/8, par.93 ii.). In commenting on this mandate, the African Group stated that “no forum has an exclusive mandate to address the issues at hand. Different organizations should work in mutually supportive ways ... work should proceed simultaneously and work done in one forum should not be used to preclude progress in another organization” (WIPO/GRTKF/IC/6/14, par. 54).

If the deliberate intention of the UNESCO Convention was to leave issues relating to intellectual property and intangible cultural heritage to be addressed by WIPO, it is important to then consider the work of WIPO, particularly in the context of the IGC, and to reflect upon it, and upon its implications taking into consideration the process of the 2003 UNESCO Convention.

Recent IGC Deliberations: An Assessment and some Recommendations

Since its creation, the IGC has held eight sessions spanning from April 2001 to June 2005. The deliberations of the IGC have been valuable. The first sessions, in particular, witnessed a rich exchange of views on national experiences and legislations. The Secretariat of WIPO has produced an impressive amount of analytical documentation on the different issues under consideration in order to deepen our understanding of their different aspects and ramifications. Useful work has been carried out in relation to a number of defensive measures to protect traditional knowledge such as databases of traditional knowledge and establishing a toolkit for traditional knowledge holders. The participation of representatives of indigenous and local communities, in the sessions of the IGC, has enabled them to voice their contrasted views on the means to protect their traditional knowledge in the context of intellectual property rights.

However, from a norm-setting perspective, the results of the work of the IGC have been meager, despite the fact that the WIPO General Assembly has repeatedly requested it to accelerate its work, and that the renewed mandate of the IGC clearly states “that no outcome of its work is excluded, including the possible development of an international instrument or instruments” (WO/GA/30/8, par.93). Nevertheless, up till now, no such instrument or instruments have been adopted by WIPO neither to prevent the misappropriation of genetic resources and traditional knowledge nor to confer a certain number of rights to the owners of such knowledge.

Even though the IGC is currently considering a series of “draft objectives and principles on the protection of traditional knowledge and traditional cultural expressions/folklore”, these objectives and principles are of a limited usefulness given their purely indicative and non-binding nature. Although they might represent a useful step in further consensus building in this area, they stand in contrast to the expectations of many countries, in particularly developing countries, which since the first session of the IGC, aspired that the outcome of its work be an international instrument, universal in character, which will bind and require member states to protect genetic resources, traditional knowledge and folklore and enforce certain rights conferred to the knowledge owners.

During the different sessions of the IGC, developing countries have put forward many proposals in relation to the main elements to be included in a possible international instrument or instruments, such as the proposal submitted by Egypt on behalf of the African Group, at the sixth session of the IGC, on the objectives, principles and elements of an international instrument (or instruments) on intellectual property in relation to genetic resources and on the protection of traditional knowledge and folklore (WIPO/GRTKF/IC/6/12).

The complexity of the issues under consideration, their often controversial nature, as well as the limited number of national experiences, are arguments often advanced to justify the slow progress in the norm setting work of the IGC. Yet these considerations have not prevented the conclusion of new international instruments in the area of intellectual property or in other areas of international regulation. As a measure of comparison, in the past five years (the life span of the IGC), UNESCO

has adopted two internationally legally binding instruments dealing with complex issues such as the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage and the diversity of cultural contents and expressions.

This is not to imply that the complexity of issues under consideration by the IGC should be overlooked. One of the complexities stems from the fact that these issues touch upon delicate domestic considerations and balances, particularly in countries which have large indigenous populations and local communities. Another important complexity relates to the fact that many countries and indigenous and local communities are uncertain of the exact meaning and implications of the concept «protection» of traditional knowledge in the context of intellectual property rights. A substantial debate has taken place in the Committee, in this regard in the context of the wider controversy surrounding this issue (Paterson, 2003).

Nevertheless, the situation remains that, beyond these complexities and behind the slow progress of the norm setting work of the IGC, there is a significant divide concerning the means of ensuring the protection of traditional knowledge and folklore in relation to intellectual property at the international level. There are countries that seek to establish binding international rules to protect traditional knowledge and folklore against misappropriation. Other countries consider this a premature step, and that this matter could be more appropriately addressed by national legislations and defensive measure of a voluntary nature. These countries would only accept diluted soft norms at the international level that would provide guidance for such national legislation. The divide is also between (1) those who consider it necessary to introduce appropriate changes in the modus operandi of the existing intellectual property system so as to prevent it from misappropriating traditional knowledge (such as by introducing a mandatory disclosure requirement in patent applications) and (2) those who seek to preserve the existing system from any substantial changes. The divide is, finally, between those who advocate the establishment of a sui generis system of protection and those who believe that the protection of traditional knowledge could be accommodated with existing categories of intellectual property rights. These points of divergence have remained unresolved during the deliberations of the IGC and prevent the crystallization, in the foreseeable future of a consensus, towards concluding a binding international instrument in this area.

Where does the lack of progress in terms of norm setting at WIPO leave the UNESCO process put in place by the 2003 Convention? In the absence of binding international legal rules to prevent the misappropriation of intangible cultural heritage by the intellectual property system, the «conservationist» approach of «safeguarding» enshrined in the Convention through measures of identification, documentation, research and preservation, as stated in Article 2 (3), will remain of limited effectiveness in preventing or limiting such misappropriation.

