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World
Heritage
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Convention du
Patrimoine
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**Sustainable
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**Objectifs de
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World Heritage for Sustainable Development in Africa

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Foreword

Mechtild Rössler
Director
Division for Heritage and World Heritage Centre, UNESCO

We are delighted to present this book on World Heritage and Sustainable Development in Africa. This publication follows the 2016 UNESCO international conference on 'Safeguarding African World Heritage as a Driver of Sustainable Development', which was organized by the UNESCO World Heritage Centre, in collaboration with the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism of the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania, in Arusha (Tanzania) from 31 May to 3 June 2016.

In line with the objectives of the United Nations 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and the World Heritage Sustainable Development Policy (WH-SDP), along with the African Union's 'Agenda 2063: the Africa We Want', this publication addresses the challenges of safeguarding World Heritage in the Africa Region in the face of rapid contemporary development, and advocates for the mainstreaming of the WH-SDP into regional and national policies.

The 28 papers present examples from heritage practitioners from sub-Saharan Africa, Azerbaijan, China, Colombia and Pakistan.

The book highlights the achievements made in the management and conservation of cultural and natural heritage in Africa, reflects on the dynamic nature of this heritage, and provides recommendations to ensure its safeguarding. UNESCO is committed to working closely with African States Parties and our numerous partners to ensure that the recommendations from the conference are effectively implemented. To this end, it is essential to mobilize the necessary resources to support African institutions to achieve these recommendations. These mobilization efforts must include the participation of African youth, whose role is critical to sustainability as future guardians and caretakers of Africa's rich heritage. It is for this reason that I call upon all readers to support sustainable development at World Heritage sites in sub-Saharan Africa for the benefit of future generations and the global community.

Avant-propos

Mechtild Rössler
Directrice
Division du patrimoine et du Centre du patrimoine mondial, UNESCO

Nous sommes très heureux de présenter cet ouvrage consacré au patrimoine mondial et au développement durable en Afrique. Cette publication fait suite à la Conférence internationale sur la sauvegarde du patrimoine mondial africain, moteur de développement durable, organisée par le Centre du patrimoine mondial de l'UNESCO en coopération avec le Ministère des ressources naturelles et du tourisme du Gouvernement de la République-Unie de Tanzanie, à Arusha (Tanzanie), du 31 mai au 3 juin 2016.

Conformément aux objectifs du Programme des Nations Unies pour le développement durable à l'horizon 2030, à la politique relative au patrimoine mondial et au développement durable (WH-SDP) et à l'Agenda 2063 de l'Union africaine : l'Afrique que nous voulons, cette publication aborde les défis de la sauvegarde du patrimoine mondial en Afrique compte tenu du développement rapide de la région, tout en préconisant l'intégration de la WH-SDP dans les politiques régionales et nationales.

Les 28 articles réunis ici citent des exemples tirés de l'expérience de professionnels du patrimoine en Afrique subsaharienne, en Azerbaïdjan, en Chine, en Colombie et au Pakistan.

Tout en mettant l'accent sur les résultats de la gestion et de la conservation du patrimoine en Afrique obtenus grâce aux connaissances et pratiques traditionnelles, ainsi que sur la nature dynamique du patrimoine africain, le présent ouvrage formule des recommandations afin d'assurer la sauvegarde du patrimoine culturel et naturel africain. L'UNESCO est déterminée à travailler en étroite collaboration avec les États parties africains et avec nos nombreux partenaires pour veiller à ce que les recommandations de la conférence soient efficacement suivies. À cette fin, il est indispensable de mobiliser les ressources nécessaires pour aider les institutions africaines à mettre en œuvre ces recommandations. Ces efforts de mobilisation doivent impliquer les jeunes Africains qui seront à l'avenir les gardiens du riche patrimoine africain et qui, à ce titre, contribueront de façon essentielle à la durabilité. C'est pour cette raison que j'appelle tous les lecteurs à soutenir le développement durable sur les sites du patrimoine mondial en Afrique subsaharienne au profit des générations futures et de la communauté mondiale.

Acknowledgements

The World Heritage Centre of UNESCO would like to express its appreciation to the Government of the People's Republic of China for its generous support for this publication and its commitment to UNESCO's actions in Africa.

Our thanks also go to the United Republic of Tanzania for generously hosting the International Conference on Safeguarding African World Heritage as a Driver for Sustainable Development (31 May – 3 June 2016).

We are also grateful to Bermuda Emissions Limited for funding the participation of several African experts at the Conference.

The unfailing collaboration of our strategic partners in UNESCO's work in pursuing the goals of the World Heritage Convention and making this initiative possible is also greatly appreciated. In particular, we wish to thank the States Parties to the Convention, ICOMOS, ICCROM, IUCN and the African World Heritage Fund. We count on your continued support to undertake actions in line with the recommendations of the Arusha Conference.

UNESCO also gratefully acknowledges the contributions of the Conference Task Force, and all of the conference and session rapporteurs and moderators.

Finally, this publication would not be possible without the contributions of the authors who have given their time to share their experiences through these articles.

We count on all the present and future generations who carry the challenge of sustainable development in Africa to make the Ngorongoro Declaration a reality.

Remerciements

Le Centre du patrimoine mondial de l'UNESCO exprime toute sa reconnaissance au Gouvernement de la République populaire de Chine pour l'aide généreuse qu'il a accordée à la réalisation de la présente publication et son engagement à l'égard des actions de l'UNESCO en Afrique.

Nous tenons tout particulièrement à remercier la République-Unie de Tanzanie pour avoir généreusement accueilli la Conférence internationale sur la Sauvegarde du patrimoine mondial africain en tant que moteur du développement durable (31 mai – 3 juin 2016).

Nous sommes également reconnaissants à Bermuda Emissions Limited d'avoir financé la participation de plusieurs experts africains à la Conférence.

La collaboration sans faille de nos partenaires stratégiques dans le travail de l'UNESCO pour atteindre les objectifs de la Convention du patrimoine mondial et rendre cette initiative possible est également très appréciée. En particulier, nous souhaitons remercier les États parties à la Convention, l'ICOMOS, l'ICCROM, l'UICN et le Fonds pour le patrimoine mondial africain. Nous comptons sur votre soutien indéfectible pour entreprendre des actions conformes aux recommandations de la Conférence d'Arusha.

L'UNESCO remercie également la Task Force de la Conférence et tous les rapporteurs et modérateurs pour leurs contributions.

Enfin, cette publication ne serait pas possible sans les contributions des auteurs qui ont donné leur temps pour partager leurs expériences à travers ces articles.

Nous comptons sur toutes les générations présentes et futures qui portent le défi du développement durable en Afrique pour faire de la Déclaration de Ngorongoro une réalité.

Table of Contents / Table des matières

Coral outcrops at the Aldabra Atoll, Seychelles


PART 1

Introduction

Edmond Moukala and Ishanlosen Odiaua

Okavango Delta, Botswana

The year 1972 was an auspicious year for sustainable development. Though the term 'sustainable' had already been used long before then, especially in the area of ecosystems management, 1972 was the year when the UN Stockholm Conference on the Human Environment brought the concept of 'sustainable development' to global attention. While recognizing the need to safeguard the Earth's environment for 'the benefit of present and future generations', the conference highlighted the challenge of maintaining sustainability and the need for guiding principles for the preservation of the 'human environment' in the face of economic growth.

The year 1972 was also the year that the General Conference of UNESCO adopted the World Heritage Convention, in November. This was a direct response to Recommendation 98 of the Stockholm Conference, under the section on educational, informational, social and cultural aspects of environmental issues, which called for the preparation of 'conventions required for the conservation of the world's natural resources and cultural heritage'.

Sustainable development continued to be defined in terms of intergenerational relations right up to the early twenty-first century. In 2002, the Johannesburg World Summit on Sustainable Development expanded the concept of intergenerational justice to include the three pillars of economic development, social development and environmental protection. Governments committed to cooperation for heritage preservation in order to improve the protection of environmental and natural resources and cultural heritage.

More recently in 2015, the United Nations adopted the 17 Sustainable Development Goals – the 2030 Agenda – with specific reference, in SDG 11, to 'strengthen efforts to protect and safeguard the world's cultural and natural heritage'. In addition to addressing poverty and social justice, the Agenda calls for urgent measures to address climate change and preserve the global ecosystem.

In November 2015, in order to align the World Heritage Convention with the 2030 Agenda, the General Assembly of the States Parties to the World Heritage Convention adopted the *Policy on the Integration of a Sustainable Development Perspective into the Processes of the World Heritage Convention.* The policy is anchored on the three dimensions of sustainable development – environment, economics and society – operating within a peaceful and secure context. It calls upon the heritage sector to act as a catalyst that fully embraces sustainable development, to 'harness the reciprocal benefits for heritage and society'. Social development that involves every stratum of human society is at the heart of the World Heritage Convention. The policy enjoins all States Parties to fully include all stakeholders, including local communities, in order to enhance the quality of life of all persons living in and around World Heritage sites.

Africa and World Heritage

Africa is the cradle of humanity. It is the world's second largest and second most populous continent. Yet, despite the fact that African countries are keen participants in the World Heritage movement, Africa's wealth of natural and cultural history is barely represented on the World Heritage List. A closer look at the involvement of Africa with the World Heritage Convention raises further questions about this situation. The first African States Parties – Niger, Nigeria, Democratic Republic of Congo and Sudan – joined the World Heritage Convention in 1974. By 1978, when the first World Heritage sites were listed, nine sub-Saharan African countries had joined the Convention. African sites represented 25% of the 12 sites inscribed on the List in 1978. In 2017, with all the sub-Saharan countries signed up to the Convention, just 9% of World Heritage sites on the List are African. However, 28% of the sites on the List of World Heritage in Danger are African, second only to the Arab region (41%).

World Heritage sites are notable for their outstanding natural and cultural values. As the population of the African region increases – it is estimated that by the year 2050, a quarter of the world's population will be African – the pressure on natural resources will increase. The implementation

L'année 1972 aura été une année propice au développement durable. Bien que le terme « durable » ait été couramment employé depuis bien longtemps déjà, notamment dans le domaine de la gestion des écosystèmes, c'est en 1972 que la Conférence des Nations Unies sur l'environnement humain, tenue à Stockholm, a fait du concept de « développement durable » une question d'importance majeure au niveau mondial. Tout en soulignant la nécessité de protéger l'environnement de la planète « dans l'intérêt des générations présentes et à venir », la Conférence a mis en avant la difficulté que représente la préservation de la durabilité tout en soulignant la nécessité d'adopter des principes directeurs axés sur la préservation de « l'environnement humain » dans un contexte de croissance économique.

C'est également en 1972, au mois de novembre, que la Conférence générale de l'UNESCO a adopté la Convention du patrimoine mondial, réponse directe à la Recommandation 98 de la Conférence de Stockholm, qui préconise, dans la rubrique relative aux aspects éducatifs, sociaux et culturels des problèmes de l'environnement et au problème de l'information, « la préparation des conventions actuelles et futures nécessaires pour la conservation des ressources naturelles et du patrimoine culturel mondial ».

Le développement durable a continué à être défini en termes de relations intergénérationnelles jusqu'au début du XXIe siècle. En 2002, le Sommet mondial pour le développement durable, réuni à Johannesburg, a élargi le concept de justice intergénérationnelle en y intégrant les trois piliers que sont le développement économique, le développement social et la protection de l'environnement. Les gouvernements s'engagent à coopérer aux fins de la préservation du patrimoine de façon à mieux protéger l'environnement, les ressources naturelles et le patrimoine culturel.

Plus récemment, en 2015, les Nations Unies ont adopté les 17 Objectifs de développement durable (ODD) – le Programme 2030. L'ODD 11, en particulier, appelle à « Redoubler d'efforts pour protéger et préserver le patrimoine culturel et naturel mondial ». Le Programme, qui traite également de pauvreté et de justice sociale, préconise l'adoption de mesures urgentes pour faire face au changement climatique et préserver l'écosystème mondial.

Afin d'harmoniser la Convention du patrimoine mondial et le Programme 2030, l'Assemblée générale des États parties de la Convention du patrimoine mondial a adopté en novembre 2015 une *Politique pour l'intégration d'une perspective de développement durable dans les processus de la Convention du patrimoine mondial.*

Cette politique prend appui sur les trois piliers du développement durable, environnement, économie et société, dans un contexte pacifique et sûr. Elle préconise que le secteur du patrimoine joue un rôle moteur et intègre pleinement le développement durable afin d'exploiter « les bénéfices réciproques pour le patrimoine et la société ». Le développement social, qui fait intervenir la société humaine à tous les niveaux, est au cœur de la Convention du patrimoine mondial. La Politique invite tous les États parties à impliquer pleinement l'ensemble des parties prenantes, y compris les communautés locales, afin d'améliorer la qualité de vie de toutes les personnes vivant sur les sites du patrimoine mondial et dans les alentours.

L'Afrique et le patrimoine mondial

L'Afrique est le berceau de l'humanité. C'est aussi le deuxième continent du monde par la taille et la population. Or, bien que les pays africains soient des participants enthousiastes du mouvement du patrimoine mondial, la grande richesse que possède l'Afrique de par son histoire naturelle et culturelle est peu représentée sur la Liste du patrimoine mondial. L'examen plus attentif de l'engagement de l'Afrique en faveur de la Convention du patrimoine mondial soulève d'autres questions sur la faible représentation de la région sur la Liste. Les premiers États parties africains, le Niger, le Nigéria, la République démocratique du Congo et le Soudan, ont ratifié la Convention du patrimoine mondial en 1974. En 1978, année où les premiers sites ont été inscrits sur la Liste du patrimoine mondial, les États parties africains à la Convention étaient au nombre de neuf. Les sites africains représentaient 25 % des 12 biens inscrits sur la Liste en 1978. En 2017, et alors que tous les États d'Afrique subsaharienne ont ratifié la Convention, les sites africains représentent 9 % des biens inscrits sur la Liste et 28 % des biens inscrits sur la Liste du patrimoine mondial en péril, ce qui place le continent africain en deuxième position, juste derrière la région arabe (41 %).

Les sites du patrimoine mondial se distinguent par leurs valeurs naturelles et culturelles exceptionnelles. Compte tenu de l'augmentation démographique que connaît le continent, on

of the Convention by States Parties should involve responsible interaction with the environment to avoid depletion of natural resources, ensure environmental quality and strengthen the resilience of sites and communities to disasters and climate change.

The objective of this book is to present experiences from different World Heritage sites in the region, and beyond, that demonstrate how World Heritage has been applied to stimulate development. It presents articles discussing the theme of UNESCO's international conference on 'Safeguarding African World Heritage as a Driver of Sustainable Development', hosted by the State Party of Tanzania in June 2016. The main outcome of the Conference was the Ngorongoro Declaration, a blueprint for World Heritage and sustainable development in Africa.

The book is made up of three main sections. Part 1 is the introductory section, which includes an overview of the situation of African World Heritage and sustainable development. Part 2 consists of case studies from various contributors, looking at World Heritage and interactions with the three dimensions of sustainable development – environmental, economic and social. They present experiences from sites in sub-Saharan Africa; examples from Azerbaijan, China, Colombia and Pakistan are shared in the spirit of learning from other places. Part 3 consists of two sections. The first is an analysis of the issues raised in the preceding case studies, while the second examines how the political economy in the region affects the interaction between World Heritage and development, and makes some recommendations.

Street view, Lamu Old Town, Kenya
© UNESCO/K. Monteil

estime que d'ici à 2050 un habitant de la planète sur quatre sera Africain, ce qui signifie que les pressions exercées sur les ressources naturelles sont appelées à s'intensifier. La mise en œuvre de la Convention par les États parties devrait favoriser des interactions responsables avec l'environnement de manière à éviter l'épuisement des ressources naturelles, préserver la qualité de l'environnement et renforcer la résilience des sites et des communautés face aux catastrophes et au changement climatique.

Le présent ouvrage a pour objet de mettre en valeur les expériences de différents sites du patrimoine mondial dans la région et ailleurs, afin de montrer comment le patrimoine mondial peut être un moteur du développement. Certains articles qui y figurent concernent la Conférence internationale de l'UNESCO intitulée « Le Patrimoine mondial africain, moteur de développement durable », accueillie en juin 2016 par la Tanzanie, État partie à la Convention. La Déclaration de Ngorongoro, qui en est l'aboutissement majeur, constitue un modèle pour le patrimoine mondial et le développement durable en Afrique.

Le présent ouvrage se compose de trois grandes parties. En introduction, la première partie fait le point sur la situation du patrimoine mondial et du développement durable en Afrique. La deuxième partie réunit les études de cas de différents contributeurs qui examinent le patrimoine mondial et ses interactions avec les trois dimensions du développement durable – environnementale, économique et sociale. Ils décrivent la situation de biens situés en Afrique subsaharienne, en Azerbaïdjan, en Chine, en Colombie et au Pakistan. La troisième partie, qui conclut l'ouvrage, est divisée en deux sections : la première analyse les questions soulevées par les études de cas, tandis que la seconde examine l'économie politique au sein de laquelle le patrimoine mondial et le développement s'articulent dans la région et formule des recommandations.

African heritage and its sustainable development[1]

George Okello Abungu
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1 This paper was first published in *World Heritage*, No. 82, December 2016. http://whc.unesco.org/en/review/82/

The subject of African heritage and its sustainable development – or African heritage and sustainable development – has become one of the most discussed issues of late, both within and outside the continent. The discussion has not been confined to heritage practitioners but has traversed the traditional boundaries, bringing in the practitioners, academicians, communities, NGOs, business concerns and even States Parties wanting to open up their heritage resources as sources of wealth creation and poverty alleviation, beyond the usual tourism activities. The question of whether heritage can be used sustainably for development seems to be no longer contested; the question is how, rather than why.

Cultural or natural heritage has always been part of national development for nearly all African States Parties to the 1972 Convention, by contributing to national economies through tourism in parks, visits to cultural landscapes and other commercial ventures. But less attention has been paid to probing the complexities of balancing heritage and development. In many countries, particularly in Africa with its peculiar centralized management of heritage – often through government agencies and at the exclusion of communities, courtesy of the colonial appropriation – most heritage places could be managed for heritage's sake. Today, however, due to population increase, more demands on resources, and more enlightened and questioning communities that are demanding back their historical rights, the issue of heritage as a possible driver for development and community benefit has taken centre stage.

World Heritage status has not exempted the properties from these expectations and demands. On the contrary, the often large parks with their newly discovered mineral resources are a target, just as the old living urban landscapes or towns with their attractive architecture and the opportunities they offer have become targets, of new expansion and developments. All these are pursued in the name of utilizing a country's resources to create wealth and alleviate rampant poverty and want. On a continent endowed with plenty of resources including cultural and natural heritage, and yet still a continent of adversity, nothing can sell better than a call to turn to new sources of wealth and wealth creation. In this case, the focus is on heritage and heritage resources.

The discussion on sustainable heritage conservation and development cannot be more relevant and timely than on the African continent today. For a continent of achievements with

great past civilizations, some of the largest parks teeming with wildlife and an electorate of dynamic young people in a hurry to break the chains of poverty and unemployment, the use of alternative resources of wealth including heritage and heritage places is enticing.

Because of Africa's abundant and unexploited minerals, land and other natural resources, a new scramble by powers from within and without the continent has begun. This paper explores the complexities, as well as the opportunities, offered through this discussion on African heritage and its sustainable development; it suggests possible ways

Daily life at Lake Malawi, Malawi
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In a mountainous region in the heart of Ethiopia, 11 medieval monolithic churches were carved out of rock. The Rock-Hewn Churches, Lalibela (Ethiopia) were inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1978.
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forward to ensure the reconciliation of heritage conservation and sustainable development on the continent.

The question of heritage conservation and its sustainable development: origins and the journey

In his speech to the Parks Conference in 2002 in Johannesburg, President Nelson Mandela remarked 'What do we conserve for, if not humanity'. This was a statement that can be interpreted in two ways. Firstly, conservation is the responsibility of all; but secondly, conservation for its own sake without human benefit may not meet its goals.

On a continent with a colonial past of appropriation of resources from communities, and their exclusion from the management of these, conservation especially of parks and other heritage resources is often seen as a continuation of this colonial agenda for the benefit of a few 'outsiders'. It is also seen as benefitting the elite already endowed with resources and the time to explore, experience and discover rather than the hard-working community members.

At local level, in the minds of many, properties listed as World Heritage have often been considered as belonging to UNESCO, rather than to States Parties or communities living within or around them. The language of the Convention is foreign to the layperson; the regulations imposed to ensure the protection of the properties' Outstanding Universal Values (OUVs), and their impact on communities' lives, are often unpopular. This manifests itself even more and creates a conflictual situation when these regulations affect the needs of the States Parties – for instance World Heritage sites being declared no-go zones for extractive industries, or developments in listed historic urban landscapes being strictly regulated.

In Africa, the discussions on heritage conservation and sustainable development in and around World Heritage properties have been influenced by the historical experiences of alienation and appropriation of resources, and by current discoveries of other economic potentials within or adjacent to the World Heritage sites whose exploitation does not necessarily conform to the Convention and its principles. This has been reinforced by the trend in heritage thinking and practice that reflects a move away from a sole concern with preserving heritage at any cost, to a more open-minded approach to heritage as being instrumental in leveraging development.

The question of coexistence of heritage and sustainable development has at times led to conflicts between States Parties and the World Heritage Committee, with some properties ending up on the List of World Heritage in Danger. Due to these conflicts, States Parties from Africa have at times declined to list sites on the basis that listing would undermine their development agenda. Two examples suffice. One African State Party's president withdrew a property from consideration for listing, saying 'UNESCO will not allow us to even till our farms if this is listed'. In another case, a minister responsible for World Heritage of a State Party also from Africa (and a member of the World Heritage Committee) declined to sign a nomination dossier for an extension of a natural heritage

property, exclaiming ‘over my dead body’ when asked to do so.

Despite the various and at times conflicting arguments, the role of heritage in national development is not new in many African countries. On the contrary, many countries have maintained the parks created during the colonial times, created new ones, and conserved their historic urban landscapes and various sites and monuments, to serve as tourist attractions and contribute to national economies. Many have become World Heritage properties.

Regarding the 1972 Convention, African States Parties have been participants at all levels, including as World Heritage Committee members. The continent is endowed with great heritage as intense and diversified as its populations. Africa is a reservoir of heritage resources and knowledge. The great migrations of Serengeti and Mara, the smoking waterfall of Mosi-ao-Tunya or Victoria Falls, the extensive rock art of the Sahara, the pyramids of Egypt, the Rock-Hewn Churches of Lalibela, the expansive swamps of the Sudd in South Sudan, the impenetrable forests of the Democratic Republic of Congo, Uganda and Rwanda with their population of gorillas, the magnificent mosques of Timbuktu and Djenné provide but a glimpse of a rich and relatively intact heritage.

Despite its riches, Africa has challenges, including having the fewest properties on the World Heritage List and the most on the List of World Heritage in Danger. Wars and conflicts, poaching, neglect and bad management, and the vagaries of climate change have continued to inflict damage on properties. People associated with or living around World Heritage have often continued to be excluded, with little or no benefit. The question often asked is how much of this heritage translates into resources for the people’s well-being, and into sustenance for today’s and future generations?

To address some of these issues, especially regarding good management of World Heritage properties, community participation, resource mobilization, improved representation of the African heritage on the List and reduction of properties listed as in danger, the World Heritage Committee introduced a number of actions, including the Global Strategy for a Representative, Balanced and Credible World Heritage List. While it has not solved many problems or challenges such as representation of properties, it contributed to the creation of programmes and activities to

Earth plastering at the Great Mosque of Djenné, 2015
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enhance the management of African heritage and to begin addressing issues of conservation and development. The Africa 2009 programme contributed to capacity-building for heritage professionals and site managers on the continent.

Together with the recommendations of the Periodic Reporting for Africa and initiatives from representatives of permanent delegations of African countries at UNESCO, major progress was achieved, including the creation of the African World Heritage Fund (AWHF). Its objectives included building capacity among heritage professionals, increasing the representation of properties on the World Heritage List and reducing the number of those in danger. Working with the World Heritage Centre, the advisory bodies and various partners, the fund has contributed significantly to capacity-building and to starting programmes empowering communities in and around World Heritage properties, as part of heritage conservation and sustainable development.

The discussion on heritage conservation and sustainable development in Africa has therefore developed with time, reaching its current peak possibly because of the many and often conflicting interests of conservation and use. The issue of heritage as a resource that needs to be sustainably conserved without compromising development has all along been recognized and debated at numerous forums.

The UN Stockholm, UN Rio 1 and 2, and 2002 UN Johannesburg proceedings on environment and sustainable development all recognized the potential role and use of heritage for sustainable development. These were followed by the conference organized by AWHF, the Republic of South Africa and UNESCO in September 2012 in Johannesburg to discuss World Heritage and sustainable development, 'Living with World Heritage in Africa'. All the meetings came up with recommendations to find ways of harmonizing conservation of heritage and sustainable development in Africa.

Objective 4 of the 2012–2017 Action Plan for the African Region highlighted the necessity 'to develop and implement strategies to enable States Parties to effectively address the challenges of balancing heritage conservation and development needs'.

The General Assembly of States Parties to the World Heritage Convention adopted, in November 2015, a 'Policy document for the integration of a sustainable development perspective into the processes of the World Heritage Convention'. The document reflects the goals of the United Nations 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. The World Heritage Committee endorsed this document at its 39th session in Bonn, Germany. The Committee encouraged the World Heritage Centre to sensitize States Parties, as appropriate, on the adoption of the policy and its implications, notably regarding the need to establish appropriate governance mechanisms to achieve the required balance.

Subsequently, the World Heritage Centre organized an expert meeting in Paris bringing together a number of African Heritage specialists, the AWHF, the heritage training institutions in Africa and the centre to brainstorm on the way forward. A concept document was developed on World Heritage as a driver for sustainable development in Africa that led to a conference organized in May–June 2016 by UNESCO and the Government of Tanzania with support from the Government of China.

Meanwhile the African Union, through its 2015 'Agenda 2063: the Africa We Want', envisioned an 'integrated, prosperous and peaceful Africa, driven by its own citizens and representing a dynamic force in the international arena', with heritage cited as one of the resources to lead to this.

In April–May 2016, at the 10th anniversary celebrations of the AWHF, a workshop held in Maropeng, South Africa on 'African World Heritage…Thinking Ahead' stressed, among its recommendations, the balance between conservation and development in the continent, reiterating the central role of communities in the conservation of their cultural and natural heritage. This is in keeping with Article 5.1 of the World Heritage Convention: to adopt a general policy, which aims to give the cultural and natural heritage a function in the life of the community.

This shows that the recognition of heritage conservation and its sustainable development – or heritage conservation and sustainable development in Africa, one and the same thing – represents a reality whose time has come. No longer can we conserve for the sake of conservation. Nor can we develop without sustainably conserving heritage in Africa and demonstrating that heritage conservation and development are not inherently opposed to one another.

What needs to be done: any best practices?

This discussion on African heritage and its sustainable development provides a great opportunity for the continent to reflect not only on its past challenges but also on its achievements and potentials, charting a way forward and putting to use its great wealth of resources without compromising sustainable heritage conservation. It provides an opportunity to learn from the past and to select what works, to ensure sustainable development of its economies and sustainable conservation of its rich heritage, subsequently ensuring their transfer intact to future generations.

This can only be achieved in a state of peace that includes the Africa Union's 'Agenda 2063: the Africa We Want'. How can we achieve this in a space of conflicts, wars, poverty and want? Africa is confronted with difficult problems that go beyond development: issues of rights of people, of nation states and of deprived communities marginalized over generations, trying to negotiate spaces in a competitive world where they cannot trust even their 'representatives'.

There is a need for a proud Africa that protects and promotes its heritage while empowering its people with a better life. An Africa with silent guns that turns future aspirations into present reality. Where children do not know the sounds of mortar

and bomb blasts, or rape, disease and hunger, but peace, plenty and play. Where they are allowed to be children. Where they appreciate nature: forest, mountain, caves as gifts of nature bequeathed to them to enjoy and appreciate, rather than to use as hiding places from torture and deprivation of their rights. Where diversity of cultures becomes a source of pride, inspiration and sharing rather than a source of conflicts. Where heritage contributes to all of these.

Africa needs to prioritize its development. It already has challenges linked to extractive industries, dam construction, megaports and transport infrastructure developments, considered harmful to heritage. On the other hand, it has the danger of poverty and lack of development in the face of vast resources. To tackle these dilemmas, Africa has to 'come home' first with a continental vision. It needs a common approach in the spirit of *Ubuntu*, the African humanist concept that states 'you are because we are' and incorporates the Nigerian saying 'if you want to go fast, go alone but if you want to go far, go with others'.

Heritage professionals, site managers and heritage activists have to start thinking beyond their spaces of responsibility to ask what best practice is. They must recognize that exclusion of community voices from World Heritage sites, the tendency to treat World Heritage as a prestige phenomenon rather than a functional asset that can improve the lives of communities, and the over-centralization of decisions on World Heritage, left in the hands of the government apparatus, can be a threat to balanced and sustainable use and protection.

There is a need for a common language that communities understand and respect for their traditional management systems (TMS). Heritage jargon, terms such as Outstanding Universal Value (OUV), 'authenticity' and 'integrity' remain ambiguous, not conceptualized and defined from the African perspective and reality. Yet these are the words used by those engaging communities, rather than communicating in a 'language' that reflects their feelings, aspirations and experiences.

TMS is the knowledge that ecologists such as Brockman, Masuzumi and Augustine (1997); Berkes, Colding and Folke (2000); and Hammersmith (2007) have identified as a key means of ecological management that encompasses wise and sustainable use. Lack of recognition of the TMS has jeopardized until recently Africa's competitiveness within global best practice in heritage management. And yet it

The Rainforests of the Atsinanana (Madagascar) contain globally outstanding biodiversity and have an exceptional proportion of endemic plant and animal species.

represents resilience, deep-rooted, time-tested, based on values embedding the fundamental indivisibility of culture and nature, the tangible and intangible, so crucial to the African understanding of heritage. A people-centred management system, TMS promotes respect, partnerships and sharing. It is able to reconcile conservation and development and it puts communities at the centre, confirming the saying 'not for us without us; if you do it for me without me, you are against me'.

The Heritage Bank in Mali; the women growing vegetables to sell to tourist hotels at the Victoria Falls World Heritage site in Zambia and Zimbabwe; the Kaya elders in Kenya empowered with ecotourism knowledge and facilities; resource sharing in Bwindi: all these projects, and others,

have shown that small start-ups can positively change community attitudes and bring economic empowerment.

Working with communities and using their knowledge is not simply one of the alternatives in Africa. It is the key to unlocking the potential of balanced conservation with balanced development. Their TMS should not be frozen in time but imagined and expanded into powerful ways of managing and conserving heritage. To deny the present generation the rightful use of their resources is a denial of human rights. Equally, the destruction or misuse of the resources bestowed on the present generation by nature or past generations, thereby depriving future generations of their rightful inheritance, is a total injustice.

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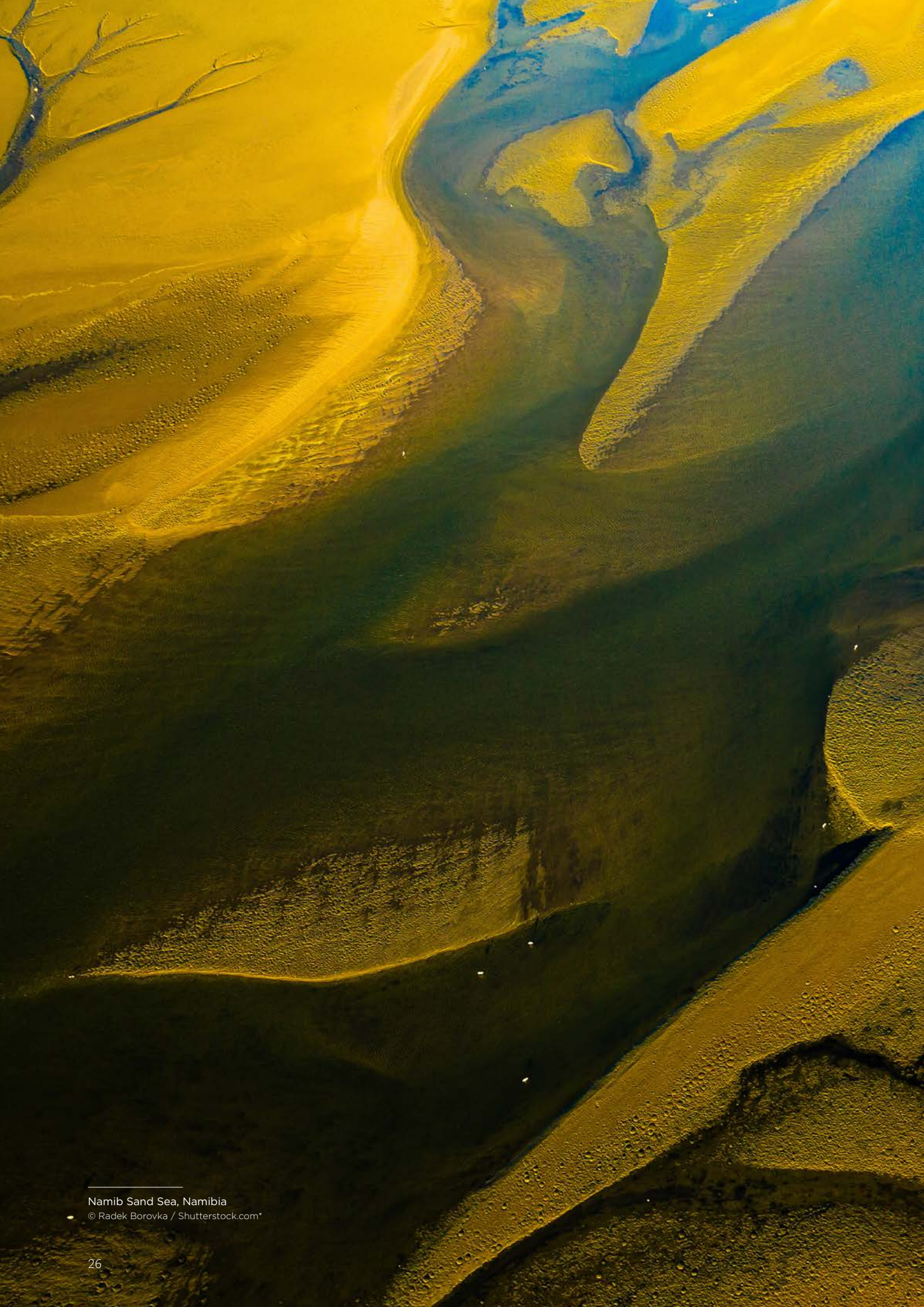
PART 2



Namib Sand Sea, Namibia
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ENVIRONMENTAL SUSTAINABILITY
DURABILITÉ ENVIRONNEMENTALE

Mosi-oa-Tunya / Victoria Falls, Zambia / Zimbabwe

Invoking co-management as a tool in the conservation and sustainable development of World Heritage properties in Africa

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Introduction

Cultures the world over tend to be shaped and indeed evolve in accordance with ambient environments and their inherent natural resources. The Victoria Falls World Heritage site, for example, is millions of years old but still continues to sustain livelihoods for surrounding populations. This geomorphological structure has shaped the traditions and cultural life of the surrounding tribes. This is also true for the Barotse Cultural Landscape in western Zambia – the venue of the *Kuomboka* traditional ceremony celebrated by the Lozi people under their *Litunga* (chief) – which has been proposed for inscription onto the World Heritage list. The *Kuomboka* is Zambia's most popular traditional ceremony.

Local people living around the Victoria Falls World Heritage site and within the Barotse Cultural Landscape have over the years made use of Traditional Management Systems (TMS) and indigenous knowledge to manage and sustainably harvest locally available natural resources to produce high class curios, which are sold to both international and local tourists.

The African continent has a great number of mystical sites that could easily be declared as World Heritage; unfortunately, it has the lowest number in the world declared as such. Zambia only has one World Heritage site: the Victoria Falls World Heritage site, which it shares with Zimbabwe. This scenario contrasts sharply with the continent's numerous spectacular cultural and natural heritage resources/sites of Outstanding Universal Value (OUV). The lack of World Heritage sites in Zambia is completely or partly due to a number of challenges, outlined below:

- Unplanned or poorly planned developmental projects that, more often than not, tend to adversely affect the potential OUV of most of these sites.
- Lack of relevant research into the cultural and natural significance of these sites, and their potential for listing as World Heritage sites.
- Lack of professional capacity in specialized areas – no Zambian university provides specific training in the area of heritage studies.
- According to Zambia's *National Policy on Environment* (NPE, 2007), there is a 'lack of awareness about the value of heritage and recognition of its significance'. The policy also states that 'there are no adequate heritage conservation and monitoring programs and associated laws are poorly enforced'.
- Lack of direct benefit for local community populations, resulting in the frustration of conservation efforts due to animosity and hostility. According to the NPE, 'heritage resources are seldom well conserved, since local communities have no tangible benefits from the existence and use of most of these resources'.

- Last, but not least, most heritage management institutions have failed to integrate indigenous knowledge and associated TMS in their conservation practices.

Needless to say, heritage sites have contributed greatly to the development of tourism and local livelihoods through the production and sale of locally produced curios from local materials, using indigenous knowledge.

Richly endowed with a great diversity of flora and fauna, the Victoria Falls World Heritage site, for example, is a source of livelihood for most local communities. Indeed, waterfalls all over the world provide the only source of livelihood to millions of people who live near them as sources of fibre, traditional medicines, income from tourism activities and as a bequest to future generations.

However, poorly planned developmental projects could potentially lead to the destruction of World Heritage sites. For instance, the development of hydroelectric power (HEP) stations at waterfall sites tend to disturb the natural flow patterns of rivers, thereby threatening associated biotic and abiotic resources and, of course, the aesthetic beauty of these geomorphological structures.

What exactly needs to be done, then, to encourage local participation in conservation and development planning? Is there a need, for instance, to recognize and formalize TMS under the custodianship of World Heritage? If the answer is yes, then the documentation and infusion of modern methods and traditional systems is fundamental. This is particularly true of the current climate change and unprecedented invasive alien species (IAS) attacks, as local knowledge can play a major role in crafting coping and mitigation measures.

Increasing or providing incentives and benefits derived from inherent natural and cultural resources to local communities through well-organized TMS, therefore, should encourage local participation in conservation programmes, through the provision of indigenous or traditional knowledge.

Research methods

This paper was developed based on the author's primary M.Sc. research on community-based natural resource management (CBNRM), by carrying out focus group discussions, a house-to-house cross-sectional survey using questionnaires in the Southern Province of Zambia, and personal interviews with key stakeholders. Using a checklist created from research questions, a number of discussions and semi-structured interviews with conservation experts and selected local community members living near and depending on protected area resources for their livelihoods were conducted.

This paper attempts to present both a national (Zambia) and regional perspective on the performance of the co-management approach in southern Africa, through a comparative analysis with Botswana. Furthermore, it attempts to propose co-management as a tool in the conservation and sustainable development of World Heritage properties in Africa, through the incorporation of traditional knowledge within accepted modern scientific norms.

Co-management: the need for recognition and integration of indigenous knowledge with modern science

In the quest to encourage local participation, Silvius et al. (2003) proposed a system called 'biodiversity rights' (bio-rights), which is a financial mechanism for poverty-environment issues. The system is meant to reconcile poverty reduction and sustainable use of natural resources both in developing countries and countries in transition. In this mechanism, people living within the environs of high-value natural resources (biodiversity in particular) are encouraged to use these resources sustainably through the provision of financial incentives. In this management system, both stakeholders – the financial providers (donors) and the community – endorse and comply with environmental goals, then monitoring is made transparent to the global community. The system provides a means of livelihood (financial benefits) which in turn discourages the unsustainable use of biodiversity.

Forging strong bonds with indigenous communities next to protected areas provides a good opportunity to avoid conflict and to gain further knowledge on sustainability issues. The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples has provided a clear pathway for dealing with traditional 'owners' of cultural and natural resources if sustainable management and

Chairs, baskets, musical drums and ornamental curios produced using local materials and indigenous knowledge of the people of Barotseland and Victoria Falls areas

development are to be achieved. For instance, Article 26 of the states that 'indigenous peoples have the right to the lands, territories and *resources* which they have traditionally owned, occupied or otherwise used or acquired'. This Article can be applied to World Heritage properties to bypass conflict in resource management regimes.

The indigenous populations and local communities are repositories of empirical knowledge, passed on from generation to generation, which cannot be ignored. This knowledge is complementary to evidence-based science and, together, they provide the fulcrum for making informed decisions in sustainable resource management and consumption. UNESCO (2012) is very explicit on this, and 'encourages participation of the local population in the preservation of their cultural and natural heritage', as outlined in the Strategic Objectives of the World Heritage Committee.

Role of local people in World Heritage management

An essential feature of World Heritage site management is that all stakeholders potentially affected by the listing of a site should be made aware of, consulted and involved in the interpretation and assessment of its values, the preparation and presentation of the nomination and subsequent management systems.

This is not always the case, which can lead to significant problems in site management. The dominant protected areas philosophy, which was developed just over a hundred years ago, was based on the government (or, in some parts of the world, the colonial power) conserving areas in a way that often led to communities being forcibly relocated from areas that had in some cases been their traditional homeland for centuries. There was little recognition of people's values and traditions, their knowledge and practices, and little understanding of the important links and interaction between land and culture. It is not surprising that such management models created tension, conflict and increasingly a backlash against the whole concept of protected areas, including World Heritage. Although some of these conventional, top-down models are still being applied, today this approach is becoming less common.

Something of a paradigm shift has occurred, resulting in greater attention being paid to ethical, social, cultural and economic as well as biological and scenic values; an insistence on prior informed consent before changing management status; and an openness to different governance models in protected areas, including **co-management and management by indigenous peoples and local communities**. The result is a far wider variety of protected areas, both in terms of management and governance, than was recognized a decade ago. Such approaches have proved successful in understanding different perspectives and broadening the range of land use and tenures compatible with conservation. The results have avoided costly misconceptions and improved management through access to local knowledge and engagement. (UNESCO, 2012)

In the wake of ongoing environmental changes, challenges and problems, indigenous knowledge can play a key role in developing coping mechanisms. Traditional knowledge therefore becomes fundamental in the generation of a 'new knowledge base' pertaining to local climatic regimes, along with the need to qualify and store that knowledge. Thus, it is clear that a holistic approach is needed to address environmental changes and deal with sustainable development issues.