On the contrary the identification, documentation and preservation of the intangible cultural heritage may carry with it risks of exposing such heritage to further misappropriation by the existing intellectual property system as local communities and indigenous peoples may through these measures inadvertently disclose practices and knowledge to be misappropriated by others. As noted by one author: «... once documented, however, it (the intangible cultural heritage) is more readily commandeered by musicians, novelists, pharmaceuticals companies, the motion picture industry - indeed, by anyone positioned to take advantage of an intellectual property system that favors individual or corporate creativity over the collective inventiveness of folk traditions, which are considered to reside in the public domain» (Brown, 2003). As a result, “(...) the obligations of states under the UNESCO convention to establish documentation institutions and to facilitate access ...(Article 13 (d) iii), while undoubtedly useful for the purposes of ‘safeguarding’, undercut efforts to protect the intellectual property interests of communities whose intangible cultural heritage is documented and made accessible” (Wendland, 2004).

It has been suggested that one way to address this “dilemma,” would be, for instance, through training and increasing the level of awareness of relevant stakeholders such as “the provision of intellectual property-related information and advice to folklorists, anthropologists and other field-workers, museums, archives and other cultural heritage institutions, regarding the management of the intellectual property rights that may be vested in their collections” (Wendland, 2004). This would certainly be a valuable and useful task. However, raising awareness and capacity building are not a substitute for the current normative vacuum existing, at the international level, in relation to the interface between intangible cultural heritage and intellectual property, and more specifically the prevention of the misappropriation of this heritage by the intellectual property system.

States that become Parties to the 2003 UNESCO Convention should be made aware of this “dilemma” with regard to intellectual property issues arising in the context of safeguarding intangible cultural heritage, particularly since there is often a lack of coordination within these countries between officials who follow up the cultural aspect of intangible cultural heritage within the ambit of UNESCO and officials responsible for matters relating to intellectual property. This is particularly the case in many developing countries, such as Arab countries, with limited legal and technical capacities in this area, and which rely to a great extent on the advice and technical assistance provided by relevant international organizations such as UNESCO and WIPO.

Conclusion

Arab countries should play a more active role in international deliberations relating to these issues as their outcome will impact on their national efforts to protect intangible cultural heritage. They should underline that here is an urgent need to complement the UNESCO 2003 Convention and the «safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage» by similarly legally binding measures and instruments in the area of intellectual property that would both prevent the misappropriation of this heritage and provide a number of rights to its owners. Without this, efforts towards preserving and protecting this heritage will remain fragmented and of limited effectiveness.

Culture in the Arab World Today

Sheikha Hussa Al Sabah

Introduction

This aim of this chapter is to start a public debate on a question to which I have recently devoted considerable thought and time. This is the process by means of which a national culture is nurtured, and helped to develop: what does it take to encourage and help national culture to form, grow and eventually bear fruit? I am specifically thinking of the Arab world, although, clearly other, related cultures (e.g. the Islamic, and non-Islamic Middle Eastern cultures) are not excluded.

The term “cultural heritage” which I employ simply refers to the vast treasure of art work, architecture, artefacts, literature and other forms of intellectual work created by the Arab/Muslim worlds throughout the ages. This is what we inherited from past generations and it is what we should pass on to those who will come after us, preserved and well cared for

Definitions

First let me begin by suggesting a definition of the term “culture”. I find something like the following straightforward and sufficiently comprehensive to serve my purpose in this discourse: “Culture is the totality of a people’s socially transmitted behaviour patterns including arts, beliefs, institutions and all other forms of human endeavour. This broad definition of culture finds general acceptance among sociologists, anthropologists and other

social scientists.¹ At first sight this definition stands in sharp contrast with the elitists' idea of culture as being the "search for perfection".² Although it is the former, broader term that I am concerned with here, the two concepts are not really mutually exclusive. A nation must be aware of, must appreciate and value (not to say be proud of) its culture in its various forms, in order to believe that it is worth preserving and actually take steps to preserve it. In cases where people are not aware of the value of their past, they should be introduced to it, be made aware of its contribution to the progress of mankind, and to appreciate and value it in order to preserve it. This places a dual responsibility on those waging this campaign: (a) educating the nation so that it is aware of and appreciates its culture; and (b) making people see their responsibility for preserving it. Both are an integral part of the same process and should be undertaken simultaneously.

I propose to include in this discussion all creative aspects of human activity, especially the arts (broadly defined). I am here primarily concerned with preserving, not so much our "culture", as such, but our "cultural heritage", i.e. what was bequeathed to our generation by previous generations - the preservation of our architecture, paintings, metal and wood work, music, calligraphy, literature, ceramics, glass, textiles and the many other art forms which the Arab and Moslem worlds have contributed to world civilisation.

¹This is apparently what H.G. Wells had in mind when he wrote of the progress of man through the ages. See his *Outline of History*, (edition 1920), pp. 85 – 90; 62, 93, 103 -105 *et passim*, Wells' generation and earlier writers drew no distinction between «culture» and «civilisation». They used the two terms interchangeably as may be seen in the works of writers such as GBS (Vide his «The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism & Capitalism», (ed. 1928) pp. 48, 171 *et passim*. Reference to this concept is quite frequent in GBS' vast literary output. See also Ralf Waldo Emerson Works, vol. V (ed. 1899) pp. 135 -160. The distinction seems to have appeared in the first half of the 20th century. It gained currency among subsequent generations of sociologists, historians, etc. in the latter part of that century.