It is self-evident that if a particular World Heritage resource has been in existence for millions of years, during which time its OUV has NOT been compromised, then there must have been some form of knowledge among the indigenous peoples that facilitated or fostered the continued existence of this particular resource or property. This underlines the need for States Parties 'to prepare their Tentative Lists with the participation of a wide variety of stakeholders, including site managers, local and regional governments, local communities, NGOs and other interested parties and partners' (UNESCO, 2005), and consequently the recognition, institutionalizing and documentation of TMS.

As a result of their close association and interaction with nature, the local people have developed an awareness and understanding of the natural processes, the importance of biodiversity and biological resource conservation embedded in their communities. The knowledge and skills honed over many years of adaption to the changing environment and manipulation of their land, flora and fauna constitute an invaluable resource (WWF, 2000). Essentially, this is a call for a comprehensive programme of community engagement as a vital ingredient in modern management regimes and in maintaining and enhancing the social licence[1] to operate in a given society. This is especially the case for those indigenous communities who are custodians of traditional knowledge on spiritual, social and ecological issues. Thus, it is critical to understand community structures and preferences when designing conservation and development programmes, as each given community is unique in its own right.

A community is heterogeneous, with asymmetric distributions of wealth and power, different preferences, opportunity costs and unequal claims to cultural and natural resources within the group. The deliberate failure to take into account the impact of various types of heterogeneities may lead co-management to struggle with a lack of well-defined property rights, which may in turn result in the continued over-exploitation of natural [and cultural] resources (Agrawal and Gibson, 2001). Thus, conservation and management strategies should also take into account the heterogeneity of the local communities, in addition to other related

1 A 'social licence' is defined as existing when a programme has ongoing approval within the local community and other stakeholders, or broad social acceptance which is, most frequently, ongoing.

aspects (intra- and intercommunity differences), and should establish a strong link between [sustainable] development and conservation and sustainable utilization of resources.

The participation of local communities in natural resource management could be the solution to the exclusionary policies first of the colonial era, and currently during the post-colonial period (Denkler, 2009). This conservation ideology has significantly grown over the years because of its divergent applicability in managing a multitude of natural and cultural resources. Much of the literature on common property resource management in Africa suggests that resource use before the imposition of colonial rule was regulated by forms of traditional management (ECZ, 2001). Natural and cultural resources were mostly protected based on religious (spiritual) beliefs, traditions and culture. This traditional governance and control of resources was then replaced by government-centred – or rather, authoritative – mechanisms, with the academic 'cream of the crop' taking the leading role in the conservation arena. Very quickly, traditional governance systems became eroded and were usually deliberately shelved as they were perceived to be primitive and lacking 'scientific touch'. The cause of this may have been that most of the traditional knowledge was never documented on paper, although it had been passed on and employed in the sustenance and preservation of significant attributes of both cultural and natural heritage resources which we are enjoying to this day.

In colonial Africa, fines for violators and fences to protect or prevent access to heritage resources 'frequently failed to achieve conservation goals because they alienated people from their traditional resource base, thereby reducing the economic and social value of cultural and natural resources and causing over-exploitation and mismanagement' (Lyons, 2000). Post-independence governments, however, did not completely change the management mechanisms, and inherited most of the colonial bureaucratic, top-down forms of resource control. In recent years, however, to encourage local community stewardship in modern Africa, most countries have adopted some form of co-management programme(s). This, it is hoped, can increase community concern for resources and improve benefit-sharing mechanisms. This affirms the need for co-management to extend to the management of all cultural and natural resources, in accordance with the Ecosystem Approach[2] principles.

Conservation and management of natural resources, for instance in Zambia, has also generally evolved under sectoral lines, which has resulted in government ministries having different and specific mandates (ECZ, 2001). With little central government capacity to cope with these causal factors, one possible remedy is to involve the local people who have the 'natural knowledge' on ambient resources, where traditional education emphasizes life skills, attitude and specific cultural norms that are an integral part of everyday life (WWF, 2000). Therefore, by combining modern science with indigenous knowledge, the co-management approach is likely to eliminate or reduce the financial and legislative constraints that are usually the cause of heritage management failures in most African countries.

Traditional fishing gear produced and used in the Barotseland Plains.

In the eyes of most African societies, heritage resources like the Victoria Falls World Heritage and the Barotse Cultural Landscape are God-given assets for all members of the community, without unnecessary restrictions in the form of 'fines and fences'. Overexploitation, however, is not encouraged, especially since such resources or properties have strong cultural and spiritual significance. Traditionally, for example, the cutting down of trees at or near river sources was (and is still) not tolerated, as it is a well-known fact that such a practice leads to 'deaths of rivers and water sheds' and inevitably culminates in the complete loss or depletion of significant attributes of World Heritage.

2 The Ecosystem Approach is a strategy for the integrated management of land, water and living resources that promotes conservation and sustainable use in an equitable way. http://www.biodiv.org/programmes/cross-cutting/ecosystem/

In the recent past, national governments and heritage management institutions around the world have applied different methods of managing heritage resources. Usually, however, many programmes have failed because of a failure to recognize TMS or local people who have first-hand knowledge, and who directly depend on natural and cultural resources.

Most literature on co-management recommends it as an alternative management strategy to the old 'fortress conservation' (Srinivasan, 2005), especially in countries where national governments have insufficient financial, technical and human resources to sustainably implement conservation measures. Currently, the system is being used in many developing countries like Zambia as an alternative approach to cultural and natural resources management by tapping into local or traditional knowledge on resource conservation, as well as being a way of utilizing these resources for the socio-economic development of dependent communities; incorporating indigenous knowledge systems, enhancing community participation, and introducing equitable sharing of benefits accruing from sustainable use (ECZ, 2001). The co-management approach has received generally high levels of acceptability in most African countries, since it recognizes the traditional knowledge base as well as the plight of local poor people who derive their living directly by natural goods and services from local ecosystems. It also attempts to empower people to be 'local managers' of resources within their locality, as well as identifying incentives that encourage local participation in conservation and sustainable development issues.

In today's world, environmental management is not merely a rational process but one of consultation and negotiation among various interests, public and private actors (Glasbergen, 1995). Depending on how they are treated, 'local communities can be the most pernicious violators or they can be the most prudent managers of ecosystems'. Thus, both central and local governments stand to benefit if they make use of the local 'work force' and indigenous knowledge, because 'their (local communities) knowledge of the ecosystem and their direct stake in its health are important assets that improve the chances of long-term stewardship' (WRI, 2000). Dialogue and collective decision-making in development through stakeholder participation is a promising trend. This trend, therefore, needs to be incorporated into World Heritage management programmes to ensure their success. Failure by heritage managers to appreciate local community knowledge and needs has the potential to culminate in conflict and the destruction of heritage resources altogether.

This is especially the case for those indigenous communities that are custodians of traditional knowledge with regard to the spiritual, social and ecological importance of heritage within an area. Local, indigenous communities have utilized and continue to use the biodiversity values within natural heritage realms for hunting and gathering food, recreational activities and cultural ceremonies (Australian Government, 2007). Thus, implementation and monitoring planning for developmental projects should be viewed as more than a regulatory imperative. In many instances, local communities represent an important resource for the design and implementation of rehabilitation actions when the need arises.

An example of traditionally preserved products: caterpillars harvested from local forests of the Northern Province of Zambia
© Kelvin Chanda

The above thinking is also in line with the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD), which emphasizes capacity-building for community participation in conservation and developing mechanisms for benefits-sharing with due respect to compatible traditional practices and knowledge (Sichilongo, 2003). Complying with this CBD article could be one sure way of harnessing, documenting and conserving the rich biodiversity found within and around natural World Heritage sites. The removal of local communities from ancestral lands without consultation or adequate compensation can result in retaliation and hostile attitudes and non-achievement of conservation objectives in protected areas (Andrade and Rhodes, 2012). Thus, good care must be taken in nurturing local needs such as the preferential provisioning of commodity markets and employment. Local people have in most cases played significant roles as interpreters and tourist guides around World Heritage sites because of their knowledge – a valuable component in the realm of conservation. When integrated planning between heritage property managers and affected parties (especially local communities) is put in place, 'the outcomes are mutually beneficial and build stronger relationships... and reduce the impacts and risks associated with managing cultural and natural heritage...' (Rio Tinto, 2011).

Conclusion

For the most part, indigenous knowledge, particularly in rural Africa, has not been documented; a situation that leaves World Heritage managers with no option but to devise mechanisms that could tap into the rich information that has been passed on from generation to generation in the absence of ball pens and paper. This is because modern learning, and scholars in general, have frequently underplayed, trivialized or simply ignored indigenous knowledge; labelling it as being primitive and lacking 'scientific proof'. Many elderly men and women die, taking with them the rich knowledge acquired through many years of traditional learning and practice. This is why it is usually said that 'the demise or death of one old African man is like setting ablaze a big university library'.

All hope is not lost though, as studies have shown that the old system of government technocrats acting as sole managers of cultural and natural resources is not effective, as it tends to alienate local communities and established TMS. This 'fortress' method of conservation clearly falls short of integrating the valuable traditional conservation knowledge with modern hard science. In most cases, the old resource governance system worked against the interest of the people who directly depended on (and were exceptionally knowledgeable about) local resources, resulting in pernicious action by those alienated. Effective co-management is key for the attainment of sustainability, poverty reduction and effective domestication of important international conventions. With limited central government capacity in most African countries, invoking co-management, in collaboration with local people who directly depend on cultural and natural heritage resources, is the most likely way to avoid hostility. Therefore, by recognizing and combining indigenous knowledge with modern science, the co-management approach is likely to eliminate or reduce the technical, financial and legislative constraints that are usually the cause of management failures in most African countries.

It is prudent, therefore, to circumvent exclusionary management methods in order to fully exploit and integrate traditional or indigenous conservation knowledge with modern science in heritage resources identification, documentation and planning to attain balanced decision-making and equitable utilization, and to curtail conflict in World Heritage resources management and development.

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Mole National Park, Ghana
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Community resource management areas (CREMAs) in Ghana: a promising framework for community-based conservation

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Mole National Park and Community Resource Management Areas (CREMAs)

Mole National Park (MNP) is the largest protected area in Ghana. Thirty-three communities, with a population of over 40,000 (**Figure 1**), surround the Park, and are directly and indirectly dependent on its natural resources and surroundings for their livelihood. However, the Park does not currently have a legal framework for benefit-sharing with these communities.

More than forty years after the establishment of Mole, its original conservation goals are being increasingly undermined by the illegal exploitation of its natural resources by fringe communities. The authoritarian style of the Park's management, coupled with forced evictions, have caused bitterness among local communities, who continue to campaign for more access to resources and for better employment opportunities, since their main source of livelihood has been converted into a protected area. The problem is compounded by the lack of a buffer zone around the protected area, resulting in unprotected acess to resources in the Park. There is unrelenting pressure on the park, day after day, even in the face of a strict law enforcement regime (Mole National Park, 2011).

Additionally, district- and regional-level decentralization planning fails to recognize and make provision for ecologically sustainable development in fringe communities, resulting in development that is not compatible with the socio-ecological production landscape of MNP and its environs. This stems from the fact that the Wildlife Division of the Forestry Commission responsible for protected areas is not part of the decentralized department in the district and thus has limited influence on district-level planning. This leaves the Park's neighbouring communities with reduced resources, despite the fact that they bear the cost of conservation on behalf of the whole nation.

Even more urgently, the effects of climate change, such as surface water shortages and poor crop harvests, have resulted in poor rural communities being forced to rely heavily on non-timber forest products (NTFPs), posing further threats to their livelihoods. The inability of communities and civil society groups to comprehend and integrate climate change measures into development planning at district and community level is likely to further reduce livelihood opportunities for marginalized populations.

The main occupation of people living in fringe communities, around 75% of the population, is farming (Ghana Statistical Service, 2010). The gathering and processing of NTFPs, such as wild fruits like shea (*vitellaria paradoxa*) and dawadawa (*parkia biglobosa*), game hunting, wild honey harvesting and small-scale trading constitute key sources of livelihood during the long dry season. These NTFPs provide an important safety net for fringe communities.

Another substantial source of income for both men and women during the dry season comes

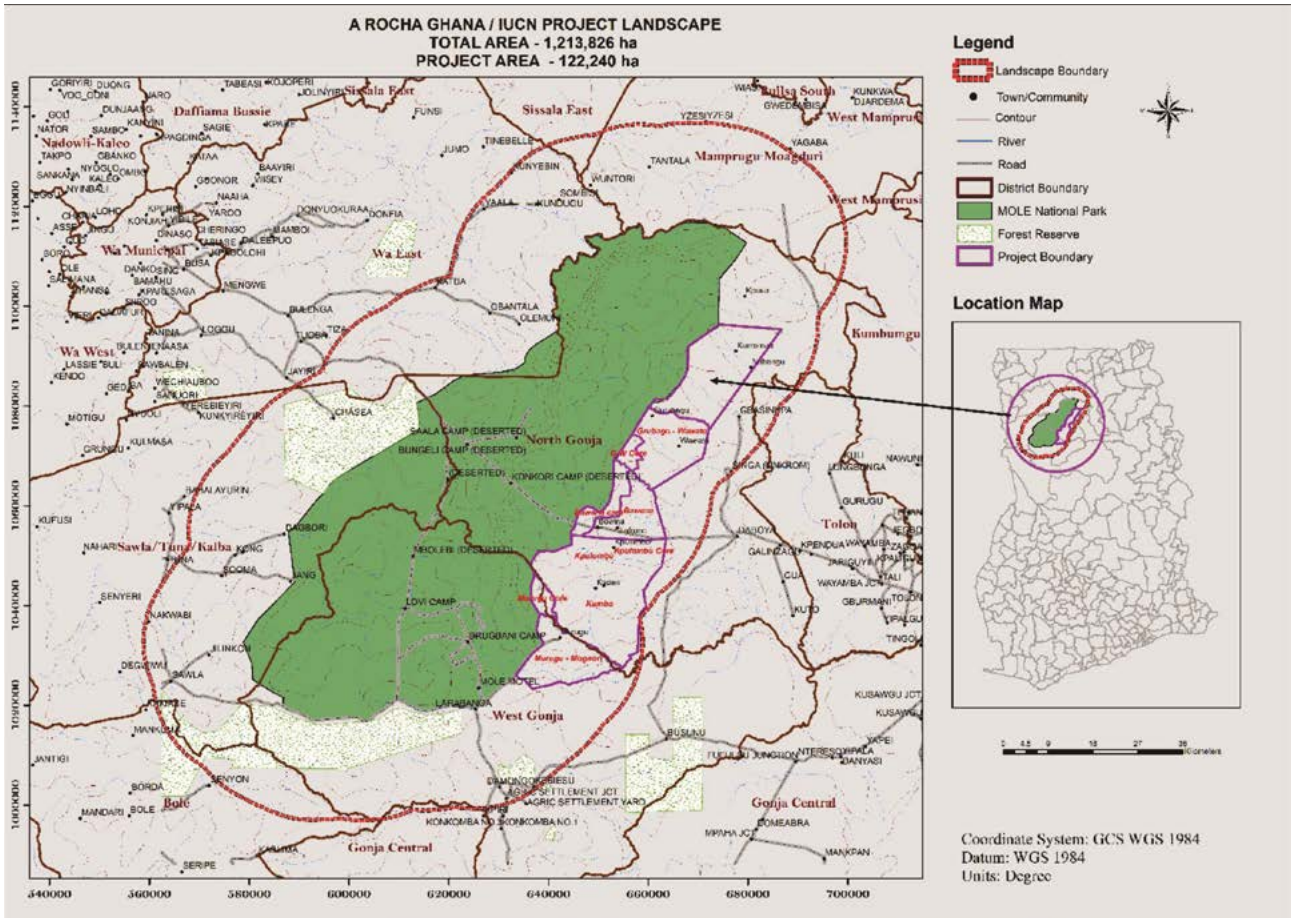

Figure 1. Mole ecological landscape map

from non-farming activities. These include agro-processing, commerce, transport services, charcoal production, firewood gathering, repair services, wage work, and seasonal migration, among others. Of all the non-farming activities in the District to supplement farm incomes, *gari* (cassava) processing and shea butter extraction account for around 30% of the labour force in the District (West Gonja District, 2014). These activities are notably carried out by women and constitute an important food security safety net for households.

These communities struggle to meet even their basic needs, and thereby take part in activities that cause deforestation and degredation, increasing the loss of biodiversity and jeopardizing the very resources on which they depend so heavily.

In 2000, the 'Wildlife Division Policy for Collaborative Community Based Wildlife Management' was introduced in Ghana to promote and legitimize community participation in the management of protected areas. In recent years, many governmental organizations, CSOs and NGOs have adopted the Community Resource Management Area (CREMA) approach to resource management and conservation in and around protected areas in Ghana. The Wildlife Division and A Rocha Ghana have also used this approach in communities around the MNP. Five CREMAs are currently operational around the Park, all at different stages of development. This model seeks to build the capacity of, and provide incentives for, local communities to sustainably manage and conserve natural resources in and outside the Park.

Physically, a CREMA represents a geographically delineated area, where one or more communities have come together to manage resources in a sustainable manner. Institutionally, it is a community-based organization that is built on existing decision-making structures, with an executive body and a constitution that guides the activities and regulations of the CREMA. A District Assembly byelaw legitimizes the CREMA constitution. From a community perspective, the CREMA is a structure that enables collective decision-making for 'common' resources. It enables the community to make collective rules and the means to enforce these rules. For an external

Herd of kob, Mole National Park
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body, the CREMA provides a forum to access the community and, most importantly, a structure that can be legally recognized. There is also a financial incentive to the approach, through the sale of wild products in the market from identified and developed revenue streams, as well as tenurial control of access to the area.

The underlying principle to CREMAs is that when governments provide the right conditions and incentives, people will manage their natural resources sustainably. The 'right conditions' for the CREMA approach are detailed in a policy for collaborative community-based wildlife management and the establishment of CREMAs, which was promulgated by the Wildlife Division of the Forest Commission of Ghana in 2000.

Working with the policy and CREMA approach referred to above, CREMAs have proven useful in providing a framework for communities and districts to manage off-reserve resources, particularly at a broad landscape level. At the community level, where the sustainable use of resources can make a real difference to their condition, around 90% of assets, from the game on farms, medicines, wild fruits, water resources, building materials, raw materials for crafts, and even land for farming, are common property. The requirement for community agreement as to how these resources can be used sustainably to ensure continued quality and quantity of supply is crucial to any community's survival. The CREMA approach is the only approach in Ghana that moves from simply a focus on a pool in a community to a system where communities manage the pool, including all the external and internal issues that might impact on its state of health. It moves individuals from exploiting resources based on a first-come, first-served basis, to district-recognized and community-implemented natural resource governance systems that promote equity and sustainability in the accessing and use of common natural resources in communal lands.

Murugu-Mognori CREMA

The Murugu-Mognori CREMA (**Figure 2**) was among the first to be established in Ghana, and the first in the northern region around the MNP.

Mognori and Murugu are located around 11 km and 21 km respectively from the MNP headquarters, on its south-eastern boundary. The minor regional road (Larabanga-Daboya Road) that separates the

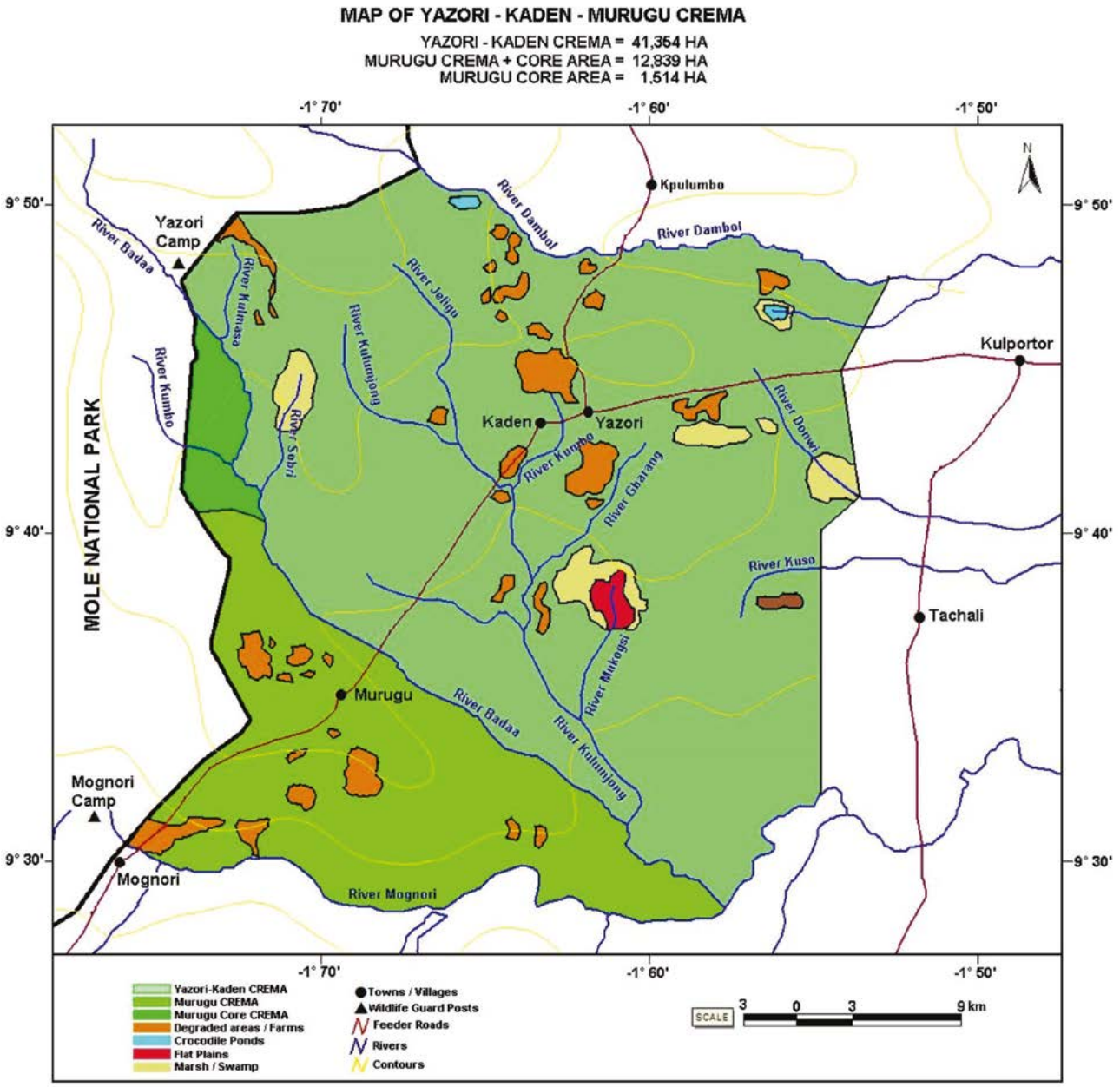

Figure 2: Map of Yazori-Kaden-Murugu-Mognori CREMA.
Source: A Rocha Ghana, 2010

communities falls within the West Gonja District of Ghana's Northern Region. In both communities, land ownership is communal under the custody of the *Tendana* (Earth-priest), held in trust by the chief of the community on behalf of the *Yagbon-wura* (Gonja King). The *Tendana* in the community exercises custodian and spiritual supervision over all natural resources found within the communities and thus plays a key role in their use.

The Murugu community has never been displaced, but the people lost a significant amount of farmland when the Park was created. In 1957, and again in 1967, the Park boundary was redefined to enclose large portions of their land. This has resulted in a resentful relationship between the people and the Park authorities. Mognori is a smaller, offshoot community of Murugu which settled before the creation of MNP in 1957. People moved from Murugu and settled in present-day Mognori beside the Mole River, perhaps due to the fact that the river created opportunities for fishing and improved agriculture. The fact that the Murugu community was not forcefully removed from MNP when the Park was established may mean that Murugu is not as resentful of the Wildlife Division as those communities who were removed.

Murugu-Mognori CREMA covers an area of approximately 23,377 ha – Murugu with 14,678 ha

and Mognori with 8,699 ha. The area is bounded on the west by the MNP, on the north and east by Badaa Stream and on the south by the southern boundary of the Mognori community (A Rocha Ghana, 2006). The Murugu-Mognori CREMA has a functional 15-member CREMA executive committee (CEC) that consists of core executive members and other appointed representatives of the individual community resource management committees (CRMCs), drawn from decision-making persons and representation from recognized groups within the community. The CEC is in charge of the day-to-day running of the affairs of the CREMA and makes decisions by applying the CREMA's constitution, management plan and draft bye-laws. Periodic general meetings that involve the whole community are also organized by the CEC.

Impact of the CREMA mechanism on conservation and communities

Community empowerment and involvement in natural resource governance Communities involved in CREMAs have been empowered to participate in natural resource governance and decision-making. Within the CREMAs, governance institutions have been set up to oversee the implementation of sound natural resource management activities. These structures include CRMCs, CECs, community resource monitoring units (CRMUs), management boards, etc. Members of CREMA communities make use of these structures to express and influence their views on natural resource governance. The development of the CREMA Management Plan, constitution and its by-law status, as conferred by the local government authority (District Assembly), demonstrate the extent of community empowerment in the management and governance of communal natural resources.

Secured and increased biodiversity The regulatory system put in place by CRMCs for the community-level utilization and sale of wild game has helped to secure and increase biodiversity. CREMAs have created monitoring units and established monitoring protocols to detect changes in the environment and secure management areas against external aggression while regulating internal threats. The units are well trained and equipped to perform these functions, in order to meet regulatory and monitoring objectives.

Monitoring mission by CREMA Resource Monitoring Unit

Sustainable enterprises and enhanced livelihoods Linking livelihood sustainability to ecosystem health is important to secure the gains made in conservation interventions. As such, several micro-enterprises dependent on the NTFPs and livelihood strategies have been supported through training, start-up support, financial and market linkages, adding value to existing, traditionally traded NTFPs and agricultural products with the CREMAs. The scaling-up and value added to thriving beekeeping and shea nut trade businesses, as well as improved and diversified ecotourism opportunities within the fringes of the park, have also been publicized. For instance, women's groups trading in Shea nuts have been helped to obtain a sustainable premium value for their product through value-added trade links, such as fair trade and organic certification. Traditional livestock husbandry practices have improved through the provision of start-up facilities for suitable housing and training for veterinary care.

Reduced emissions from deforestation and forest degradation (REDD) CREMAs are increasingly engaged in REDD activities within the landscape. This has been achieved through the adoption and adaption of practice based on land use, such as conservation agriculture integrated with agro-forestry, assisted natural regeneration for on-farm practices, and enrichment planting and reforestation activities for off-farm areas. These activities form part of a scaling-up approach to restore the natural capital and its diversity of fauna and flora through the development of forest carbon-based projects exploring both voluntary and non-voluntary markets for climate and biodiversity benefits.

Security in Mole National Park MNP has also seen a general increase in community participation in park management, through community-led initiatives to curb poaching and address other challenges. It has been recorded that CREMA

communities are less involved in poaching activities and are more likely to expose such practices, where previously they had provided refuge for the poachers. The previously tense community-park relationships have greatly improved, resulting in joint ventures to reduce poaching and address livelihood issues. Overall, this has led to increased wildlife population around the CREMA areas.

CREMA prospects and challenges

The funding of activities is a major challenge confronting the CREMAs. The local government's limited capacity to finance and supervise programmes for resource management and development through legislation has obliged the CREMAs to rely heavily on NGOs and donors for financial support. This has led to delays in the full development of some CREMAs, the inability to fully undertake the activities within their management plans, and the creation of more CREMAs to encompass all the protected areas. CREMA remains a wildlife subsector concept and does not attract the same kind of national attention enjoyed by community-based natural resource programmes in other countries.

Internal and external activities that lead to deforestation and degradation in CREMAs in the form of unsustainable agriculture, illegal felling of trees, charcoal production, wildfires, uncontrolled grazing, and pollution of water bodies still pose major challenges to the CREMAs. Due to the fact that some of these activities are directly linked to their sources of income, change has been slow in some cases.

The community framework, institutional design and legal framework of CREMAs provide a rich and vital source of emerging funding for ecosystem services (PES) and REDD+ to draw on. This is because PES and REDD+ are financially-driven mechanisms, created to encourage sustainable natural resource management in a way that ensures justice and respect for people's rights in the access and utilization of forest resources. It also creates effective local incentives for collective action under communal tenure arrangements. In Ghana, CREMAs have been identified as a solid platform on which REDD+ financing (and potentially other PES mechanisms) can be built and so some

Olive Baboon (*Papio anubis*) in Mole National Park

projects have sought to explore the feasibility of REDD+ in the CREMAs. To help ascertain the potential of CREMAs, baseline information on socio-economic, ethno-biological, biomass and carbon baselines to assess the potential of CREMAs for REDD+ in Ghana have been undertaken. This shows that these CREMAs have outstanding potential for evolving into REDD+ projects, with excellent opportunities for sustaining the funding streams for CREMA programmes, which would ensure that communities that live near protected areas and bear the cost of conservation are amply compensated through the REDD+ financing stream, ensuring the long-term sustainability of important socio-ecological landscapes in off-reserve areas both in the north and south of the country. Organizational capacity-building has already started in order to develop and facilitate REDD+ projects that will enable marginalized communities to utilize and manage forest facilities to mitigate global warming.

Conclusion

The CREMA approach is a holistic integration of participatory wildlife conservation initiatives with rural economic development, through active natural resource assessment and planning activities. Therefore, embedding the CREMA concept in local, national and international planning processes is likely to promote biodiversity conservation, benefitting the community and wildlife.

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Addax nasomaculatus
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Contribution des communautés locales dans la gestion et la conservation des ressources naturelles de la Réserve naturelle nationale de l'Aïr et du Ténéré (RNNAT) au Niger

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Introduction

La Réserve naturelle nationale de l'Aïr et du Ténéré (RNNAT) est l'un des deux sites du patrimoine mondial du Niger. Inscrite en 1991 sur la Liste du patrimoine mondial, la Réserve a été placée sur la Liste du patrimoine mondial en péril en 1992 suite aux conflits armés qu'a connus la zone de 1992 à 2008.

La réserve a été créée pour la conservation de certaines ressources fauniques emblématiques des zones sahélo- sahariennes présentes au Niger notamment, la dernière population d'addax *(Addax nasomaculatus)*, la gazelle dama *(Nanger dama)*, le mouflon à manchette *(Ammotragus lervia)*, le guépard saharien *(Acinonyx jubatus hecki)* et l'autruche à cou rouge *(Struthio camelus camelus)*.

Depuis, le gouvernement nigérien, avec l'appui de ses partenaires techniques et financiers et des populations locales riveraines, tentent de conserver cette réserve à travers des actions de restauration et d'aménagement de l'espace, de gestion et de conservation de sa biodiversité.

Des états des lieux ont confirmé, malgré le passé peu glorieux qu'a connu la zone, la présence d'importants éléments de la valeur universelle exceptionnelle (VUE) dans la RNNAT, notamment des espèces fauniques telles que la gazelle dama (*Nanger dama*) maintenue grâce aux efforts de conservation de la population locale sans laquelle toute entreprise serait vouée à l'échec.

À cet effet, pour la gestion et conservation de proximité de ces ressources naturelles, des chefs de vallée ont été désignés pour accompagner l'État et assurer la durabilité et la pérennité au niveau local. Aussi, certains ex-combattants de la rebellion contribuent actuellement à la sauvegarde de ces ressources naturelles dans la RNNAT en tant que guides ou écogardes et enfin, d'autres bonnes volontés se sont illustrées dans la conservation de l'autruche à cou rouge notamment une famille d'Iférouane à travers une ONG.

Contexte

Située dans la région d'Agadez, au cœur de la zone saharienne du Niger, la Réserve naturelle nationale de l'Aïr et du Ténéré (RNNAT) a été créée en 1998[1] pour préserver certaines espèces fauniques sahariennes menacées de disparition comme l'addax. La RNNAT couvre une superficie de 7 736 000 hectares, avec une « réserve intégrale » ou « sanctuaire des addax » dans son coeur. La RNNAT a été classée en tant que site du patrimoine mondial naturel de l'UNESCO en

1 Par les décrets N°88-019/ PCMS/MAG/E et N°88-020/PCMS/MAG/E du 22 janvier 1988

1991 avant d'être inscrite sur la Liste du patrimoine mondial en péril en 1992 suite à la rébellion armée qui a éclaté dans la zone.

La RNNAT forme, avec ses zones connexes, un écosystème aride renfermant une grande diversité biologique constituée d'espèces emblématiques telles que l'addax *(Addax nasomaculatus)*, le mouflon à manchette *(Amotragus lervia)*, le guépard saharien *(Acynonyx jubatus hecki),* les singes patas *(Erythrocebus patas)*, la gazelle dorcas *(Gazella dorcas)* et la gazelle dama *(Gazella dama dama)* qui est l'emblème des équipes nationales sportives du Niger.

Les carnivores sont aussi présents dans cette réserve dont les plus communs sont le renard de Rüppell *(Vulpes rueppellii),* le fennec *(Vulpes zerda)*, le chat de Libye *(Felis silvestris lybica)*, le ratel *(Mellivora capensis)* et le chacal doré *(Canis aureus)*. Plusieurs espèces d'oiseaux sont présentes dans la RNNAT, 55 espèces ont été identifiées lors de l'inventaire de 2014. Il s'agit de l'outarde de Nubie *(Neotis nuba),* l'autour sombre *(Melierax metabates)*, le faucon lanier *(Falco blarmicus)*, le vautour oricou *(Torgos tracheliotus)* et le vautour percnoptère (*Neophron percnopterus*). Des reptiles sont également présents.

Sur le plan culturel, la RNNAT dispose d'un trésor archéologique comportant des sites fossiles, du matériel et outillage préhistoriques, des peintures et gravures rupestres, la poterie, les monuments, l'habitat et les sépultures. Il s'agit :

- d'éléments postcrâniens d'un *Sarcosuchus imperator*, d'éléments postcrâniens d'un *Carnosaurien* de grande taille du genre *Spinosaurus* et du squelette d'un petit *Sauropode* à Gadoufaoua, découverts en 1970;
- du site de ''Gadafawa'' ou ''cimetière des dinosaures'' avec la récolte d'un squelette complet d'un dinosaurien iguanodontidé baptisé *Ournosaurus nigeriensis Taqueti* à Gadoufaoua ;
- du site de Gadoufaoua qui, avec le gisement de Tendaguru, et selon les spécialistes, (Jurassique supérieur de la Tanzanie) sont les plus importants gisements de Dinosauriens d'Afrique.

Cependant, toutes ces ressources naturelles et ces valeurs archéologiques ont été mises à rude épreuve suite au conflit armé qui a sévi au Niger de 1991 à 1995 et de 2007 à 2009.

Depuis sa création en 1988, la RNNAT a tant bien que mal eu un organe de gestion généralement couplé soit à la structure globale de gestion de l'environnement ou en fonction des structures des partenaires techniques qui interviennent. Ce n'est qu'en 2012 qu'une Unité de Gestion de l'Aire Protégée (UGAP) a été mise en place avec la nomination d'un conservateur et quelques agents forestiers pour la protection et surveillance afin de s'occuper des tâches de gestion de la Réserve. Aujourd'hui, la RNNAT est même en train d'être dotée de moyens matériels et humains conséquents pour faire face aux défis de protection et de conservation de ses ressources naturelles.

Conservation endogène de la RNNAT

Les chefs de vallée

Dans le cadre de l'implication et de la responsabilisation des communautés locales à la gestion et conservation des ressources naturelles de la RNNAT au regard de sa complexité et de son immensité, certains leaders des communautés locales ont été identifiés et choisis pour accompagner l'État du Niger dans ces tâches régaliennes de protection et conservation des ressources naturelles. Communément appelés chefs de vallée, ces personnes sont désignées en fonction de leur organisation sociale, de la configuration géographique et environnementale de leurs hameaux et de la proximité et disponibilité des ressources naturelles de la RNNAT avec leurs résidences. Le choix se fait en assemblée générale villageoise en tenant compte de trois critères fondamentaux:

- être résident permanent dans le hameau ou campement ;
- être intègre, respecté, respectable et leader d'opinion dans le milieu ;
- être intéressé par la gestion et la conservation des ressources naturelles.

Les chefs de vallée doivent assurer la protection et la surveillance de proximité des ressources naturelles de la réserve dans leurs zones respectives de responsabilité et d'influence. Pour ce faire, à défaut de grands pouvoirs de police, les chefs de vallée représentent des autorités morales de la zone. Ils sont les yeux et les oreilles des autorités administratives et environnementales et doivent, par conséquent, veiller à l'interdiction

des coupes abusives de bois, le gaulage des arbres et le braconnage de la faune sauvage. En cas d'infraction, de délit ou d'autre dommage à la nature, les chefs de vallée rendent compte soit aux agents forestiers en mission dans la zone, soit, envoient une missive au service de l'environnement dont ils relèvent en vue de sanctionner les contrevenants.

Chef de Vallée de Tadek entouré d'agents forestiers dans la RNNAT.
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Cette expérience a été initiée dans les années 1990, avec l'avènement du Projet Aïr-Ténéré financé par l'Union internationale pour la conservation de la nature (UICN). Une trentaine de chefs de vallée ont été ainsi désignés dans la RNNAT, et leur fonctionnement est basé sur un principe de volontariat sans aucune rémunération. Toutefois, une assemblée générale annuelle est organisée pour discuter et échanger sur des cas complexes de dégradation des ressources naturelles et la conservation de la réserve. À l'occasion de ces retrouvailles, des gratifications symboliques en produits de première nécessité tels que le sucre, le thé, le sel, quelques morceaux de savon et de l'huile de cuisine, sont attribuées à tous les chefs de vallée pour service rendu.

Depuis son institution, ce système a toujours fonctionné malgré les vicissitudes dont la zone a été l'objet avec l'éclatement de la rébellion armée dans les années 1990. Certaines structures de ce dispositif se sont effritées alors que d'autres ont tenu malgré les risques, les menaces et les intimidations que les animateurs ont subies. Le cas de Tadek, une vallée très boisée et abritant quelques spécimens d'espèces fauniques située à une vingtaine de kilomètres d'Iférouane, en est un bon exemple. En effet, le chef de cette vallée, un septuagénaire, est réputé pour son intransigeance contre l'exploitation des ressources naturelles de la RNNAT en général et de cette vallée en particulier. Il a toujours vécu dans cette vallée malgré toutes les contingences. Même les rébellions des années 1990 et 2000 n'ont pas réussi à le déloger de sa vallée qu'il a continué à surveiller et à sauvegarder. Ainsi, il a pu tenir tête à toutes les velléités des personnes, des braconniers et surtout des exploitants du bois, y compris les militaires stationnés à Iférouane, qui tentaient d'abuser de l'exploitation des ressources naturelles.

Pour ce qui est d'Azanyaress et du Mont Takoulkouzat, ils constituent une zone de conservation de la biodiversité dont l'un des deux derniers groupes des gazelles dama présentes au Niger. Le chef de cette vallée se bat quotidiennement pour la conservation de cette espèce emblématique en suivant régulièrement la dynamique de sa population. Ce chef de vallée envoie, en temps réel, des informations sur l'éthologie, l'écologie, la croissance et l'évolution du groupe de ces gazelles dama aux gestionnaires de la réserve à Iférouane ou à Niamey. En outre, il veille aux tentatives d'exploration et d'exploitation artisanale de l'or sur le Mont Takoulkouzat qui peut entrainer des perturbations du biotope de cette espèce. Ce faisant, ce chef de vallée contribue énormément à la protection et à la conservation des derniers spécimens de gazelles dama qui se sont réfugiés sur le Mont en offrant gratuitement ses services.

Guide accompagnant une mission d'inventaire.
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L'appui de certains ex-combattants dans la conservation de la biodiversité

L'engagement des communautés locales pour la conservation de la diversité biologique de la RNNAT malgré les incompréhensions et les divergences qu'il y a eu avec l'État ou le gouvernement du Niger, est démontré souvent par l'implication et la responsabilisation de certains acteurs locaux dans des actions de conservation de la nature.

Élevage des autruches dans un enclos à Iférouane.
© Hamissou Garba

Selon des sources bien informées, lors de la dernière rébellion qui a sévi au nord Niger de 2006 à 2008, certains chefs de factions armées nigériennes se sont illustrés dans la préservation et la conservation de la diversité biologique à travers des actions de défense, protection et restauration de l'environnement. C'est ainsi que les coupes abusives de bois et le braconnage anarchique sont proscrits dans le comportement des combattants de ces fronts.

Pour ce qui est de la faune sauvage, seuls des prélèvements raisonnés pour la satisfaction stricte de leurs besoins alimentaires en protéines sont autorisés. Mieux, certains se sont même distingués par leur opposition à l'exploitation des ressources naturelles en sanctionnant les combattants qui enfreignaient cette règle.

Après les accords de paix à la fin des mouvements armés, certains ex-combattants ont poursuivi leurs actions en faveur de la protection de l'environnement en offrant leurs services à la cause de la conservation de la nature. C'est ainsi que, dans le cadre des différents inventaires et états des lieux de la RNNAT qui ont eu lieu de 2013 à 2015, certains chefs de front, compte tenu de leurs expériences et de la maitrise parfaite de ces milieux, ont été utilisés comme guides accompagnateurs pour les gestionnaires du bien de la RNNAT en vue de trouver les caches et refuges, ainsi que les merveilles de la faune sauvage dans cette zone.

C'est le cas de Mr Amoumane Kalakoua, ancien chef de front au sein du Mouvement Nigérien pour la Justice (MNJ), front qui a sévi lors de la dernière rébellion de 2006 à 2008 dans le nord du Niger. Fin connaisseur de la région du Sahel, cet homme a largement contribué au succès des inventaires réalisés dans la RNNAT y compris celui financé par l'UNESCO en 2014 en servant de guide à la mission de façon bénévole. Cette collaboration a permis d'effectuer des missions d'inventaires à travers des circuits inédits, suspects et compliqués, et dissiper les inquiétudes des gestionnaires dans ces zones qui avaient été minées lors de la rébellion par ces mêmes combattants et ce, avant même la certification officielle de déminage par les structures agréées.

Le cas de Mr Abbagaya Balil, est également notable. Préposé des « Eaux et Forêts » de sa région, il entre en dissidence contre l'État du Niger

avant d'y revenir pour prendre l'uniforme et servir l'État. Aujourd'hui, il sert loyalement l'État et est devenu quasi indispensable à la conservation de la diversité biologique dans la RNNAT. Ces deux exemples sont des personnes qui ne laissent aucun gestionnaire indifférent quant à leurs principaux atouts : la connaissance et la maitrise parfaite de l'Aïr et du désert du Ténéré.

D'autres ex-combattants se sont illustrés comme personnes ressources dans l'appui apporté à la recherche sous forme de contribution à la découverte et à la compréhension des connaissances endogènes des ressources naturelles de la RNNAT, notamment, la diversité floristique et faunique. L'ancien Maire de la commune de Gougaram (région d'Agadez), Mr Mohamed Aoutchiki, constitue une véritable bibliothèque des montagnes de l'Aïr et du désert du Ténéré. Source intarissable de connaissances et d'expériences de ces milieux socioculturels et écologiques de la RNNAT, il a toujours collaboré avec aisance avec les chercheurs, étudiants et consultants travaillant sur un sujet dans la zone.

Préservation des populations d'autruches

L'autruche à cou rouge *(Struthio camelus camelus)* est l'une des espèces en danger critique d'extinction au Niger. Autrefois largement répandue dans le Sahel nigérien, la population d'autruches a rapidement décliné ces dernières années en raison du braconnage (République du Niger, 2007). C'est seulement dans les zones montagneuses de la RNNAT, où l'accès est difficile, que des populations d'autruches ont survécu. Avant le déclenchement de la rébellion armée dans cette zone, l'effectif des autruches était estimé à 1 600 individus en 1990 (Magin, 1990). En 2006, il n'y avait plus qu'un seul individu dans la nature, et un petit nombre indéterminé en captivité. En 2008, au déclenchement du 2e conflit armé au Niger, il ne reste plus que trois couples en captivité à Iférouane.

La persistance du conflit a vidé le village d'Iférouane de toute sa population et conduit à l'extermination de cinq individus des trois couples pour ne laisser qu'un mâle solitaire, c'est-à-dire le dernier individu de cette population d'autruches vivant en liberté au Niger. Grâce au partenariat entre l'État du Niger et un éleveur privé qui offrit gracieusement une femelle, la disparition de l'unique rescapé des 1 600 individus dénombrés en 1990 a été évitée.

La situation actuelle de la population d'autruches à cou rouge dans l'Aïr et le Ténéré est très préoccupante. La preuve de l'engagement des communautés locales pour la cause de la conservation des ressources naturelles a été démontrée par la préservation ou la conservation de cette espèce d'autruches à cou rouge, autrefois très nombreuse dans la zone, mais disparue aujourd'hui dans leur état de liberté. Un programme de reconstitution de ce cheptel d'autruches a été initié par l'élevage de quelques spécimens auprès d'une famille d'Iférouane en vue de leur réintroduction dans leur milieu naturel et ainsi éviter la disparition au Niger de cette espèce à l'état naturel. Les individus restant sont élevés dans la ville d'Iférouane par une famille qui assure leur alimentation avec l'appui d'une ONG ''GAGE''. Ainsi, de 1 600 individus en 1990, on est passé à un individu en 2008 avant de remonter aujourd'hui à trois adultes dont deux femelles et un male, et cinq autruchons. Grâce à cette famille et aux modestes appuis subséquents que le Zoo de Mulhouse (France) apporte par le biais de l'ONG GAGE, depuis près de dix ans, les autruches à cou rouge présentes au Niger ont été sauvegardées in extremis d'une disparition par la reproduction ex-situ communément appelée reproduction en captivité.

Conclusion

Bien qu'aujourd'hui le Niger ne dispose plus d'autruches qui vivent en état de liberté dans la nature, l'élevage de reconstitution du cheptel des autruches à partir des petits stocks de géniteurs en captivité à Iférouane par cette famille, la réintroduction de cette espèce dans son milieu naturel est donc possible. L'espoir peut être permis de voir un jour, à partir de ces individus élevés à Iférouane et à Kellé (Zinder), l'autruche à cou rouge recoloniser son aire de répartition au Niger.

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Mana Pools National Park, Zimbabwe

Sustainable development at natural World Heritage sites in Africa

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World Heritage and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development

The adoption of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and the Paris Agreement on climate in 2015 demonstrates that governments around the world are increasingly recognizing that sustainable development and the very health of the planet is underpinned by interlinked and interdependent social, economic and environmental factors.

Governments also recognize the value of our shared heritage, with the World Heritage Convention being one of the most widely adopted conventions, ratified by 191 countries in the UN system. It is the only Convention that explicitly links nature and culture, a link that is also made in the SDGs under target 11.4 to 'Strengthen efforts to protect and safeguard the world's cultural and natural heritage', as well as under targets 15.1 'By 2020, ensure the conservation, restoration and sustainable use of terrestrial and inland freshwater ecosystems and their services, in particular forests, wetlands, mountains and drylands, in line with obligations under international agreements' and 15.9 'By 2020, integrate ecosystem and biodiversity values into national and local planning, development processes, poverty reduction strategies and accounts'. The contribution of World Heritage to sustainable development, and the linkages between cultural and natural diversity and conservation, is detailed further in UNESCO's landmark *Policy Document for the Integration of a Sustainable Development Perspective into the Processes of the World Heritage Convention* (UNESCO, 2015).

Taking a sustainable development perspective necessitates looking at 'value' more broadly than the Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) for which sites are inscribed, to include socio-cultural, economic and environmental value, at local and ultimately global scales, and for current as well as future generations. By conserving large areas of habitat, natural World Heritage sites not only safeguard globally important biodiversity, geodiversity and other exceptional natural features, but also increase resilience to natural and weather-related disasters, support livelihoods for local people, and provide communities with vital protection against the impacts of climate change. Around 11 million people depend on these sites for their homes, subsistence living, jobs or ecosystem services (WWF and Dalberg, 2016). Natural World Heritage sites also deliver wider or global benefits, such as climate change mitigation, and tourism or recreation opportunities.

Incompatible activities

There is a balance to be struck between conservation and development. While a key objective of UNESCO's policy on World Heritage and sustainable development is inclusive economic development, it reiterates that 'States Parties should ensure an appropriate and equitable balance between conservation, sustainablilty and development' (UNESCO, 2015, para 1). In order for natural World Heritage sites to continue to provide sustainable development benefits for both people and nature, we must define which economic activities are compatible or incompatible with World Heritage status.

The World Heritage Committee has – for more than a decade – provided a clear and consistent position in relation to the incompatibility of oil, gas and mineral ('extractives') activities with the conservation of OUV of World Heritage sites, e.g. Decision 35COM 7A.4, Decision 37COM 7(III), and has called on both States Parties and companies involved in these industries to respect both the 'no-go'[1] and 'no-impact'[2] commitments to World Heritage properties in line with the Convention. This position is repeated in the policy on World Heritage and sustainable development (UNESCO, 2015, para 24).[3]

The picture is, however, less clear with regard to other economic activities, or the kind of large-scale projects that are planned in some properties. A recent report defines 'harmful industrial activities' as oil, gas and mineral extraction but also other large-scale projects and activities – such as pipelines, industrial-scale logging and over-fishing, large hydrodams and megaports[4] – which have the potential to rapidly degrade the value of natural World Heritage sites (WWF and Dalberg, 2016).

Growing private sector commitments

Echoing these calls, and recognizing the long-term value of secure and functional World Heritage sites alongside the reputational and environmental risk in threatening the OUV of a World Heritage site, research carried out by ZSL reveals that an increasing number of companies are making public 'no-go' commitments regarding harmful industrial activities, with at least 40 extractive and finance companies now having public World Heritage policies in place. Following early 'no-go' and 'no-impact' commitments by the 23 members of ICMM (the International Council on Mining and Metals) and Shell in 2003, it was not until 2014 that the next commitments from the extractives sector were announced, by Total and SOCO International in response to the international outcry concerning their taking up of oil concessions overlapping Virunga National Park. Since then, commitments have been made by Tullow Oil in the oil and gas sector and, most recently, the building materials company CEMEX and Tiffany's in the mining products sector.

An increasing recognition of the risk involved in supporting harmful industrial activities in or impacting upon World Heritage sites is particularly notable within the private finance sector, with at least 11 companies (Standard Chartered Bank, BNP Paribas, TD Security, Credit Suisse, Citigroup, JP Morgan Chase, Goldman Sachs, Morgan Stanley, Deutsche Bank, UBS and HSBC) now having public World Heritage policies in place. Aviva Investors, Investec Asset Management and the Church of England's Ethical Investment Advisory Group all highlighted concerns regarding SOCO's activities in Virunga, and subsequently Aviva and Investec have reviewed the role of institutional investors in protecting natural World Heritage sites from extractive activity,[4] calling for improved awareness of where their investments are on the ground, engagement with extractive companies in their portfolio to ensure they are not operating in or adjacent to World Heritage sites, public disclosure if they have divested and the reasons for doing so, encouraging wider adoption of 'no-go' and 'no-impact' commitments for natural World Heritage sites from extractives companies, collaboration with other investors to address the issue collectively and encouraging the disclosure of extractives concessions data. Ultimately, these growing commitments must be supported and upheld by States Parties to the World Heritage Convention in order to ensure universal recognition and adherence by all stakeholders.

1 A 'no-go' policy refers here to the commitment to not carry out or support extractives activities in a particular site.
2 A 'no-impact' policy refers here to the commitment to not carry out or support extractives activities that may have adverse impacts on a particular site, regardless of the location of the activity.
3 'Not every economic activity will be compatible with the conservation of OUV. Extractive industries related to oil, gas and mineral resources, for example, present considerable challenges. By its decision 37COM 7 (§8), the World Heritage Committee urged all States Parties to the Convention and leading industry stakeholders 'to respect the "No-go" commitment by not permitting extractive activities within World Heritage properties, and by making every effort to ensure that extractives companies located in their territory cause no damage to World Heritage properties, in line with Article 6 of the Convention'.'
4 The incompatibility of such activities has been noted by the World Heritage Committee, for example in Decision 40COM 7(17), in which the Committee: 'Notes with significant concern that an increasing number of properties are facing potential threats from major dam projects, considers that the construction of dams with large reservoirs within the boundaries of World Heritage properties is incompatible with their World Heritage status, and urges States Parties to ensure that the impacts from dams that could affect properties located upstream or downstream within the same river basin are rigorously assessed in order to avoid impacts on the Outstanding Universal Value (OUV).'

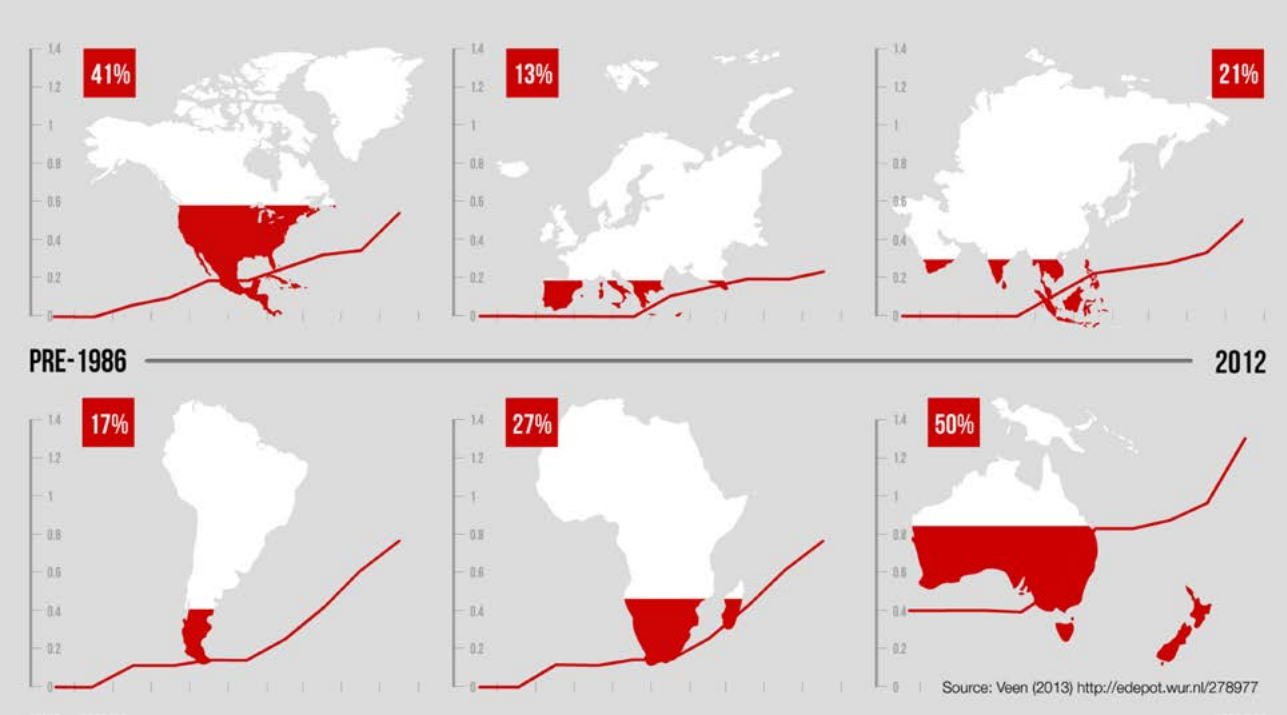

Figure 1. Cumulative average number of extractive threats per natural World Heritage site since pre-1996 and percentage of natural World Heritage sites affected by extractives since 1986.
Redrawn by ZSL from Veen (2013).

Increasing threats from harmful industrial activities in Africa

However we define the type of activity or type of threat, recent research shows that threats to natural World Heritage sites from extractives and other harmful industrial activities are particularly high and increasing in Africa, and in many cases contributing to the listing of sites as 'in danger'. One can evaluate the threat to World Heritage sites from a particular activity either by using expert information received from World Heritage site managers and other local sources, or by looking at the spatial overlap between a World Heritage site and a concession or specific activity such as a well or mine. 'Threats' can take the form of current or potential activities in or around a World Heritage site – for example an active mine vs a concession granted but not yet active, or with activities currently only in a limited portion of the concession but which could potentially spread elsewhere.

One 'expert' source of information on extractives activities in World Heritage sites comes from the various reports prepared by States Parties, the World Heritage Centre and the Advisory Bodies as well as World Heritage Committee decisions and World Heritage site information sheets. Particularly relevant here are the annual State of Conservation (SoC) reports submitted for a subset of threatened World Heritage sites each year to the World Heritage Committee, and the reactive monitoring mission reports that contribute to some of these SoC reports. A 2013 study of SoC reports and other sources of information on World Heritage sites found that since 1985, 59 out of the 218 natural World Heritage sites listed at the time (27%) had one or more reported extractive industry threats (Veen, 2013). The average number of threats from extractives per natural World Heritage site increased from pre-1986 to 2012 in all continents, with the highest proportion in Oceania and a rapid increase in Africa since 2000 (**Figure 1**). The overall percentage of World Heritage sites affected by extractives since 1985 ranged from 13% in Europe to 50% in Oceania, with 27% in Africa.

ZSL analysis in 2014 found that the extractives industry is now accounting for a greater percentage of the SoC reports for natural World Heritage sites. Since 2004, there has been an upward sloping trend in the percentage of SoC reports submitted for natural and mixed World Heritage sites that have identified threats from extractive activities to the site. This suggests that the increase in threats posed by these activities is outpacing that of other threats facing World

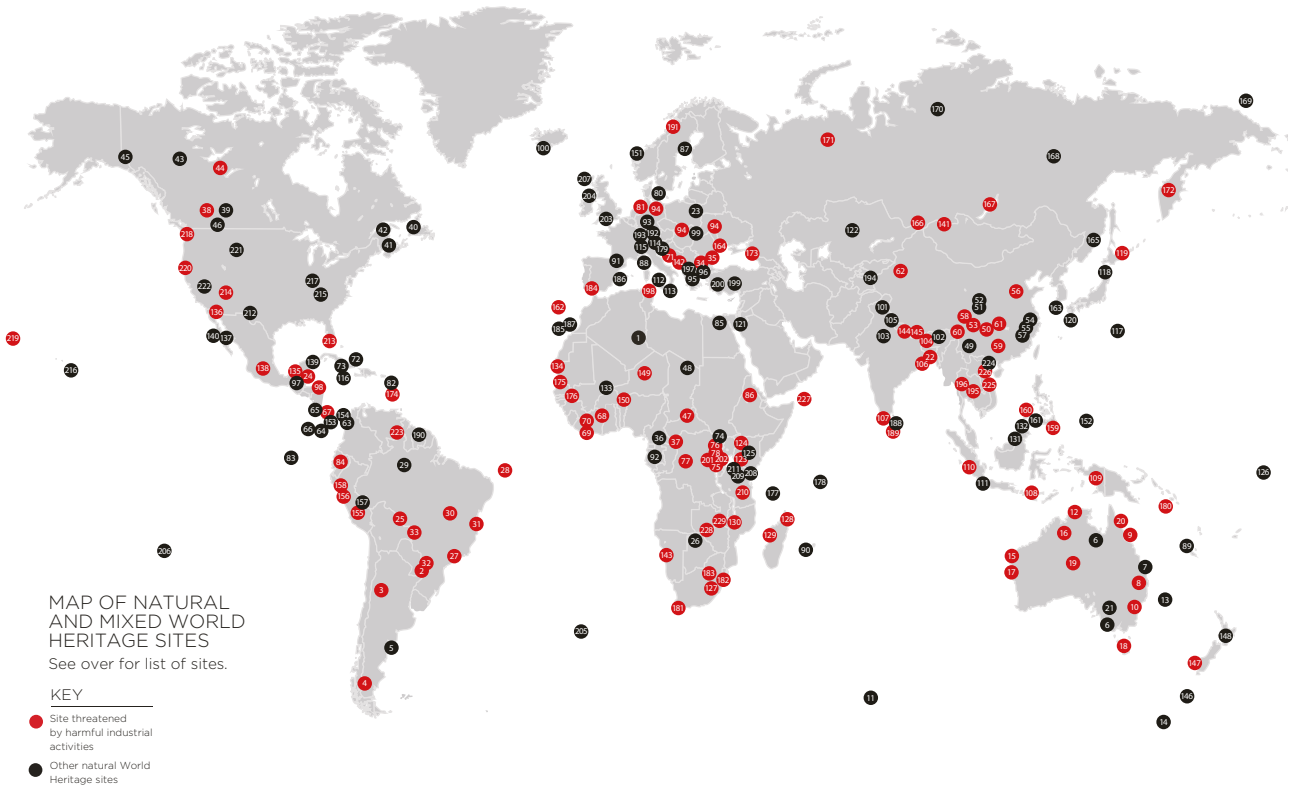

Figure 2. Map of natural and mixed World Heritage sites, with those threatened by harmful industrial activities in red and the remainder in black.
Source: WWF and Dahlberg (2016).

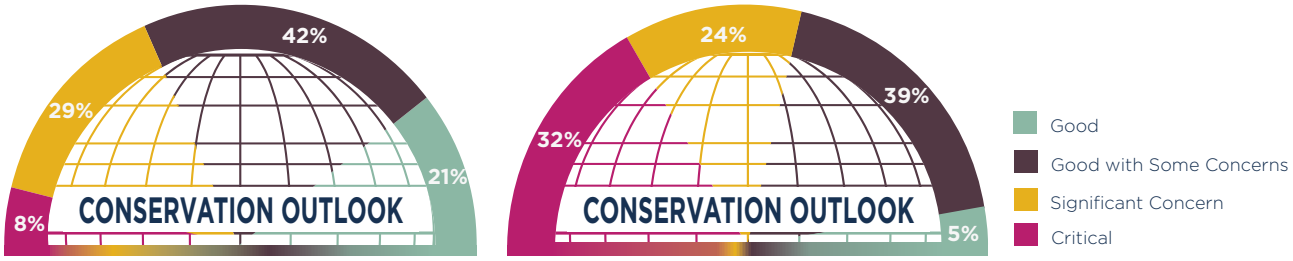

Figure 3. IUCN World Heritage Outlook dashboard analysis for all and Africa-wide natural World Heritage sites.

Heritage sites.[5] A greater proportion of these threats is from mining, which shows a steady increase, but more recently a steeper increase can be seen in threats from oil and gas.

Spatial analysis conducted by the WWF in 2015 found that 70 out of 229, or 31%, of natural World Heritage sites were overlapped by extractives activities or concessions (Aviva et al., 2015). In Africa, this proportion rose to 61%. This analysis used the most comprehensive industry datasets on mining activities available, but these are costly, not publicly available and can be restricted in what they contain and what can be released, resulting in incomplete results.

Recent combined analysis for the WWF by Dalberg Global Development Advisers found that half (114) of 229 natural and mixed World Heritage sites are threatened by harmful industrial activities (WWF and Dalberg, 2016; **Figure 2**). This was based on two sources of data: the above spatial analysis of extractive activities in natural World Heritage sites conducted by WWF in 2015, and IUCN's World Heritage Outlook data, where Dalberg looked at other industrial activities, but also applied a 'scale' threshold to only look at activities that would be conducted at an 'industrial scale', thereby presenting a threat of rapid degradation of a property's OUV. So, for example, small-scale (legal or illegal) logging was excluded, even though it can undoubtedly be damaging, but large-scale forest clearance was included.

Outlook for African natural World Heritage sites

The IUCN World Heritage Outlook – the first global assessment of all natural World Heritage sites – was launched in 2014 to identify actions needed to support sites that are facing threats and track the state of conservation of properties over time. Site assessments will be carried out every three years of (1) the current state and trends of values; (2) the threats affecting those values; and (3) the effectiveness of protection and management rate sites. This rates the conservation outlook of sites via a traffic light system as 'good', 'good with some concerns', 'significant concern' and 'critical'. 32% of African natural World Heritage sites are rated as critical compared to 8% globally (**Figure 3**; Osipova et al., 2014). That African World Heritage sites are under greater threat is echoed by the fact that 33% of all World Heritage sites in danger – or 66% of all natural World Heritage sites in danger (13 sites out of 19) – are in Africa.

Impacts at site level

As the trends above show, global and regional demands for resources are increasingly putting pressure on Africa's natural World Heritage sites, from industrial scale logging in Madagascar's rainforests of the Atsinanana, to mining licences granted over Côte d'Ivoire's Comoé National Park, to the continued threat of oil in the Greater Virunga landscape. The impacts of these harmful industrial activities, particularly when they co-occur, can be severe and often compounded. Selous Game Reserve in Tanzania, for example, has experienced damage due to oil and mineral extraction as well as road construction, and now faces additional threats from hydropower construction. Selous once contained globally significant populations of African elephants, hippopotamuses and critically endangered black rhinoceroses. However, the site faces continuing threats from oil and mineral extraction (**Figure 4**), which have been exacerbated since 2009, following the relaxation of the legal framework that protects Tanzanian game reserves. The Tanzanian government has awarded 43 concessions for oil, gas and mining extraction that overlap with the site. In 2012, the World Heritage Committee exceptionally approved the boundary modification of the World Heritage site to allow the State Party to pursue the development of the degazetted area for a large-scale uranium mine. Although mining in the area has not begun at scale, these activities have damaged the site's biodiversity and caused a reduction in revenue from tourism activities, resulting in local job losses for people who were affected by declining tourism and were not equipped with the right skills to work in oil exploration or mining. The site also faces threats from the proposed construction of a hydropower plant, which would result in flooding 1,200 km^2 of the reserve and the loss of terrestrial habitats.

5 In examining the State of Conservation reports, it is important to bear in mind that these reports are only produced in cases where actions have to be taken at the World Heritage Committee level and therefore sites with less imminent threats might not be reported upon. It is also extremely likely that artisanal and small-scale mining activities are under-reported, despite their prevalence in protected areas.

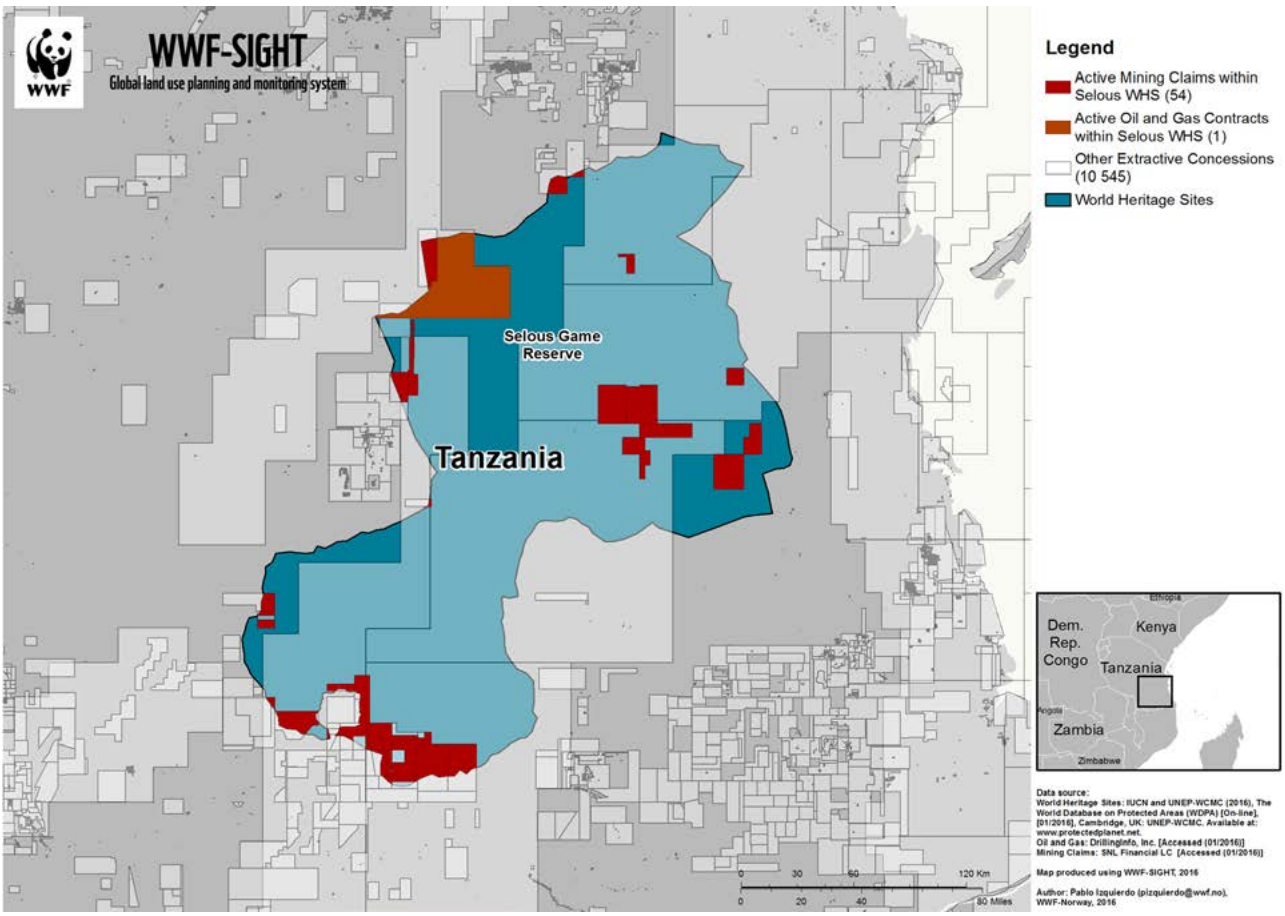

Figure 4. Selous Game Reserve World Heritage site (in blue), overlaid with active mining claims (in red) and active oil and gas concessions (in brown).
Map produced using WWF-SIGHT, 2016.

These harmful industrial activities, some of which have been undertaken within the same area, have increased access to the site and led to further damage from poaching. Transect lines cut through the site by Shell in the 1980s for oil exploration, and access roads constructed by ARMZ for uranium mineral extraction, have facilitated access to Selous for poachers. The company responsible for operating the new uranium mine in the excised area of the property conceded that 'poachers took advantage when we built a road to the deposit'.

Since the inscription of Selous as a World Heritage site in 1982, there has been an alarming decline in some species found there. Particularly pronounced decreases are seen in African elephant (which has fallen by almost 90% with now just over 15,000 elephants remaining within the reserve), black rhinoceros (which has fallen from 2,135 animals in 1982 to an estimated 30 to 50 individuals, based on ranger reports (IUCN, 2017)), bushbuck and common eland (Milligan et al., 2014). Wildlife poaching has jeopardized the reserve's OUV and, as a result, the site was inscribed on the List of World Heritage in Danger in 2014.

Africa's oldest and most biodiverse national park, Virunga, in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), was placed on the List of World Heritage in Danger in 1994, following the impacts of the Rwandan genocide and consequent civil war in DRC. More recently, it has been threatened by oil exploration, with the awarding of oil concessions overlapping 85% of the park. However, local civil society groups, international campaigns and pressure from investors led to UK oil company SOCO ceasing its oil exploration activities, withdrawing from the park and joining Total in pledging not to explore for or exploit oil in Virunga or any other World Heritage site. Advocating an alternative local, community-based, sustainable development model, the Virunga Alliance, an intersection of civil society, private sector and state institutions, aims to foster peace and prosperity through the responsible economic development of

natural resources for four million people who live within a day's walk of the park's borders.[6]

Sustainable local development

There are multiple possibilities for sustainable local economic development around protected areas in Africa, including natural World Heritage sites. Those include: sustainable ecotourism, which takes particular advantage of the drawing power of World Heritage status; conservation-based enterprises that, for example, add a premium to sustainably-managed agricultural produce; protected areas as catalysts for sustainable development, as noted above with regard to Virunga National Park in DRC; agroforestry and potential carbon-based payment mechanisms; and other site-specific options that take advantage of particular opportunities such as twinning arrangements with zoos, establishment of scientific research or training centres, etc.

Apart from the direct benefits generated by such activities, they offer the secondary benefit of supporting the socio-organization of communities and empowering them to become advocates for their own needs, thus improving demand-side governance in countries with generally weak governance structures.

Prerequisites

For the full potential of these sites as focal points to be realized, a clear vision is required that is embraced and implemented by a wide range of partners including governments, the private sector, NGOs and communities. In particular, this requires that the communities living around protected areas have some sort of responsibility over the stewardship of the natural resources upon which they depend for their livelihoods. It is very hard to foster community interest and engagement in sustainable natural resource management without an appropriate legal framework in place.

No framework is going to work, however, unless the rule of law is established and can be maintained. The rule of law is vital if human rights are to be respected, and for achieving progress on improved human livelihoods, as well as for biodiversity conservation. The breakdown of the rule of law, for example due to civil conflict, poor governance or corruption, can also discourage the engagement of private sector partners who are essential to achieving long-term, sustainable development, putting at risk all those preconditions that are necessary for sustainable development. Maintaining the OUV of World Heritage sites under such conditions, let alone establishing them as catalysts for sustainable development and improved livelihoods for the people living around them, is almost impossible. Listing sites as 'in danger' is highly likely in these circumstances because, not surprisingly, other priorities become more urgent both for States Parties and local communities as they struggle to re-establish other functions that are essential for good governance and economic development.

Endangered Okapi, Okapi Wildlife Reserve, Democratic Republic of the Congo

6 https://virunga.org/virunga-alliance/

Short- and long-term ways out of danger

In the long term, all those functions must be re-established in order for communities to rebuild themselves, for sustainable natural resource management to be possible, and to create an enabling environment for the sound management of protected areas, including World Heritage sites. In some situations, co-management of natural World Heritage sites in danger by NGO partners may provide a short- or medium-term solution and allow real progress to be made towards the establishment of resilient, autonomous socio-ecological systems that generate community well-being and conservation benefits. Characteristics include:

- a contractual alliance between State Party and a non-governmental/civil society partner, or 'Public-Private Partnership' (PPP);
- access to external funding, scientific and management expertise;
- a range of options available for delegation of management authority, including wildlife law enforcement;
- simultaneous measures to address long-term needs;
- a collaborative, systematic approach to applying corrective measures and achieving the desired state of conservation; and
- the engagement of local communities in decision-making processes at all stages.

Co-management is not necessary or appropriate in all situations, but it is already being used with some success in a number of African natural World Heritage sites – as well as other protected areas – and may be a useful tool at others. It is an option particularly in areas and at times of civil conflict, of political instability at a national level, or simply when a protected area management authority simply doesn't have the capacity to manage all the sites under its authority. That might come about, for example, as the result of a dramatic expansion in the protected area network, which has happened in the past 15 years in Gabon and Madagascar.

One of the criticisms that could be made of the PPP approach is that in the long term, the *root causes* of inclusion on the World Heritage List of Sites in Danger need to be addressed. Any co-management arrangements should include support for building national capacity to safeguard natural World Heritage sites in the long term. The bottom line is that 13 out of 19 natural World Heritage sites in danger globally are in Africa. Addressing both the short- and long-term threats to the OUV – and broader sustainability – of those sites is therefore a very high priority under the Convention.

The role of conservation NGOs

Conservation NGOs have long been a key source of support for natural World Heritage sites. In order to better coordinate and enhance the support they can provide, an initial group of seven international conservation NGOs,[7] in coordination with IUCN's regional offices and World Heritage Programme, teamed up in 2014 to form the African Natural World Heritage Site Support Network (ANWHSSN), which has now become part of the global Natural World Heritage Network (NWHN). Many former ANWHSSN members are also now working with IUCN's World Heritage Programme to improve the conservation outlook of natural World Heritage sites as IUCN World Heritage Outlook Partners, with the African Wildlife Foundation (AWF), Wildlife Conservation Society (WCS) and Zoological Society of London (ZSL) announced as the first Outlook Partners at the 40th meeting of the World Heritage Committee in July, 2016. With international reach and experience from work in natural World Heritage sites around the world, members of these networks have a particular interest and expertise in African natural World Heritage sites, working closely with government agencies, site managers and local communities on the ground. Together they currently support around 30 – or over half – of the natural and mixed World Heritage sites across Africa.

7 Founder members of the ANWHSSN are: African Wildlife Foundation (AWF), BirdLife International, Fauna & Flora International (FFI), Frankfurt Zoological Society (FZS), Wildlife Conservation Society (WCS), WWF and Zoological Society of London (ZSL)

Rangers from Dja Wildlife Reserve in Cameroon are trained in SMART patrol-based monitoring through NGO support

Examples of the sort of support that these conservation NGOs provide to support sustainable development at natural World Heritage sites include:

- scientific research and monitoring to evaluate the impacts of conservation and development and to identify imminent challenges or threats;
- helping create sustainable site management plans or improve revenue streams;
- technical and financial assistance, for example providing specialist conservation advice, staff or equipment;
- providing financial support quickly in an emergency where other assistance would take too long to mobilize;
- mobilizing global attention in support of local action aimed at addressing environmental risks – e.g. from oil, gas or mineral exploration; and
- advocacy directed at relevant decision-makers at all levels to encourage actions in support of protection and sustainable development of World Heritage sites in Africa and globally.

Joint calls for 'no-go' and 'no-impact' commitments

One example of such joint advocacy was a statement released by those members of the ANWHSSN attending the 39th Session of the World Heritage Committee in Bonn (ANWHSSN, 2015) in support of the World Heritage Committee's position on extractives and World Heritage sites and IUCN's March 2013 advice note on mining and oil/gas projects (IUCN, 2013). This called for States Parties to the World Heritage Convention to fulfil their obligations regarding the preservation of these important properties, and in particular to:

- respect the boundaries of World Heritage sites as designated;
- cancel all existing mining and oil/gas concessions that overlap natural World Heritage sites and allocate no such concessions in future;
- include in national legislation an off-limits provision for mining and oil/gas exploration and exploitation in natural World Heritage sites; and
- include in national legislation a stipulation that appropriate and rigorous pre-emptive appraisal processes, such as international best practice environmental and social impact assessments, must be undertaken for all mining and oil/gas exploration and exploitation activities that may affect natural World Heritage sites.

In addition, the statement called for the World Heritage Committee to:

- consider including in the World Heritage Convention's new policy guidelines, or other appropriate text, clear guidance for State Parties summarizing the Committee's Decisions relating to the above provisions, in particular Decision 37COM 7(III).

Additional recommendations stemming from a ZSL review (Kümpel, 2016) of the issues surrounding extractives and World Heritage included:

- States Parties to share non-commercially sensitive data collected during strategic planning and environmental risk assessment stages of project development to support transparency, best practice and sustainable landscape-level planning;
- States Parties to support improved efforts to make biodiversity data, such as that collated

for National Biodiversity Strategies and Action Plans and National Red Lists, publicly available; and

- The World Heritage Committee to support the efforts of World Heritage civil society networks to assist States Parties (and the advisory bodies) with the monitoring, management and reporting of their natural World Heritage sites.

Key principles for sustainable development

With regard to sustainable development more generally, the WWF report lays out five key principles for decision-makers that benefit conservation, sustainability and development equally (WWF and Dalberg, 2016):

1. **Valuation that is socially and environmentally conscious:** Governments should assess periodically the direct, indirect and non-use value of World Heritage sites. This value assessment should be used, along with a full assessment of the economic, environmental and cultural costs and benefits of all proposed activities in and around World Heritage sites, in order to inform and guide decision-making about development options;
2. **Investment decisions that focus on long-term value:** When considering investment in activities that could affect World Heritage sites and the people who depend on them, decision-makers should assess such investments over the long term, and value – and balance – the needs of current and future generations fairly;
3. **Governance that is representative of all beneficiaries:** Stakeholders at the local, regional, national and international level should be actively involved in the management of sites. In particular, local communities and indigenous peoples who live in or around World Heritage sites, and who are affected most by the use of the resources contained within them, should be engaged in the decision-making process. They should also receive a fair portion of the benefits generated by the use of those resources;
4. **Policy-making that is evidence-based and transparent:** Policy-makers, including government agencies and site management authorities, should consult civil society groups, international non-governmental organizations and technical experts in the policy-making process, and decisions should be made on all available information and data. The resulting policies should be effective, comprehensive and free of 'loopholes' that would allow them to be circumvented. The process and outcome of the decisions should be made publicly available, and be communicated clearly to the World Heritage Committee and other relevant parties; and
5. **Regulations that are enforced and followed:** Effective measures should be implemented to ensure that existing and future regulations are upheld by stakeholders and enforced by the appropriate bodies. The regulations that protect World Heritage sites from harmful industrial activities should be adhered to and enforced in full, without exception.

Recommendations

To tackle the specific and increasing challenges and needs for conservation and sustainable development of African natural World Heritage sites, we also recommend the following:

- Continued evolution of the World Heritage Convention to encourage and embrace greater engagement by civil society, including NGOs, in its implementation;
- Proactive pursuit of partnerships between States Parties, civil society, NGOs and the private sector to support management of natural World Heritage sites on the ground;
- Spatial planning and/or strategic environmental assessments (transparent, multistakeholder, participative, at landscape scale, etc.) to address broader natural resource management, land tenure and sustainability issues, etc.;
- National legal reform when necessary;
- Systematic and concerted efforts to address threats facing natural World Heritage sites in danger;
- Data-sharing and continued engagement in the IUCN World Heritage Outlook monitoring process;
- Continued evolution of the World Heritage Convention to embrace new and emerging societal development needs in communities living around natural World Heritage sites;

- Support for the implementation of UNESCO's policy document on World Heritage and sustainable development; and
- Upholding and strengthening the fundamental principles of the World Heritage Convention.

Conclusion

Protecting natural areas and ecosystems is not therefore anti-development, but a crucial element of a sound strategy for sustainable development. Healthy natural World Heritage sites contribute to poverty alleviation, help alleviate food insecurity, combat climate change, provide protection from natural disasters, conserve biodiversity and support the sustainable use of ecosystems. Safeguarding these sites and investing in their future should be part of each government's national action for achieving its Sustainable Development Goals commitments, for the sake of and with support from its own citizens and the wider international community.

ZSL trains ICCN rangers in camera trap survey methods to monitor okapi in northern Virunga National Park, DRC

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Bwindi Impenetrable National Park, Uganda
© Vincent Long / Our Place World Heritage*

Wealth creation through conservation: Bwindi Impenetrable and Rwenzori Mountains National Parks, Uganda[1]

John Makombo
Director Conservation
Uganda Wildlife Authority

Biodiversity conservation has generally been a minimally facilitated sector in national budgets. Many governments have perceived conservation as an activity not necessarily contributing tangible benefits to boost national economies. This view is dying out slowly, as more and more countries realize that environmental sustainability benefits communities by offering them livelihoods directly related to nature-based investments.

In most of sub-Saharan Africa, biodiversity conservation has a significant impact on agricultural productivity. Protected areas in most of Africa form key water catchment areas, contributing millions of litres of water to urban and rural settlements. As most of Africa's agriculture is rain-dependent, this is more pronounced in areas next to protected forests, which experience higher rainfall resulting from the local climate modification factors. These areas clearly demonstrate that the protection of natural ecosystems is a key source of livelihood-enhancing benefits, a crucial fact many economies disregard.

The lack of quantification and documentation of these benefits linked to sustainable environmental utilization is the main reason why some wild places are likely to be considered wastelands. Yet such examples as Uganda's Bwindi Impenetrable National Park (BINP) and Rwenzori Mountains National Park (RMNP), both World Heritage sites, make it obvious that environmental sustainability can contribute substantially to local and national development and poverty reduction.

Protecting exceptional biodiversity

The ecosystems comprised by the two forest parks are set in Uganda's Rift Valley, which hosts the country's highest biodiversity hot spots. Located in south-western Uganda, at the junction of the plain and mountain forests, Bwindi Impenetrable National Park covers 32,000 ha, where more than 160 species of trees and over 100 species of ferns grow. Myriad types of birds and butterflies are also found, as well as many endangered species, notably mountain gorillas – about half of the world population of these magnificent creatures live in Bwindi – as well as chimpanzees, leopards and forest elephants.

The Rwenzori Mountains National Park covers nearly 100,000 ha in western Uganda and contains the main part of the Rwenzori mountain chain, the legendary Mountains of the Moon, including Africa's third highest peak, Mount Margherita (5,109 m). The region's glaciers, waterfalls and lakes make it one of Africa's most spectacularly beautiful alpine areas. The park has many natural habitats of endangered species and the richest montane flora on the continent, encompassing giant lobelias, groundsels and heathers, referred to as 'Africa's botanical big game'.

Both parks were inscribed as World Heritage properties in 1994, after it became clear that their exceptionally rich biodiversity was verging on extinction due to unsustainable resource harvesting. Poaching, a prime example of the

1 This paper was first published in *World Heritage*, No. 82, December 2016. http://whc.unesco.org/en/review/82/

Family of gorillas

latter, was prevalent as a food source for the impoverished communities.