²Mathew Arnold, the distinguished English poet and critic, typified this group. He is often quoted as having said: «Culture is perfectly described as the search for perfection». Arnold J. Toynbee, the distinguished English historian, on the other hand, tends to accept his generation's idiom. See his *Greek Civilisation & Character*. (Mentor, 1961, pp. 63 -65).

Why Preserve Cultural Heritage?

A legitimate, even naive question to ask at this point is: Why worry about preserving our cultural heritage in the first place? Is it really worth our while to devote the time and resources for what sounds like a nebulous, perhaps esoteric, concept?

I have asked myself this question again and again: in a region that badly lacks the necessities of life, e.g. adequate welfare services, elementary sanitation and essential infrastructure, is it really justifiable to devote any of its scarce resources to a programme such as the one I am putting forward here?

My answer came invariably in the affirmative. In my view a nation has to establish its identity before it can claim its “nationhood”. This means it has to know and establish or identify what distinguishes it from others. Otherwise, it becomes a collection of unrelated individuals with no common bonds or cohesive framework. I maintain, further, that this cultural identity can only be achieved through a thorough knowledge of its history and its cultural heritage, i. e. what contributions it made to the world. I don’t think I need labour this point.

Creativity and Political Will

I come now to my main contention. Pondering the question of culture has led me to conclude that the creative process, as exemplified not only by art, but also by inventions, discoveries, etc. involves three essential elements: (a) the creative mind, i.e. the artist, the inventor, the thinker, etc., (b) the sponsor or patron, and (c) what I would like to call – for the lack of a better expression - “the political will” that provides the circumstances, the environment, for the other two factors to mix and interact. However, this last factor is not just a catalyst, in the absence of which the creative process would simply slow down or be retarded. Indeed, I hold that this “political will” is the driving force behind the two essential ingredients in this process; it brings them together, helps them to coalesce and creates the climate for them to interact with each other. This often overlooked factor is a mixture that includes components such as the educational, social and financial conditions without which the creative process would fail to attain full fruition.

Abundant evidence can be found, throughout our history, pointing to the existence of the first two forces, i.e. the creative mind and the individual patron. Our poets, men of letters, musicians, architects, etc. have long lived on the munificence of our princes and community leaders.

What has been, and still is, conspicuously lacking in our part of the world is the third element, the “political will”, the essential catalyst that brings together and enhances the interaction between the other two. Enthusiasm and responsibility for the creative genius, and the reward it should receive, do not seem to be any concern of the nation as a whole.

These are left to our leaders, and in modern times to our governments, to take care of. I submit that this attitude ought to change. Every individual in the nation should be concerned, should be involved and should be a participant.

While this essay was being prepared for publication, I had circulated these views to a very few people who shared with me my interest in the subject. I was surprised when it was suggested that evidence may be called for to support my viewpoint. Surely, one doesn't have to look very far or very deep into our history to find justification for my contention. Arab history is replete with examples that justify my argument. Take two very obvious examples: poetry and painting and see the influence of the socio-political climate (what I termed the “political will” – an inelegant phrase, perhaps) on them: how poetry (and prose for that matter) flourished under the Abbasids, whereas paintings, sculptures etc. were rather frowned upon, while these art forms were encouraged, generously rewarded, and thus made their impact in Moghul India or Sufavide Persia (Iran).

The Role of States and Individuals

I come now to present my case: I am fully conscious of the fact that we, in the Arab (and Islamic) Worlds, are inclined to blame the State for all our ills and expect too much of this hapless institution. However, in a largely illiterate society, just emerging from centuries long of cultural hibernation, where wealth is unevenly distributed, and unemployment is widespread, the State has greater responsibilities than it usually assumes in developed societies where wealth is greater, more evenly shared and civic consciousness is better understood and practised. Where society is grappling

with illiteracy and unemployment, it is one of the primary responsibilities of the State to be the prime-mover in the renaissance process. Clearly, people whose standards of living do not guarantee them adequate food, shelter, health and sanitation services and schooling, cannot be expected to concern themselves with poetry, sculpture, the theatre, music, museums and art galleries. I feel the point is pretty clear and needn't detain us any longer.

Happily, this viewpoint seems to have been accepted by the State in the Moslem (and the Arab) Worlds. I am not aware of any Moslem (or Arab) State that has shirked its responsibility in fostering national culture or allocating in its annual budget some funds earmarked for this purpose. (3) My complaint is of the paucity of what's been devoted to this item of our national budgets (3), especially in the affluent Arab states as compared with other items of national expenditure (e.g. Security or Defence)³. However, this is a matter of political judgement which we, ordinary citizens, can only call into question and debate. We can raise our voices too demanding more funds for our favoured item of State expenditure. But more of this later. As was stated earlier⁴ while expenditure on national cultural heritage in the West is defrayed partly by the state and generously supplemented by donations from the private sector, in our part of the world it is the state alone that shoulders this responsibility. Considering the low level of economic activity in most Moslem and Arab states, any increase in expenditure on cultural matters is bound to place heavier burdens on the state and would entail reduction of expenditure on other essential items. The private sector, the common citizen, on the other hand, in our part of the world, so far, has extended no helping hand in this regard partly

³The present writer chose three Arab states: two Gulf states, Kuwait and Bahrain and one North African state, Tunisia, and three Western states: Austria, the U.K. and the U.S. Other than these geographic limitations, the choice was random. In none of these six countries did the publishers of the I.F.S (2004) think it fit to give a breakdown of expenditure on museums, art galleries, public libraries, training in fine arts, or training of artisans etc. Such expenditure was included in broad categories of state expenditure on education, health, sports etc. No records seem to exist, not even estimates of the private sector's contribution in this field. Nevertheless, even a casual glance at these official figures shows startling results.