BINP and RMNP not only host superlative biodiversity resources, they are essential sources of water for the millions of people who live next to them in Uganda and the Democratic Republic of Congo. In the following paragraphs – based on information gathered through literature reviews, practical fieldwork, meetings with site managers and communities, and meetings with urban and industrial authorities operating next to the two conservation sites – we will review the various ways in which the two parks have contributed to sustainable development in Uganda since their inscription onto the World Heritage List.

Revenue-sharing schemes and community-based tourism

In 2000, the Wildlife Act was enacted to provide for benefit-sharing. A 20% charge is levied on park entry fees from tourism operations, which goes to communities living in the vicinity of protected areas. The Uganda Wildlife Authority (UWA) has already disbursed over USD 3.5 million as the communities' share for development projects and livelihood improvement.

The Board of UWA approved an additional USD 10 on each tourist permit to visit the gorillas, effective from July 2015. Mugyenyi et al. (2015)

point out that the benefits to the communities from the park have risen as tourism increases, from UGX 167,755,000 (USD 83,877) in 2003, UGX 496,004,000 (USD 198,402) in 2006 and UGX 661,774,000 (USD 264,709) in 2009. By the end of 2015, the park management had already paid a total of UGX 2,388,255,000 (USD 796,085) to communities.

Tourism in the Rwenzori Park has not yet been developed to the level of Bwindi's. But by the end of 2015, RMNP had already distributed UGX 310,521,350 (USD 103,507) to support 170 community groups in establishing small income-generating projects.

In Rwenzori, each of the porters employed in tourist activities is paid the equivalent of USD 30 for a 7-day trip, while in Bwindi the average rate is USD 10 per day. Currently, the annual estimates of community unskilled labour related to tourism amount to UGX 76,440,000 (USD 25,480), not counting the food tourists provide to porters as additional remuneration. In Bwindi, this kind of direct income to communities is estimated at UGX 648,000,000 (USD 216,000). Meanwhile, community income from the Buhoma community Rest Camp, a tourism lodge at Bwindi park headquarters, has amounted to USD 2.14 million since 1994.

In Bwindi and Rwenzori, about 80% of the staff are from local communities living next to the protected areas. Rwenzori has 93 local employees and Bwindi 156. Through these 249 individuals, the two parks inject an equivalent of USD 573,696 annually into neighbouring villages.

A recent study (Namara, 2015) set the Bwindi community's employment at the tourism lodges at 76.2% local people, with the protected area's adjacent communities taking 80% of the lower level jobs, 65% of mid-range jobs and 44% of senior level jobs. Annual income to the frontline village community employees of 40 lodge facilities totalled USD 151,651, with USD 211,609 for the local administrative parishes.

Overall, through enhanced economic and social benefits derived from diverse projects, tourism at Bwindi is currently generating over USD 5,3 million annually for the government (UWA, 2014). Neighbouring communities have so far received USD 796,085 from the parks' revenue sharing schemes. An average of USD 13.3 million is generated from hotels and lodges around the parks annually.

Resource access and collaborative management

Local populations have also been given access to resources. In Rwenzori, communities are allowed to harvest dry bamboo as one of the benefits of their good neighbourliness with the park. Since 2012, communities have so far derived the equivalent of USD 11,463 from these resources. The removal of the dry bamboo causes minimal injury to the park and has given support to community livelihood.

Community meeting
© John Makombo

Water resources

The General Management Plans for both Rwenzori (UWA, 2004) and Bwindi (UWA, 2014) recognize the parks as key water catchment areas. A number of gravity water schemes have been developed around these parks to benefit the communities residing close to the protected areas and those in the neighbouring towns.

Around Rwenzori, from 2013 to 2014, UBOS (2015) documented over 1,124 million m^3 of piped water as having been sold to the more than 300,000 urban residents in Bundibugyo, Kasese, Bwera and other nearby towns. This represents more than USD 936,667 in government revenue in the Rwenzori region.

Agriculture, power and fisheries

The constant supply of water from RMNP for irrigation at the Mubuku Irrigation Scheme has helped farmers produce food continuously throughout the year. Local communities reported generating USD 2,666 net from an acre planted

with rice at the irrigation scheme. This translates into USD 2.666 million in a season of four months for 1,000 acres.

Several rivers originating in the Rwenzori Mountains have provided opportunities for hydropower development. Currently, there are three major hydropower stations and two smaller stations outside the park. The three main power stations generate an average of 2,000 MWHr per month each, and the smaller ones 1 MW each. The existence of three major power stations has enhanced industrial production. Another 6 MW facility is under construction.

The sustainability of the fisheries resources of the African Great Lakes George and Edward, and partly of Albert Lake, depends on the RMNP forest that provides the water through its river systems. The fisheries resources are a major food source for the communities adjacent to the park.

Positive outcomes

The natural-resource-based initiatives in conservation described above have succeeded in turning neighbouring communities into partners instead of enemies of the parks. The change in attitude can be attributed to inhabitants' realization that since the forest became national parks and World Heritage sites, community benefits have increased. Earlier hostility is now history and communities are instead focusing on harnessing more benefits through collaborative forest management with UWA.

The positive attitude of inhabitants as a result of the various interventions has contributed to protection of park resources through community policing. The upward trend of the beleaguered mountain gorilla population, whose numbers rose from about 250 in 1987 to 400 in 2011, shows the system is working.

Overcoming threats

The main challenge to natural resources management at Bwindi and Rwenzori is the ever-increasing surrounding human population, which is exerting pressure on the parks' resources. Other obstacles to conservation progress include inadequate local political support to resist pressure for other developments around Bwindi, and insufficient financial resources to support operations in Rwenzori. With no buffer zones around the parks, problem animal management, to prevent crop raiding, is a recurring dillema. Meanwhile, climate change is causing glaciers to recede in Rwenzori and more frequent forest fires in Bwindi.

Yet despite the challenges, BINP and RMNP have demonstrated that natural resources can trigger sustainable development and environmental conservation. It is hoped that their example will serve in policy formulation to benefit sustainable environmental management that will enhance national development and poverty reduction.

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Meeting to maintain MT hedge in Mukono Parish, BINP

Kilimanjaro National Park, Tanzania
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Engaging communities in conservation and sustainable development of African World Heritage: lessons learned from COMPACT

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Introduction

A number of policy and conceptual developments in the evolution of the World Heritage Convention, and in conservation generally over the past decade, set the stage for new approaches that engage indigenous peoples and local communities in the stewardship of World Heritage. These trends, reviewed more extensively in a recent World Heritage paper (Brown and Hay-Edie, 2014), are summarized here. The inclusion of communities as one of the five strategic objectives in the implementation of the World Heritage Convention reflects an increasing demand for community engagement at all stages of the World Heritage process, and for rights-based approaches that link conservation and sustainable development (see, for example, Albert et al., 2012; Larsen et al., 2014). This trend is seen in other global instruments, such as the Convention for Biological Diversity (CBD) Programme of Work on Protected Areas (Kothari et al., 2013). The emergence of the governance concept in protected areas has provided an important framework for recognizing and supporting the vital role that indigenous peoples and local communities play in stewardship (Borrini-Feyerabend et al., 2013). Finally, an emphasis on achieving management effectiveness in protected areas, including World Heritage sites, has highlighted the need to forge strong partnerships with communities (Hockings et al., 2008). In parallel with these global developments, there is growing recognition at national and site levels of the importance of involving indigenous peoples and local communities at all stages of the World Heritage process.

The COMPACT model complements small grant support with capacity-building, exchange and networking to strengthen these local groups and their impacts across the landscape and seascape. Seen here: community organizations from areas surrounding the Transboundary Biosphere Reserve of the Senegal River Delta (Senegal and Mauritania) present their projects to each other at a gathering in St. Louis, Senegal.

COMPACT: an innovative model for community engagement in World Heritage globally

The Community Management of Protected Areas Conservation Programme (COMPACT) is an innovative model for engaging communities in conservation and shared governance of World Heritage sites and other protected areas. It is a joint initiative of the UNDP-implemented Global Environmental Facility Small Grants Programme (SGP) and the UN Foundation, which at the outset provided substantial co-financing complementing the support provided through GEF small grants. Since the year 2000, COMPACT has been working with communities near eight current/proposed World Heritage sites in nine countries of Africa, Asia, Meso-America and the Caribbean. Through extensive on-the-ground experience, and using a participatory methodology that takes a common systematic approach in the participating sites, COMPACT has been refining its model across a wide range of ecological and socio-economic situations. It has been adapting and ground truthing the proposition that 'community-based initiatives can significantly increase the effectiveness of biodiversity conservation in World Heritage sites while helping to improve the livelihoods of local people'. A direct response to the '5th C' in World Heritage, COMPACT's experience can offer helpful guidance in meeting the challenges of working effectively with communities in and around World Heritage sites (Hay-Edie and Brown, 2013).

Working across sometimes quite large geographic areas, COMPACT takes a landscape approach – one based on supporting local communities in their stewardship of protected areas and the broader landscape/seascape (Brown et al., 2005). To date, these target landscapes have encompassed natural World Heritage sites (and overlapping Biosphere Reserves) and the larger landscapes in which they are located, often including other globally recognized protected areas, such as Ramsar sites. Many encompass an array of governance types, including co-managed protected areas, privately protected areas, and indigenous peoples' and community-conserved areas and territories (ICCAs). With an emphasis on complementing and adding value to existing conservation programmes, COMPACT uses small grants to support clusters of community-based activities that are intended to strengthen biodiversity conservation in and around these protected areas. It complements this support with capacity-building, exchange and networking to strengthen these local groups and their impacts across the landscape and seascape. The role of a local coordinator, working at site level and supported by a local multistakeholder consultative body, is key to animating and facilitating community engagement.

The COMPACT methodology relies on three closely linked core elements that underlie its framework for planning and implementation. These COMPACT planning frameworks are the baseline assessment, conceptual model and site strategy. A detailed review of the methodology, which is outside the scope of this paper, can be found in Brown and Hay-Edie (2014). This adaptive management approach was designed to give considerable flexibility to local decision-makers while ensuring rigour, so that the overall goals of the conservation of globally significant biodiversity remain clearly in focus. Each element is participatory and depends on consultation with local people and other stakeholders throughout the process. This first stage of the process guides the grant-giving programme in the landscape surrounding the World Heritage site, while providing the basis for future monitoring and evaluation (Hay-Edie and Brown, 2013). By using a conceptual model, it is possible to review the methodology and baseline conditions periodically and to adapt the site strategy according to changing needs and opportunities.

A COMPACT local coordinator consults with representatives of a community organization during a site visit in south-west Madagascar. In the COMPACT model, the local coordinator plays a key role in facilitating community participation and fostering exchange among different organizations within the target landscape/seascape.

The UNESCO World Heritage Centre is one of the founding partners of COMPACT, and its involvement over the past 15 years has helped ensure that COMPACT addresses the co-management priorities of communities within the governance models

adopted by World Heritage sites. During the first two phases of its work, COMPACT has focused on eight globally significant protected areas (including one transboundary site), all of which are either current or proposed World Heritage sites:

- Belize Barrier Reef Reserve System, Belize
- Morne Trois Pitons National Park, Dominica
- Mount Kenya National Park, Kenya
- Sian Ka'an Biosphere Reserve, Mexico
- Puerto Princesa Subterranean River National Park, Philippines
- Mount Kilimanjaro National Park, Tanzania
- Djoudj-Djawling Transboundary Biosphere Reserve and World Heritage site, Senegal and Mauritania
- A cluster of five protected areas in south-west Madagascar included as the 'dry forests' in the national tentative list for World Heritage.

COMPACT's work in African countries during its first decade has been detailed in recent publications.[1]

During the third phase (which began in late 2013), the SGP and the UNESCO World Heritage Centre have been collaborating in a series of activities to explore the potential replication and adaptation of the COMPACT model at new World Heritage sites, with a focus on sites in Africa. Responding to requests from site managers and other partners at site level, new COMPACT initiatives thus far have been launched at sites in Ethiopia, Madagascar, Cameroon, the Central African Republic and Congo. Progress with replication in countries of Africa is discussed later in this paper.

Case study: COMPACT in the landscape of Mount Kilimanjaro, Tanzania

Around Mount Kilimanjaro, the health of the mountain ecosystem and the livelihoods of the local communities are closely intertwined. This interdependence is generally well understood among the communities living on, or near, the slopes of the mountain and people consider Mt Kilimanjaro as an icon of their livelihoods. As a local saying goes, 'if Mount Kilimanjaro perishes, we will all perish too'. Mount Kilimanjaro is a water tower. The local people depend on the mountain for a wide array of ecological services, including water (for domestic use, irrigation, livestock and hydropower) and forest products, as well as regulation of the microclimate. On its slopes, crop-farming in the famous Chagga home gardens is an important element of food sovereignty for local communities. These communities also depend on tourism and recreational activities generated by the protected area, representing an important source of income for about 20% of people in the region. However, increasing population pressures, subdivision of family plots for agriculture, and demand for natural resources threaten the mountain ecosystems and biodiversity, in turn imperilling the livelihoods of the adjacent communities.

Operating within this challenging socio-economic context, COMPACT's focus in Tanzania has been on balancing conservation and poverty reduction among communities in the landscape of the Mount Kilimanjaro National Park (MKNP) and World Heritage site. Recognizing that conservation actions cannot be undertaken without the long-term involvement of the people closest to the resources, the programme has adopted a 'protected landscape' approach, which supports local communities in their stewardship of the natural resources and biodiversity of the wider landscape. In the process, COMPACT has developed new partnerships linking local communities, park management agencies, local authorities and other stakeholders in the stewardship and sustainability of the protected area (Murusuri and Nderumaki, 2013).

Created in 1973, the MKNP is one of Africa's iconic national parks. It was designated as a World Heritage site in 1987 based on its superlative features as the world's largest single 'free-standing' mountain, as well as its high biodiversity values. At 5,895 m, Mount Kilimanjaro is the highest mountain in Africa, and is often referred to as the 'roof of Africa'. A unique feature of the World Heritage site, the montane forest, is home to a number of rare and endemic flora and fauna species. Despite its location near the equator, its summit has been snow-capped since living memory, making it an iconic tourist destination. Descending from the summit, one passes through four major climatic zones: (i) high desert, (ii) heath and moorland, (iii) thick forest and (iv) the lower slopes.

1 See, for example: Hay-Edie, Murusuri, Moure and Brown, 2012; Hay-Edie, Mbaye and Samba Sow, 2012; Kihara et al., 2013; Murusuri and Nderumaki, 2013; Rakotomanana and Rasoarimanana, 2013; Mbaye and Sow, 2013.

In the landscape of Mount Kilimanjaro, local organizations supported by COMPACT involve schoolchildren in tree-planting projects.

Over the years, increasing demand for forest products and agricultural land has gradually started to destabilize the fragile mountain ecosystem. Threats to the biodiversity of Mount Kilimanjaro are many and include overuse of natural resources by local communities; degradation of land and water resources due to climatic events such as drought and floods; as well as loss of natural habitat through poverty, changes in land use, and loss of traditional knowledge.

In the 25 years since World Heritage designation, the area of the MKNP has more than doubled, growing from 756 km^2 to its current size of 1,658 km^2 (TANAPA, 2008). Expansion of the MKNP boundaries to include the montane forest was carried out in response to recommendations made by COMPACT, following a 2001 aerial baseline survey of the Kilimanjaro region conducted with the support of UNEP. The survey revealed the extent of threats to the forests of Mount Kilimanjaro, including illegal logging, landslides, charcoal production, livestock grazing and other agricultural activities (Lambrechts et al., 2002). In the beginning, the expansion of the MKNP created tensions between the park authorities and the local population who were concerned about reduced access to livelihood resources. COMPACT played a central role in helping to bridge the gap between meeting community needs and implementing the formal conservation strategy established by the protected area managers for the World Heritage site.

Through a COMPACT-supported project in the Mount Kilimanjaro landscape, local water resource user associations built water troughs for cattle at a distance from the Soku Spring, reducing conflicts among those who rely on this water source for different uses.

COMPACT in Mount Kilimanjaro

When the SGP Tanzania Country Programme initiated the COMPACT project in Mount Kilimanjaro in 2001, it built on its prior experience of working directly with indigenous peoples (Hay-Edie, Murusuri, Moure and Brown, 2012), and of promoting community engagement in the conservation of protected areas, including the Eastern Arc, the Rufiji Forest Reserve and the Selous Game Reserve.

In the first phase of COMPACT, local communities participated in a baseline assessment of the socio-economic conditions and conservation status of the World Heritage site. During the process, they explained that the policing approach had generally fuelled enmity between the communities and the National Park authorities, while threats continued to degrade the mountain resources. During the consultative baseline assessment, the communities accurately listed and described the main threats to the mountain ecosystem including forest fires, encroachment for farming, grazing, and human settlements and poaching.

In 2006, responding to the challenges posed by conflicts between local populations and the authorities, COMPACT helped facilitate the involvement of local stakeholders in the development of the General Management Plan (GMP) for the Kilimanjaro World Heritage site. The participatory process brought in a variety of stakeholders, including local community leaders, NGOs, CBOs and tourism operators, as well as

representatives of park management authorities. The local communities were represented through the village leadership (typically those individuals serving, respectively, as chairperson and environmental committee leader for each village). These individuals held meetings with residents in their home villages, and then represented their views in the stakeholder workshops leading to the preparation of the GMP. The GMP for Kilimanjaro (which covered a ten-year period) envisioned active cooperation among stakeholders and explicitly recognized the importance of community involvement in the management and protection of the national park's resources (KINAPA, 2006).

COMPACT's work in Kilimanjaro

In the period since the GMP for Mount Kilimanjaro was adopted, COMPACT has conducted a range of activities to support the GMP's objectives, helping to complement many of the planned field activities identified as priorities in the plan. To avoid duplication of efforts while increasing community participation in the management of the protected area, the COMPACT site strategy has incorporated recent management changes within the 'Kilimanjaro Outreach programme' as well as the regional community development strategy.

Since 2005, a core objective of COMPACT has been directed towards recognizing the linkages between poverty reduction and natural resource overuse and degradation in the Mount Kilimanjaro landscape. To this end, COMPACT Kilimanjaro supported community-led projects that improved returns on the existing assets of the poor while conserving biodiversity. These projects, many of which were located within the buffer zone, have included:

- Promoting sustainable energy and the wide adoption of renewable energy practices to reduce fuel wood usage, including fuel-efficient stoves, solar power generators and use of biogas.
- Developing the technical capacity of NGOs to raise environmental awareness and increase environmental literacy in communities that are dependent on the mountain resources.
- Achieving integrated natural resource management and conservation based on active participation and cooperation by local people, government institutions and international agencies.
- Coping with climate variability, particularly in vulnerable communities on the dry lower slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro, where climate variability is resulting in problems with irrigation and increased competition for water between upstream and downstream users.
- Increasing communities' access to markets for local products in order to help ensure the long-term sustainability of community projects.

Examples of COMPACT interventions are provided in **Table 1** opposite. For a more detailled review of COMPACT's work in the Kilimanjaro landscape, please refer to Murusuri and Nderumaki, 2013.

Table 1. COMPACT project interventions in the Mount Kilimanjaro landscape

Thematic area	Type of intervention	Examples of COMPACT projects near Mount Kilimanjaro
Watershed management	Building capacity of local institutions concerned with water resources	• Capacity-building activities have helped to strengthen water resource users associations (WRUAs).
	Water conservation and recycling	• In the valley below Mount Kilimanjaro, a WRUA project demonstrating the use of biologically treated recycled wastewater for rice cultivation has sharply reduced demand for water from spring-fed sources, and therefore conflicts over water shortages. The use of treated wastewater has resulted in a two-fold increase in rice production and a lower cost to the farmers, who do not need to purchase fertilizers, while at the same time creating a wetland habitat for birds.
	Restoration of water catchment areas and riverbanks	• Support for tree-planting activities enabled youth from a Chagga cultural centre to plant trees to restore and protect the banks of the Whona river, while creating a shaded area for visitors to gather.
	Provision of small-scale infrastructure	• A project in which local WRUAs near Mount Kilimanjaro built water troughs for cattle at a distance from the Soko spring has reduced conflicts among those residents who collect water from the spring for domestic use, and those who rely on this water source for their livestock.
Forest management	Non-timber forest products	• A project to introduce improved beekeeping methods for honey production in forests has dramatically reduced the incidence of bush-fires and improved forest management. Working with a community association, COMPACT helped train local beekeepers and provide them with access to improved beekeeping facilities.
	Tree-planting/ restoration of deforested areas	• COMPACT supported the conservation of traditional varieties of crops and trees on the slopes of the mountain. For example, more than 7,000 African Blackwood (*Dalbergia melanoxylon*) trees have been planted, restoring to the slopes of the mountain a tree species that had been disappearing from the Kilimanjaro region.
Livelihood activities	Livelihood activities for subsistence and supplementing household incomes	• Support of community associations (including several led by youth and by women) in the creation of fish ponds for trout-farming, which provide food for local households as well as a source of income. Often these projects include activities related to water quality improvement and tree-planting.
Appropriate technology	Fuel-efficient wood energy and biogas	• With a Business Development Support grant, a local NGO is producing fuel briquettes from sawdust collected from lumber mills, enabling households that depend on wood for energy to cut down on their use of fuel-wood. Linked to this effort, several projects in the region promote the use of fuel-efficient woodstoves in households.
Traditional (ecological) knowledge	Heritage trails and educational centres	• COMPACT has supported an educational centre focusing on the indigenous Chagga culture, which educates visitors while ensuring the transfer or traditional knowledge to young people from the communities.
	Education and capacity-building of tour guides	• A project in the Mount Kilimanjaro area has provided training for local tour guides in topics related to ecology and conservation, low-impact trekking, management of fires after cooking and other issues. As a result, demand has been boosted for the services of those guides, porters and cooks who had received the training, and visitor experience has improved.
Ecotourism	Trail maintenance and other infrastructure	• A COMPACT project supported the rehabilitation of an 18-km trail up Mount Kilimanjaro, popular among experienced hikers. The project reduced threats from potential erosion and trampling, while ensuring a better visitor experience for climbers and other tourists and providing income to local households.
Support to PA authorities with site management	GMP development – facilitating community input	• Experience from Mount Kilimanjaro illustrates how local communities can be involved in developing the general management plan for a protected area.

Outcomes of COMPACT's work in the Mount Kilimanjaro landscape

After over a decade of COMPACT's work within and around Mount Kilimanjaro, a number of benefits to communities and to the protected area can be observed. According to a study that documented the role of COMPACT-supported activities in poverty reduction (Misana and Kulindwa, 2009), over the past decade there has been a significant reduction of human-induced threats – forest fires, illegal logging and poaching – through the improvement of livelihoods of participating local communities. Other notable results include the following:

- Local communities are more aware of the importance of conserving the World Heritage site and its Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) on behalf of the global community;
- The GMP for Mount Kilimanjaro (covering the period 2006–2016) explicitly recognizes the importance of involving local communities and includes strengthening of this relationship as one of its objectives;
- The landscape approach, linking people's needs and biodiversity conservation, is now mainstreamed into regional-level development planning processes;
- Cultural methods of biodiversity conservation are being revived and strengthened;
- There are improved relations between park authorities and local communities;
- Income-generating activities, agroforestry and improved irrigation infrastructure are contributing to the well-being of local communities through provision of environmental services; and
- Numerous local community organizations have strengthened their internal organizational and financial capacity, becoming stronger and more confident as a result.

Since its establishment in 2001, COMPACT Kilimanjaro has promoted the active involvement of local communities in the planning and management of the Mount Kilimanjaro World Heritage site. As a result, critical human-induced threats to the protected area (such as forest fires and illegal logging) have declined significantly, while the livelihoods of participating communities have improved, particularly in the areas of food security, water access and income generation (Misana and Kulindwa, 2009).

Looking ahead

Building on its years of experience in the landscape of Mount Kilimanjaro, the SGP Tanzania Country Programme is now moving forward with plans to introduce the COMPACT model in the landscape of the Ngorongoro Conservation Area/World Heritage site. This initiative will be a central element of its strategy to mainstream the landscape approach in Tanzania during the current operational period, OP6, which runs through to 2018. The decision to focus on this part of the Serengeti ecosystem was made through a process of consultation with local stakeholders. Centred on the spectacular Ngorongoro crater, the world's largest caldera, the Ngorongoro Conservation Area is home to semi-nomadic Maasai communities and provides habitat for many threatened wildlife species. Taking a landscape approach, SGP will provide small grants and facilitate value-added activities such as institution-building, knowledge networking and policy advocacy. In keeping with SGP policy regarding development of its country programme strategies, plans for the initiative will promote inclusive social development, through efforts to empower women and foster gender equality, empower indigenous peoples, and involve children and youth.

In addition, the COMPACT model is being taken up in many other parts of Africa. Over the last few years, SGP and the UNESCO World Heritage Centre, through the Africa Nature Programme, have implemented a series of projects aimed at adapting and replicating the model in new target landscapes. Among these activities have been regional workshops during late 2013/early 2014, held respectively at Mount Kenya (for site managers from Anglophone countries of Africa), and Mount Cameroon (for site managers from Francophone countries). A guidance document on the COMPACT methodology, *Engaging Local Communities in Stewardship of World Heritage*, was published within the World Heritage Paper series in 2014. Through peer-to-peer exchanges, COMPACT local coordinators and SGP national coordinators have visited candidate sites and advised site managers and other partners on how the model can be adapted and introduced in the landscapes where they are working. Following on from these exchanges, progress with replication has included:

- **Simien National Park** (Ethiopia) – In 2012, the Government of Ethiopia agreed to collaborate with SGP in replicating COMPACT at this site, and to cost-sharing for the start-up phase of

the project. To date, the COMPACT project has supported projects concerned with land degradation. It has helped to raise awareness of conservation challenges in communities in and around the national park, which encompasses the tallest peak in Ethiopia and habitats for a number of rare and endemic species.

- **Maloti – Drakensberg National Park (South Africa/Lesotho) –** In 2014, SGP National Coordinators, working in collaboration with site managers, launched initial efforts to replicate the model at this transboundary protected area. The governments of South Africa and Lesotho have indicated their willingness to support this process.
- **Sangha Trinational (Cameroon, Central African Republic and Congo) –** Following a peer-to-peer exchange, the COMPACT model is being introduced at this trans-boundary site.
- **Rainforests of Atsinanana World Heritage site** (Madagascar) – The former COMPACT coordinator for SGP in south-western Madagascar has introduced the model in two national parks within this World Heritage site.

In addition, pilot efforts are being explored in other sites in Africa, each with distinct characteristics. These include: The 'W' National Park of Niger; two transboundary sites with Senegal (Delta du Saloum and Niokolo-Koba); and the newly inscribed KAZA/ Okavango World Heritage site (Zambia, Namibia, Botswana, Zimbabwe and Angola). Going forward, these and other new initiatives will be led by a range of different institutions and with support from a variety of finance mechanisms.

Experience to date indicates that COMPACT is highly scalable, offering potential applicability for future initiatives in a wide array of World Heritage site settings. In addition, the model has relevance for promoting conservation, alongside inclusive social and economic development, in landscapes in and near other types of protected areas. These include not only those created and managed by governments, but also protected areas under other kinds of governance, including ICCAs and privately protected areas.

More generally, the COMPACT experience can provide helpful principles and tools related to involving communities in the governance of World Heritage sites and other globally significant protected landscapes. These lessons learned have been reviewed in recent publications (see, for example, Brown and Hay-Edie, 2014). While these principles have emerged as common elements across diverse settings, the actual situation on the ground will differ from site to site. Just as each World Heritage site and surrounding landscape is unique, so will be the initiatives that develop at each site. This has been illustrated vividly by the COMPACT experience during its first two phases of implementation, where at site level each programme has developed its own 'personality' and approach, adapted to the local context. Given the participatory nature of the model, true community engagement means that communities will play a leading role in shaping each new initiative going forward.

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Forêts humides de l'Atsinanana, Madagascar
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Les Forêts humides de l'Atsinanana

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Contexte

Madagascar, avec une superficie de 587 041 km², est reconnu pour sa biodiversité exceptionnelle. Du fait de son isolement géographique, l'île présente une diversité spécifique élevée associée à un endémisme spectaculaire et fait partie des « hot spots » les plus importants du monde (AMCEN/UNEP, 2008). À titre d'exemple, on notera que plus de 3 % de la flore du monde entier se trouve à Madagascar (Borrini-Feyerabend et Dudley, 2005). L'île abrite près de 13 000 espèces de plantes parmi lesquelles 90 % ne sont rencontrées nulle part ailleurs dans le monde. En outre, 90 % des espèces de mammifères présentes à Madagascar sont endémiques. Quant à la faune, la diversité des amphibiens est absolument exceptionnelle avec plus de 99% d'espèces endémiques. Environ 341 espèces actuellement décrites présentent un taux d'endémisme de presque 100%. Pour ce qui est du peuplement aviaire, Madagascar présente 282 espèces dont 104 sont endémiques et une trentaine est menacée d'extinction (Goodman et Raherilalao, 2013).

Ainsi, la protection et la survie de ce trésor naturel unique au monde sont d'une importance capitale face aux multiples pressions et menaces qui pèsent sur cette biodiversité. Un Plan d'action environnemental fut initié en 1987 à l'échelle nationale. Depuis, le développement des communautés autour des aires protégées (AP) est devenu un défi permanent et fait partie intégrante de la stratégie de conservation. Parallèlement, toutes les AP créées dans le cadre de la vision Durban de 2003, ont aujourd'hui acquis leur statut de protection définitive. À ce jour, on compte 122 AP officiellement reconnues à Madagascar. Parmi celles-ci figurent les Forêts humides de l'Atsinanana (Gouvernement de la République de Madagascar, 2006), site inscrit sur la Liste du patrimoine mondial naturel de l'UNESCO en 2007 pour sa valeur universelle exceptionnelle (VUE[1]) et satisfait aux critères (ix)[2] et (x)[3] (Debonnet et Mauvais, 2011).

Les Forêts humides de l'Atsinanana

Les Forêts humides de l'Atsinanana est un bien sériel qui comprend six parcs nationaux répartis le long des marges orientales de l'île : les Parcs Nationaux de Marojejy, Masoala, Zahamena, Ranomafana, Andringitra et Andohahela. Chacune de ces AP a sa spécificité et abrite des espèces de plantes et d'animaux malgaches. Le taux d'endémisme y est d'environ 80 à 90 % parmi la plupart des groupes taxonomiques. Le **tableau** ci-dessous résume les données disponibles concernant les plantes vasculaires (Missouri Botanical Garden, 2017).

Parmi les espèces particulières, on peut citer *Nepenthes masoalensis* (EN), une plante carnivore endémique de Masoala et parmi les plantes caractéristiques de la péninsule. Pour le Parc naturel de Marojejy, il y est rencontré une espèce de palmier endémique *Dypsis pumila* (CR). Quant à *Dypsis fibrosa* (LC), cette espèce est endémique du Parc national de Zahamena et le palmier trièdre *Dypsis decaryi* (VU) est pour sa part endémique

1 Pour figurer sur la Liste du patrimoine mondial, un site doit avoir une valeur universelle exceptionnelle et satisfaire à au moins un des dix critères de sélection. Un site doit aussi répondre aux conditions d'intégrité et/ou d'authenticité et doit bénéficier d'un système adapté de protection et de gestion pour assurer sa sauvegarde, elle en sera la base pour la protection et la gestion.
2 Le critère (ix) correspond à la représentativité des processus écologiques et biologiques.
3 Le critère (x) correspond à la présence des habitats naturels les plus représentatifs et les plus importants pour la conservation *in situ* de la diversité biologique et espèces menacées.

Foret de Masoala
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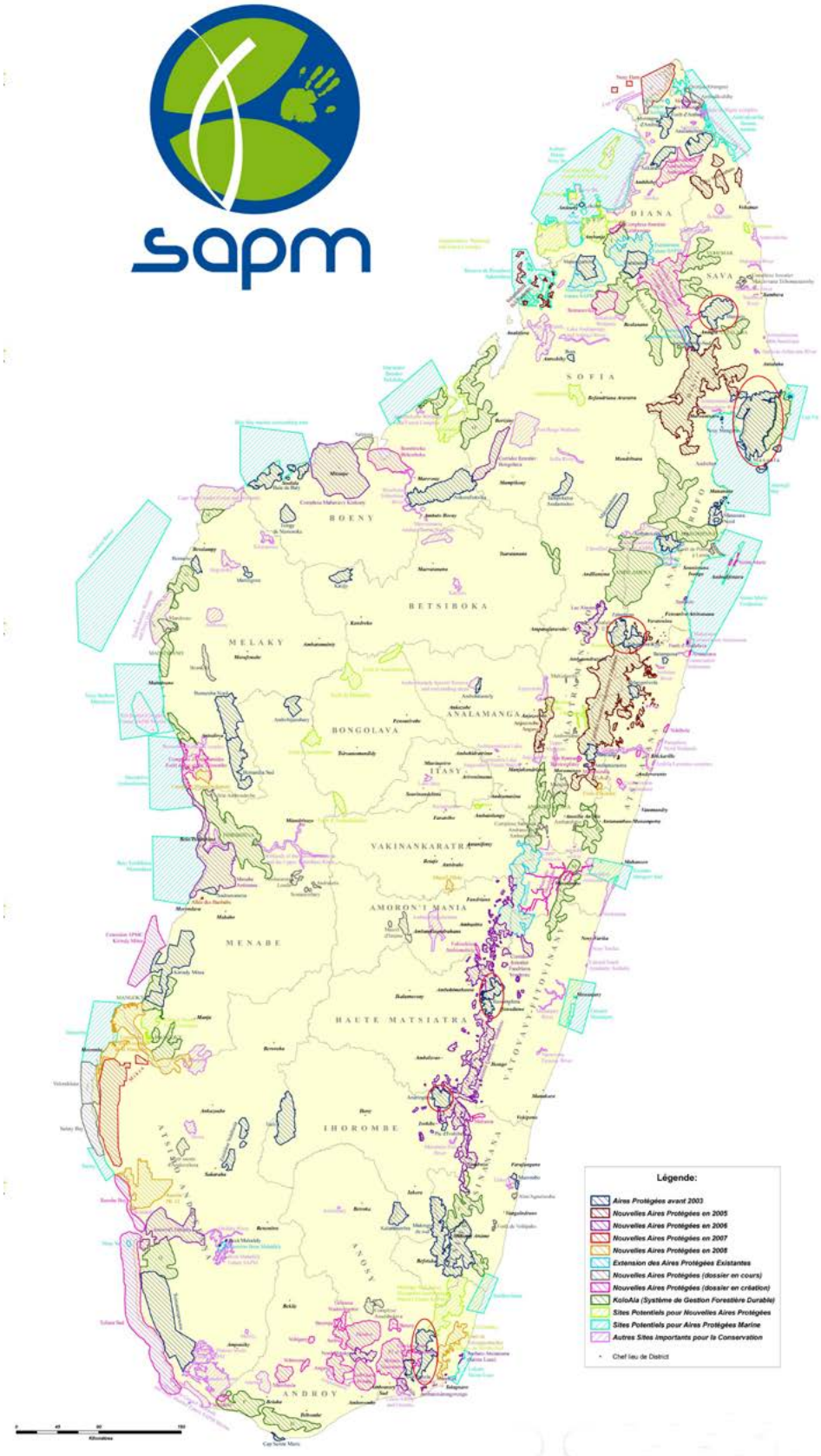
d'Andohahela. Comme son nom l'indique, *Osbeckia andringitrensis* est une plante endémique d'Andringitra. Il est aussi à noter dans le bien la présence d'espèces phares comme *Mespilodaphne tapac,* visible au sein du Parc national de Ranomafana (Madagascar National Parks, 2014).

Le bien revêt également une importance mondiale pour la faune, en particulier chez les primates : les cinq familles de primates, toutes en démiques du pays (Mittermeier *et al.,* 2014), 16 genres endémiques de rongeurs (Andrianjakarivelo et al., 2005 ; Raherilalao et al., 2016a; Soarimalala et Goodman, 2011), 6 genres endémiques de carnivores (Goodman, 2012) et plusieurs espèces de chiroptères y sont représentées. Le **tableau** ci-après montre une brève présentation des six composantes du bien, suivi d'une carte de localisation :

	Flore des 6 composantes du bien	Flore de Madagascar
Nombre total d'espèces	4 509 (38.7%)	11 641
Nombre total d'espèces non-natives/naturalisées	81	387
Nombre total d'espèces natives	4 428 (39.3%)	11 254
Pourcentage des espèces de plantes vasculaires endémiques à Madagascar	82.58%	81.52% (83.7% pour les Angiospermes)
Nombre d'espèces connues d'un seul site	247	1 291
Nombre d'espèces de familles endémiques représentées	42 (43.2%)	97
Nombre des familles endémiques représentées	5	5
Nombre de genres représentés	1 079 (53.3%)	2 023
Nombre de genres endémiques représentés	179 (58.3%)	307



Carte 1 Localisation des six composantes du bien « Forêts humides de l'Atsinanana ».
Source : Google Earth (modifié)

Tableau 1 : Présentation des six composantes du bien

AP	Description
Marojejy	Représentative des hautes terres du nord, l'AP s'étend sur une superficie de 60 050 ha. Majoritairement composée d'une forêt dense humide sempervirente allant de 400 à plus de 1600 m, on y retrouve aussi des forêts de montagne, des forêts denses sclérophylles et des formations rupicoles. Cinquante-huit espèces de mammifères y sont recensées dont 10 sont des lémuriens (1 CR[5], 3 EN, 5 VU) (Raherilalao et al., *2016a)* parmi lesquels *Propithecus candidus (CR).* L'avifaune arbore 118 espèces (2 EN, 9 VU) et l'herpétofaune 146 espèces (1 CR, 16 EN, 18 VU) (Köhler et al., 2015 ; Rabearivony *et al.,* 2015 ; Raherilalao et al., 2016a ; Scherz et al., 2016).
Masoala	D'une superficie de 230 000 ha, Masoala est la plus grande AP de Madagascar de catégorie II de l'UICN. Ses habitats sont essentiellement composés de forêts denses humides sempervirentes de basse et moyenne altitude, de forêts littorales orientales, de récifs coralliens et de mangroves et recèlent 50% des faunes et flores malgaches dont nombreuses sont rares et menacées. Avec 53 espèces de mammifères dont 11 sont des lémuriens, le site est connu pour la présence de *Varecia rubra* (CR) (Raherilalao et al., 2016b). En termes d'avifaune, on y retrouve 117 espèces (2 EN, 8 VU) et 95 espèces composent son herpétofaune (2 CR, 8 EN, 10 VU) (Andreone *et al.,* 2010 ; Glaw *et al.,* 2015).
Zahamena	D'une superficie de 64 935 ha, le principal habitat de l'AP est composé d'une forêt dense humide sempervirente de moyenne et haute altitude. Elle abrite 40 espèces de mammifères, dont 13 sont des lémuriens (3 CR, 2 EN, 5 VU) (Mittermeier *et al.,* 2014 ; UICN, 2017), le site est très important pour la conservation des espèces de *Propithecus diadema* (CR) et *Indri indri* (CR). Pour ce qui est de l'avifaune, on y recense 106 espèces (2 EN, 7 VU) dont 95% caractéristiques de l'écorégion. Cinquante-quatre espèces composent son herpétofaune (4 EN, 3 VU) (Ratsoavina *et al.,* 2015 ; Vences, 2015).
Ranomafana	S'étalant sur une superficie de 43 550 ha, les habitats de cette AP sont composés de forêts denses humides sempervirentes de moyenne et haute altitude, de forêts à bambou et de marécages. On y recense 64 espèces de mammifères dont *Limnogale Mergulus* (VU) qui n'est recensé que dans quelques localités de Madagascar dont l'AP de Ranomafana fait partie. On y retrouve également 14 espèces de lémuriens (4 CR, 3 EN, 4 VU) (Mittermeier *et al.,* 2014 ; UICN, 2017). Le site est très important pour la conservation de l'espèce *Hapalemur aureus* (CR). L'avifaune regorge 103 espèces (1 EN, 5 VU) et l'herpétofaune compte 144 espèces (1 CR, 14 EN, 19 VU) (Bora et al., 2011 ; Hutter et al., 2015 ; Ndriantsoa *et al.,* 2013 ; Vences et al., 2010).
Andringitra	L'AP d'Andringitra s'étale sur une superficie de 31 160 ha et est composée d'une grande gamme d'habitats : forêt dense humide sempervirente allant de 800 à plus de 1 600m, forêt de montagne de plus de 2 000m, forêt dense sclérophylle, formation de ripicoles, marécages et savanes. Le site regorge 57 espèces de mammifères dont 14 sont des lémuriens (Mittermeier *et al.,* 2014 ; UICN, 2017), entre autres *Prolemur simus (CR), et Lemur catta (EN).* Le site est riche en avifaune : il recèle 117 espèces (2 EN, 7 VU) et son herpétofaune est composée de 97 espèces (13 VU, 8 EN) (Glaw et al., 2010 ; Köhler *et al.,* 2011).
Andohahela	L'AP d'Andohahela couvre actuellement 76 140 ha de forêt inégalement répartie en trois parcelles non contigües et présente une concentration unique d'aires représentatives de divers habitats et espèces de la région du sud-est. Ces derniers se répartissent dans trois types d'écosystèmes : la forêt dense humide sempervirente, le fourré xérophile et la forêt de transition (Madagascar National Parks, 2014). C'est d'ailleurs la seule AP de Madagascar présentant une forêt dense humide au sud du Tropique du Capricorne, ce qui est rare au niveau mondial. Son habitat est également composé de forêts denses sclérophylles et de formations rupicoles. On y rencontre 57 espèces de mammifères dont 13 sont des lémuriens (1 CR, 7 EN, 1 VU) (Mittermeier *et al.,* 2014 ; UICN, 2017) entre autres *Hapalemur griseus meridionalis (VU) et Lepilemur fleuretae (CR).* L'avifaune est composée de 136 espèces (1 EN, 5 VU) et l'herpétofaune de 117 espèces (14 EN, 16 VU) (Crottini *et al.,* 2015 ; Glaw et al., 2010 ; Köhler et al., 2015 ; Miralles et al., 2015 ; Rakotonandrasana, 2010).