Expenditure on defence in the United States and Britain represent (for the year 2003) 11.6% and 6.4% respectively of total state budgets. For neutral Austria, this item represented only 1.8%. «Recreation. Culture and religion» (sic!), on the other hand, represented 0.9%, and 1.0% for the US and UK and 2.0% for Austria. Expenditures of the three Arab states were as follows: defence claimed 15.9% for Kuwait (plus 8.6% on Security), 16.5% (and 10.5% Security) for Bahrain; for Tunisia these figures were 5.1% for defence, 7.8%, for security. Recreation, culture and religion in these three Arab states were 3.1%, 0.5% and 2.8% respectively. Naturally no mention was made of the private sector's contributions in this respect.

⁴ See p. 4 above.

because in most countries this sector is so poor, it simply cannot spare the resources for this purpose. But where the private sector is generally affluent enough to make some contribution, this usually goes to religious as distinct from cultural institutions, (mosques, religious schools, orphanages and the like). Expenditure on cultural matters is apparently considered a luxury that ranks very low on the list of our national priorities. It is this attitude that should change. It is my conviction about the private sector's crucial role in this effort that has led me to start the present debate; I invite readers all over our region to join me.

The present state of affairs has led me to the conclusion that the so-called elite, the educated (almost synonymous in a largely illiterate society), and the rich, have three major responsibilities to face up to. First, they have to awaken the mass of population, literate or otherwise, to the importance of its national cultural heritage. Secondly, this group should form a lobby to cajole the political establishment to devote more resources and take this aspect of public education (for this is what care for our cultural heritage is all about) more seriously than it has done so far. Finally, it has to educate i.e. create public awareness among the populace, as to the importance of our cultural treasures, how to enjoy, care for and preserve them. Sadly these are responsibilities that our elite has not fully appreciated, or taken seriously enough. No doubt, some sporadic attempts have been and are being made in this direction; but to be effective, this task calls for well-defined objectives and systematic and sustained effort. I detect no evidence of such well-thought out campaign. Further, efforts such as are occasionally made in undertaking this kind of work seem lacking in dedication and zeal. Indeed, even an inter-regional debate of the type being advocated now, has not taken place in our midst to ascertain the reaction of our educated classes to such an effort. As for the private citizen, the populace, responsibility for our cultural heritage, simply doesn't arise. As was pointed out earlier (4), the average citizen is so overwhelmed by his daily woes, he has no time for "these fanciful ideas".

Finally, and not less worrying, is that because the nature and scope of the type of work I am now advocating is not fully appreciated, principally perhaps because our democratic practices and institutions are still in an early stage of development, our elite have quietly abdicated their civic responsibilities and conveniently accepted the State's leadership instead.

A national programme, based on a national policy for the appreciation and preservation of the national cultural heritage is vital for our cultural

renaissance and for establishing our cultural identity. I hold it is the responsibility, not only of governments, but also of the educated classes (the “elite”) to take up the challenge.

One may be forgiven for reminding our political and civic leaderships that without an educated public, our museums, art galleries and public libraries become ghost storehouses. Without awareness, indeed, thorough familiarity, with its history and cultural heritage, a nation becomes a collection of unrelated individuals with no common bonds or cohesive framework.

I find it greatly embarrassing and, indeed, depressing to see public and private institutions in the West exhibit some of our best examples of Islamic and Arab works of art, rare manuscripts, miniatures, ceramics, metal works, textiles, scientific instruments, coins and the likes, our own cultural heritage, displayed most attractively and with loving care in London, New York, Boston, Paris and Moscow when our own capitals could have better displayed them and could have done so with pride and a national purpose. More embarrassing still, and humbling, indeed, is to learn that all these invaluable exhibits were painstakingly collected and contributed, or paid for, by individuals, families, corporations or other entities who claim no common bondage with the people or culture of our region.

What adds insult to injury, however, is to learn that some of these exhibits were actually contributed by Arab collectors who chose to show them in the West rather than in their own homeland.

Toward an Action Plan

I return to the main theme I was trying to develop a little earlier on in this paper: the trinomial foundation of culture⁵ – the creative mind, the patron and public policy to help create a congenial environment (what I had called “political will” earlier) in which this movement would be nurtured. I invite our elite in the Arab and Moslem worlds to join hands in an effort to persuade our political leadership and legislators to accept deeper commitment to nurturing our culture and cultural heritage than just voting extra public funds for the purpose of opening libraries and art galleries and stocking them up...etc. Our media and press should be made to appreciate their responsibilities in this field and be encouraged to

⁵ See various *Annual Reports*, especially after 1986, passim

interest their audiences and readership in our heritage. Our young should be introduced to our cultural history and heritage so they appreciate its contribution to world civilisation, the principal characters who made those contributions possible. Our teaching of history, our curricula and our history books would have to be re-examined and revised so as to inculcate in the minds of our young the love and appreciation of their heritage. Our history teachers will have to be retrained and made aware of what is required of them in educating the young. In the process not only our military exploits, and feats are proudly (and perhaps justly ?) paraded and political events chronicled. Our knowledge of our heritage should be derived from some original research work yet to be carried out by our scholars to throw light on the circumstances and social conditions that produced and rewarded our artists, scientists, poets, essayists, authors, architects, musicians, craftsmen, artisans...etc. Who were these men ? How and where were they trained? What was their social status? How did they earn their living ? How adequate were their rewards and how regular was their employment? What was their social status as compared with civil servants, entertainers, politicians, doctors, the military? Where did they come from?

Further, museums, art galleries, archaeological sites should be regularly visited not only as an integral part of our school curricula but as part of daily life. They and well stocked public libraries should be considered and employed as essential tools of educating the young, not just places of amusement or entertainment.

And if any part of this programme is to be made effective or have an impact, regular, periodic monitoring and assessing becomes essential: are the means now advocated producing any results? Are they adequately taken advantage of? If yes, can they be improved on? How? If not, why? Do we have to target any particular group? Is the public responsive, appreciative?

And while talking of museums and art collections, it would seem pertinent to raise a question closely related to this discussion. This is the training of restorers in fields covering a very wide range of arts and crafts and architecture from textiles, ceramics, jewellery, to metalwork, woodwork, miniatures, calligraphy and glassware to monuments and natural reservoirs. While commendable efforts have been made by some Arab and

Islamic countries, such as Morocco, Egypt, Syria, Iran (and India) in the field of restoration, training remains sporadic, individualistic and erratic. By contrast, in the West an impressive full-fledged ancillary industries have developed to support its cultural heritage engaging hosts of not only specialist architects and artisans but also natural scientists, laboratory technicians, chemists, engineers, forensic scientists...etc. Special schools are opened and professional courses are offered methodically, and pupils are screened, selected, trained, and in some cases (in some provincial universities or schools set up by trade associations or other bodies in the US, Britain and the West generally) successful candidates awarded degrees or diplomas to establish their professional credentials. Indeed, such was the success this type of training was met with, that the wages offered to young artisans rival or sometimes exceed those obtained in old established professions. But if some Arab states, notably Egypt, Syria, some North African countries (and others such as the Indian subcontinent) have made big strides in the field of restoration and setting up training institutions for preserving old works of art, in the Gulf States sadly, the idea has hardly been seriously debated. Here thorough training programmes are badly needed in arts and crafts that are fast disappearing. In this regard institutions both in other Arab and Islamic states can be of great help and others in the West may be called on to assist in more advanced training. And despite innumerable demands on its limited resources, UNESCO can provide valuable advice and technical assistance derived from extensive field experience gained over a period of five or six decades.

An even greater and more critical task is the training of scholars and archivist to catalogue, classify, preserve and maybe even publish some of the massive amount of documents that lie hidden deteriorating in unprofessional storehouses scattered all over the Arab and Islamic worlds. They are to be found in Egypt, Turkey, North Africa, Iran and India and Pakistan, and the Gulf States. One cannot exaggerate the urgency of this task in view of the deterioration of considerable amount of these documents and of the inadequacy of their storage. An invaluable and irreplaceable source material as they are, they are vanishing slowly and disappearing for ever. So that events that took place in our past and the people and laws that shaped them are gradually disappearing and soon will be untraceable. Assistance may be asked from such institutions as the British Museum, the Metropolitan Museum, and similar institutions in

Germany, France and Austria in combined and urgent campaign to deal with this emergency.

I have dwelt at some length on this point for two reasons. First, I meant to explain in detail that devoting resources to serve “cultural” purposes goes considerably beyond just opening art galleries and museums and taking children on school outing to visit them. Secondly, to underline the far reaching socio-economic benefits that would accrue to the country concerned in employment and the acquisition of dying skills from a programme of this nature and magnitude when implemented, besides preserving the national heritage. I hope also what is being advanced here would go some way towards justifying the increase in resources I am advocating to make the programme work.

Marshalling Resources

I wish now to come to a point I have touched on earlier, the adventitious manner in which our political establishment deals with this issue, the whole field of culture. Several reasons are responsible for this. In the poor countries of the Islamic (and Arab) worlds, financial priorities may be adduced as a reason. Where competing public demands have very limited financial resources to draw on, frugality is bound to be the order of the day. In the more affluent countries, where paucity of resources is not a pertinent reason for this behaviour, ignorance not only of the role of culture in forming the national identity, but of its role in the nation building may well be the main cause. In both cases the issue lacks popularity. As such it has very limited political constituency and cannot, therefore, be assigned a high priority on the agenda of any political party or group. Those who fully appreciate the importance of the issues under discussion, so-called the elite, have two problems to contend with. The first, as was said before, is to convince the political establishment that the questions of culture and cultural heritage are part and parcel of our wider national education. The other is to be vocal and persistent in demanding the reforms now being advocated. The more active, vocal and larger this lobby becomes, the greater the chance that the political establishment would give it a fair hearing and eventually heed its demands.