De par cette situation du bien sériel, une bonne représentativité de la variation des groupes taxonomiques des forêts humides malgaches du nord au sud est assurée. De plus, elles rendent aux riverains des services écosystémiques cruciaux. En effet, les Forêts humides de l'Atsinanana jouent un rôle fondamental de régulation de la disponibilité de l'eau grâce à leur importante couche d'humus. Elles constituent des réservoirs d'eau et permettent aussi d'éviter les inondations par rétention durant les périodes de fortes pluies. En outre, ces forêts servent de régulateur climatique

4 Selon l'UICN: EN = en voie de disparition; CR = en danger critique; VU = vulnerable

Varecia rubra – Espèce en danger critique (CR) et *Varecia variegata s.* – Espèce vulnérable (VU)

en tant que protection naturelle contre les cyclones comme brise vent. Elles constituent encore, actuellement, une réserve importante de biomasse et contribuent directement à la réduction des émissions de gaz à effet de serre, par le biais du stockage et du captage de carbone. En préservant ces écosystèmes, on permet la sauvegarde des services environnementaux essentiels dont dépend le bien-être des populations. Ainsi, le bien forme une part essentielle de la réponse globale au changement climatique à l'échelle planétaire car il joue un rôle tampon face aux évènements extrêmes.

D'un autre point de vue, les Forêts humides de l'Atsinanana contribuent au développement économique en favorisant le tourisme à Madagascar de par l'existence même d'espèces rares et endémiques de l'île. Elles hébergent également les sources alimentant des bassins versants et influencent directement le secteur agricole. Le bien a aussi une valeur sociale, culturelle et éducative car il a été longtemps un site de recherches scientifiques et représente une pharmacopée vivante pour les villageois.

Malheureusement, l'ensemble du bien a été classé sur la Liste du patrimoine mondial en péril depuis 2010 (UNESCO, 2011). En effet, suite à la crise politique subie par le pays en 2009, l'abattage illégal de bois précieux et le braconnage des lémuriens dans les Parcs nationaux de Masoala et Marojejy ont augmenté de façon exponentielle. À ce jour, les pressions pesant sur ces sites continuent de menacer leur intégrité. À titre d'exemple, le Parc national de Ranomafana fait face à des exploitations aurifères illicites, des coupes illicites de bois précieux, des collectes de produits forestiers secondaires, le défrichement et la culture sur brûlis qui ont pour effet d'éroder les sols, ces derniers ne pouvant plus se régénérer (Madagascar National Parks, 2014). Parallèlement, l'un des obstacles majeurs auxquels fait face l'État dans la gestion et la préservation durable des ressources naturelles du bien et de l'ensemble des AP est celui du financement. Le coût de gestion de toutes les AP de Madagascar est estimé à environ 20 millions de dollars des États-Unis par an, coût que l'État malagasy ne peut supporter seul.

Actuellement, le développement du pays est au cœur des discussions des dirigeants et il est évident que celui-ci doit aller de pair avec la conservation de l'environnement. Il s'avère pourtant que l'existence même du patrimoine est intimement liée aux différents secteurs économiques du pays. Ainsi, pour que ce patrimoine continue d'être un moteur de développement durable, il est impératif d'associer

les communautés locales et les responsables locaux et que des actions de pérennisation soient entreprises afin de retirer ce bien de la Liste du patrimoine mondial en péril de l'UNESCO. Une des conditions *sine qua non* au retrait du bien de cette Liste est la restauration de la valeur universelle exceptionnelle (VUE) de ce patrimoine. Pour ce faire, il est primordial de trouver des solutions face aux problèmes de financement, de réduire voire stopper les pressions anthropiques et enfin d'accompagner les populations locales vers l'appropriation du bien et vers une amélioration de leur bien-être.

Méthodes

Suite à l'inscription des Forêts humides de l'Atsinanana sur la Liste du patrimoine mondial en péril, l'État malagasy a soumis une requête d'assistance internationale à l'UNESCO qui a reçue un avis favorable. Il est à noter que les fonds obtenus ciblent principalement les deux Parcs nationaux de Masoala et Marojejy. D'une part, la gestion des fonds a été confiée à la Fondation pour les Aires Protégées et la Biodiversité de Madagascar (FAPBM). D'autre part, la coordination technique a été fondée sur la collaboration de diverses parties prenantes, notamment le Ministère de l'environnement, de l'écologie et des forêts (MEEF), Madagascar National Parks (MNP) qui est le gestionnaire des sites et d'autres partenaires clés comme l'Association Vahatra.

Dans ce cadre, plusieurs actions ont été identifiées et mises en œuvre. Tout d'abord, les mesures correctives identifiées et les quatre indicateurs fixés[5] lors de la 35e session du Comité du patrimoine mondial, en 2011, ont été adoptés par l'État (Debonnet et Mauvais, 2011). Parmi ces indicateurs, certains correspondent déjà aux activités récurrentes du MNP telles que la sécurisation physique et la surveillance du parc. Quant aux autres indicateurs, de nouvelles activités ont été créées et intégrées dans leur Plan de Travail Annuel (PTA). L'appui financier ainsi obtenu a permis au gestionnaire de renforcer la mise en œuvre de ces activités pour plus de résultats et d'efficacité (Madagascar National Parks, 2014).

Étude de cas dans le PN Masoala

Victimes de la crise politique par laquelle le pays est passé en 2009, les exploitations de bois précieux suivi du braconnage dans les AP de Masoala et Marojejy sont les causes principales de l'inscription des Forêts humides de l'Atsinanana sur la Liste du patrimoine mondial en péril. Plusieurs actions ont déjà été mises en œuvre afin de mettre un terme à ces exploitations illicites cependant, force est de constater que les efforts sont vains. Une mission conjointe impliquant le Ministère, la Fondation et le gestionnaire du parc a récemment été menée au niveau du PN Masoala durant laquelle des descentes dans des contrées les plus reculées de la région ont été faites. Parmi ces localités figure un village dénommé « Tanandavahely », dont l'accès est très difficile car il faut longer un fleuve pour une durée de huit heures avant de l'atteindre. Le village est situé à trois kms de l'AP. Composé de 3 500 habitants environ, la principale activité économique de la population reste l'agriculture. Des enquêtes ont été menées par l'équipe. Il en est ressorti que l'exploitation de bois précieux a cessé depuis un temps. Un recoupement a été fait par une visite au sein de l'AP. En effet, l'exploitation de bois de rose s'est apparemment arrêtée, cependant, cela a eu pour effet d'intensifier l'exploitation des autres bois précieux tels que les palissandres (*Dalbergia trichocarpa*). Cette situation est principalement liée au fait que l'exploitation forestière est la principale source de revenus « rapide » des communautés riveraines. De plus, la demande en bois précieux est élevée même au niveau local. Étant donnée la distance entre le chef-lieu et le village, le passage d'agent assermenté de l'administration forestière est très rare ayant pour effet un laisser-faire et un laisser-aller de ces exploitations.

Fort heureusement, la mission conjointe a vu la participation d'un agent du ministère qui a pu profiter de la descente pour « sceller » les rondins recensés et alerter les autorités compétentes de la région. En outre, l'équipe a pu constater les dépôts de planches et de madriers de palissandre stockés sous les habitations des communautés. L'affaire a également été transmise à un agent de la direction des contrôles forestiers qui a pris les choses en main. Une investigation a été menée et a permis de connaître le propriétaire de ces produits et de l'auditionner auprès du Cantonnement forestier. Le dossier a été remis à la Direction régionale de l'environnement et son traitement suit son cours.

5 (i) arrêt de l'exploitation du bois précieux ; (ii) taux de défrichement <0.01%/an ; (iii) aucun signe de braconnage significatif des espèces de lémuriens et autres espèces clefs au sein du bien ; et (iv) restauration écologique des endroits fortement dégradés par le défrichement agricole et l'exploitation illicite

Ensuite, parmi ces actions figure la mise en place d'un cadre local clair et formel de collaboration à travers une structure inclusive et représentative de membres issus des communautés locales. Cette structure est appelée « Comité local du parc » (CLP). Il s'agit d'une cogestion des AP avec les communautés locales. Celles-ci sont appelées à travailler en étroite collaboration avec le gestionnaire et mener des activités de patrouilles et de surveillance au sein des AP afin de dénoncer toutes activités illicites perpétrées dans le parc. Le renforcement d'une telle structure permet la conscientisation de la population locale afin que celle-ci puisse s'approprier le bien et s'impliquer davantage dans sa gestion et la préservation des ressources naturelles qu'il renferme. De plus, le cadre juridique déjà en place, à savoir le « Dina »[6] ou pacte local, facilite la gestion des conflits et des délits. Il est reconnu par le gouvernement comme outil de gestion forestière et à force juridique.

Enfin, il est important de motiver la population riveraine pour asseoir sa conscientisation sur les valeurs réelles du bien par la création d'activités génératrices de revenus (AGR). Il s'agit de mesures d'accompagnement à identifier puis à implanter pour stopper ou du moins diminuer les pressions qui pèsent sur le bien.

Résultats

Suite à la mise en œuvre des activités, on a pu constater qu'à ce jour, les coupes de bois précieux subsistent au niveau des deux parcs nationaux – PN – du bien (PN Masoala et Marojejy). L'**encadré** ci-contre présente une étude de cas concret. Il s'agit des résultats d'une mission conjointe qui a été menée par la Fondation, le Ministère de l'environnement et le gestionnaire du PN de Masoala.

Un des objectifs fixés dans le plan stratégique de MNP est la cogestion des AP avec les communautés locales. Ainsi, un appui et un encadrement des CLP ont été réalisés par le biais de formations sur le thème « Sensibilisation et plaidoyer » vers la mi-2015. 144 CLP ont été formés dont 35 à Masoala et 109 à Marojejy. Les CLP formés ont été opérationnels à la fin 2015.

Toujours dans le cadre de l'accompagnement des locaux, une sélection de 14 *fokontany* a été réalisée sur une série de critères établie par un des partenaires impliqués dans l'identification et la mise en œuvre de micro-projets de développement avec la participation active des communautés locales. À titre d'exemple : la vannerie, l'éco-tourisme, l'agriculture et l'apiculture.

Dalbergia trichocarpa
© FAPBM

Discussions et conclusion

Au terme de cet appui, l'atteinte des indicateurs parait difficile à réaliser pour ne citer que l'attribution de pouvoir régalien aux agents de MNP qui est à ce jour non effectif. Aussi, la sécurisation physique du bien demeure un problème fondamental pour MNP car il manque de rangers et d'agents assermentés pour l'application de la loi. De plus, le port d'arme par les gardiens directs du bien est interdit.

En ce qui concerne les projets d'appui au développement, ceux-ci ne sont pas encore effectifs au sein des deux parcs à ce jour. C'est une des raisons pour laquelle les pressions subsistent dans ces parcs. Actuellement, les documents de projets sont en cours de validation auprès de l'entité responsable de leur mise en œuvre. Néanmoins, une fois ces projets de développement élaborés et les résultats palpables, ceux-ci amélioreront les conditions de vie de la communauté locale et impacteront sur la préservation du bien.

Sept années se sont écoulées et divers projets ont été mis en œuvre. Des efforts ont été déployés pour retirer le bien de cette Liste du patrimoine mondial en péril, pourtant, le résultat reste mitigé alors que l'utilisation du fonds d'assistance

6 Convention ou accord entre membres d'une communauté déterminée où chaque membre doit marquer son adhésion par des serments ou des imprécations et dans laquelle des sanctions ou malédictions sont prévues ou réservées à ceux qui ne respectent pas ou n'appliquent pas les termes convenus.

internationale sera bientôt clôturée. De nombreuses pressions persistent et de nouvelles apparaissent. Malgré l'appui de bon nombre d'institutions, les contraintes de la conservation au niveau du bien et dans tout Madagascar sont loin d'avoir trouvé une solution. En effet, l'existence du bien des « Forêts humides de l'Atsinanana » devrait profiter tant au développement du pays qu'à l'amélioration du niveau de vie des communautés locales à travers l'existence des richesses faunistiques et floristiques précédemment présentées. Malheureusement, de par la situation socio-économique du pays, Madagascar se voit dépouillé de sa richesse naturelle. Ainsi, se heurte-t-il à diverses difficultés et menaces notamment les situations d'instabilité politique récurrentes entrainant la paupérisation et la dépendance de la population aux ressources naturelles. Cette instabilité s'accompagne d'une insécurité grandissante et d'une mauvaise gouvernance généralisée.

Parallèlement, cette situation impacte sur le tourisme du pays et par conséquent sur son développement économique. Autrefois, Madagascar figurait parmi les destinations touristiques les plus prisées du monde. Île de beauté sans pareille, elle offrait aux voyageurs la sérénité et la sécurité dans un environnement diversifié. Ce joyau de la nature a aujourd'hui perdu de sa beauté. En 2015, le nombre de touristes en partance pour Madagascar a baissé de 45% comparé aux chiffres de 2008 (400 000 touristes selon les statistiques officielles).

Malgré les ressources mobilisées pour contribuer à la conservation du bien : implication de la population locale, des gestionnaires et des autorités locales dans une gestion de proximité, beaucoup d'efforts doivent encore être maintenus et de nouvelles stratégies déployées.

Les Forêts humides de l'Atsinanana possèdent de grands potentiels pour le développement de Madagascar, cependant cela ne pourrait être valorisé que si cette richesse est préservée de manière pérenne.

Pour clore, pour que les aires protégées d'Afrique continuent à jouer leur rôle dans la conservation de ce patrimoine unique tout en étant un moteur de développement durable, population/environnement et développement qui se sont trop longtemps ignorés devront aujourd'hui aller de pair. C'est là l'idée selon laquelle une richesse ne peut être considérée comme telle que si elle est valorisée. Cette valorisation devrait se faire en étroite collaboration avec les communautés locales. Plus d'efficacité des actions, plus de transparence des décisions et surtout plus d'actions sur le terrain sont des conditions *sine qua non* pour parler de développement durable dans un contexte de pays pauvre comme Madagascar. Il est capital de renforcer et de développer un réseau d'acteurs, d'amis africains des aires protégées qui discuteront, échangeront ou apprendront les uns des autres.

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Lihimalyao, Kilwa, Tanzania
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INCLUSIVE SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT
DÉVELOPPEMENT SOCIAL INCLUSIF

Kunta Kinteh Island and Related Sites, The Gambia
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Revamping a heritage tourism destination for more sustainable growth

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Tourism in The Gambia and the Roots heritage tourism destination

Tourism in The Gambia emerged as an economic activity soon after independence in 1965, when a Swedish tour operator, looking for opportunities to escape the harsh Scandinavian winters, happened to see the potential in the country's sandy beaches, abundant sunshine and very navigable river. The government of the day saw it as a viable alternative to the export of groundnuts, which until then had formed the backbone of the country's economy. Since that time, successive governments have made tourism a priority, designating a tourism development area to encourage investment in hotels and other infrastructure in order to meet growing demand. Today, tourism accounts for 22% of The Gambia's GDP, employing more than 125,000 people directly and indirectly.

Following the publication of Alex Haley's magnum opus *Roots* in 1976, which traced the ancestry of an African American family through seven generations to the tiny village of Juffureh in The Gambia, and the television series that followed in 1977, the village that lies next to James Island (now renamed Kunta Kinteh Island) was transformed into a pilgrimage site for Africans in the diaspora, in search of their roots in a continent from which they had been so brutally removed by the slave trade. The village of Juffureh and its close neighbour, Albreda, are also home to numerous historic remains, dating back to the period of European occupation, standing as silent testimony to 'the main period and facets of the encounter between Africa and Europe along the River Gambia, a continuum stretching from pre-colonial and pre-slavery times to independence. The site is particularly significant for its relation to the beginning of the slave trade and its abolition. It also documents early access to the interior of Africa' (UNESCO, 2001). However, until 1996, these European remains were abandoned ruins, left to deteriorate in the wind and the rain.

Although visitor statistics for the initial period of tourism growth are not available, and it is not possible to measure the exact impact of World Heritage inscription on this destination, a cursory examination reveals a clear increase in visitor numbers and positive feedback following the inscription. This increase in visitor numbers is for the most part due to the publicity that comes with World Heritage listing, improved efforts at tourism marketing to raise awareness of the sites, and improved on-site interpretation, including the establishment of a museum on the slave trade.

However, what is most apparent about the impact of tourism on the communities of Juffureh and Albreda is the socio-cultural malaise that has affected them. With increased tourism in an economically deprived community came a culture of begging, a proliferation of donation boxes in the villages, and the harassment of tourists. The harassment had reached such a level that tour operators threatened to withdraw from the destination, thus depriving the communities of the little benefit they were receiving from the travel industry. Faced with this conundrum, the Juffureh-Albreda Revamp Project was developed to redress the situation. The problem was not limited to the Juffureh-Albreda destination; for many years, tourism has been problematic

Information centre at Albreda

for rural communities in The Gambia, despite its inherent potential for development and the government's desire to share the financial benefits of tourism with rural populations. This is not to say that World Heritage status is responsible for the issues addressed by the Juffureh-Albreda Revamp Project, rather, the social malaise came with tourism from the outset and continued with the newly acquired World Heritage status. With the current emphasis on sustainable tourism, it was necessary to take action in the interest of the communities who live around the sites.

Socio-cultural impact of tourism

Around 2008, the popularity of the 'Roots' destination was gradually declining and tour operators began to express serious concern about the harassment of tourists by locals, and the risk that this posed to excursions. Negative feedback from tourists grew to such an extent that tour operators threatened to remove the excursion from their portfolio, and complaints were regularly posted on popular travellers' websites. It was clear that the main cause of the harassment was that local communities were receiving only marginal financial benefits from the excursion, mostly through donations and the sale of souvenirs. As these souvenirs were also plentifully available in the urban settlements where the tourist hotels were situated, there was no motivation to buy them during excursions. Worsening the plight of the souvenir sellers was the lack of branding or production of artefacts unique to the destination. Craft vendors followed visitors from the landing site and throughout the excursion, virtually forcing them to buy their wares. Begging and truancy from school were also rampant when tourists arrived. Tourists were encouraged by locals to take photographs of them with babies tied to their backs, only then to be asked for payment. There was virtually no community effort to improve this undignified state of affairs.

It was at this stage that the Association of Small Scale Enterprises in Tourism (ASSET), the Gambia Tourism Board and the ground tour operators teamed up to devise a strategy to reduce harassment and begging by children, create employment for the youth by training them to serve as tourist guides, and generally share the benefits of tourism among the communities of the two villages more fairly. With financial support from the Travel Foundation, UK, a scheme was developed whereby, *inter alia*, all tour operators handed their clients over to the local guides on arrival at the destination, and in return paid a fee of £1 to the local community fund. This payment was used to pay salaries to the trained and registered guides, the village heads, the Kinteh family who

continue to claim the *Roots* heritage as the direct descendants of Kunta Kinteh, and relatives of Alex Haley. The intervention scheme also included the establishment of a children's centre to reduce child begging by occupying them with meaningful and educational activities, such as making crafts that could be sold to tourists, the proceeds of which were used to procure school materials and relieve the financial burden on their parents. Craft market vendors were also trained to produce items that were unique to the destination. At the same time, a governance committee was established to monitor the project and ensure transparency in the utilization of the community fund that was generated by the intervention.

The Juffureh-Albreda Revamp Project

Two years after the launch of the Travel Foundation-funded project, progress began to stall. In 2012, the Gambia Tourism Board held several meetings at Juffureh in an attempt to better understand the challenges confronting the Kunta Kinteh *Roots* product. From the proceedings of these meetings, it became apparent that a wholesale reassessment of the *Roots* product was needed, with a view to revamping it.

The rationale put forward for such a reassessment was based on the following:

1. The Travel Foundation-supported project 'Improving Destination Management Strategies for Juffureh and Albreda 'Roots' Heritage' was not generating enough income to fund further development of the *Roots* site, let alone other community development projects that were thought possible following the commissioning of the project.

2. The small-scale enterprises that had resulted following the commissioning of the project were struggling financially.

3. Since its commissioning, the site had deteriorated and the state of the two communities had also worsened, with no sanitation infrastructure in place and with refuse and litter all over the site area.

4. One of the benefits of being on the World Heritage List (attained under Kunta Kinteh Island and Related Sites in 2003) is the increased potential to attract more visitors with all the attendant tourism benefits. The challenge lies in taking advantage of those benefits while at the same time finding ways and means of empowering the communities around the sites to mitigate the negative impacts of large visitor numbers.

Weather-resistant and child-friendly signage in front of the CFAO Building

Therefore, it was necessary not only to re-assess the product, but also to re-strategize the way forward. Having travelled for over an hour to reach the site (even longer for those on excursions), tourists would find that their needs had not been met, and would be disappointed that the reality was so far from their expectations. These disappointments would, undoubtedly, over time reduce the appeal of the Kunta Kinteh *Roots* product and the value of this very relevant historical site.

In order to avoid this, it was deemed necessary to put together a proposal to revamp the *Roots* product with the support of the Ministry of Tourism and Culture, other stakeholders in the tourism and travel industry, and the National Centre for Arts and Culture (the institution responsible for heritage affairs and the management of the World Heritage site of Kunta Kinteh Island and Related Sites).

It was against this background that the government invited CRAterre of Grenoble, France, with its long experience of developing heritage sites in Africa and other parts of the world, to provide technical assistance to assess the product, develop an action plan to match the collective vision for the product, and enhance the sustainable development of the area. The mission resulted in a project document based on four main objectives, along with an associated action plan. The objectives were summarized as:

1. Use local resources to generate sustainable development within the community.
2. Develop awareness of the value of local resources.
3. Stabilize the state of conservation of the heritage sites.
4. Improve visitors' experience.

Two years after the inception of the project, considerable progress has been made in meeting the objectives. This includes: the appointment of a destination manager to coordinate the affairs of the site, including the revamp project; signposting of the main attractions, including both the tangible and intangible cultural and natural heritage in order to improve visitor awareness and appreciation; the construction of the visitor information centre which provides space for visiting exhibitions; showroom/sales outlet for the

display and sale of crafts produced in the vicinity; office space and meeting rooms for the destination manager and tour guides; visitor conveniences and ample recreational space. The information centre allows visitors to relax and reflect on their tour options, and encourages them to spend more time in the area. By so doing, they provide an income to the community, empowering them to offer services that will enable them to earn a dignified living from tourism. The outdoor space is furnished with concrete benches and *bantabas* (communal meeting platforms) for relaxation, and a local fishing boat which enables children to have a hands-on experience.

The revamp project, including the construction of the visitor information centre, has been designed according to sustainable development principles, with the full participation of the Juffureh-Albreda community. The project document was developed through a participatory approach which involved all stakeholders, including the local communities and the tour operators. The objectives and action plan are the outcome of a SWOT analysis in which all stakeholders participated. The design of the information centre is also the result of a workshop held with the community to enable them to share their experience of local building materials and techniques, which have been widely used in their building constructions. The building materials and labour for the construction are mainly sourced locally, helping to empower the community both technically and financially, and making maintenance affordable with skilled workers readily available.

Other aspects of the project include: (i) enabling women to make handicrafts by recycling plastic waste which is a menace to the cleanliness of the destination; (ii) organizing a refuse/litter collection using donkey carts, in collaboration with the community at negligible cost to them; (iii) training and classification of the guides according to proficiency and specialization; (iv) audit of the natural heritage resources in collaboration with the Bird Watcher's Association and the Parks and Wildlife Service; (v) empowering the fishermen to offer fishing expeditions and experiences to visitors; and (v) working with the National Centre for Arts and Culture to stabilize the state of conservation of the historic remains and enhance their understanding.

Conclusion

Perhaps what is most exemplary about the Juffureh-Albreda Revamp Project is its evolution as a homegrown solution to local problems and its total reliance on local financial resources, with no donor support. The project grew out of a desperate need to address a longstanding problem that was threatening not only the heritage resources, but also the livelihood of the local communities and Gambian tourism in general, because the destination is certainly the most popular tourist destination in the country. Up to this stage, the project has relied solely on local funding provided by the Gambia Tourism Board, The National Centre for Arts and Culture, and the private partnership of a local bank, the Guaranty Trust Bank. The public-private partnership, the partnership between the tourism and heritage authorities, who are more often at odds, and the consultation and consensus reached with the local communities in finding a solution that creates a win-win situation for all stakeholders is also commendable and should be nurtured.

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Des habitants de Tombouctou (Mali) passent devant la mosquée Djingareyber

Tombouctou : l'avenir des maçons traditionnels[1]

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Lors de l'occupation de Tombouctou par des groupes armés d'avril 2012 à février 2013, le patrimoine culturel matériel et immatériel de cette cité mythique a été soumis à de graves menaces et dégradations, notamment : 14 mausolées ont été détruits, la pratique traditionnelle du crépissage annuel des mosquées a été interdite, plus de 4 200 manuscrits anciens ont été brûlés ou volés, et le monument Al Farouk, symbole de la ville, a été détruit.

La reconstruction/réhabilitation du patrimoine architectural en terre de Tombouctou a mis en lumière le rôle majeur joué par les artisans locaux, en général, et par les maçons traditionnels, en particulier, dans tout le processus. Par ailleurs, elle a été l'occasion de mesurer la menace qui pèse sur cette profession combien importante pour la conservation du patrimoine bâti en terre de Tombouctou.

Le rôle des maçons traditionnels

L'un des avantages tirés des activités de reconstruction des mausolées est l'implication de la jeune génération dans la réalisation des travaux, à travers l'organisation de chantiers-écoles. En effet, pendant la durée des travaux, les maîtres maçons ont formé de jeunes maçons débutants en leur transmettant l'essentiel des savoirs et des savoir-faire ancestraux liés aux cultures constructives.

Cette formation, surtout pratique, visait à pérenniser les pratiques constructives traditionnelles, à former de nouvelles compétences pour la conservation du patrimoine architectural en terre, et à contribuer à la relance économique par la création d'activités génératrices de revenus et d'emplois rémunérés (à temps plein ou partiel).

Pour rappel, à Tombouctou, chaque ouvrage bâti était habituellement placé sous la responsabilité technique d'une famille de maçons traditionnels. C'est encore le cas, aujourd'hui, pour les mausolées et les trois grandes mosquées inscrits sur la Liste du patrimoine mondial.

Cette tradition, qui était en vigueur à Tombouctou dans les temps anciens, est menacée car, actuellement, avec l'apparition de nouveaux matériaux de construction et de nouvelles techniques constructives, les « familles de maçons traditionnels » se raréfient.

La nouvelle tendance, qui privilégie l'utilisation de matériaux qualifiés de modernes, compromet l'avenir même de la profession de maçons traditionnels. Au-delà, ce sont les connaissances sur les matériaux locaux, en général, et le matériau terre, en particulier, ainsi que les techniques constructives locales qui sont menacées. Car nous n'avons pas connaissance de centre de formation spécialement dédié à la transmission de ces savoirs, de ces savoir-faire et des connaissances diverses, notamment mystiques et spirituelles, accumulés au cours des siècles, et il existe très peu d'opportunités pour assurer cette transmission.

L'apprentissage de la jeune génération de maçons se fait le plus souvent en utilisant les nouveaux matériaux de construction, tels que le ciment, les fers à béton, les tôles ondulées, etc. qui, pour la plupart, sont importés. Les écoles de formation professionnelle de la cité ne proposent aucune formation spécifique en rapport avec son patrimoine architectural en terre.

1 Cet article a été précedemment publié dans *Patrimoine mondial*. n° 82, décembre 2016. http://whc.unesco.org/fr/revue/82/

Pour cette raison, on peut déduire que la menace qui pèse sur la profession de maçon traditionnel concerne indirectement le riche patrimoine architectural en terre de Tombouctou. En effet, ce patrimoine, comme tous les autres patrimoines architecturaux en terre, a besoin d'un entretien régulier, qui doit être effectué par les artisans locaux, principalement par les maçons traditionnels dotés de compétences avérées.

Lors de la reconstruction des mausolées à Tombouctou, les compétences, les savoirs et les savoir-faire des maçons traditionnels locaux ont été reconnus et appréciés.

Une fois de plus, ils ont prouvé qu'ils détiennent les connaissances endogènes liées aux cultures constructives locales dont la transmission est nécessaire. Déjà reconnus au niveau national, leurs savoirs l'ont également été au niveau international, grâce à la distinction d'honneur décernée par l'UNESCO en reconnaissance du travail accompli, en marge de la réunion du Comité du patrimoine mondial qui a eu lieu à Bonn (Allemagne), en juin 2015.

Cette distinction remise à l'un des chefs de la Corporation des maçons de Tombouctou (Alhassane Hasseye), récompense l'ensemble des maçons de la ville pour leur forte implication dans le processus de reconstruction des mausolées et, d'une manière générale, de conservation de l'architecture traditionnelle de la cité.

S'il faut saluer l'implication d'experts nationaux et internationaux dans le processus de reconstruction à travers la forte documentation réalisée (études et supervision des travaux), il y a lieu de regretter que cette expérience n'ait pas été partagée avec d'autres artisans (même après les travaux) tels que des maçons égyptiens de la Nubie, d'Iran, du Nouveau-Mexique, et même de pays voisins comme le Burkina-Faso, le Niger ou de toute autre aire culturelle du Mali (Ségou, Djenné, Pays Dogon), ayant également des maçons traditionnels et une culture constructive en terre.

Habitantes de Tombouctou.

Des pistes possibles pour le futur

Pour aider les maçons traditionnels à améliorer leurs conditions d'existence et à faire face aux menaces pesant sur leur profession, nous soumettons à la réflexion les propositions suivantes :

- favoriser la création d'un réseau d'artisans impliqués dans la gestion et la conservation des biens du patrimoine mondial culturel : organisation d'ateliers de formation des maçons traditionnels de divers horizons, de voyages d'études, etc., afin de stimuler les échanges entre eux ;
- favoriser l'implication d'artisans traditionnels dans des projets de réhabilitation, reconstruction, conservation, etc. sur d'autres sites que le leur, en vue d'un partage des connaissances et d'un enrichissement mutuel ;
- encourager l'insertion de maçons traditionnels comme formateurs en « travaux pratiques » au sein d'écoles ou de structures de formation professionnelle, à travers des modules spécifiques sur le matériau terre, d'autres matériaux locaux et les techniques constructives locales ;
- prévoir des modules de formations diplômantes aux métiers de l'artisanat;
- recruter des maçons traditionnels sur la base de contrats auprès de structures chargées de la conservation du patrimoine culturel : missions culturelles, comités de gestion, etc. ;
- mettre en compétition une distinction (médaille de reconnaissance) biennale pour récompenser l'artisan qui se serait distingué dans la préservation et la conservation de biens du patrimoine mondial ;
- décerner tous les deux (ou trois) ans à un maçon traditionnel le titre de 'Patrimoine humain vivant' (niveau national), avec les avantages liés ;
- décerner une distinction tous les deux (ou trois) ans à un maçon traditionnel 'Maçon traditionnel émérite' (niveau international).

Une protection renforcée au Mali

Le 15 novembre 2012, alors que le patrimoine culturel malien est menacé par l'avancée de groupes rebelles, le Mali dépose son instrument d'adhésion au Deuxième Protocole de 1999 relatif à la Convention de La Haye de 1954 pour la protection des biens culturels en cas de conflit armé (« le Deuxième Protocole »). Le dépôt de l'instrument d'adhésion est accompagné d'une demande expresse relative à l'application avec effet immédiat du Deuxième Protocole, conformément à son article 44.

Le dépôt de cet instrument d'adhésion marque le début d'une coopération fructueuse avec le Secrétariat de la Convention de La Haye de 1954 pour la protection des biens culturels en cas de conflit armé dans le domaine de la sauvegarde du patrimoine culturel malien.

Cette coopération a abouti, en décembre 2012, à l'octroi par le Comité pour la protection des biens culturels en cas de conflit armé (« le Comité ») d'une assistance internationale pour un montant de 40 500 dollars des États-Unis au titre du Fonds pour la protection des biens culturels en cas de conflit armé établi par le Deuxième Protocole. Cette assistance internationale a permis d'établir un rapport détaillé sur l'état de conservation d'un certain nombre de collections, de bâtiments, de structures muséales et de sites archéologiques du nord du Mali (Villes anciennes de Djenné, Pays Dogon, Région de Gao et Tombouctou).

Fort de cette première expérience, le Mali a introduit en 2015 une demande d'octroi de la protection renforcée pour le Tombeau des Askia – site culturel inscrit sur la Liste du patrimoine mondial en 2004.

La protection renforcée est un mécanisme de droit international humanitaire (c'est-à-dire le droit applicable aux situations de conflit armé) garantissant le plus haut niveau d'immunité aux biens culturels, et prévoyant un système dissuasif de poursuites et de sanctions pénales au niveau national. Les conditions d'octroi de la protection renforcée sont établies par l'article 10 du Deuxième Protocole :

a. Il s'agit d'un patrimoine culturel qui revêt la plus haute importance pour l'humanité ;

b. [Le bien culturel] est protégé par des mesures internes, juridiques et administratives, adéquates, qui reconnaissent sa valeur culturelle et historique exceptionnelle et qui garantissent le plus haut niveau de protection ;

c. [Le bien culturel] n'est pas utilisé à des fins militaires ou pour protéger des sites militaires, et la Partie sous le contrôle duquel il se trouve a confirmé dans une déclaration qu'il ne sera pas ainsi utilisé.

Au cours des derniers mois, le Secrétariat a étroitement travaillé avec les autorités maliennes compétentes à la préparation de cette demande d'octroi de la protection renforcée laquelle a été présentée lors de la 11e réunion du Comité. Dans ce cadre, les autorités maliennes ont également introduit une deuxième demande d'assistance internationale au titre du Fonds pour la protection des biens culturels en cas de conflit armé. Cette requête a été acceptée pour un montant de 35 000 dollars des États-Unis, en vue, notamment, de renforcer leur cadre législatif pénal national et d'assurer la formation de leurs forces armées aux règles relatives à la protection du patrimoine culturel.

*Note : Signalons que le procès de l'un des commanditaires de la destruction de biens du patrimoine culturel de Tombouctou (notamment des mausolées) a eu lieu en 2016. Il a été condamné le 27 septembre 2016 à 9 ans de prison par la Cour pénale internationale (CPI), La Haye (Pays-Bas).

Le site du pays dogon (Mali) est une région remarquable par sa formation géologique et environnementale

Aapravasi Ghat, Mauritius
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The contribution of World Heritage status in Mauritius: the case of the Aapravasi Ghat World Heritage site

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Introduction

Located in the Indian Ocean, some 800 km to the east of Madagascar, Mauritius is an island that developed within the French (1715–1810) and British (1810–1968) Empires. Prior to independence, sugar accounted for 93% of national exports (Meisenhelder, 1997). When the colony became independent in 1968, the challenge for the state was to diversify the economy away from its heavy reliance on sugar. In the 1980s, new economic sectors emerged with the creation of free trade zones that supported the development of the textile industry, along with measures to develop financial services and major investment in tourism. These years were marked by significant changes to the Mauritian landscape: infrastructures developed, towns spread, the coast changed to respond to the tourism industry. Heritage, however, suffered from this new economic order; not ranking highly among the country's priorities, and unprotected by any legal framework, it slowly disappeared to make way for new developments. This trend changed radically in the twenty-first century when UNESCO listed the Aapravasi Ghat and Le Morne as World Heritage sites.[1] The inscription of these two sites marked a major evolution for Mauritian heritage, with the new status imposing regulations that permitted the creation of a legislative and management framework. At a time when globalization is challenging the economy of this Small Island Developing State, it seems relevant to consider how World Heritage Status contributes to the sustainable development of the country. This article will evaluate how World Heritage status has contributed to the development of a new perspective on the nation's past.

Cosmopolitan national references

Mauritius is a Small Island Developing State, populated by successive waves of migration from Europe, Africa and Asia. After the first Dutch settlement in the seventeenth century, the embryo of Mauritian society took shape with the establishment of the French colonists in 1721. Along with the French, between 89,000 and 101,000 slaves were brought to the island from West Africa, Mozambique, Madagascar, the Swahili coast and India (Allen, 2015). This slave workforce was essential to build colonial infrastructures and buildings. Along with the slaves, some skilled workers were recruited under contract, mainly from the French stations in India. At this time, Mauritius was already a major regional commercial destination; from 1787, Port Louis was a free port that attracted ships for trade and commerce from as far afield as the US and Australia. Many traders from the Indian sub-continent and South-East Asia established themselves in Mauritius.

By the time Mauritius became part of the British Empire in 1810, around 78,000 men, women and children, of whom 65,400 were slaves,[2] and

1 UNESCO listed the Aapravasi Ghat in 2006 and Le Morne Cultural Landscape in 2008.
2 According to Allen (2015), European slave trading in the Indian Ocean reached between 954,000 and 1,275,900 slaves in total between 1500 and 1850.

representing 84% of the population, were living on the island. Most of the slaves were working on the sugar plantations that began to emerge at the end of the eighteenth century (Allen, 2001). After the British formally annexed the island in 1814,[3] and following the abolition of slavery in 1834, this coerced workforce became 'apprenticed'. From 1834 to the 1920s, planters introduced half a million indentured labourers,[4] mainly from India but also from China, Comoros, Madagascar, Mozambique, South-East Asia and Yemen, in order to increase the workforce. The workers came under contract to meet the sugar industry's growing need for labour, and within a broader framework of using free labour instead of the forced labour that had been abolished in 1833 in the British colonies. Mauritius – chosen as the test case for the establishment of the indenture system by the British – received the largest number of indentured labourers of all the British colonies. The introduction of thousands of such labourers on the island changed the composition of the entire society. While the French and African pioneers represented 30% of the population, the newly introduced indentured labourers had reached 70% by 1910, when the indenture labour system was formally ended. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the modern Mauritian society was shaped. After the country's independence in 1968, the Constitution divided the population into four categories: Hindus (51%), Muslims (16%), Chinese (2.9%), and the general population (28.7%) that included all other Mauritians originating from Europe and Africa.

The European cultural hegemony

The French and British colonists arrived on the island as employees of the French East India Company and the British government, and as navigators, farmers, merchants and traders. From 1810, the descendants of the French, managing most of the commercial and agricultural enterprises on the island, held the economic power while the British colonists were representatives of the British Crown in charge of implementing colonial policy. These two segments of the population ruled the colony. One example of this control was the establishment of common cultural references in the colony. As in the metropolis, the authorities created institutions that promoted European scientific knowledge. In 1880, the government created a Natural History Museum[5] to display donated collections of endemic vegetal and animal specimens. Concurrently, an institution to manage heritage was created. In 1889, the Historical Records Committee was 'in charge of the conservation and the maintenance of all the monuments and places considered as historic' (Sornay, 1950). The Committee established a list of historic sites in 1930, with a view to supporting the government's initiative to create an official listing for heritage in the colony. In 1938, the Ancient Monuments Preservation Ordinance came into effect and constituted the first law ever created for heritage. The legislation was reviewed on several occasions, but evolved very little over time. The National Heritage Act of 2003 lists the sites identified during the colonial period by the Historical Records Committee. This list includes a total of 173 national monuments, including sites, monuments, civil and military buildings, tombs and cemeteries identified by the Historical Records Committee and the Ancient Monuments Board in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

When we examine national monuments listed in the 2003 Act, 31% belong to the French period and 64% to the British period. Only a very small number of the sites refer to the experiences of the slaves or indentured labourers on the island who are the ancestors of 90% of the population. With 1% of national monuments referring to slavery and 4% to indenture, this list highlights the absence of heritage referring to the majority of the population. Listed heritage, therefore, includes sites, buildings and places with which the majority of the population cannot identify.

3 Date of the Treaty of Paris that formalized the cession of the French island to the British.

4 The indenture system was established when slavery was abolished in the colony in 1834. It allowed the recruitment of workforce on contracts signed in their country of origin to work in the colony, generally in plantations or on public infrastructures, for one to five years on average.

5 The Mauritius Institute was created by the 1880 Ordinance. When the Royal Society of Arts and Sciences refers to the project, it indicates that this place '*doit contenir le Muséum Desjardin, la bibliothèque publique et donner aussi asile aux différentes sociétés de la colonie qui adhèrent au règlement qui sera préparé bientôt afin de les rassembler pour certaines questions, en une fédération qui aura le titre de "Mauritius Institut"*' ['must contain the Museum Desjardin, the public library and also host the various companies of the colony that adhere to the regulation which will soon be prepared, to bring them together on certain issues, in a federation that will be called the "Mauritius Institute"'] (Archives Nationales de Maurice, X18 : Procès verbal de la Société Royale des Arts et des Sciences, 1884:95).

Mauritian National Heritage Monuments List (2003 ACT) / Social Representativeness and Chronology

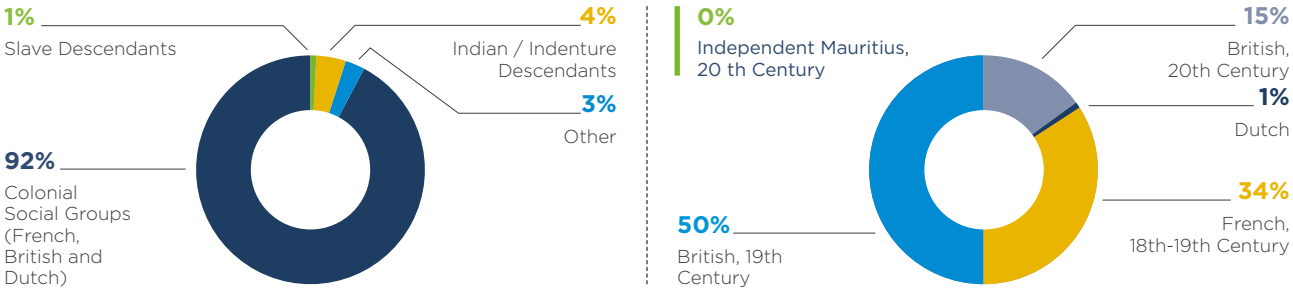

Figure 1. The historic representativeness of the National Heritage

The emergence of local references

Given this background, the state began the establishment of a new cultural policy that sought to recognize the past of the descendants of slaves and indentured labourers. Although this cultural policy was an attempt to reverse the past cultural hegemony, it was nonetheless rooted in the multiculturalism inherited from the British colonists. In doing so, the state wished to ensure that every group in the population was represented. The policy defines the Mauritian national identity by the unity of its plural cultures. The motto 'Unity in Diversity', first coined in the 1980s (Peghini, 2009),[6] became the basis of the cultural policy. As a result of the policy, two key symbolic sites were designated for the major groups, including the *Créoles* (26.7%), who are descendants of slaves, and Mauritians of Indian origin (67%), who are descendants of indentured labourers.

The Government created a parastatal body called the Aapravasi Ghat Trust Fund in 2001 to 'preserve and promote'[7] the Aapravasi Ghat heritage site, former immigration depot of the indentured labourers. Three years later, the Le Morne Heritage Trust Fund was created and mandated to manage and promote Le Morne, located in the south-west of the island, which served as a refuge for fugitive slaves or 'maroons'. This heritage process[8] allowed the state to recognize the forgotten colonial past when these two sites were inscribed onto the World Heritage List. The notion of heritage took on a new significance by recognizing the history of those who had been set aside in the colonial memory.

From local heritage to World Heritage

The creation of these two institutions was a culmination of events that took place post-independence. For Aapravasi Ghat, this process started in 1987 when the site was officially recognized as a National Monument. Two years later, a governmental committee, mandated to construct a museum and other facilities, decided to rename the *Coolie Ghat,* thought to be pejorative, as *Aapravasi Ghat* meaning 'the place of arrival of immigrants' in Hindi. The association with the descendants of Indian immigrants was reinforced with this new title: the site then became a *lieu de mémoire*, marking the origin of the Indian segment of the population on the island. From the year 2000, the objective to inscribe the site onto UNESCO's World Heritage List brought about a change of emphasis. Its key historical role in the establishment of the British indenture system[9] became more important than its ethnic significance. As such, Aapravasi Ghat became

6 The cultural policy of 'Unity in Diversity' was initiated in 1983, a year after the creation of the Ministry of Arts and Culture in Mauritius.
7 Article 4, Aapravasi Ghat Trust Fund Act, 2001.
8 Jean Davallon (2002) defines the process of heritage construction as the 'process of transformation of objects into objects of heritage'.
9 The site symbolizes the Great Experiment initiated by the British in Mauritius to evaluate a new 'free' system of recruitment called 'indenture', established following the abolition of slavery in the British Empire in 1833. The experiment conducted in Mauritius was a success and led to the adoption of this system in colonies throughout the Empire. From 1838, other colonial powers also used indenture to hire their workforces. Mauritius is thus considered to be the place where this new system of recruitment was trialled for the first time on a large scale before its formal adoption by colonial powers throughout the world, taking on the highest number of indentured labourers – half a million in total. (Aapravasi Ghat Trust Fund, 2007)

a place where scientific research was a priority. The objective was to document the site's cultural significance not only in the history of the island, but also internationally. This research strategy was guided by the criteria established under the World Heritage Convention, which requires national heritage authorities and professionals to establish the Outstanding Universal Value of the Aapravasi Ghat, rather than considering the site from the perspective of local migrations that had marked the country's history.

Materializing the national memory

A scientific approach was used to document the past of the former immigration depot, about which little was known at this stage. Archaeological excavations were conducted from 2002 to 2005 and from 2010 to 2011, and examined in correlation with historical data collected in the Mauritian Archives and other sources. This research largely contributed to the view that Aapravasi Ghat should be considered as a key site for the history of indenture in the world, rather than limiting its significance to the place where Indians had arrived in Mauritius. The data obtained from the research created a tangible image of the past: the research documented the carrying capacity of the depot, its operational functioning, the interrelations between buildings, the sequence of the processing of indentured labourers and the modalities of distribution to sugar estates. In addition, it also provided information on the rationale for the construction of the depot in the natural port of Trou Fanfaron in Port Louis. Records show that the area was reorganized between the 1840s and 1850s when local production was at its highest, accounting for 7% of the world's sugar (Allen, 1999). The British reorganized the southern side of the Trou Fanfaron Port to devote this area specifically to the sugar industry. The depot received indentured labourers for plantations while the warehouses, constructed between the 1850s and 1860s, were used to store sugar produced on those plantations. This reorganization allowed commercial ships bringing indentured labourers to depart from the island with sugar on board once the labourers had disembarked, thus optimizing their return trips to Mauritius. The archaeological research showed that the sugar industry had a significant impact on the island's organization and on the local indenture system, which was later adopted throughout the British Empire.

In its final phase, the interpretation of scientific data concentrated on the relationship between the depot, the port and the town. This work demonstrated how the depot contributed to the development of the town and helped to identify remnants of the colonial past still that could still be found in the heart of the city centre. It further substantiated the significance of the buffer zone delimited around the world heritage site, supporting the need to protect this area at a time when the notion of a buffer zone did not exist in local legislation. It was only in 2011 that the buffer zone was legally recognized through amendments[10] made to the law. This framework was developed further with the aim of conserving and regenerating the site: a 'Planning Policy Guidance'[11] (PPG) issued for the buffer zone provides development guidelines that foster the integration of heritage into the urban development of Port Louis, the capital city of Mauritius. For the first time, planning norms in favour of heritage provided guidance for new developments in order to encourage heritage rehabilitation and restore architectural harmony in a city centre affected by a lack of urban planning.

However, the implementation of the PPG 6 revealed that there were two views on the definition of development. The Vision of the PPG 6 advocates urban regeneration through heritage rehabilitation, while the local community and stakeholders believe that the PPG 6 is restricting development in the area. This perception emerged due to height restrictions outlined in the PPG 6, designed to establish and encourage architectural harmony in the area, thus consolidating the authenticity and integrity of the city centre. Developers in the area are of the view that the retention or rehabilitation of heritage will impair the economic dynamism of the buffer zones (also part of the central business district). Indeed, private owners and investors do not always perceive heritage as a viable economic asset. For this reason, the Aapravasi Ghat Trust Fund prepared a Local Economic

10 The Aapravasi Ghat Trust Fund Act (2001) and Local Government Act (2003) were amended to include the definition and the delimitation of the buffer zone of the World Heritage site.

11 This document is called *Planning Policy Guidance 6: Urban Heritage Area – Buffer Zone of the Aapravasi Ghat World Heritage Site*. It was adopted in 2011.

The hospital block at Aapravasi Ghat World Heritage site
© Corinne Forest

Development (LED) Plan[12] for the buffer zone in order to identify economic opportunities and produce recommendations to create an enabling environment.

Currently, Port Louis is a capital city with a vibrant economy. At the turn of the twenty-first century, it is competing with other emergent economic centres on the island, which have significantly reduced the profitability of the city centre's commercial activities. With the advent of new visions for the future of Mauritius, the LED Plan aims to consider development opportunities for the city, as economic competition has become a major concern on this Small Island Developing State with limited resources. To this end, heritage has a unique and vital role to play. In a world of globalization, standardization has ruled in many instances, to the detriment of local identities and knowledge. In this case, heritage is a major asset as it offers an environment and common values that exist nowhere else. As such, heritage turns places into major attractions, because it makes them unique in the world, especially since figures for cultural tourism indicate an increase in demand for cultural places and activities (UNESCO, 2013). The challenge today is to use this heritage as an asset while introducing new economic activities and allowing the capital city to develop in a sustainable manner. This is how heritage could contribute to sustainable development in Mauritius.

Conclusion

Since its colonization in the eighteenth century, Mauritius has evolved through constant interactions within the colonial empire, and many extra-territorial references came about from these exchanges, following Mauritius's Independence in 1968. A multiculturalist approach to the study of local migrations has shaped the national history, leading to Aapravasi Ghat (or *Coolie Ghat* as it was formerly known) being considered as the point of origin of the 'Indians' on the island. In recent

12 The Local Economic Development Plan project received funding from UNESCO by means of International Assistance from the World Heritage Fund.

times, World Heritage status has provided a new insight into the local history surrounding the site. As part of this process, the perspective provided by multidisciplinary research, and by archaeology in particular, provided an opportunity to rediscover the past. The research created a tangible and holistic vision of the island's history, interspersed with facts and events that led to today's society. Previously, the narrow ethnic perception had resulted in a 'fragmented' national memory – everyone perceived their past based on origins and cultural backgrounds. Research projects since the World Heritage listing of Le Morne and Aapravasi Ghat have given a much wider perspective on the evolution of the island, supporting the construction of a common national past. This approach supports the reintegration of heritage into the lives of the Mauritians, as it tells how their society evolved and interacted to form a national entity. In the case of Mauritius, the World Heritage status has largely contributed to the appropriation of heritage by the local population and a reconsideration of the role of heritage in modern-day societies. This insight into the past is further supported by the evolution of the heritage framework that now considers heritage as a means to achieve sustainable development in a Small Island Developing State, emphasizing the role that heritage can play in the development of city centres.

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Historical Monuments at Makli, Thatta, Pakistan
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Resisting disaster with vernacular methodologies: using heritage to build the future

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Introduction: Coping with environmental disasters in riverine valleys

The flooding of rivers around the world has enabled ancient peoples to develop systems of agriculture that flourish with the fertile silt carried by flood waters. At the same time, these river waters jeopardize the lives of the farmers and their families, carrying away everything they have grown and harvested, built and buried, tamed and tested. Some five thousand years ago, along the River Indus in the southernmost province of Pakistan, there developed an ancient civilization, known as Sindh. Its sophisticated city-state, with a planned layout based on a street grid of rectilinear buildings and covered drains, suggested that the people of this land were far ahead of their time. Referred to as *Moen-jo-daro*,[1] or the Mound of the Dead, the citadel is built upon a Pleistocene ridge in the middle of the flood plain of the Indus River Valley. The ridge was prominent during the time of the Indus Valley Civilization, allowing the city to stand above the surrounding plain. The flooding of the river has since buried most of the ridge in deposited silt. The Indus, a life force, was also a source of death and destruction, flooding and destroying the mud-brick edifices, melting clay into silt, the mighty river subsuming and claiming all that its waters could reach

The covered area of *Moen-jo-daro*, estimated at 300 ha, is built of fired and mortared brick as well as sun-dried mud-brick and wooden superstructures. The raised part of the settlement is referred to as the citadel, and stands on a mud-brick mound about 12 m above the ground. Upon this platform stand the public baths, two large assembly halls and a large residential structure designed to house around 5,000 people. Marketplaces, granaries, ritual baths and a pillared hall suggest that this was a vibrant civilization with a written language of its own.

In many countries of the southern hemisphere, the first decade of the twenty-first century has been marked by a number of serious crises, impacting upon the lives of countless people and jeopardizing the future of vulnerable nations. Many countries in Africa and Asia have had to cope not only with the long-term consequences of severe environmental degradation, leading to cycles of drought and floods, but have had their very existence threatened by growing militancy and the violent ideologies of radical, non-state actors. As if to mark the end of this century's first decade, and some fifty centuries after the destruction of *Moen-jo-daro*, the River Indus – the life force of the country, irrigating thousands of acres of arable land and providing sustenance for a body too often scarred with hunger, inequity and justice – flooded on an unprecedented scale, devastating vast swathes of Pakistan's landscape, destroying crops, drowning livestock and people, submerging fields and wiping out every trace of life in the low-lying areas of the valley.

The catastrophic flooding in 2010 wreaked havoc for the residents of the many villages and

1 The World Heritage site of Archaeological Ruins at Moenjodaro was inscribed in 1980.

towns in another area of the Sindh province and affected the World Heritage site of the historical monuments at Makli, Thatta. An estimated 62,000 mi² (160,000 km²) of land, nearly one-fifth of Pakistan's entire land mass, was inundated. Homes, schools, health centres, roads, bridges, telecommunications and the agriculture sector were devastated. Pakistan's National Disaster Management Authority (NDMA) estimated that over 17.6 million people were affected by the floods, which was more than those impacted by the 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami, the 2005 Kashmir earthquake and the 2010 Haiti earthquake combined.[2]

The World Heritage site of the historical monuments at Makli, Thatta, in Sindh Province, is one of the world's largest necropolises. The site was inscribed onto the World Heritage List on account of its Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) that testifies to the civilization of the Sindh region from the fourteenth to the eighteenth centuries. At the time of inscription, not only were a number of the historical monuments in an advanced state of degradation, the integrity of the property was under threat from local climatic changes, earthquakes, variations in temperature, winds carrying salt and humidity, natural growth, the shift of the riverbed, heavy rains, and human behaviour. According to UNESCO, 'encroachments, vandalism, damage and pilferage have assumed colossal proportions'.[3]

These historical monuments are spread over 10 km², and host a diversity of historic structures, from tomb enclosures to umbrella pavilions, some in dressed stone with devotional carving, as well as intricately laid brick and fine, glazed tiles *(kashi).* Around 125,000 of these structures were built between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries, to honour Sufi saints, kings, noblemen and ordinary mortals. At the time that this site was inscribed onto the World Heritage List, various structures had already been inventoried; however, a complete pictorial record was still needed to document the remarkable monuments from different periods of Sindh's history. The impressive royal mausoleums are divided into two major groups: those from the *Samma* Period (1352–1520) and those from the *Tarkhan* Period (1556–1592). The architecture represents four historical periods — the Samma, the Arghun, the Tarkhan and the Moghal (Lari, 1995). Diverse influences have created rich edifices decorated with motifs and elements borrowed from both Hindu and Moghal imperial architecture. Persian and Central Asian influences, such as the Timurid double dome of the tomb of Sultan Ibrahim, are in evidence, as is the use of *kashi* glazed tiles.

The vulnerability of heritage sites at times of disaster

As the floodwaters of 2010 approached the World Heritage site, the residents of the surrounding hamlets and towns began to search for high ground. The fact that the ancient rulers of this part of Sindh had located the burial place of their kings, queens, noblemen and saints upon a raised area made the necropolis of Makli Hills an ideal place to seek shelter. As the waters expanded, approximately 35,000 internally displaced people took refuge among the monuments and tombs within the necropolis.

The Heritage Foundation of Pakistan (HFP), assisted by the Prince Claus Fund, carried out a damage assessment mission following the floods.[4] In addition to undertaking field trips to prepare a photographic record and condition assessment, preparing a pictorial catalogue of historic structures located in the World Heritage site, and conducting a preliminary condition survey, the HFP also researched historical records and searched for old images, in order to draw up a comprehensive inventory of all the monuments and graves at the site.

The floods saw this ancient burial ground offer its places of silence as places of shelter for the displaced and homeless. Despite the fact that the site is protected by the Pakistan Antiquities Act of 1975, the authenticity and integrity of the property were, and still are, threatened, particularly with regard to the materials

2 The National Disaster Management Authority (NDMA) has estimated that the floods affected 78 districts and covered over 100,000 km². The floods have affected more than 20 million people, (over one-tenth of Pakistan's population) with over 1,980 reported deaths and nearly 2,946 injured. Around 1.6 million homes have been destroyed, and thousands of acres of crops and agricultural lands have been damaged, with major soil erosion in some areas. (http://www.aon.com/attachments/reinsurance/201008_pakistan_flood.pdf and http://www.adb.org/sites/default/files/linked-documents/44372-01-pak-oth-02.pdf)

3 http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/143

4 Damage Assessment Mission to the Necropolis of Makli, at World Heritage site Thatta, Pakistan, supported by the Prince Claus Fund (Heritage Foundation publication 2010)

and forms of the monuments. According to UNESCO:

'sustaining the Outstanding Universal Value of the property over time will require:

- developing and implementing an emergency action plan to address urgent measures necessary for the security and the stabilization of structures;
- completing, approving and implementing the Comprehensive Master Plan and a Management Plan for the property;
- defining the precise boundaries of the property and the buffer zone;
- preparing a condition report for all monuments and tombs;
- taking appropriate measures to stabilize the tomb of Jam Nizamuddin II; and
- implementing an overall monitoring programme'.[5]

In order for the site to remain on the World Heritage site list, it is imperative for its custodians to ensure the above measures are taken, that its historical, cultural and aesthetic significance is preserved, and that this unique location is managed in a way that not only retains its OUV, but also engages local communities in a dialogue envisioning ownership of heritage, leading to the sustainability of the site, and of the communities themselves. For only when heritage is owned and acknowledged by the people can it truly become a part of the fabric of our lives, teaching us about methods and technologies that have improved our communities, sharing with us the ways in which a window into the past can potentially be transformed into a door to the future, for who we are is a process of learning who we have been, and who we become has a direct relationship with how we view our place in the past.

Engaging the community: enriching lives, owning heritage

The 2010 flood was the worst natural disaster in Pakistan's history. Desperate to flee from the rising water, thousands of people fled towards high ground, walking for miles before finding refuge at the shrines and tombs of Makli. Food and safe drinking water were in scarce supply, and men and women travelled for miles to bring water for their families.

The ancient necropolis was faced with a huge threat to its already degraded condition. The pressure on the site would certainly endanger the fragile condition of the many structures that needed conservation and protection. But although the condition of this World Heritage site was considered, little thought was given to the fact that millions of people would continue to be vulnerable to climatic conditions and rising river waters, even after the flood had receded. While the vulnerability of heritage sites to disasters, both natural and human-made, has been a cause of concern for heritage managers and conservationists worldwide, it is only recently that the connection has been made between the mitigation of climatic and human threats to heritage sites, and the engagement of local communities in building a sustainable future for themselves, and, as a consequence, for the heritage itself.

Developing synergy between community and heritage needs at Makli Goth

In order to understand this relationship, it is important to consider that the inhabitants of the Indus delta communities are mainly rural populations, marked by a lack of home ownership or land titles, high unemployment, high illiteracy and extreme poverty, making them vulnerable to many kinds of stress.

Unless we address the issue of quality of life for those living around a heritage site, can we even begin to discuss the sustainability of that site? Thatta District has a high unemployment rate of 17.72% and a literacy rate of just 22.14%, with only 14.67% of the district's population having access to a mains water supply. There are more than 700 communities – ranging from cities to towns to squatter settlements – spread across Thatta district, 200 of which were affected by the 2010 floods.

With this growing awareness of the interplay between rising poverty, rising populations, depleting resources and a deteriorating environment, can we continue to disconnect ourselves as heritage managers from the people, who can serve to not only protect such sites, but also gain meaningful livelihoods from such an

5 http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/143

Women of a flood-displaced community at Makli Goth

engagement, thereby improving the quality of their lives?

In January 2016, the Heritage Foundation, which had undertaken the restoration of the tombs of Sultan Ibrahim and Mirza Jan Baba (both prominent structures in the World Heritage site at Thatta), approached the community of itinerant workers and mendicants living in a squatter settlement at Makli Goth. Household income at the settlement was earned largely by begging at several shrines located within the World Heritage site at Thatta. Literacy was non-existent, there was no access to health care, and living conditions were poor and insanitary. The children of Makli Goth had no future other than that which their elders had shown them, a life of begging for alms from the pious who came to the tombs of saints buried at Makli. There was a clear need for sustainable livelihoods that would bring a better quality of life for the community, and it was agreed that the people needed to acquire skills that would enable them to move away from a life of begging, and towards a life of dignity.

In February 2016, UNESCO, in collaboration with HFP, under the UNESCO/Republic of Korea Funds-in-Trust project 'Sustainable Development and Community Involvement Initiatives', held a two-day international workshop for the revitalization of *kashi* tiles at the World Heritage site at Thatta.

As part of the programme, the HFP carried out extensive research into glazed tiles in various parts of Sindh. The research produced valuable data relating to the type and style of *kashi* used on various monuments, dating back to the traditions of sixteenth-century Timurid architecture. The largest number of monuments containing glazed tile work can be found in Makli and Thatta, suggesting that these are the most important centres for the craft.

During the workshop, experts examined various aspects of the glazed ceramics in Sindh. Participants at the workshop included experts from the Archaeology Department of Sindh and Punjab Provinces, UNESCO, HFP, Germany and Italy. The workshop involved a display of master artisans and the finest *kashi* material produced in Sindh Province. The experts also visited the tomb of Sultan Ibrahim, which contains rare examples of glazed tile work in a highly damaged condition. The review of the contemporary products concluded that considerable improvement was required if world standards were to be met. It

was decided to arrange a week-long glazed ceramics workshop, which would be attended by master artisans from Hala and Nasrpur, in order to better understand the techniques for firing, clay preparation, engobe and glaze applications, and to work out methodologies for improvement. Based on the research, it was decided to promote Makli as the new centre of excellence for glazed tiles.

The HFP organized workshops close to Makli Goth, where a kiln had already been built and women had become engaged in the production of small glazed tiles. UNESCO arranged for a mission of two expert ceramicists from Germany and Italy, with whom six Sindh master artisans and HFP members held intensive deliberations over the course of six days. All processes were reviewed in detail, and a methodology for improvement was agreed.

The women and children of Makli Goth also attended two sessions with the international experts. Trained by master artisans, the women of this community began making and selling tiles to visitors at the local shrines. Spearheaded by a single woman, Karima, from the beggar community of Makli Goth, tile-making is now benefitting at least five families who previously made their living by begging for alms at the shrines in the Makli area. As this settlement is within the vicinity of one of the sites being conserved and restored by the HFP, the interface between the economic sustainability of local communities and the need to produce restoration material can be clearly appreciated. In 2017, UNESCO, through the efforts of the World Heritage Centre, extended the project 'Revival of Ancient Glazed Tiles in Sindh' and upgraded the seven kilns at Makli set up by the HFP, which fire the glazed tiles made by master craftsmen. Tile-making at the Makli Kashi workshop involves the preparation of the clay, refining the raw material sourced at Hala, (the sieving and cleaning of dry and wet clay), the preparation of pigments, oxides and glazes, and the reproduction of ancient patterns and calligraphy decorating the northern exterior wall of Sultan Ibrahim's tomb, repeated on the southern, eastern and western walls. It is expected that the revitalization of this ancient craft will not only provide livelihoods for communities but that it will also produce materials for the restoration of ancient heritage at sites within and outside the ancient necropolis of Makli. The women of the mendicant community of Makli Goth are also making glazed terracotta jewellery that could potentially be marketed in city centres around Pakistan, earning livelihoods with dignity and encouraging the creativity of women who previously survived by begging. This paradigm of synergizing the economic needs of communities with conservation and the revival of ancient arts has the potential to be replicated universally, underscoring the belief that conservation is sustainable when communities are able to sustain themselves by engaging in the process through creative and constructive interventions.

Woman making kashi tiles

Reclaiming heritage by revitalizing communities: making us resilient

When considering the framework presented by both the Sustainable Development Goals and UNESCO's *Policy Document for the Integration of a Sustainable Development Perspective into the Processes of the World Heritage Convention,*[6] it is important to consider the cross-cutting aim of all its themes: to place the well-being of human beings and the contexts within which we live at the centre of the discourse on the relationship between sustainable development and sustainable cultural capital. Given the recognition that cultural heritage is a non-renewable resource, that the protection of cultural heritage from risk and degradation comes only as a result of conscious human endeavour, it is only logical that we should emphasize the 'human' aspect of the process of cultural production and cultural preservation in our efforts to share and learn ways in which human communities can be made more resilient, by revitalizing our connection to 'heritage' and 'culture', not as products of privilege, but rather as products of human ingenuity and creativity.

6 Adopted by the General Assembly of States Parties to the World Heritage Convention at its 20th session (UNESCO, 2015)

The community that had set up home near the World Heritage site at Thatta lived in a cluster of makeshift shanties, housing families in fragile structures that were unable to withstand either wind or rain, or any severe shock. Taking into account the needs of these communities, HFP put into action the Build Back Safer with Vernacular Methodologies (BBSVM) framework, utilizing Architect Yasmeen Lari's experience and the expertise she gained while rehabilitating flood-affected communities in other districts of Sindh. 'Build Back Safer with Vernacular Methodologies' promotes the combination of locally sourced materials: mud, lime and bamboo. The HFP trained local men and women to build low-cost and almost zero-carbon footprint houses, which would be able to withstand both flooding and earthquakes.

Recognizing the need to provide skills for the building of hygienic toilets and latrines in times of disaster-induced displacement, as well as in normal times, HFP trained the community to set up low-cost structures made of bamboo, mud and lime, fitted with modern sanitary ware. Such a structure required little time and money, and provided privacy and sanitary conditions for all, especially women, who were forced to use open and unsafe spaces for defecation and bathing.

The case of Makli Goth demonstrates how a site that had once provided shelter in desperate times could now provide livelihoods that could steer the marginalized out of poverty, bringing opportunities for a better life, and building a stake in the conservation and protection of the heritage site itself.

Building safer structures to withstand disaster

The use of indigenous, locally-sourced material has led to the development of low-cost and durable housing in eight districts of Sindh. Sun-dried bricks have been in use thoughout the country since records began, and the durability of this material is evidenced by the fact that when the British were laying the railway line in lower Sindh in 1856, they found perfectly formed bricks made of sun-dried mud which had lasted for millennia. Tracing a path to the origins of this cache of bricks led to possibly the first recognition of the lost city of *Moen-jo-daro*.

The vernacular style of building homes, such as the circular plan-form and conical roof, was used in the design of structures which would be familiar, yet stronger than their predecessors. An innovation in roof design (the *KaravanRoof*) enables 15 people (a 750 kg load) to stand upon it in times of flooding. The use of lime provides waterproofing and insulation to these structures, and women, who have been trained in lime-slaking and lime-application, use these surfaces much as artists would use the surface of a canvas to create individual designs, each one a testament to the infinite possibility of creativity.

Empowering and engaging women

The engagement of women in the communities adversely affected by the floods of 2010 has paid off in more ways than were imaginable in a conservative society where women are often cloistered and segregated. Gravely impacted by the loss of their homes and security, women were only too keen to become involved in the process of rebuilding their lives. Women took the lead in other areas such as growing food plants, recycling grey water into banana-circles *(kela chakkar),* and constructing smokeless stoves at no cost, which provided better cooking facilities in a more hygienic environment, saving the women from the ill-effects of the smoke from the traditional stoves or *chulah*.

Karavan PakoSwiss Chulah

The construction of the mud stove, the *Karavan Pakoswiss Chulah,* elevated above the ground, has the added advantage that it is protected from floodwaters. The earthen platform provides space for placement of drinking water as well as pots and pans, and it serves as a central point for women to sit and share their day's work, providing an informal meeting place. The stove's elevated position also makes it possible to address food needs immediately after floodwaters recede or the rains come to an end.

The design of the *Karavan Pakoswiss* double stove saves 50–70% of firewood compared to the traditional floor-level open fire *chulah*. The use of smaller firewood and twigs saves on fuel costs and helps to prevent deforestation, one of the reasons

for the massive flooding seen in recent years. The design of the stove prevents loss of heat and the financial saving is an incentive for marginalized communities, where every rupee counts. The highly insulated structure of the double stove, due to its construction with mud and lime-mud render, allows the firewood to be fully burnt in the combustion chamber. The reduction in harmful smoke and reduced carbon monoxide emissions due to its chimney contribute to a cleaner environment for women and children. Burns to the eyes and respiratory diseases due to smoke inhalation are also avoided.

Over 50,000 double stoves have been built in a period of two and a half years through the dedicated enterprise of Kanju and Champa, a husband and wife team from the minority Hindu community of Sindh. Landless peasants (*hari* in Sindhi), Kanju and Champa had been barely surviving on earnings amounting to a meagre Rs. 4,000 (less than USD 40) a month. By becoming master trainers in *chulah*-making, they not only managed to lift themselves out of poverty, but, by working with adjoining villages where they trained women to build their own stoves for a nominal charge of Rs. 200 (less than USD 2), they also encouraged others to follow suit and extend their own learning to others nearby. Initially walking from village to village, Kanju and Champa earned enough to purchase a motorbike, enabling them to travel greater distances to spread the skill and introduce the fuel-efficient, smokeless stove developed by HFP. In 2015, Champa was presented with the Sindh Icon Award by the Governor of Sindh for her entrepreneurial excellence, and the dedication with which she spread the skill to construct the smokeless *chulah*, improving her own life financially as well as introducing this fuel-efficient and smoke-free stove to thousands of households in the province.[7]

Conclusion

The management of cultural capital is intrinsically linked to the emergence of human capital, where communities become partners in the process of engendering inclusive development based on economic, social, environmental and gender justice. Such communities take ownership of heritage that represents human ability and aspirations, and stands as testament to the survival of all things that are good and beautiful and just. From the Land of the Five Rivers, Pakistan, to the Mother Continent of Africa, the commonality of the human experience and human endeavour can bridge many gaps, teaching us to strengthen our communities while protecting our culture, remembering that it is people who produce culture and meaning, and that without people, cultural heritage is meaningless. It is therefore paramount that conservation processes universally seek to build links with communities living within the vicinity of the heritage sites in need of protection and conservation. The practice of sending in 'experts' for the purposes of documentation or restoration is fundamental to the process, but none of the efforts provided by specialists can be sustained without the engagement of communities. Involving communities by offering innovative ways, creating both direct and indirect engagement, builds a stake for the communities in the protection of the site. While protecting the site with its presence, the community also garners economic support for its own betterment by understanding the value of the art and aesthetics that are represented in the site. There are countless opportunities for communities to become part of a synergy where conservation practitioners reach out to those who will remain behind once the conservation process has been completed. It is communities who will continue to live at the site; it is the men and women of the surrounding areas who will ensure that the heritage is protected, for in the survival of heritage is the survival of people. Thus the equation comes full circle, since culture is a product of people's endeavour, experience and expression, and must not be decoupled from the people themselves. For in the walls of ancient structures and in the threads of multicoloured textiles, in the patterns etched onto clay, in the songs and the rhythm, lies the story of human achievement, told to this day by the voices of the people.

7 Personal communication with Yasmeen Lari (Heritage Foundation Pakistan), 20 August 2017.

Fête de l'Abissa, Ville historique de Grand-Bassam, Côte d'Ivoire
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L'Appropriation symbolique du Quartier France de Grand-Bassam par les N'zima

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Introduction

En 2001, le Centre du patrimoine mondial commence à s'intéresser aux régions où l'intérêt et la question de la préservation du patrimoine moderne font l'objet de réticences (Eloundou, 2005). Dès 2003, l'UNESCO introduit la question du patrimoine auprès des collectivités territoriales africaines lors du sommet « Africités III ». Une session spéciale intitulée « Villes africaines et patrimoines » est organisée pour l'occasion en collaboration avec des universités et des organismes de coopération internationale. Elle a pour but d'ouvrir le débat et de sensibiliser sur l'impact que peut avoir une patrimonialisation sur le développement local en raison de ses apports aux niveaux économique, social et culturel. Les discussions ont également porté sur les outils économiques et financiers dont pourraient bénéficier les villes suite à une mise en patrimoine de leurs sites. Par ailleurs, les actions de l'UNESCO encouragent les pays africains à considérer l'approche patrimoniale comme un moyen de se distinguer dans un contexte de développement du tourisme international (Sinou, 2005).

Cependant, l'une des difficultés principales est qu'en Afrique subsaharienne le patrimoine architectural et urbanistique issu du mouvement moderne est de fait associé au patrimoine colonial. Il en résulte des difficultés pour son acceptation et sa compréhension par les populations locales (Eloundou, 2005) qui se traduisent par un manque d'intérêt pour ce dernier. C'est pourquoi la mise en patrimoine d'espaces hérités de la colonisation est souvent initiée par le haut, c'est-à-dire par les pouvoirs publics, plutôt que par les populations vivant à proximité. Les recommandations de l'UNESCO insistent pourtant sur l'importance de l'implication des communautés locales dans les processus de patrimonialisation, de conservation et de gestion durable des sites du patrimoine mondial. Or la patrimonialisation d'un espace représente « un enjeu de mémoire, de réappropriation par des groupes qui se considèrent comme héritiers » (Veschambre, 2004). Aussi, comment des populations qui furent auparavant dominées peuvent-elles se sentir aujourd'hui héritières d'un espace étranger qui fut le symbole et la matérialité du pouvoir colonial?

En Côte d'Ivoire, la ville historique de Grand-Bassam a fait l'objet d'une classification au patrimoine mondial au terme d'un processus de patrimonialisation initié par les pouvoirs publics qui a duré près de dix ans. Elle constitue un quartier de la ville de Grand-Bassam, située à quarante kilomètres au sud-est d'Abidjan, la capitale économique du pays.

La ville historique est située sur un lido de terre entre la lagune Ouladine au nord et l'océan Atlantique au sud. Elle est donc naturellement séparée du reste de la ville de Grand-Bassam, seul un pont les relie. Son espace comprend la première capitale coloniale de Côte d'Ivoire appelée Quartier France et un village habité par la communauté N'zima.

Les N'zima constituent un sous-groupe du peuple Akan. On les retrouve actuellement de part et d'autre de la frontière ivoiro-ghanéenne. Les N'zima de Côte d'Ivoire sont originaires de l'actuel Ghana d'où ils ont émigré par vagues successives en raison des conflits qui ont secoué le royaume N'zima. L'installation du groupe des

Vue aérienne de la ville historique de Grand-Bassam
© 43ème BIMA / Abidjan Port Bouet

N'zima kôtôkô à Grand-Bassam remonterait au XVe siècle (Association Abissa, 2013). Ils y fondent un royaume autonome dont la capitale est le village situé au sein de la ville historique de Grand-Bassam.

Les Européens accostent près des côtes dès le XVe siècle pour effectuer des échanges commerciaux avec les populations côtières. Les rivalités entre puissances européennes poussent la France à recourir à une politique de traités avec les chefs et rois « indigènes » ainsi qu'à l'établissement de comptoirs. En 1842 Grand-Bassam passe sous protectorat français. En 1893, la capitale de la colonie de Côte d'Ivoire est fondée sur le lido de terre où vivent les N'zima. Ceci lui confère une configuration singulière car la population dite indigène vit à proximité des européens. Le Quartier France constitue le siège de l'administration coloniale et le centre économique du pays. Il se divise en trois zones : résidentielle, administrative et commerciale. En 1900, la capitale est transférée à Bingerville en raison d'épidémies successives de fièvre jaune.

Aujourd'hui la zone administrative concentre tous les services officiels de la commune de Grand-Bassam. Dans les zones résidentielle et commerciale, les bâtiments sont en partie abandonnés. Seuls ceux habités par des particuliers sont entretenus. Le Quartier France abrite également de nombreux hôtels et restaurants en bordure de plage, ce qui en fait un lieu de villégiature prisé le week-end par les Abidjanais et les touristes[1].

La ville historique abrite ainsi deux types de patrimoines. Le premier, matériel, est représenté par l'importance du bâti colonial, l'organisation urbaine demeurée identique depuis la fondation de cet espace ainsi que le village N'zima. Le second, immatériel, est représenté par la présence du royaume N'zima, son espace social et la célébration de l'Abissa (la nouvelle année N'zima) considérée comme une attraction culturelle majeure en Côte d'Ivoire. En raison de leur proximité avec le bâti colonial, les N'zima ont développé un rapport particulier avec celui-ci. L'étude de cette relation souligne les mécanismes par lesquels les peuples

1 Le 13 mars 2016, le Quartier France a été la cible d'une attaque terroriste qui a fait 19 victimes

autrefois dominés peuvent aujourd'hui s'approprier symboliquement l'héritage colonial et lui donner un sens nouveau.

L'appropriation symbolique se manifeste lorsqu'une portion d'un lieu ou un ensemble de lieux, est associé à un groupe ou catégorie sociale au point de devenir l'un de ses attributs, c'est-à-dire de participer à définir son identité sociale (Ripoll et Veschambre, 2006). Cette appropriation se traduit par des marqueurs spatiaux que sont la production de signes qui peuvent prendre la forme d'un marquage trace, à savoir une action matérielle qui s'inscrit plus ou moins dans la durée; ou d'un marquage présence à travers « la présence des corps et des signes dont ils sont porteurs (habits, pancartes…) lors d'évènements récurrents (manifestations, défilés, fêtes…) ou exceptionnels qui "marquent" les esprits et associent un lieu à des groupes sociaux ou à des institutions qui s'y mettent en scène » (Veschambre, 2004).

Cette étude est basée sur un travail de terrain qui a été réalisé à Grand-Bassam de juillet 2014 à janvier 2015. Une recherche qualitative a été conduite avec une méthodologie combinant des entretiens avec les acteurs clés, des entretiens semi-directifs et des focus group avec les habitants du village N'zima ainsi que des observations sur le terrain. Elle démontre comment les actions entreprises par les N'zima ont permis de créer une association entre leur peuple et le Quartier France. Tout d'abord nous présenterons les éléments postulés comme préalables à l'appropriation symbolique du bâti colonial. Puis nous soulignerons les apports du système traditionnel N'zima dans le marquage trace de l'espace du Quartier France. Enfin nous expliquerons en quoi la fête annuelle de l'Abissa opère un marquage présence de ce dernier.

Les éléments postulés comme préalables à l'appropriation symbolique du Quartier France

Selon Sinou (2005), les populations africaines doivent opérer une rupture symbolique pour amorcer un processus d'appropriation du bâti colonial. Pour se faire, il est nécessaire pour elles de se distancier de ce qu'il représente. Cette distanciation interroge à la fois la temporalité et les cadres sociaux et politiques nécessaires pour lui donner un nouveau sens. Dans le cas de Grand-Bassam, des évènements et des actions ont changé la perception et le rapport au Quartier France chez les populations aussi bien au niveau national que local.

Sur le plan national, le 24 décembre 1949 peut être considéré comme le point de départ de ce processus de distanciation. À cette date, le Quartier France est le théâtre du premier mouvement collectif d'envergure contre les décisions de l'administration coloniale. Entre 2 000 et 4 000 femmes[2] se rassemblent et marchent sur la prison pour réclamer la libération de huit militants anticolonialistes arrêtés et emprisonnés sans jugement. Dès l'accession à l'indépendance, la « Marche des femmes sur Grand-Bassam » est érigée en symbole de la lutte anticoloniale et devient un lieu de mémoire (Nora, 1984) dont le Quartier France est l'expression. Les nouvelles autorités ivoiriennes rebaptisent le « Pont Eiffel » qui permet d'y accéder au Quartier France en « Pont de la Victoire ». L'évènement est enseigné à l'école et un monument de commémoration a été érigé à l'entrée de la ville. Aujourd'hui, le Quartier France n'est plus uniquement associé à la période coloniale, mais également à la lutte pour l'indépendance, ce qui en fait un symbole de fierté pour les Ivoiriens.

Au niveau local, le processus de distanciation est amorcé dès l'époque coloniale par certains commerçants N'zima. Enrichis après des années de relations commerciales avec les puissances européennes, ils construisent des maisons inspirées du style colonial. Situées pour la plupart entre la zone commerciale et le village N'zima, ces bâtisses, qui font toujours la fierté des N'zima, ont brouillé les catégories rigides établies par le système colonial. Dès lors, habiter une maison à l'allure massive n'est plus l'apanage des populations européennes. On peut désormais être africain, riche et inscrire son statut dans le Quartier France à travers l'utilisation d'un style importé de l'étranger et symbolisant le pouvoir du colon (Guenneguez, 2015).

Par ailleurs, l'espace du Quartier France est pratiqué quotidiennement par les N'zima. Ils le traversent pour sortir de leur village et côtoient les bâtiments ce qui leur confère une présence presque naturelle et familière. Les N'zima ont ainsi développé un attachement affectif (Ripoll et Veschambre, 2006) pour ces lieux qui se traduit jusque dans leurs discours. De par leur proximité

2 Leur nombre diffère selon les sources (cf. Henriette Diabaté 1975)

avec le bâti colonial, ils ne font pas de distinction entre le Quartier France et leur village, si bien qu'ils désignent ce dernier par « Quartier France » ou « village Quartier France » pour le distinguer des autres villages N'zima de Grand-Bassam.

Cette distanciation a entrainé un changement de perception des N'zima vis-à-vis du Quartier France.

Le marquage trace du Quartier France

La patrimonialisation peut être considérée comme une innovation dans le rapport que les N'zima entretiennent avec le bâti colonial. Elle constitue l'élément déclencheur de leur prise de conscience patrimoniale (Di Méo, 2007 : 10) qui est à l'origine de la production du marquage trace. Au lendemain de l'inscription, la royauté N'zima, à l'initiative de son roi, adopte une position d'acteur dans toutes les questions relatives au Quartier France.

La royauté N'zima est composée hiérarchiquement du roi, des chefs des différents villages et de leurs notables. À l'initiative de son roi, un ancien diplomate qui comprend parfaitement les enjeux de la question patrimoniale, elle a développé trois formes de marquage de l'espace.

La première forme est matérialisée par l'action de la royauté au sein du village qui traduit un engagement patrimonial (Veschambre, 2008). Dès l'inscription de la ville sur la Liste du patrimoine mondial, celle-ci a conduit des campagnes de sensibilisation en ayant recourt aux griots. Ces derniers ont informé les villageois sur le nouveau statut de leur espace de vie en insistant sur le fait que la patrimonialisation attirerait de nombreuses personnes : touristes, professionnels du patrimoine, institutions, etc. La royauté a insisté sur l'accueil à réserver aux étrangers, notamment aux touristes, afin de véhiculer une image positive du village et de la communauté. Elle a également demandé aux habitants de coopérer avec les professionnels du patrimoine afin de faciliter leur travail. Enfin, elle a encouragé les villageois à s'intéresser et à participer activement à la valorisation de la ville historique à travers l'entretien de l'espace public. Par ses actions, elle tente d'initier une sensibilité patrimoniale (Sinou, *Ibid*) auprès de la population.

La deuxième forme se traduit par une mobilisation patrimoniale (Veschambre, 2008) pour le Quartier France. La royauté constitue le relai principal sur lequel s'appuie la Maison du Patrimoine Culturel (MPC) pour diffuser des informations auprès de la communauté N'zima. Elle participe aux évènements tels que les réunions, conférences et cérémonies relatives au Quartier France, organisées par la MPC. Les N'zima sont nombreux à y participer, vêtus de leurs habits traditionnels confectionnés en pagne-Abissa. Leur forte présence constitue une « forme d'investissement corporel » qui transforme la manifestation « en évènement "saillant" et "ostentatoire" » qui « marque les esprits » et « manifeste incontestablement une revendication d'appropriation » (Veschambre, 2008). Chacun des évènements relatifs au patrimoine qui se déroulent au Quartier France commence par une danse traditionnelle N'zima : le Kete ou l'Adowa.

Présence saillante des N'zima lors de la cérémonie de lancement des travaux de réhabilitation du Palais de Justice au Quartier France
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La dernière forme est un marquage identitaire qui se traduit par la création et la diffusion d'un nouveau discours contribuant à l'attachement affectif au bâti colonial. La royauté s'identifie aujourd'hui au patrimoine colonial qu'elle considère comme le sien car faisant partie intégrante du village et par conséquent de l'identité N'zima. Elle a également encouragé l'écriture de l'essai *Grand-Bassam, Métropole Médiévale des N'zima* paru en 2013 et préfacé par le roi. Cet ouvrage a rassemblé un ensemble d'intellectuels N'zima dans le but de « rétablir la vérité historique » en proposant une histoire du peuple N'zima, depuis la fondation de leurs différents royaumes jusqu'à leur rôle dans la « naissance et les premiers pas de la Côte d'Ivoire » (Association Abissa, 2013), notamment au sein de la première capitale. À travers ce discours, la royauté invite les N'zima à s'approprier le Quartier France car son histoire est liée à eux. En ce sens, la mobilisation pour sa valorisation n'est donc pas exceptionnelle à leurs yeux, elle est naturelle. Par ailleurs, le patrimoine constitue une forme de capital symbolique car « l'appropriation identitaire d'éléments patrimoniaux confère un certain prestige, permet de se distinguer de prendre sa

place dans la ville et la société » (Veschambre, 2008).