Persuading the political leadership to upgrade our cultural heritage in the scale of national priorities is only one part of the responsibility I am urging our educated classes to take up. The other and equally important part is waging a patient and sustained campaign to get leaders of our civic community to understand the role played by the national cultural heritage and find room in their donations for preserving this irreplaceable treasure.

There is already a solid foundation in the region to build on in this regard. Traditionally, as I have said earlier, the affluent have always been generous with their gifts and endowment to charitable causes and institutions. But this munificence had been almost entirely confined to religious or quasi-religious purposes, e.g. mosques, religious schools, orphanages, institutions to rehabilitate the blind, the indigent, the sick. Cultural works, especially literary output, e.g. poetry, received the largesse of the high and mighty only whimsically and sporadically. Other art forms were less fortunate; they seem to have relied on market forces. Our efforts should now be directed to winning over the affluent amongst us to our cause. In the West, the task was easier, and tax incentives were added to encourage this trend. The success of this last mentioned measure can be seen in museums, art galleries, universities and research centres all over the United States, Western Europe and Japan.

In Kuwait, Kuwait Foundation for the Advancement of Science and in Saudi Arabia, King Faisal I's Foundation, are one of the earliest attempts in this direction. Its success is heartening. Equally encouraging is the work carried out by the Agha Khan and the Gulbankian Foundations⁶. These are only the beginning of the kind of work I'd like to see encouraged and spread in this part of the world. With imagination, even our *waqf* establishments may be made to stretch its horizon and include in their programme restoration works of some of our historic buildings.

So far I have discussed efforts needed to encourage our political establishment and the affluent to change their attitudes with regard to our cultural heritage. There remains the general public, the ordinary citizen, for whose sake this whole effort is mainly to be undertaken. Here I repeat what was noticed earlier on in passing⁷. The average citizen

⁶ See p. 2 above.

⁷ See p. 10 above.

should be educated to appreciate the unique role of our cultural heritage in our national renaissance. He (and she) should be encouraged to see and use our libraries, museums, art galleries....etc as indispensable tools of his (her) own education. He must be encouraged to use them and be made to enjoy what they offer. He should be made to feel at home whilst visiting and using them. He should understand and value their place in our national life. This effort too calls for a well-co-ordinated well thought out campaign to coincide with that aimed at the political establishment and the affluent class.

Before concluding this discussion, I must now address one final, crucial question: what is the starting point in this campaign? How and where does one start?

I have read that some efforts have lately been made in this direction. Some non-governmental organisations, (national committees), have been formed to care for the national culture, and (or) cultural heritage. In Egypt, for instance, I've heard a group of citizens have formed such a body and a similar movement has just started in Kuwait. Other countries, quite probably, have taken similar steps; but as yet I know of nothing definite. From the scanty information I was able to glean, each country has its own programme and its own way of dealing with the problem. While unity of purpose does unify these efforts, I am not quite sure this is the most effective way of getting the desired results. Surely minimal co-ordination between these new organisations is necessary to avoid overlapping and duplication, to define objectives, unify strategies, agree priorities.

Conclusion

Bearing in mind this debate and the pressing issues that it has raised, I suggest, as a first step, convening a plenary regional conference to debate and agree a comprehensive campaign, debate and lay down a plan of action for each country? Working parties stemming out of this gathering may follow, each to be assigned its broad responsibilities, to deal with such local problems as fund raising, co-ordination with similar bodies in the region, contacts with similar institutions outside it, and lobbying the political establishment....etc to familiarise it with this effort, acquire its endorsement and encouragement and gradually bring it along to lend its co-operation and support.

Abstracts

Cultural Heritage and Development in the Arab World

Fekri Hassan

The rich and diverse cultural heritage resources of the Arab World constitute a tremendous asset for economic and human development in the region. At the outset it is essential to discuss the concept of heritage in the light of current international usages which include tangible and intangible heritage and cultural landscapes. This perspective provides a sound basis for involving society at large in managing cultural heritage within an integrated strategy that aims to link the past to the future. In this regard, the heritage of the Arab world can be mobilized to provide a basis for a common culture of peace, cooperation and mutual understanding. Cultural heritage also provides the means for understanding the cultural processes behind historical events and serves thus as a means for clear sighted view of how to envision and implement culture change. Cultural heritage can also contribute directly to economic development. This requires sound economic analyses within a framework that acknowledges both the monetary aspects and intangible values that are deemed essential for the preservation of heritage resources.

The actualization of integrated heritage management strategies for development will require key institutional changes such as the establishment of an Arab Heritage Development Fund, and an Arab Heritage Development Organization or Trust consisting of a broad spectrum of heritage experts, policy makers, information specialists, the private sector, and the public. The proposed organization is to be entrusted with setting up the main guidelines of heritage policy for development, the preparation of a new generation in cultural heritage management, and the promotion of human and economic development of heritage resources.

Heritage, Orientalism and Development

Tamima Orra Mourad

As archaeological, natural, historical sites; along with archaeological remains historical objects and traditions, are recognized and given the status of heritage; they become instrumental in the building of civic identity, restoring civic institutions, and boosting economic development. As such, the recognition and presentation of heritage has often served the objectives of ruling or governmental interests.