L'implication des villageois pour le Quartier France

Au sein même de la population du village, l'impact de la patrimonialisation sur le processus d'appropriation symbolique est beaucoup moins marqué. Il est possible de souligner deux changements principaux nés des actions de la royauté.

D'une part, les villageois se posent en garant de leur espace de vie. Lorsque qu'ils remarquent des travaux sur un bâtiment ou la reprise d'un chantier arrêté par la MPC, ils avertissent le notable qui représente les N'zima au sein des comités chargés de vérifier la conformité des travaux[3]. Ils signalent également l'extraction illégale de sable qui aggrave l'érosion du site.

D'autre part, quelques villageois agissent à titre individuel en faveur de la valorisation du Quartier France. Par exemple, des artistes contribuent à la sensibilisation en rappelant qu'il appartient aux N'zima, fait partie de leur identité et qu'il faut donc le protéger. D'autres personnes sont motivées par une logique d'intérêt et perçoivent le patrimoine comme une ressource, espèrant, à travers leur implication, profiter de retombées en capital économique, symbolique et social.

Contrairement à la royauté, les villageois affichent un intérêt moindre pour la question patrimoniale et sont à l'origine de peu d'initiatives d'appropriation du Quartier France.

Le marquage présence du bâti colonial à travers la célébration de l'Abissa

L'Abissa est la célébration de la nouvelle année N'zima. La fête s'étend sur deux semaines. La première semaine, appelée *Siedou*, est celle du recueillement. La seconde, appelée *Gouazo*, est celle des festivités. Les N'zima se retrouvent alors pour « faire l'unité ». La fête est considérée comme le socle de leur société. Elle permet de régler à la fois les différends personnels au sein de la communauté et ceux existant avec la royauté, dont les actions peuvent être dénoncées par les chansonniers[4]. Personne ne craint de représailles car il est dit que pendant l'Abissa tout est permis et personne ne peut se fâcher, au risque de voir un grand malheur lui arriver. La fête invite à la résolution des conflits de manière pacifique. Elle se déroule sur la « place de l'Abissa », au centre du village, où se succèdent des groupes de danses et de chansonniers.

La fête a connu d'importantes modifications introduites par l'actuel roi. Dès son intronisation en 2003, il décide de lui donner une nouvelle orientation et encourage la création d'un comité d'organisation chargé de sa pérennisation et de sa professionnalisation. L'Association Abissa est créée en 2004 pour promouvoir la fête. Ses membres parlent de « vendre l'Abissa », de véhiculer son message et de la faire connaître dans le monde entier. Aujourd'hui l'Abissa est considérée comme un évènement culturel majeur en Côte d'Ivoire. Elle attire touristes, diplomates étrangers, personnalités politiques, etc. La fête engendre un marquage présence du Quartier France.

Les impacts de l'Abissa

Le premier impact est lié à la fréquentation. L'Abissa donne lieu à une affluence importante dans la ville historique. Le point culminant est le dernier samedi, appelé « apothéose ». Tous les hôtels du Quartier France affichent complet durant ce week-end, les réservations sont effectuées plusieurs semaines à l'avance. La circulation d'ordinaire fluide dans la ville de Bassam devient difficile. Les visiteurs en provenance massive d'Abidjan sont contraints de stationner leur véhicule en dehors de la ville historique, de l'autre côté du Pont de la Victoire, et de se rendre à pied jusqu'à la Place de l'Abissa.

Le second impact est d'ordre économique. L'Association Abissa ne dispose pas de données officielles sur les retombées économiques de l'évènement dont les villageois peuvent profiter directement. Certains louent la devanture de leur cour familiale à des sponsors ou à des particuliers souvent propriétaires de maquis[5] à Abidjan et désireux d'installer un petit commerce ou un

3 Le Comité de gestion de la ville historique et le Comité de délivrance des permis de construire de la ville historique. Ils ont été créés par la Maison du Patrimoine Culturel.
4 Chez les N'zima, les chansonniers sont les groupes d'hommes qui effectuent la critique sociale.
5 Restaurants populaires

Bâtiment Ganamet pendant l'Abissa 2014.
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restaurant ponctuel. D'autres s'improvisent vendeurs ambulants et proposent leurs produits aux visiteurs : cigarettes, boissons, biscuits, œufs, glaces…

L'appropriation ponctuelle de bâtiments

L'Abissa occasionne un marquage physique du Quartier France à travers la matérialité des espaces de la fête. Bien qu'elle se déroule principalement sur la Place de l'Abissa, elle se tient également dans d'autres lieux de la ville historique. Elle suscite des appropriations ponctuelles de bâtiments coloniaux auxquels sont prêtés de nouveaux usages. C'est le cas par exemple du bâtiment Ganamet qui sert habituellement de lieu d'exposition à des artisans-tisserands et de squat. À l'Abissa, il devient un maquis où sont installées des tables et des chaises ; l'arrière, d'ordinaire occupé par des squatteurs, est utilisé comme cuisine. La nuit, les chaises sont retirées pour laisser place à une piste de danse. Le bâtiment est converti en boîte de nuit.

Pour les nombreux étrangers qui prennent part à la fête, il n'y a pas de distinction entre le village N'zima et le Quartier France; les deux ne font qu'un. Toutefois, il ne peut y avoir de marquage durable sans une reconnaissance extérieure.

La création d'une nouvelle image du Quartier France

Selon Veschambre et Gravari-Barbas (2005) : « la pérennisation d'un évènement représente un enjeu d'appropriation ». Pour atteindre ses objectifs, l'Association Abissa a recourt à différents moyens de communication : la communication évènementielle, les médias ainsi que l'identification au label UNESCO depuis la patrimonialisation.

Panneau publicitaire annonçant l'Abissa 2014.
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Pour promouvoir l'évènement, l'Association utilise une communication évènementielle importante à l'extérieur de Bassam, notamment à Abidjan. Des panneaux publicitaires annonçant l'évènement sont visibles dans toute la capitale économique. Pendant longtemps, les Abidjanais ont uniquement associé le Quartier France à ses plages et restaurants. Aujourd'hui, en raison du succès de la fête et de cette promotion des N'zima auprès des extra-bassamois, l'Association participe à la création d'une nouvelle image du Quartier France. Désormais, il est également synonyme d'Abissa et de N'zima. L'affluence importante témoigne de l'attrait de la célébration et de l'impact des campagnes de communication à l'extérieur de Grand-Bassam.

Dès sa création en 2004, l'Association a fait appel à la presse afin de « vendre » l'évènement. L'Abissa bénéficie d'une couverture importante à l'échelle nationale à la radio, à la télévision, ainsi que dans les journaux. Les médias ont contribué à la création d'une « fusion ville-évènement » (Barthon et al., 2010) à travers une association systématique entre les N'zima kôtôtkô et le Quartier France. C'est par exemple le cas d'un article qui mentionne que l'Abissa « a pris fin le dimanche 02 Novembre dans la première capitale de Grand-Bassam »[6], autrement dit au Quartier France. Ou encore : « Préparatifs de l'Abissa 2013 : Le Quartier France à pied d'œuvre »[7]. On peut également lire : « À partir de ce dimanche jusqu'au 3 novembre prochain, la ville bouillonnera aux sons des percussions et concerts. Le Quartier France, centre névralgique des festivités, s'active de tout son beau monde ». Ces associations entre les N'zima et la « première capitale », la « ville historique » ou encore le « Quartier France » sont fréquentes à l'occasion de l'Abissa. Elles favorisent la création d'une nouvelle image de la ville qui lie les N'zima à Grand-Bassam en général et au Quartier France en particulier. En se rendant au Quartier France pour célébrer l'Abissa, les étrangers associent spontanément cet espace aux N'zima (Guenneguez, 2015).

Enfin, depuis le classement de la ville en 2012, l'Association Abissa utilise la formule « Grand-Bassam patrimoine mondial de l'UNESCO » de manière récurrente. Cette appropriation du label fonctionne comme une ressource symbolique. Ceci participe à l'association entre N'zima et Grand-Bassam ainsi qu'à la création d'une nouvelle image du Quartier France qui n'est plus uniquement rapportée aux plages et aux bâtiments coloniaux mais également à l'Abissa et au N'zima. L'utilisation du label valorise la célébration des N'zima et présente l'Abissa comme un évènement exceptionnel auquel il faut assister au moins une fois dans sa vie (Garat, 2005).

Conclusion

L'édification du Quartier France comme symbole de la lutte pour l'indépendance a permis aux ivoiriens de se distancier de ce qu'il représentait dans le passé. Le fait d'habiter à proximité du bâti colonial a suscité chez les N'zima un attachement affectif pour la première capitale de Côte d'Ivoire. Toutefois, c'est la patrimonialisation de la ville historique qui a définitivement transformé leur rapport au bâti colonial. Dès lors, la royauté N'zima s'est posée en acteur de la promotion et de la valorisation du site. Elle a initié une mobilisation patrimoniale, développé un engagement patrimonial et contribué à la diffusion d'un discours identitaire renforçant l'attachement affectif au bâti. La valorisation de l'Abissa a favorisé la création d'une nouvelle image du Quartier France. Il est aujourd'hui associé à la présence des N'zima sur ce territoire.

Le patrimoine culturel est considéré comme un outil de développement local en raison du potentiel socio-économique qu'il représente. Dans la ville historique, les retombées de la classification sont difficiles à mesurer. Le village enregistre certes un plus grand nombre de visiteurs au cours de l'année mais ces derniers se cantonnent souvent au Quartier France, à ses hôtels et à ses restaurants. Par ailleurs, la patrimonialisation n'a pas encore

6 Source : www.fratmat.info/regions/grand-bassam-l-abissa-ou-le-nouvel-an-pour-le-peuple-nzima-kotoko
7 Source : news.abidjan.net/h/478596.html

débouché sur une réhabilitation de bâtiments coloniaux ni sur un plan de gestion assurant des retombées aux communautés locales.

Afin d'être de véritables catalyseurs du développement durable, les biens du patrimoine mondial doivent nécessairement être conservés grâce au renforcement des moyens des institutions chargées de leur réhabilitation et de leur conservation. Par ailleurs, les communautés locales doivent être au cœur des changements à travers leur implication dans les prises de décision et leur mise en œuvre. Cela favorisera l'appropriation symbolique des biens du patrimoine culturel par les communautés locales, gage de leur implication dans la protection, la valorisation et la transmission de ces héritages aux générations futures.

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Twyfelfontein or /Ui-//aes, Namibia
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The management of Twyfelfontein World Heritage site, Namibia

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Introduction

Twyfelfontein World Heritage site is located in the Kunene Region of north-western Namibia, at approximately 480 km north-west of the capital city, Windhoek, and about 90 km west of the town of Khorixas, the nearest urban centre. Twyfelfontein was listed as a UNESCO World Heritage site in 2007 as a cultural property for the outstanding universal value of its exceptional richness of rock engravings – the largest concentration of rock art engravings in southern Africa, with more than two thousand images (Viereck and Rudner, 1957; Scherz, 1975; Dowson, 1992; NHC, 2006; Kinahan, 2010). The engravings document an extensive history of human ritual and artistic endeavour relating to hunter-gatherer communities in this part of southern African over at least 2,000 years (NHC, 2006; Kinahan 2010).

All the rock engravings and rock paintings within the Twyfelfontein core area are attributed to San hunter-gatherers who lived in the region long before the influx of Damara herders and European colonists. The last stage of engravings, with a fair amount of certainty, can be associated with the Bergdama people, who introduced their own simplicity in the same way as they probably did with the late paintings of the Brandberg (Viereck and Rudner, 1957). Radiocarbon dates from the excavations at Twyfelfontein show that the engravings are at least 5,000 years old, although some are more recent, for instance the engravings of cattle are likely date to at least 1,000 AD, when farming communities spread throughout Namibia (Wendt, 1972; Kinahan, 2010).

The National Heritage Council (NHC), which manages the site, estimates that Twyfelfontein received over 50,000 paying visitors in 2013, making it the most visited site in southern Africa. This number of visitors is comparable to the Niaux Cave in France. Two other major Namibian rock art sites, the Brandberg and the Spitzkoppe, have also witnessed an increase in visitors who come to enjoy the natural heritage – the scenery, hiking and bird-watching. While the growth of tourism is government-led because of the expectation that it will contribute to economic development (Hall, 1995), very little thought is given to the impact of tourism on the cultural heritage resources such as rock art sites. Tourism is a substantial income generator that could assist with site conservation and create local employment opportunities. It can also pose a threat to the integrity, authenticity, preservation and management of such sites.

The increase in visitor numbers to Twyfelfontein has had a significant effect on its fragile environment and the rock art itself, especially in the absence of proactive management protocols. The deterioration of Twyfelfontein is due to two factors: (i) the failure of the then heritage management organization, the National Monuments Council, to actively assert its role as the national heritage custodian and to enforce heritage legislation; and (ii) the local, community-based management of the site, which proved inadequate. Footpaths had become severely eroded, which threatened to destabilize important rock art panels and the absence of visitor facilities such as toilets resulted in much of the site being badly polluted.

The management and conservation of Twyfelfontein is of concern because although there has been a great detail of research on rock art in Namibia (particularly in the Brandberg), very little research has been conducted into the management of these sites. The low profile of the management of rock art sites in Namibia is surprising, especially

Animal engravings at Twyfelfontein
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in an era where the development of rock art tourism and other cultural heritage resources have been identified as a way of fighting rural poverty. Recognition of the problems faced by Twyfelfontein in the past has implied the need for an assessment of the current management of the site, the recognition for better knowledge about its status and the effectiveness of management. Although management is recommended for cultural heritage resources, neither the market nor the product is clearly defined.

Methodology

A literature review identified a paucity of information on the management of Twyfelfontein since its inscription as a World Heritage site.

Various field surveys were conducted for this study. The field surveys in September 2010 and August 2011 involved informal talks with the former site managers, to ascertain the availability of rock art information brochures, and observation of the activities at the site, such as behaviour of local tour guides during tours and their knowledge of rock art; behaviour of visitors on site; the amount of time spent in the visitor centre and analysis of visitor comments. Interviews with the three heritage practitioners were conducted in December 2012, January 2013 and May 2013. Interviews with the local community, and the administrators of visitor and local tour guides were conducted in May 2013, in order to ascertain their views and opinions.

The analysis of the management of Twyfelfontein World Heritage site focused on the evaluation of five management processes and their indicators (**Table 1**) to see how they perform against a developed set of criteria. The five management processes – conservation, visitor management, interpretation, stakeholder involvement and documentation management – were evaluated at Twyfelfontein. These processes were chosen because these are some of the main issues

presented by international organizations such as UNESCO, which respond to sustainable principles of managing world cultural heritage sites.

For the present evaluation, it is assumed that Twyfelfontein World Heritage site strives to achieve in a balanced way the basic goals of heritage management, preservation and uses of the site which are compatible with its cultural significance. The evaluation focuses on finding out whether the management processes deemed necessary for the achievement of these goals exist and function. While this type of evaluation cannot give a direct answer regarding whether the heritage management goals are achieved, it can attempt to find out whether the necessary conditions are present.

Table 1. Heritage management processes and the indicators evaluated in the study

Management Processes	Indicators
Conservation	Monitoring physical condition of the site
	Maintenance
	Conservation interventions
Visitor management	Visitor data collection
	Visitor amenities
	Monitoring and research of visitor impacts
Interpretation	Control of interpretation
	Interpretation infrastructure
	Staff training
Stakeholder involvement	Communication between management authority and stakeholders
	Local community involvement
	Socio-economic development
Documentation management	Archive maintenance
	Public accessibility
	Computerization

Results

The resulting assessment data provides current information on the state of the management of Twyfelfontein which can be used as a baseline from monitoring to documentation, and can help to identify areas that require further research and recommendations for the management of the site.

Conservation is the first requirement for site management. Once this requirement is fulfilled, the site can be used for a number of other purposes such as tourism, education and research. Most heritage managers consider the conservation of the heritage place as their primary duty and direct most of their resources to this end (Hall and McArthur 1996, 1998; Deacon, 2006).

Heritage management practices demand systematic recording and documentation of protected areas and therefore imply that to monitor a site is to document it. Monitoring of the physical condition of Twyfelfontein does not occur on a daily or a regular planned basis. During the field surveys, none of the guides were observed inspecting the art rock or taking any notes. The large size of the tour groups as well as the time intervals between these tour groups does not allow for specific monitoring activities. The positioning of some of the rock art panels as well as the geology of the sandstone on which the engravings are carved is characterized by flaking. The site archaeologist admitted to a lack of the necessary experience, and the difficulty of finding relevant expertise. Monitoring activities such as litter-picking takes place on a more regular basis, while simple monitoring activities like monitoring the display, inspecting the comment book etc. are not carried out on a planned or regular basis.

Neither the site manager nor the guides possessed the specialized monitoring skills – conservation, condition reporting and visitor management. The vulnerability of a site should be the determining factor in the type of precaution undertaken (Deacon, 1992). Each solution affects the way archaeological information is preserved and how the site is experienced and understood. Trying to make cultural heritage tourism more sustainable is the challenge that most World Heritage sites are facing. The weakness surrounding the term ‘sustainability’ is the absence of existing examples of sustainable systems to explore the realities of sustainability, especially at cultural heritage sites. To this end, the most commonly used management strategies focus primarily on controlling access to the sites.

The physical conservation interventions at Twyfelfontein can be described as good; the conservation standards adopted at the site conform to international standards. Buildings at Twyfelfontein have been designed to leave the smallest footprint possible, no cement or concrete is used. Although the conservation interventions at Twyfelfontein are described as being good, this

conservation indicator was poorly rated because these are not fully implemented. In one instance, external tour guides were observed entering a prohibited area. The absence of a guard at the site after hours is a problem and this is something that the NHC should look into.

Reception area at Twyfelfontein World Heritage site. Buildings at Twyfelfontein have been designed to leave the smallest footprint possible, no cement or concrete is used
© Emma Imalwa

Visitor management

The high number of visitors to World Heritage sites therefore makes visitor management an essential management process for the safeguarding of the heritage resource. Visitors to Twyfelfontein are usually composed of large groups, which means that the capacity of the facilities is not always respected. According to specifications, the visitor amenities were devised to cater for ten or fewer people, while paths, rest areas and toilets were designed around this same average, and the viewing platforms were designed for a safe maximum of eight people. Groups of more than twenty have been observed on the viewing platforms.

Information recorded in the visitor books at Twyfelfontein is limited to visitor numbers, nationality and dates on which the visits occurred. Visitor records are also not systematically analysed or archived. The visitor categories that are captured do not offer much information. For instance, it is not known which of the visitors to the site are schoolchildren.

The most recent visitor numbers available are from January 2007 to December 2013. The high number of visitors to Twyfelfontein (50,000 per year) is due to the fact that the site is located on the tourist circuit. The total number of visitors to the site in 2007 was 50,392, rising to 58,257 in 2008. This growth in 2008 probably reflects an overall increase of visits to the site after the inscription of Twyfelfontein as a World Heritage site in 2007. From 2011 to 2013, there was a decrease in visitor numbers to 51,431 in 2013.

The visitor book indicates that, although Twyfelfontein visitors to the site come from all over the world, the majority come from Germany. The field observation also revealed that in most cases the person filling in the visitor book records only their own nationality and not of the rest of the group, thus it is not always possible to determine the nationality of independent travellers. An analysis of the visitor numbers leads to the conclusion that the World Heritage listing of Twyfelfontein has had more of an impact on foreign visitors than domestic ones. The number of Namibian visitors to Twyfelfontein is low, irrespective of the seasons, and can be attributed to two reasons: (i) the remoteness of the site; (ii) low Namibian level of heritage tourism.

The comment boxes and comment book at Twyfelfontein have been used as interpretive devices, as outlets for the visitors' feelings. These are very simple devices that can be effective tools if used correctly. The former site manager first introduced the idea of a comment box at the site in January 2010. By September 2010, only 11 comments, written on different pieces of paper and in various languages, had been dropped in the unlocked box. It was therefore not possible to analyse the small number of comments according to the different themes, and whether they were considered positive, negative or neutral. It also appears that comments are not taken away, scrutinized and are not taken seriously by management. The small number of comments was the result of guides opening the box to look for money tips as well as to remove negative comments left by visitors.[1] The site manager at the time was not aware that this was happening.

In 2012, the NHC archaeologist introduced another comment box, this time with a lock. By May 2013, the lock on the box had been broken and there were no comments inside. In order to curb this problem, the current site manager introduced a comment book to replace the comment box in January 2013. During the field survey in May 2013, the book was not situated in an accessible place, but rather kept in a cupboard the entire time and

1 Source: local tour guide at Twyfelfontein. September 2010.

was only removed when requested. Furthermore, it contained fewer than ten pages of written comments.

Tourism is by its very nature an agent of change (Glasson et al., 1995). The most obvious negative impact of visits is the potential for material harm to the site. Knowledge of the causes of tourism impacts can aid in planning and is essential for determining whether management objectives are being met. The impact of visitors on a rock art site was tested most publicly at Lascaux in France in the late 1950s and early 1960s, when nearly 2,000 people were entering the site each day (Deacon, 2006). These studies demonstrated that monitoring and research of visitor impacts is fundamental for the conservation of rock art sites because many threats to these sites have been linked to tourism. The high number of visitors at the Twyfelfontein site makes it challenging for the guides to monitor the visitors; the majority travel in organized tour groups which usually consist of more than six people, although groups of more than fifteen at a time have been observed. The tour group visitors often tend to be people over the age of 55, and these types of visitors are considered high risk, because they are more prone to accidentally touching the art as they hold onto the rock for support.

Interpretation

The role of interpretation is to make people more aware of the places they visit, to provide knowledge which increases understanding, and promote the interest which will led to greater enjoyment and perhaps greater responsibility. When discussing the concept of value, it is important to understand the origins of the rational philosophy, as the concept of cultural significance can help to identify and assess the attributes that make a place of value to the community, the nation and the world. While society, or part of it, gives a site its own values, the NHC must be aware that they have a role in forming or guiding the public's awareness of the values of Twyfelfontein. Interpretation of Twyfelfontein is not entirely controlled by NHC, as tours on the site are conducted both by external guides and local tour guides.

In the visitor and local tour guide questionnaires, as well as in interviews with the local community, these three groups were asked to assign a value to Twyfelfontein. Of the 200 visitors who completed the questionnaire, 125 indicated that the site was important for its historic or cultural value. It was interesting to note that very few visitors took into consideration the importance of the site for the local community. The local tour guides and local community mentioned the economic values of the site. In an environment such as this, with high unemployment, the economy is of course by far the most obvious aspect to be considered by those living in the area. Only one local tour guide indicated that the site is important because of its World Heritage status and five local community members indicated that the site is important because of rock art.

An important social issue that has contributed to the debate around rock art tourism initiatives in some countries has been the question of ownership (Ndoro, 2005; Deacon, 2006). Perceptions of who owns the site can have a profound effect on the success of managing the heritage. Analysis of the responses from all three groups shows that the government is generally regarded as the primary institution owning the site. Some visitors said that the site was owned by the local community, NMC, NHC, UNESCO, Levin, Twyfelfontein Country Lodge, and Namibia Wildlife Resorts (NWR). Some of the visitors even thought that the site owner was UNESCO – a misconception from the media that refers to a UNESCO World Heritage site. These variations in visitors' responses to site ownership indicate that the information is not well presented.

Although the guides receive training about rock art, this is not carried out on a regular basis and the majority of the guides from all three sites lacked interpretation skills and general knowledge about archaeology and Namibia's history.

Stakeholder involvement

In the context of cultural heritage, stakeholders are those individuals or groups who have legitimate ownership of, or interest in, the site and who can influence its conservation and management. The number of stakeholders and potential beneficiaries at Twyfelfontein is limited, due to its remote location.

In terms of communication, much can be improved upon and more regular stakeholder meetings should be held. UNESCO recommends joint management committees as a key mechanism for coordinating stakeholders at World Heritage sites. Twyfelfontein has a functioning joint management committee that meets on an issue basis, rather than as a matter of course.

Despite the generally good relations between the local community and the NHC, tensions do arise from time to time around specific issues, such as access to infrastructure, management of the conservation, tour guiding etc. The Twyfelfontein management plan requires that the entire local community be involved in the planning, execution and management of the site development; but this does not happen in practice. The local community perceived its involvement with the site as limited to being employed as guides or support staff. Events that happen at the site are not reported on time to allow for necessary action to be taken. It appears that the head office is not always aware of what is happening at Twyfelfontein – for example, the NHC was not aware that external tours are still taking place at the site.

It is difficult to evaluate the economic impact of visits to Twyfelfontein, as there is a lack of information on the subject. While the tourism industry provides jobs for the local community, locals generally hold low-paid jobs that involve manual work, such as cleaners, kitchen assistants, cooks and drivers. Expatriate staff occupy senior and management positions. The reason given for this is that expatriates possess skills in the tourism industry which locals do not have. Community members interviewed expressed disappointment with the World Heritage status of the site, arguing that it does not improve their lives because they are not in a joint venture with the NHC.

Typical house in Twyfelfontein local community settlement
© Emma Imalwa

One of the ways in which tourism can influence the domestic economy of the host area is through the development of infrastructure, but this is poorly developed in Twyfelfontein. Despite the high number of visitors to the site each year, tourism has not stimulated investment in infrastructure (e.g. roads) and social services that will benefit the local community. Tourism development should benefit the host community not just by providing jobs but also by improving their quality of life by introducing basic services such as water, primary education and health care, and skills development. Damaraland in general remains underdeveloped, and there are local concerns that much of the income goes to outside investors. According to Glasson et al. (1995), the dominance of the industry by foreign investors and non-local investment can lead to a lack of control over local resources.

Documentation management

The question of documentation management of cultural heritage resources is a key issue in the conservation process (Cleere, 1984, 1989; Feilden and Jokilehto, 1993, 1998). The baseline documentation of the site is the first requirement for effective monitoring of the site's condition. The Twyfelfontein archive is neither well organized, mandatory nor automatically updated. When external researchers conducted research at the site, the results obtained were not always entered into the archive. In addition, it is not easy to reference simple information such as visitor numbers which are collected on a daily basis. Archives such as visitor records are not readily accessible and have to be compiled upon request. The NHC archaeologist stated that the records are mainly for internal purposes, and that other heritage institutions also do not readily have access to them, as there is no system in place to circulate the information. The majority of the archives are not computerized; however, the reports that are generated from research permits are computerized. In 2012, the NHC website was launched, providing brief information about heritage sites in the country.

Discussion

As the study was conducted very recently, no direct applications of the results by the NHC could be observed. However, the study resulted in several recommendations for improving the management of the site in order to improve tourism and enhance the protection of the rock art. Some of the recommendations from the study are listed below.

Review of the site management plan

Heritage managers have to work in a constantly changing environment, which inevitably requires the evaluation and review of their respective plans, which may otherwise become obsolete and less relevant over time. Regular monitoring

and maintenance programmes are only possible and effective if the guidelines of the heritage property management plan are implemented. It is therefore proposed that a new site management plan be drawn up according to a developed set of criteria, which should ideally be contained in policy documents. The National Heritage Act requires the NHC to formulate and implement an appropriate site management plan. Although a management plan was submitted along with the nomination dossier, it appears that the plan has not yet been implemented by the NHC. Regular evaluation of the management plan is necessary to estimate to what extent it has been successful in achieving the NHC's goals.

Site monitoring

Monitoring the condition of rock art sites is an issue that has been largely overlooked and one that is, in most cases, still neglected by researchers and heritage institutions. Experiences from the US (Thorn and Dean, 1995; Dean, 1999) and Australia (Bednarik, 1989; Loubser, 1991) have demonstrated that monitoring is a crucial step in any management process because it enables conservators and managers to determine the causes and rates of deterioration in order to diagnose and develop appropriate conservation strategies for the site. Deacon (2006) writes that a subsequent monitoring programme is a crucial step all too often neglected, possibly because it continues after the management plan has been written and is not included in the budget. Any monitoring of the physical condition of the site and rock art panels at Twyfelfontein must recognize that this is a continuous process that requires a considerable injection of time, energy and funding.

Documentation

A detailed inventory of the rock art panels needs to be prepared to allow for more accurate management strategies. There is a need to manage the data of rock art and other heritage. Documents regarding the site management and the physical condition of the site must be accurate and easy to access. Pre-intervention documentation and recording are important, not only to show the condition of the site and engravings but also to give an indication of the likely problems.

Human resource management and staff capacity-building

A critical challenge at the site is that the variety of specialist skills required, from tourism to heritage management, infrastructure development, community development and the like are absent. Local guides working on the site are not equipped with skills that would enable them to identify the potential or current problems threatening the site. Without properly trained site staff, Twyfelfontein will become degraded, thereby losing much of its value as a cultural heritage resource.

The management of Twyfelfontein needs two types of specialists: conservation specialists and tourism management specialists. Specialists in both fields will enhance the management of the site for the enjoyment of the visitors and for the benefit of the local community. It is clear that the majority of the guides and site managers at cultural heritages sites as well as cultural officers in Namibia have a limited understanding of their responsibilities concerning the immovable cultural heritage.

Stakeholder outreach and engagement

Heritage organizations and site managers need a range of interpersonal skills, including conflict resolution and communication, in order to work with members of other government agencies, NGOs, the local communities, civil society and visitors. If conservation and management of Twyfelfontein are to be effective, decision-makers should address the key concerns of different stakeholders on a priority basis and in a transparent manner. Working closely with stakeholders who have varying goals can be challenging; holding public meetings and workshops about protected areas issues may not be comfortable, but it is necessary.

Heritage managers need communication skills that will not only help them understand research results, but will also be useful in communicating information needs to scientists so that they can conduct relevant and useful research. Communication between the NHC and its stakeholders, and also between the site management and the NHC head office, needs to be improved.

Community involvement and benefits

People living in isolated areas with limited access to external markets and infrastructure facilities are likely to remain poor and continue to depend on resources, either natural or cultural, found in their areas. The conservation of cultural resources such as rock art will only succeed if local communities participate in protected area management and in return receive sufficient benefits. This study revealed that attitudes of the members of the local community at Twyfelfontein towards conservation are influenced by associated benefits.

Finding a sound management strategy that integrates community well-being and the conservation of Twyfelfontein is imperative. If a management plan is drawn up between the local community, NHC and heritage conservation specialists, there will be a better management outcome. Although most of the guides recruited are local, no strategies have been developed to ensure local communities derive maximum benefits from the site. The local community should not only be included in tour guiding, but also be deemed a primary and priority group in management decisions regarding the site.

There is also the general consensus that local communities often lack the management skills required to become effective site managers. In this regard, existing site managers at Twyfelfontein should be the primary conduit for the transfer of skills to the site staff. In pursuit of such a strategy, funds for training should be made available. Such training opportunities will also enable the Twyfelfontein community to acquire skills, and increase the income they need to independently take care of other sites in the surrounding areas over time.

Conclusion

Twyfelfontein is mainly threatened by weak institutional capacity. This study shows that a change in management approach is needed to guard the outstanding universal value of the site. It appears that there are no clear criteria guiding decisions on the management of Twyfelfontein and other rock art sites in the country. This could be due to the fact that heritage practitioners might not be familiar with all the points of good heritage management, or the understanding of heritage management could be perceived as rather technical in nature, as it is confined predominately to the physical aspects of the heritage resources.

The future of Twyfelfontein, as well as that of other rock art sites in Namibia, lies in the concentrated efforts made by the government, scientific institutions researchers, non-governmental organizations, landowners, local communities and individuals. Any conservation interventions at Twyfelfontein must recognize that this is a continuous process. Factors such as current and future uses, the real and potential benefits of such site management for the public, the financial cost of maintaining the site and the availability of other similar sites/purposes, should be considered when drawing up the management plan.

Finally, it should be noted that, although the author has made a number of critical points, it should be borne in mind that many of the management processes acquired importance in heritage management only recently, and those tasked with managing heritage are unaware of how to perform them. Stakeholder involvement, for example, is a relative newcomer to the field of heritage management. Countries of the so-called 'developed world' have a great deal to do in this regard, a suggestion that is found in much of the heritage management literature. There is a need to move away from a centralized management towards a partnership-driven site development in which rock art is managed as a collaborative process, with all stakeholders involved. Further research is needed into the economic and social factors behind rock art tourism.

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National Archeological Park of Tierradentro, Colombia
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Heritage Guardians

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Introduction

South America, and indeed Colombia, has many cultural similarities with Africa – important biodiversity areas of the planet, diverse populations as a result of the integrations of indigenous, Africans and Europeans, and a rich cultural heritage. Despite this heritage, Colombia has suffered the longest internal war in the world, with the second highest number of internally displaced persons after Syria, and the third highest number of casualties from landmines. Sadly, the internal war has been one of the most fundamental causes of the social, economic and environmental difficulties in sustainable development.

In the heritage field, the Ministry of Culture of Colombia has promoted a programme called the 'Heritage Guardians'. This education programme has supported the protection, promotion and safeguarding of heritage, while contributing to the attainment of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and in the *Policy Document for the Integration of a Sustainable Development Perspective into the Processes of the World Heritage Convention*.[1]

Heritage Guardians programme[2]

Colombian public heritage policy seeks to involve communities with their cultural heritage, since heritage, in addition to being the right of all citizens, is better protected and safeguarded through community involvement. The Heritage Guardians programme is a network of volunteers with Guardian groups organized according to geographical location throughout Colombia. The programme, based on the Red Cross volunteers system, has promoted the identification, assessment, protection and recovery of cultural heritage in Colombia for over 15 years. It promotes active and voluntary citizen participation through actions focused on community memory, while fostering cultural democratic citizenship. It encompasses different views regarding the interaction of people with their territory, against a backdrop of coexistence, dialogue and recognition of the other. The programme thus shares with the community the joint responsibility of protecting the culture that defines Colombians, in a territory where multiple cultures, histories, traditions and rituals merge.

Its decentralized organizational structure allows group mobility, facilitates intercultural dialogue and provides insights into cultural diversity. There are currently 2,695 Heritage Guardians and 28 regional coordinators covering a total of 32 official regions of Colombia. The network coordination team consists of a national coordinator, from the Ministry of Culture, regional coordinators and the group coordinators. Each coordinator is elected annually at the national meeting. The national coordinator is responsible for organizing the elections to select regional coordinators. In this capacity, they receive the candidature of possible regional coordinators prior to the national meeting, and conduct the electoral process at the national meeting.

Membership of the Heritage Guardians is open to all Colombians irrespective of academic background, and takes into account gender balance within the groups. The sole requirement is to belong to a legally constituted public or

1 *Policy Document for the Integration of a Sustainable Development Perspective into the Processes of the World Heritage Convention* is referred to throughout this paper as 'policy document'; the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development is referred to throughout this paper as the 2030 Agenda.
2 *Programa de Vigías del Patrimonio*

private entity wishing to work voluntarily to build a democratic and participatory nation through the development of projects related to the assessment, protection, conservation and promotion of the heritage in their territories. The interested entities are required to formulate a project in accordance with the programme objectives and can receive support from the Ministry and regional coordinator concerning the project design. Once the proposal is completed, and approved by the regional coordinator, it is submitted to the Heritage Office of the Ministry of Culture, along with a copy of the group coordinator's photo ID and a copy of the entity's official certificate of registration.

Once the Ministry of Culture approves the proposal, the Heritage Guardians receive a kit (vest and cap) and can participate in national Guardians meetings, regional meetings, training events and Ministry of Culture competitions for the best-developed project. The Guardians solemnly undertake to promote exchange and dialogue between individuals and society in order to promote heritage, defend threatened local and regional cultures, and fight against exclusion. In addition, they support and propose alternatives for change in order to incorporate heritage concerns into the economic and social development of the country. The heritage proposals are very diverse, focusing on areas such as inventories, design of heritage policies, heritage conservation and management practices, heritage promotion, safeguarding, research, capacity-building and even tourism. Nevertheless, as some of the proposed heritage activities require technical skills, the Ministry carries out a detailed evaluation of the group's skills in order to verify its capability to develop the proposed task.

In essence, this programme has strengthened the right of all citizens to participate in processes in which they are involved – communities interact daily with their own heritage, and are the main actors in its protection and safeguarding.

Cultural and Natural Heritage Box

Inspired by the UNESCO World Heritage Education programme,[3] the Ministry of Education created the Cultural and Natural Heritage Box[4] in 2004. This pedagogical box contains materials and language suitable for young Colombians, in order to aid their comprehension of cultural and natural heritage. It seeks to incorporate the notion of heritage into the national school curriculum through its inclusion in the Institutional Educational Plan – PEI.5. Its aim is to strengthen notions of territory, community, memory and nation-building, in order to promote the importance of keeping cultural roots alive, and respect for others through tolerance of cultural differences. It fosters the recognition of tangible, intangible and natural heritage in Colombian schools, thus supporting heritage protection and advocating for sustainable development principles.

The box contains a teaching guide, four booklets on nation-building, territory, community and memory, an interactive CD, an educational video and various educational panels that serve to help teachers encourage students to learn about heritage. The box materials are available in printed and electronic (website) format.

In 2008, 1,289 teachers at Normal Superior Schools in Colombia received the printed box materials, while the digital materials offer a valuable low-cost dissemination option. These Normal Superior schools, managed by the Ministry of Education of Colombia, are run as teacher training colleges. This is how teachers and students – future teachers – are contributing to improve heritage knowledge across the regions, especially in very remote areas.

Heritage Guardians through the Cultural and Natural Heritage Box

The implementation of the Heritage Guardians programme started in 2009 through internships – mandatory social service for youth in their final year of high school – using the Cultural and Natural Heritage Box project. Since then, the notion of heritage as a driver of sustainable development has been strengthened considerably, even in those Colombian territories affected by armed conflict.

The monitoring and evaluation results of the Cultural and Natural Heritage Box in the Normal Superior Schools indicated that the best way to

3 http://whc.unesco.org/en/educationkit/
4 Biácora del Patrimonio Cultural y Natural
5 The Institutional Educational Plan is the general statement that sets out the fundamental institutional action plans, through which the short-, medium- and long-term mission is planned.

apply the heritage knowledge acquired from the box, and to make it useful to local communities, was through social services. The Ministry of Education conceived Resolution 4210 to require compulsory social service, as it contributes to the integral development of the student while responding to the needs of the local community. Social services, which must be incorporated into the curriculum, should respond to the identified needs within the area of influence of the educational establishment – mainly those related to education, culture, social themes and leisure. Thus, students in the last grades of high school – Grades 10 and 11 – are required to complete 80 hours of social service to obtain the diploma.

Through this educational 'social service' system, which operates in many countries in the world, students who receive training through the Cultural and Natural Heritage Box can implement these social services through the development of a project within the Heritage Guardians programme framework. In order to belong to the programme, the schools submit a proposal related to the community's needs concerning heritage. The students are the Heritage Guardians, while the teacher in charge of the social service assumes the role of Group Coordinator. The coordinator is also responsible for keeping the regional and national coordinators updated with regard to possible modifications to the project and the proposed inclusion of new members.

In addition, the programme can be run at very low cost. The students develop their role as guardians while doing social service, the material can be downloaded digitally, the regional coordination is developed voluntarily, and the group's coordinator role is a duty that is within teacher obligations. In this sense, the programme has a very good cost-benefit ratio.

The Cultural and Natural Heritage Box has been distributed to the Colombian territories in printed or digital format, while the Heritage Office of the Ministry of Culture has additionally encouraged its use for enrolment in the Heritage Guardians programme. As an example, one professor in Gigante City in the Huila Region was concerned that the oral traditions of his city were disappearing, and designed a project where students could collect oral traditions through stories told by the elders. The Gigante School has already published booklets that detail the town's traditions and stories, thus keeping its heritage alive in this region.

Special attention has also been focused on schools for indigenous 'ethnic education',[6] taking into account their poor access, the weakness of safeguarding indigenous traditions and their tendency to be located in armed conflict areas. In this sense, it was important that the indigenous students were trained with the box material and organized into Heritage Guardians groups. For example, at the World Heritage site of the National Archeological Park of Tierradentro (inscribed in 1995), there is a population of over 100,000 indigenous Paeces people, one of the most homogeneous groups that still remain in the country. The Paeces students were trained using the box materials, and some of them took on the role of Heritage Guardians. One of the Heritage Guardian groups interprets the site values to the visitors, promoting the site and gaining additional economic benefit from the tourists.

In order to respond to the huge problems that internal war and natural disasters were causing to cultural and natural heritage, students were trained as emergency responders in their territory. For instance, at the World Heritage site of Mompox (inscribed in 1995), located close to a river, the long rainy season causes periodic flooding. With the support of firemen and some emergency organizations, 81 students from 5 schools were trained as the 'First Responders' for the site's Natural and Cultural Heritage.

An example of heritage in an armed conflict situation is that of Placer town in the Putumayo region. The town had suffered a long period of violence caused by internal armed conflict. A priest led the local community to collect materials and images related to the town's history of war. Unfortunately, much of the town's population was displaced by the violence and a lot of the information collected was lost. However, the community is now starting to return, and the Heritage Guardians at its main school, 'Jose Asuncion Silva', are researching the remaining historical pieces and promoting the collection to visitors. For them, recreating the memory of the town is a way to promote reconciliation with the period of war, which forms a part of its history.

6 Education implemented by some schools in Colombia, where indigenous groups live. Many of the lessons are taught in traditional indigenous language and the indigenous traditions are often promoted.

The examples mentioned above reflect that this programme is closer to the social inclusion dimension of sustainable development, since it is developed by communities, and in particular by youth. Nevertheless, it also covers the environmental and economic dimensions – as some of the projects also contribute to environmental needs, the programme has become a strategy to increase the economic development of poor territories.