This present pattern in the Arab world is entangled with the legacy of colonial European powers who directly influenced and dominated the socio-political and economic networks in the region since the 19th century. In this context, the concept of “heritage” and the strategies of its management were created mostly by Orientalists, who studied and presented what was called the “Orient” and its past within a western model of heritage in general and the heritage of Arab countries in particular. The present case study focuses on Lebanon, and how the work of Orientalists contributed to the construction of a deep historical identity, to the selective preservation of sites and to museum displays that reflected their views. This approach to heritage has since contributed to the manipulation of heritage for political objectives, and has precipitated a schism between how local communities perceived their heritage and how heritage is conceived following a western model. I propose an alternative approach based on an inclusive approach that acknowledges community participation in how heritage is envisioned and to promote heritage as a means of reconciliation and economic development.

Cultural Heritage in Lebanon: Between the War of the Past and Future Urban Development

Khaled Tadmoury

As a result of the civil war and ongoing conflicts in Lebanon, many important archaeological and historical sites have been damaged, vandalized, or destroyed. Paradoxically, the efforts at reconstruction in cities, rural towns and coastal regions, following the civil war have also, in many cases, had a negative impact on cultural heritage resources as a result of urban development initiatives. Accordingly there is a need to raise

public awareness of these issues and to establish and implement measures required for the protection and conservation of Lebanon's threatened heritage.

The Morphology of Hybrid Places: Recent Changes in the Historic Arabic Cities

Galal Abada

Over the last two decades, the historical urban centers in the Arab world a great part of their originally coherent and relatively homogenous historical fabrics have either been damaged or entirely destroyed. Many new urban projects have been introduced and imposed in such historical settings. In most cases, the new urban elements were dissonant with the historical forms. This has led to fragmentation and discontinuities creating a hybrid place in which old and new, modern and traditional, authentic and artificial elements are combined together in one form. With few exceptions, the characteristics of this hybrid place, are mostly disordered, chaotic and have lack a sense of coherence and integrity.

This Chapter addresses a critical analysis on the later changes in the traditional urban form of the Arabic cities. The major concern of this paper is to formulate the main characteristics of this emerging phenomenon, of "Hybrid Places" and the process of its formation "Hybridization". The intention of the paper is then to demonstrate the possibilities of achieving re-coherence and re-integration values to these original historical fabrics. It is argued that these possibilities may consider urban re-coherence as a homogenous synthesis between the historical substance and new forms in an overall consistent urban architecture.

Within this approach, a method of reading, analysis and interpretation of traditional urban form, as well as formulating of related strategies will be developed. The application of this approach on a major case study, the Khan Al Khalilli area in Cairo-Egypt will be a major task for the research paper. The case study argues that by linking continuity, complexity and diversity in a historically rich context, the present character of this hybrid place could be better integrated and developed.

In this Chapter, I critically review and discuss some recent approaches in the planning and development of urban heritage sites in the Arab world.

Economic Development and Cultural Heritage: Policy Issues and Unrealized Potentials

Michael M. Cernea

The issues examined in this Chapter are at the confluence between the policies intent on accelerating economic growth in developing countries, on the one hand, and the policies intent on protecting and conserving those countries' cultural heritage (henceforth, CH), on the other hand. In this context, we will discuss a topic that is seldom addressed frontally: whether a country's major CH endowments are to be regarded essentially "beneficiary recipients" of the financial resources created by economic development in the non-cultural sectors of the economy, or can also be regarded and relied upon as contributors to development and "resource-generators" for economic growth?

In this Chapter, I will primarily consider the conditions prevalent in most developing countries, with a particular focus on Arab countries in the Middle East and North Africa region and on their material or physical cultural heritage. This contribution draws on a much larger study carried out by the author on CH strategies in that region in 2000. The findings and conclusions may be broadly relevant to situations in developing countries in many other world regions, for instance in Africa and much of Asia, and students of those regions may compare our findings and test our analysis against other regions of the developing world.

The conditions of Cultural Heritage endowments and management in the developing world are often materially different from the circumstances of developed/industrialized countries. In the latter, not only are investment resources more plentiful, but also the sources for financial contributions to Cultural Heritage conservation are more diversified, in both the public and the private sectors, which allows for a wider spectrum of options and approaches. Also, in these countries the institutional and legal frameworks tend to provide more robust support to monument protection and raise harder to surpass barriers against the encroachment of Cultural Heritage endowments by modern industries and urbanization.

Development of Cultural Industries in Egypt

Nora Ebeid

Current and potential cultural and creative industries in Egypt promise to be a major source of economic development. This Chapter provides an analytical overview of this cultural sector, and examines the economic dimensions of these industries. Using specific case studies, this Chapter contains an assessment of current enabling as well as inhibiting factors. This provides the basis for making concrete suggestions on how best to develop and expand these industries in the future.

Information Technology, Cultural Heritage and Sustainable Development

Nagla Rizk

Sustainable development is a comprehensive concept that extends beyond mere economic growth to encompass notions of human dignity and self esteem. With the growing role of Information Technology (IT) in heritage and creative industries, this Chapter advocates that IT can have an impact on sustainable development through its role in preserving and promoting cultural heritage. At the heart of this argument is the assertion that culture is fundamental to economic development, and that cultural heritage is essential for the betterment of human lives and an integral component of sustainable development. This is particularly relevant for many countries in the Arab world that possess a great wealth of tangible and intangible cultural heritage.

Sustainable Tourism Planning in the Arab World: The Egyptian Case Study

Eman Helmy and Chris Cooper

Arab cultural heritage provides an important competitive advantage to tourist destinations through the quality and variety of its tangible and intangible assets. To benefit from this competitive advantage entails careful planning and management of heritage resources. This requires two planning tasks : (1) harmoniously integrating the variety of cultural

heritage elements to optimize the visitor's experience while ensuring social and economic benefits to local communities, (2) implementing management techniques to sustain cultural heritage resources and preserve local community values.

Accordingly, current approaches to tourism in Egypt, taken in this Chapter, as an example, needs to be re-evaluated in terms of (1) the national planning policy of archaeological areas; and (2) the relationships within and between the relevant authorities.

Sustainable Development of Saharan Tourism and Heritage

Rachid Sidi Boumedine

Tourism in the Arab world, and in particular the Sahara, provides opportunities for utilizing heritage assets in order to create jobs, contribute to the alleviation of poverty, and facilitate economic and social development. The challenge, however, is how to reconcile tourism with the sustainability of the fragile desert environment and the local communities. One pitfall that must be avoided is an overdependence on tourism which may lead to increased socio-economic vulnerability. This Chapter outlines a strategy for mitigating the negative effects of tourism on the cultural and natural heritage of the Sahara.

The Hammam: Scenarios for a sustainable future

Heidi Dumreicher

Traditionally, the Hammam has not been an integral part of Islamic society's daily life. Many hammams have also been of great architectural value. As an institution, the Hammam, has been in decline since the 19th century. In a three-year-project "HAMMAM", a group of researchers have been working together in an interdisciplinary study to revitalize Hammams in the Arab countries around the Mediterranean. The project brings together knowledge from several countries in order to integrate architectural, technological, historical and social dimensions of the Hammam in order to develop a model of the hammam as a sustainable institution. This requires an examination of the role of the hammam in the neighbourhood

as well as the city, and the need for renovation. Inevitably this leads to the necessity of developing approaches that resolve the apparent conflict between authenticity and rehabilitation, and the potential impact of European trends on contemporary societies in the Arab World.

Identification, Domains and Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage

Ahmed Mursi

Intangible heritage in the Arab world has not been fully mobilized for social and economic development. In this Chapter, I discuss issues related to the impact of globalization and new technologies of production, distribution and marketing on cultural heritage. I suggest that there is first of all an urgent need for legislation to protect intangible heritage. It is also important to guard it from devaluation, and to ensure that there are sufficient financial resources for documenting, conserving and valorizing the broad spectrum of intangible heritage characteristic of the Arab world. This requires setting up training programmes and capacity building, as well as setting up a policy to provide financial security to those who are actively engaged in maintaining and revitalizing intangible cultural heritage.

Heritage Preservation on Law and Policy: Handling the Double-Edged Sword of Development

Alexander Bauer

This Chapter reviews the main ways in which the law may be invoked to deal appropriately with heritage and development issues, as a way of mitigating destruction, on one hand, and promoting preservation on the other. Reference is made to case studies from the United States and internationally which involve both tangible and intangible heritage issues. While the law has been enforced with much success in cases involving tangible heritage, the legal protection of intangible heritage has proved to be more difficult. This Chapter addresses also the strengths and shortcomings of various legal approaches and makes some suggestions about how the preservation of tangible heritage may be used more effectively to preserve intangible heritage.

Intangible Cultural Heritage and Intellectual Property

Ahmed Abdel-Latif

The UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003) is a landmark development in UNESCO's efforts to safeguard the world's intangible heritage. However, the Convention does not address issues arising in the context of intellectual property. At the same time, the Convention requires State Parties to safeguard intangible cultural heritage through measures, including documentation, which can inadvertently expose this heritage to misappropriation by the intellectual property system. This situation could become the source of a "dilemma" for Arab countries, wishing to implement the UNESCO Convention, considering that no binding international norms have been developed in international bodies specialized in the area of intellectual property, such as the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO), to prevent such misappropriation. Furthermore, there is an urgent need to complement the UNESCO 2003 Convention by legally binding measure that would both prevent the misappropriation of this heritage and guarantee a number of rights to its owners. Without this, efforts towards preserving and protecting this heritage will remain partial, fragmented and of limited effectiveness.

Cultural Heritage Development in the Arab World: Moving Forward

Sheikha Hussa Al Sabah

Cultural heritage is critical for current and future social and economic development of countries of the Arab world. However, financial investments in cultural heritage is not sufficient since most governmental policies allocate scarce funds for alleviating poverty, better sanitation, and infrastructure. It is therefore important for governments and individuals to ensure that the preservation of heritage is not ignored. Some exemplary work is being carried out by foundations such as the Kuwait Foundation for the Advancement of Science and King Faisal I's Foundation (Saudi Arabia), but these are only the beginning, and must encourage further programmes and investments for cultural heritage conservation and management, as well as education and training. This Chapter calls for a plenary regional conference in the Arab World to deal specifically with these issues and lay down a plan for funding, education and management of cultural heritage in each country.

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