Heritage Guardians as a driver of sustainable development

The key reasons why the Heritage Guardians have become an important tool for driving sustainable development in Colombia are as follows:

- The non-discriminatory and inclusive nature of the Heritage Guardians programme, whose main actors are the local communities, ensures that the Guardians contribute to the achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals. It also responds to: (i) the strategic objective of the World Heritage Convention as the fifth 'C' that seeks to enhance the role of communities in Convention implementation (Decision 31 COM 13B); (ii) the requirements of the World Heritage Committee's (Decision 35 COM 12E), 2030 SDG Agenda and UNESCO's policy document for effective and equitable involvement and participation of indigenous peoples and local communities in decision-making, monitoring and evaluation of World Heritage sites.
- The Heritage Guardians use of the Cultural and Natural Heritage Box to teach the principles proposed by UNESCO's Education for Sustainable Development[7] (ESD) also empowers the learners to take actions for sustainable development through social service. These principles lead to the inclusion of key sustainable development issues in teaching and learning. It also requires participatory teaching and learning methods that motivate and empower learners to change their behaviours and take action for sustainable development.
- The Heritage Guardians respond to the policy document's general requirement for capacity-building by networking among practitioners and local communities.
- Through their 'First Aider' actions, Heritage Guardian Programmes contribute to improving resilience to natural hazards and climate change, thus responding to the requirements for environmental sustainability as framed in the policy document and the 2030 Agenda.
- The Programme also encourages the Guardians to generate economic projects in order to increase employment opportunities in their territories, thereby responding to the policy document's aim for inclusive economic development, which is mainly youth-oriented. It is also in concordance with Goal 8 of the 2030 Agenda concerning the promotion of sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, and specifically the reduction of the proportion of youth not in employment, education or training.
- The Programme also contributes to post-conflict recovery efforts as 'First Responders' are involved in the process of asset recovery. Its projects also focus on promoting and safeguarding the cultural traditions that may have been disrupted by the conflict, thus supporting the policy document's premise of 'Fostering Peace and Security'.

The Heritage Guardians in the Africa context

Some suggestions are outlined below, with the aim of adapting the Heritage Guardians Programme to the African context, thereby contributing to the sustainable development of the region.

At the heart of the Heritage Guardians programme is the inclusion of the community in heritage processes. In this sense, the programme runs in accordance with the African Union's Agenda 2063, which considers the participation, inclusion and empowerment of citizens during the implementation, monitoring and evaluation arrangements as critical factors for success.

African heritage institutions could take advantage of UNESCO's Associated Schools Project Network (ASPnet), a global network of 10,000 educational institutions in 181 countries, whose priority topics are culture and sustainable development. The Heritage Guardians programme could be established in those African schools identified as belonging to ASPnet.

7 http://en.unesco.org/themes/education-sustainable-development

The Heritage Guardians programmes in Africa could also be linked with UNESCO's International Institute for Capacity Building in Africa (IICBA). IICBA could train teachers through the African adaptation of the World Heritage in Young Hands, using digital materials. Using these materials, they could train the students and propose developing Heritage Guardians projects with them as part of social service, or by integrating them into existing national youth programmes.

Schools that are located close to the Biosphere Reserves belonging to the UNESCO African Network could be identified. In this way, students in these areas could focus their heritage projects on promoting the conservation of the reserves through their social service as Heritage Guardians.

The African Union's Agenda 2063 has agreed to create the Pan African Leadership Institute (PALI), which seeks to prepare young male and female leaders with an *esprit de corps* and the ideals of Pan Africanism. PALI could also serve to coordinate the Heritage Guardians programme throughout the continent, given that its mission coincides with the aims of Guardians. The Pan-African ideals should be mainstreamed in all school curricula in order to ensure the African cultural renaissance, and to contribute significantly to the GDP.

The African adaptation of World Heritage in Young Hands could be designed to include a section on 'cultural entrepreneurship through tourism' as a way of involving community-based initiatives in tourism development. This African adaptation could contribute to the Pan-African aspiration of an African cultural renaissance by including topics relating to African identity and common heritage, and embedding it in school curricula. Through economic and cultural projects, young Africans could both foster their cultural identity and increase GDP.

One of the aspirations of the African Union's Agenda 2063 is to promote youth volunteerism, something to which young African Heritage Guardians volunteers could contribute. Special attention is needed for post-conflict areas. Heritage Guardians programmes could be set up in schools that are close to post-conflict areas so that the volunteers can act as 'First Responders' to save cultural heritage.

In order to include the stakeholders and rights holders, including indigenous peoples and local communities, in the establishment of effective monitoring through continuity in data collection, Heritage Guardians could be required to periodically submit data relevant to the established indicators. This could be very useful, especially in remote areas.

Crépissage de la mosquée Djingareyber, février 2017, Tombouctou
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Le Projet « Supports pédagogiques sur le patrimoine culturel africain en milieu post-conflit »

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Introduction

Avec la montée des conflits intra-étatiques et inter-communautaires, les attaques contre le patrimoine culturel ont pris aujourd'hui des proportions sans précédent. De nombreux biens culturels, mobiliers ou immobiliers, ont connu ces dernières années une destruction programmée et massive dont les conséquences vont au-delà de la disparition des vestiges du passé. Il s'agit de porter atteinte aux valeurs identitaires d'une communauté et à son histoire. Les cas les plus récents qui viennent à l'esprit sont la Syrie et le Mali, mais il y en a eu d'autres avant comme la destruction des bouddhas de Bamiyan en Afghanistan.

Le projet qui est présenté dans les pages qui suivent est un projet pilote expérimenté actuellement au Mali, et qui a vocation à être adapté à d'autres pays en situation de post-conflit.

Le contexte du projet

Dans les situations de post-conflit, le patrimoine culturel est essentiel pour reconstruire l'identité d'une communauté, et favoriser la réconciliation, la tolérance et le respect entre différentes communautés, condition *sine qua non* pour bâtir une société pacifique. Le Conseil de sécurité de l'ONU a ainsi reconnu, par sa résolution 2100 sur le Mali et sa résolution 2139 sur la Syrie, l'importance du rôle de la culture dans le renforcement de la cohésion sociale et sa contribution décisive à la réconciliation et à la paix.

Le conflit au nord du Mali a entraîné la destruction de sites du patrimoine ainsi que des tentatives de pillage des manuscrits anciens. La paix retrouvée, l'une des premières actions menées par l'UNESCO sur le terrain a été la reconstruction des mausolées de saints de Tombouctou sous la direction de l'équipe du Bureau de l'UNESCO à Bamako. C'est pour renforcer cette action que le présent projet a été conçu au Département Afrique.

Par ailleurs, dans ses efforts visant à construire et à renforcer le dialogue et la paix à travers le patrimoine culturel, l'UNESCO, dans sa Stratégie opérationnelle pour la jeunesse 2014-2021, met l'accent sur le rôle prépondérant de la jeunesse : « L'UNESCO engagera les jeunes à conduire des projets dynamiques de préservation du patrimoine et à se porter volontaires pour des actions de sensibilisation dans ce domaine, comme vecteur de dialogue et d'inclusion».

Le projet « Supports pédagogiques sur le patrimoine culturel africain en milieu post-conflit » s'inscrit dans cette perspective de prévention des conflits et de rétablissement de la paix durable en mettant les jeunes au cœur de ce dispositif. En effet, des supports pédagogiques de qualité contribueront à terme à la protection du patrimoine et à la diffusion des valeurs de tolérance auprès des jeunes qui auront été en contact avec les programmes développés et deviendront, plus tard, les premiers ambassadeurs de la promotion et de la protection de ce patrimoine.

Les phases du projet

Le projet pilote consiste à développer et à diffuser des supports pédagogiques pour l'éducation formelle et non formelle afin de sensibiliser les jeunes maliens à la protection de leur patrimoine culturel et aux valeurs de tolérance et de paix. Depuis la phase de conception jusqu'à la diffusion des supports, le projet a été conçu pour être développé en étroite collaboration avec les acteurs locaux (professionnels du patrimoine culturel, gestionnaires de sites, animateurs pédagogiques, experts en communication, représentants d'associations professionnelles de jeunes, conservateurs de musées etc.), afin de répondre au mieux aux besoins spécifiques du pays.

Les différentes phases du projet sont résumées comme suit :

Étape 1 : Organisation d'un atelier d'échanges et de conception de supports pédagogiques sur le patrimoine culturel malien (Bamako, 25-26 janvier 2016)

Cet atelier avait pour but d'affiner le projet, en discutant avec les collègues et acteurs maliens du patrimoine. L'atelier a rassemblé une trentaine d'experts nationaux de divers horizons aussi bien du milieu culturel que du milieu éducatif. Cet atelier a abouti à la validation définitive de l'idée d'utiliser les 4 pages de couverture des cahiers scolaires et à la conception des premiers projets de maquettes. Il a également permis de préciser l'esprit des textes et des images qui devaient figurer sur les cahiers.

Dans ses actions antérieures pour la sensibilisation de la jeunesse, l'UNESCO avait développé des kits, notamment le kit appelé « Le patrimoine mondial entre les mains de jeunes » ; mais à y regarder de plus près, ce kit est davantage un outil pour les enseignants et les animateurs ; il ne s'agit donc pas d'un outil directement destiné aux jeunes. Autrement dit, la destination première de ce kit n'est pas les jeunes ; mais plutôt ceux qui servent d'intermédiaire.

Le présent projet se propose d'aller plus loin pour atteindre directement les jeunes et les élèves à travers un support qui leur est particulièrement familier et facilement accessible. Dans les échanges, à Paris comme à Bamako, certains experts ont proposé l'utilisation de bandes dessinées ou des livres de jeunesse. À cet égard, il convient de rappeler qu'au-delà de la question du coût, ces supports supposent des habitudes de lecture orientées de même que l'existence des filières d'éditions de jeunesse ou de bande dessinée confirmées. En dépit d'évolutions récentes notables, l'édition en Afrique, et notamment l'édition africaine francophone, est confrontée à de nombreux obstacles qui rendent difficiles l'implantation et le développement de l'industrie du livre. La production annuelle reste fort réduite et le prix des livres importés en fait des produits de luxe, généralement trop coûteux pour la population locale.

Atelier d'experts à Bamako
© UNESCO/ Hyeon Ju Kim

Se lancer dans l'édition de livres de jeunesse ou de bandes dessinées est une aventure qui nécessiterait des moyens importants, beaucoup de temps et la mobilisation de différents corps de métier (dessinateurs, scénaristes, éditeurs, etc.) sans que l'on soit pour autant assuré du résultat final, c'est-à-dire que les livres soient accessibles aux jeunes africains.

En revanche, le cahier d'écolier est la fourniture scolaire la plus diffusée. D'où l'idée simple d'utiliser les 4 pages de couverture du cahier pour diffuser des messages. Ce n'est d'ailleurs pas une innovation en soi, car les cahiers, en Afrique comme dans le monde entier, portent parfois, en première et dernière page, des images ou des contenus souvent publicitaires, quelquefois éducatifs comme des tables de multiplication, des cartes géographiques ou autres.

Notons qu'actuellement, en raison de la mauvaise qualité du papier de couverture, le Ministère de l'éducation du Mali a mis en place des dispositifs réglementaires pour recouvrir les cahiers d'une protection. Les représentants du Ministère de l'éducation présents à l'atelier ont exprimé leur volonté de revoir cette disposition si les couvertures développées dans le cadre de ce projet sont de bonne qualité et portent des messages pédagogiques.

Une fois que l'idée d'utiliser les couvertures de cahier comme support a été retenue, il a fallu choisir les biens culturels devant faire l'objet de sensibilisation. Au total, 5 biens culturels maliens ont été retenus : les 4 sites du patrimoine mondial (Villes anciennes de Djenné, Falaises de Bandiagara, Tombeau des Askia, Tombouctou) et des manuscrits anciens du Mali.

Le choix de ces biens culturels, en particulier des 4 sites, découle du fait que l'inscription de ces biens sur la liste du patrimoine mondial a conduit à accumuler des études et des connaissances validées et que l'UNESCO dispose de ressources d'une grande crédibilité scientifique. En effet, il n'y a rien de plus préjudiciable que de présenter des connaissances approximatives qui pourraient être contestées parce que n'ayant pas fait l'objet d'un travail scientifique unanimement accepté par les experts du domaine.

Les cinq échantillons de cahiers produits
© UNESCO

Le Centre du patrimoine mondial de l'UNESCO, par exemple, dispose de base de données d'images et de documents de recherches approfondies. Ces ressources ne sont cependant pas toujours bien connues du grand public, ni bien diffusées. La conception et la diffusion de supports pédagogiques sur la base de ces ressources disponibles renforceraient davantage les travaux déjà menés par l'Organisation pour la sauvegarde et la protection du patrimoine culturel.

Étape 2 : Élaboration de la maquette de cahier

La maquette type contient les éléments suivant :

- des images d'un des 5 biens culturels retenus ;
- un texte générique de définition du *patrimoine culturel* ;
- une fiche descriptive en langage simple reprenant l'essentiel de la valeur universelle exceptionnelle (VUE) du bien telle qu'elle a été reconnue pour son classement sur La liste du patrimoine mondial.

Quant aux manuscrits anciens, une légère adaptation a été faite :

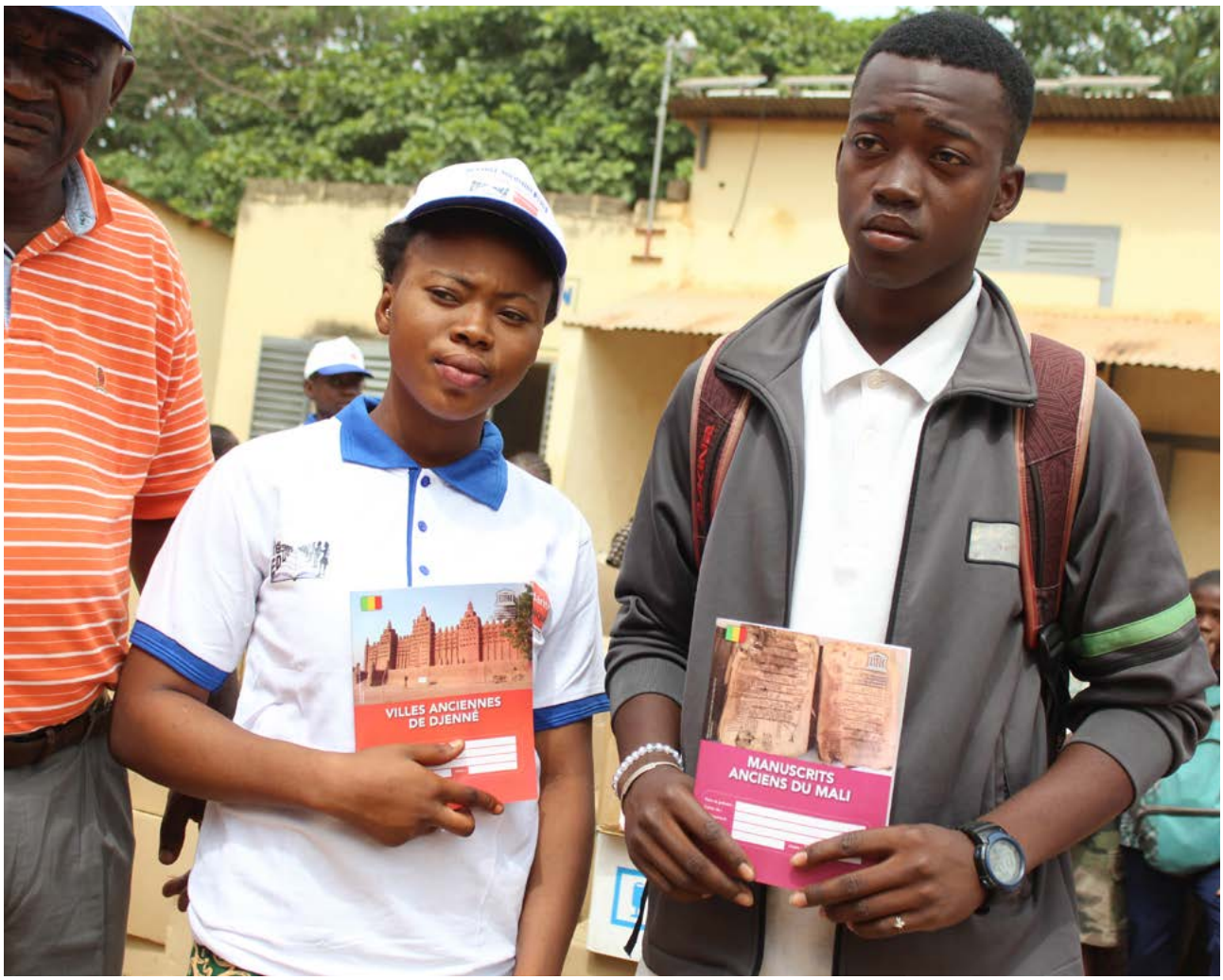
- un jeu pédagogique de questions / réponses ;
- un message de sensibilisation à la protection et à la sauvegarde des biens culturels ainsi qu'aux valeurs de tolérance et de paix.

Une version en format poster des 4 pages des cahiers est prévue pour organiser une mini-exposition itinérante dans les écoles et les centres culturels et/ou assimilés, principalement dans les villes où se trouvent les biens culturels, en y incluant Bamako. L'animation de cette exposition fonctionnera sur les mêmes principes que la conception des cahiers. Ce sont les mêmes images et textes qui seront utilisés.

Maquette type des couvertures de cahiers (page recto) + Maquette type des couvertures de cahiers (page verso)
© UNESCO

Étape 3 : Production et distribution des cahiers

Cette étape consistera à produire et distribuer des cahiers aux jeunes maliens. Si l'option de production au Mali a été retenue pour éviter les difficultés liées au dédouanement, elle permettra aussi d'envisager la durabilité de la production des cahiers. En effet, afin de pérenniser la production des supports, il est envisagé d'inciter des entreprises locales à produire des cahiers avec les pages de couverture pré-conçues en leur cédant les droits sur les images et les textes.



Première distribution à l'École Mamadou Konaté, Bamako

Par ailleurs, la stratégie de diffusion prévoit une exposition itinérante des posters produits dans des lieux qui offrent le plus de potentiel pour accueillir des activités d'animation. Les cahiers seront distribués aux élèves ayant participé à ces activités.

Un premier lot de 20 000 cahiers imprimés à Bamako a été distribué, pour la rentrée scolaire 2016-2017, dans 57 établissements répartis dans les huit régions du Mali. Des exemplaires des cahiers ont été remis au Chef de l'État malien qui a salué la qualité de l'initiative.

Par ailleurs, des livrets promotionnels ont été produits pour présenter le projet aux États membres de l'UNESCO lors de la 220e session d'ouverture du Conseil exécutif. Deux autres pays membres ont manifesté leur volonté de voir se réaliser le même type de projet chez eux : le Kenya et le Soudan.

Conclusion

Ce projet s'inscrit parfaitement dans la philosophie fondatrice de l'UNESCO qui stipule : « les guerres prenant naissance dans l'esprit des hommes, c'est dans l'esprit des hommes que doivent être élevées les défenses de la paix. »

La méthodologie et les acquis de ce projet pourront être utilisés dans d'autres zones similaires sur le continent et au-delà.

AfriCAP 2016, lancement de la 2e session de formation à Nikki, Bénin
© CRAterre / B. Cloquet

AfriCAP 2016, renforcement des capacités et synergies entre les acteurs du patrimoine en Afrique de l'Ouest

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Introduction : contexte général

En 2002, le sommet mondial de Johannesburg[1] sur le développement durable situait pour la première fois la culture au cœur du processus de développement, au même titre que la dimension environnementale, la dimension sociale et la dimension économique. Quinze années plus tard, il est désormais largement reconnu que le patrimoine, au sens large du terme, est un témoin essentiel et varié de la culture des peuples. Mieux valorisé, il peut alors devenir un véritable vecteur de développement et de lutte contre la pauvreté (Ardesi, 2006).

Conscient de ce potentiel, le Secrétariat du Groupe des États ACP et l'Union européenne, dans le cadre de la coopération culturelle ACP-UE, appuient l'ensemble des industries créatives ACP à travers le programme ACPCultures+[2]. Ce programme, financé par le 10ème Fonds européen de développement (FED)[3] soutient notamment plusieurs actions dans le domaine du patrimoine. L'objectif de l'appel à proposition lancé en septembre 2012 était de « contribuer à la lutte contre la pauvreté par l'émergence et la consolidation d'industries culturelles viables et pérennes dans les pays d'Afrique, des Caraïbes et du Pacifique (ACP), au renforcement de leur apport au développement social et économique et à la préservation de la diversité culturelle » (Commission européenne, 2012).

Deux enquêtes faisaient alors un état de la situation :

- L'enquête menée par l'AIMF en 2010 dans le cadre de l'Action « patrimoine culturel et développement local » EuropeAid/127764/C/ACT/TPS, sur « la perception du patrimoine et le bilan de la mise en œuvre des politiques patrimoniales dans 5 pays d'Afrique de l'Ouest » à laquelle 297 collectivités ont répondu (Ardesi, Rakotomamonjy et Negri, 2012).
- Le second cycle de soumission de rapports périodiques pour la région Afrique, qui a fait l'objet d'un rapport final présenté au siège de l'UNESCO à Paris, 19-29 juin 2011. Ce rapport fait le bilan de la mise en œuvre de la Convention concernant la protection du patrimoine mondial, culturel et naturel, en Afrique (UNESCO-WHC 2011).

Il en ressortait un constat clair : bien que l'Afrique dispose d'un important patrimoine culturel matériel et immatériel, comme l'ont attesté plus de 75% des collectivités enquêtées, l'apport du patrimoine culturel en tant que levier de développement territorial, porteur de bénéfices économiques, sociaux et culturels, restait très limité. De même, dans le rapport périodique pour la région Afrique, les États parties africains signalaient que

1 http://www.francophonie.org/IMG/pdf/Johannesburg.pdf
2 http://www.acpculturesplus.eu
3 http://ec.europa.eu/budget/biblio/documents/FED/fed_fr.cfm

« les communautés locales et les populations autochtones ne semblent guère bénéficier des avantages sociaux et économiques potentiellement procurés par les biens » (UNESCO-WHC, 2011).

Pourquoi AfriCAP 2016

Pour expliquer les raisons de ce bilan aux multiples facettes et mieux en prendre acte, les partenaires du projet AfriCAP 2016 se sont intéressés aux acteurs qui pourraient être moteurs dans la dynamisation de ce patrimoine, c'est à dire les maîtres d'ouvrages (commanditaires) et maîtres d'œuvre (qui exécutent) de projets patrimoniaux.

Les maîtres d'ouvrages d'actions patrimoniales

Qu'ils soient autorités traditionnelles, locales, ou centrales ou simples privés, de nombreux commanditaires portent un intérêt particulier au patrimoine. Mais ils peinent souvent à se lancer dans la maîtrise d'ouvrage patrimoniale par manque de capacité et d'exemple démontrant comment se construit concrètement cet apport du patrimoine au développement.

Les maîtres d'œuvre d'actions patrimoniales

Le secteur composé d'acteurs divers (artisans, conservateurs, gestionnaires, architectes, historiens, etc.), bien qu'encore restreint, est dynamique et créatif. Des initiatives pour valoriser le patrimoine par des acteurs locaux existent de plus en plus. Cependant, ces initiatives sont peu diffusées et les méthodologies de leur mise en œuvre ne sont pas suffisamment transmises (UNESCO-WHC, 2009). On constate par conséquent un manque de compétences spécifiques des acteurs du patrimoine culturel dans la mise en œuvre et la coordination de projets patrimoniaux porteurs de développement et subséquemment encore trop peu de projets prenant en compte les besoins des communautés et les besoins évoqués par leurs représentants (autorités locales et traditionnelles).

Qu'est-ce que AfriCAP 2016 ?

AfriCAP 2016[4] a été un projet soutenu majoritairement par l'Union européenne dans le cadre du programme ACPCultures+. Il était porté par CRAterre, en partenariat avec l'Association internationale des Maires francophones (AIMF), France ; l'École du Patrimoine Africain-(EPA), Bénin ; les Grands Ateliers de l'Isle d'Abeau, France ; la Commune de Nikki, Bénin ; la Mairie de Grand-Bassam, Côte d'Ivoire et la Commune Urbaine de Télimélé, Guinée.

Il a visé le « renforcement des synergies et des capacités opérationnelles des décideurs et des acteurs du patrimoine culturel » en intervenant selon trois axes complémentaires : l'axe 1, autour de projets pilotes démonstratifs, l'axe 2, sur le renforcement des capacités et l'axe 3, sur le réseautage. (Fig. 1)

Les projets *in situ* ont été au cœur d'AfriCAP 2016. Ils ont à la fois été supports de formations et de démonstrations. Ainsi, les participants ont pu renforcer leurs capacités à travers une expérimentation réelle, qui leur a permis de s'approprier des méthodes de travail, de comprendre les enjeux divers, de se confronter aux différentes difficultés rencontrées dans l'exécution, et de mieux comprendre comment y faire face. Démontrer l'apport du patrimoine au développement, à travers des projets concrets, est l'un des premiers pas pour disposer de moyens de sensibilisation des décideurs et des populations locales pour la conservation du patrimoine. Aussi, en adoptant une démarche résolument pragmatique autour de projets *in situ* associant les différentes échelles de décisions, il est possible de formuler les modes de collaboration de ce réseau d'acteurs, faisant souvent défaut comme l'ont évoqué les collectivités locales enquêtées dans le cadre du projet Patrimoine culturel & développement local, porté par l'AIMF (Ardesi et Rakotomamonjy, 2012).

4 http://www.africap2016.org/

Les axes d'intervention

Axe 1 : trois projets démonstratifs de l'apport du patrimoine au développement

AfriCAP 2016 a été structuré autour de trois projets patrimoniaux dans des villes de trois pays d'Afrique francophone : Nikki au Bénin, Grand-Bassam en Côte d'Ivoire et Télimélé en Guinée.

Ces trois projets couvrant trois grandes catégories du patrimoine (patrimoine immatériel, paysage urbain historique, objets patrimoniaux) ont été pré-identifiés pour montrer, dans une approche pédagogique, la variété des possibilités de valorisation.

Grand Bassam : gestion des constructions et des réhabilitations dans une ville inscrite sur la Liste du patrimoine mondial

Première capitale de la Côte d'Ivoire et autrefois véritable poumon économique des comptoirs français du golfe de Guinée, la ville historique de Grand-Bassam est inscrite sur la Liste du patrimoine mondial depuis 2012. Exemple remarquable de ville coloniale de la fin du XIX^{e} siècle et du début du XX^{e} siècle, elle est aujourd'hui menacée par la dégradation de nombreux bâtiments abandonnés ou peu entretenus et par certaines adaptations modernes qui altèrent son authenticité. La ville de Grand-Bassam souhaite désormais renforcer les outils de protection pour une meilleure conservation et les diffuser afin que les institutions et les habitants puissent réaliser des réhabilitations et des constructions conformes aux normes patrimoniales d'une ville inscrite sur la Liste du patrimoine mondial.

Nikki : mise en valeur du patrimoine et système de génération de revenus pour la conservation

La commune de Nikki, avec sa cité royale, est un haut lieu d'expression du pluralisme culturel béninois qui chaque année, depuis plus de sept siècles, atteint son apogée lors de la grande fête de la Gaani. Plus de 150 000 personnes, dont la moitié provient des communes voisines et des pays frontaliers participent à cet évènement. Fort de cet engouement réel pour la culture locale, la commune de Nikki souhaite développer des activités complémentaires à cette grande fête pour améliorer les retombées économiques, renforcer la sauvegarde de la culture Baatonu et favoriser l'épanouissement et la cohésion des populations.

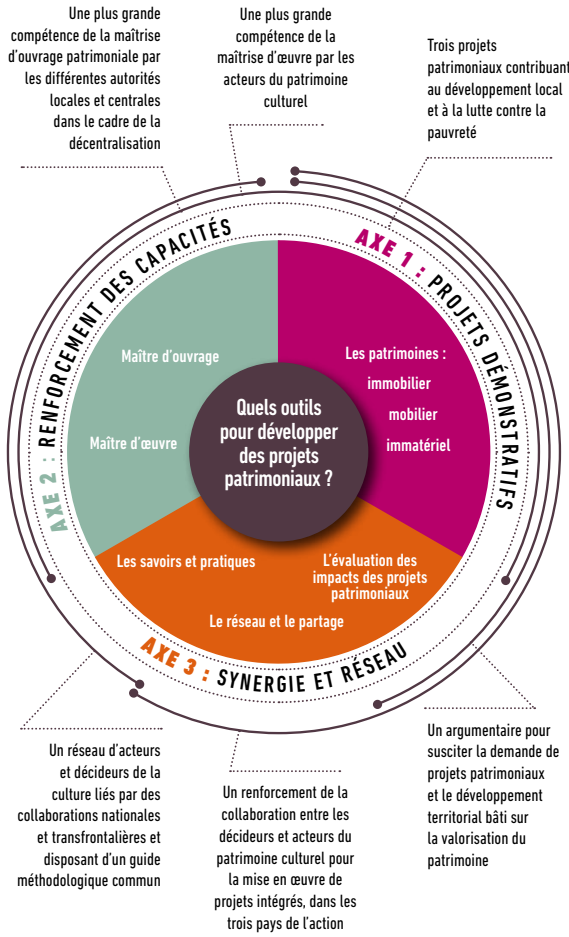

Fig. 1 Schéma de principe du programme AfriCAP 2016 présentant ses axes d'interventions.
(Source : AfriCap)

Télimélé : mise en place d'une banque culturelle

Télimélé est une commune à forte potentialité touristique et culturelle qui regorge de grottes préhistoriques, sites historiques et de paysages naturels. Cet héritage baigne dans un environnement multiculturel marqué par la production matérielle et immatérielle des communautés cosmopolites qui composent cette préfecture. Conscient de la richesse et du rôle du patrimoine culturel dans le développement, en association avec ses différents partenaires, la mairie de Télimélé s'est engagée pour mettre en place un programme de développement communal axé sur la valorisation du patrimoine culturel dont la mise en place de la banque culturelle en est la première activité.

Dans la mise en œuvre, et afin d'assurer des bénéfices directs pour les populations locales, les principes suivants ont été adoptés pour les trois projets *in situ* :

- engager les communautés locales dans toutes les phases des projets, de la planification à la mise en œuvre ainsi qu'à la gestion à long terme de leurs ressources patrimoniales ;
- renforcer la sensibilité des communautés et des décideurs aux valeurs de leur patrimoine ;
- privilégier la prévention et l'entretien comme stratégies efficaces et économiques de préservation ;
- donner la priorité aux savoir-faire, à la main d'œuvre, aux compétences et aux matériaux locaux ;
- favoriser les solutions simples pouvant aisément être répliquées au sein du cadre existant.

Axe 2 : Le renforcement des capacités opérationnelles des maîtres d'ouvrage et maîtres d'œuvre du patrimoine culturel

Le renforcement des capacités a été réalisé à deux niveaux : les maîtres d'ouvrage et les maîtres d'œuvre d'actions patrimoniales. Il s'agit d'une cible particulièrement large, permettant d'inclure une grande variété d'acteurs : les Directions en charge du patrimoine, les ministères concernés (par exemple : urbanisme / tourisme / artisanat), les élus, les autorités traditionnelles, les ONGs, les artisans œuvrant dans le patrimoine et les communautés. Il s'agit donc de toute personne qui juge avoir un intérêt à agir sur le patrimoine. Une cible si large a véritablement favorisé une approche pluridisciplinaire dans la mise en œuvre des formations et des projets.

Les futurs commanditaires de projets patrimoniaux ont participé aux « ateliers multi-acteurs » mobilisant des villes disposant de patrimoines susceptibles d'être valorisés suivant la même approche que celle adoptée durant les projets *in situ*. Le renforcement de leurs capacités a été primordial, parce qu'ils connaissent et portent de par leur mandat les besoins de leurs communautés, et, de ce fait, seront plus à même de s'engager dans des projets patrimoniaux porteurs de développement.

Concernant les exécutants ou futurs maîtres d'œuvre, ils ont participé à des « chantiers-école » ayant comme support les projets *in situ*. Il s'agissait ainsi de renforcer leurs capacités à exécuter des actions patrimoniales porteuses de développement. Ils ont participé également aux « ateliers multi-acteurs »; ils ont ainsi été amenés à saisir les priorités et contraintes des décideurs-maîtres d'ouvrage, et, à travers une collaboration « mise en scène », la confiance entre les différents acteurs s'est progressivement mise en place.

Axe 3 : Les synergies et mise en réseau des acteurs

Le rôle premier des collectivités locales

La mise en réseau des acteurs a été l'un des axes majeurs d'intervention dans AfriCAP 2016. Parmi les acteurs phares, AfriCAP 2016 a mis un accent particulier sur les collectivités locales. En effet « dans le processus de décentralisation en cours, les autorités municipales ont un rôle essentiel à jouer dans la mise en place de stratégies destinées à protéger le patrimoine urbain, à valoriser l'identité culturelle et, plus largement, à améliorer la qualité de vie dans les villes (UNESCO –WHC, 2009).

Dès 2003, au Sommet panafricain des collectivités locales – Africités, elles se sont emparées de la thématique patrimoniale, en recommandant lors de la session thématique « Culture », que les « Autorités locales prennent leur responsabilité par rapport à la promotion, à la défense des patrimoines culturels [...] de leur collectivité territoriale » (PDM, 2003). L'intérêt qu'elles portent à leur patrimoine est une véritable carte à saisir. Ce sont en effet elles qui plaident pour les besoins des communautés locales et les transcrivent en des projets. Ce sont également elles qui développent les outils et projets d'aménagement du territoire préservant le patrimoine ou l'inverse. Sensibiliser et renforcer les collectivités locales dans la maîtrise d'ouvrage patrimoniale est essentiel pour adopter une approche ascendante (*bottom up approach*).

Les villes hôtes des projets in situ

Les collectivités locales, villes hôtes des projets *in situ*, ont été partenaires d'AfriCAP 2016. Ce partenariat a été très important, pour que les autres acteurs traditionnellement impliqués dans le secteur du patrimoine (par exemple le Ministère de la culture), soient conscients des profonds changements qu'implique la décentralisation. En effet, des nouveaux modes de coopération doivent être trouvés et les activités d'AfriCAP 2016 ont constitué un pas vers une meilleure collaboration entre ces acteurs (Rakotomamonjy, 2009 ; Ardesi, Rakotomamonjy et Robert, 2012).

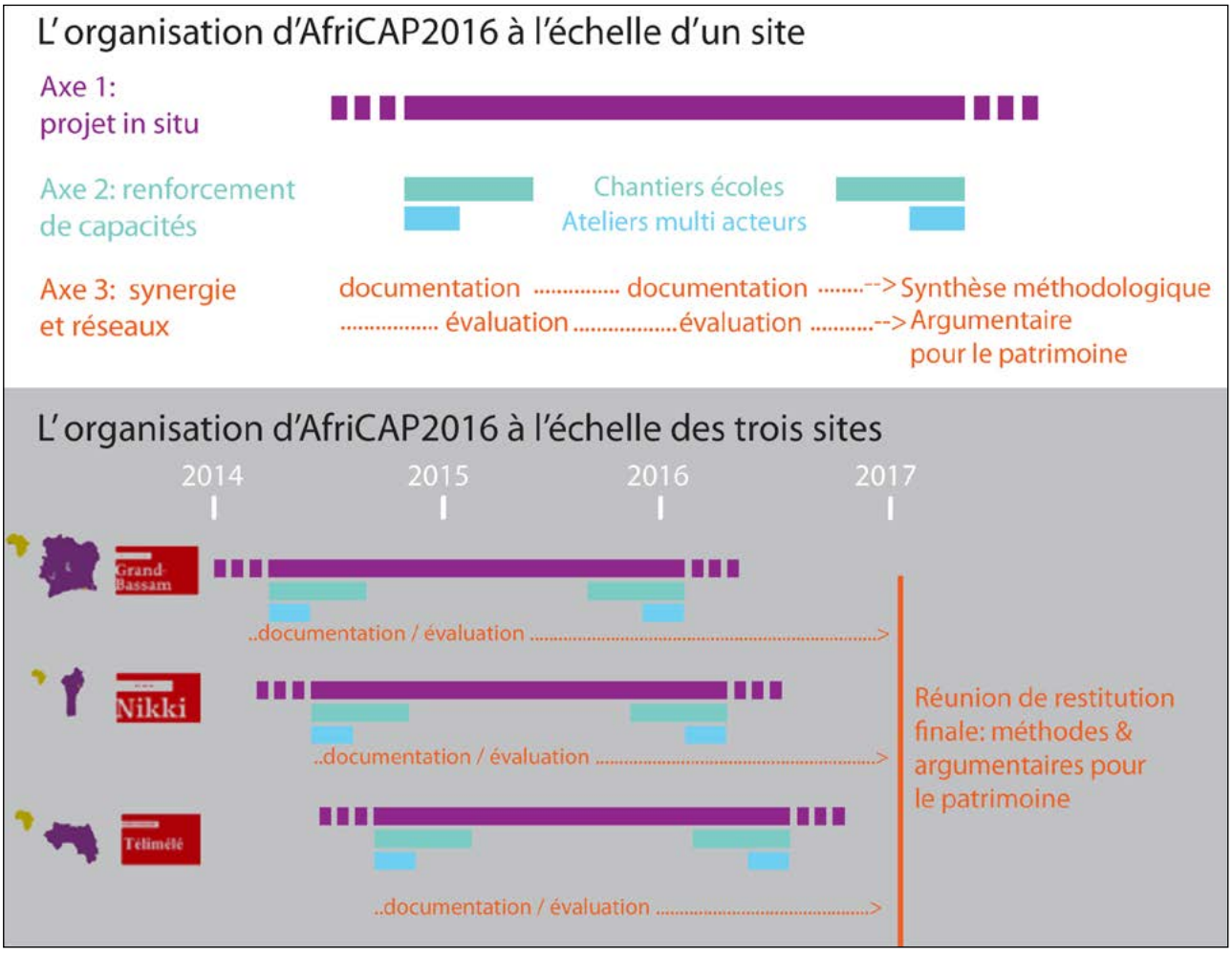

Fig. 2. Schéma présentant l'organisation chronologique des activités d'AfriCAP 2016
(Source : AfriCap)

Des villes hôtes membres de réseau

Télimélé, Nikki et Grand-Bassam, sont membres du réseau AIMF, réseau mondial des élus locaux francophones. À ce titre, ils sont de véritables messagers auprès de leurs confrères quant à l'intérêt d'engager une démarche patrimoniale pour ce qu'elle peut apporter au développement local. La ville de Grand-Bassam, membre de l'Organisation des villes du patrimoine mondial[5] pourra également diffuser dans ce réseau.

Un réseau disposant d'outils

Les étapes de mise en œuvre des projets *in situ* ont été documentées (stratégie, programmation, mise en œuvre, écueils etc..) afin qu'une synthèse méthodologique pour la mise en œuvre de projets patrimoniaux contribuant au développement soit élaborée et diffusée au réseau. Cette synthèse porte également sur les modes de collaboration de ce réseau d'acteurs. Une évaluation interne organisée en fin de projet lors de l'atelier de restitution finale, a permis d'amender cette synthèse méthodologique.

De plus, une évaluation externe des projets *in-situ* a permis d'en évaluer l'intérêt social, culturel, économique et environnemental. Cette base constitue un argumentaire pour motiver l'entreprise d'actions patrimoniales comme celles menées dans AfriCAP 2016.

L'ensemble de ces produits sont sur le site web d'AfriCAP 2016.

5 http://www.ovpm.org/fr

Promenade urbaine effectuée par les participants pour identifier les bonnes et mauvaises pratiques dans la ville historique de Grand-Bassam

Comment a fonctionné concrètement AfriCAP 2016 ? Quelques grands principes

S'inscrire dans le temps

Les premières formations se sont déroulées au début du projet *in situ* et les autres vers la fin. Ce type de programmation permet de créer une dynamique locale pour faciliter les réalisations, de mettre en place un dispositif de monitoring dans la durée et pour le cas de Nikki, d'entrainer, comme l'annonce la Mairie « un changement positif de comportement de certaines couches de la population de Nikki vis-à-vis des sites, des rituels et de tout le potentiel culturel et touristique que regorge la ville de Nikki. Aussi, les différents acteurs se sont donnés rendez-vous à la prochaine Gaani édition 2015 Bis pour l'instauration d'un FONDS de GAANI devant servir aux actions de pérennisation des acquis du projet AfriCAP 2016 à travers des projets ou microprojets culturels pour la conservation et la promotion de la culture de l'aire culturelle Baatonu et Boo. Toutes les communautés Baatonu et Boo ont unanimement salué les actions du projet » (Sanni, 2015).

Construire avec les moyens disponibles

AfriCAP 2016 s'est basé sur le constat que les ressources allouées au patrimoine et à sa conservation sont souvent minimes à la fois au niveau des collectivités locales et au niveau central, selon l'enquête menée dans le cadre du Patrimoine culturel & développement local (Ardesi et Rakotomamonjy, 2012) et le Rapport périodique Afrique (UNESCO-WHC, 2011). Certes, il arrive que d'importants moyens soient alloués à un site, mais c'est rarement le cas. Considérant que les moyens financiers sont souvent un frein à l'action, AfriCAP 2016 a pris le pari de démontrer qu'il est possible de faire beaucoup sur la base de collaborations entre professionnels et de moyens financiers limités. Ainsi les actions de conservation

du patrimoine menées avaient un coût variant entre 5 000 et 20 000 €, montants généralement accessibles sur financement propre ou à travers la coopération décentralisée.

Des collaborations renforcées

Invités dans le cadre des formations régionales, les Directions du patrimoine culturel des pays cibles et les associations nationales des villes, se sont mobilisées assez facilement. Dans le cadre des activités à Nikki, nous avons pu réunir, pendant plusieurs jours, le Directeur du patrimoine culturel et le Directeur du tourisme autour de travaux de groupes concrets sur la mise en valeur touristique du patrimoine de Nikki, cœur du royaume Baatonou à cheval entre le Bénin et le Nigéria. Il est particulièrement important de le noter, car cela a permis un dialogue ainsi que la mise en place d'un cadre national favorable au développement de l'apport du patrimoine culturel au développement local (Gandreau et Rakotomamonjy, 2016).

Qu'est ce qui a pu se faire à Grand-Bassam dans le cadre d'AfriCAP 2016 ? Retour d'expérience

La Maison du patrimoine culturel de Grand-Bassam (MPC) a été créée par l'arrêté ministériel n°4 du 17 février 2003. Parmi ses missions, on compte « Servir de cadre technique et administratif pour la gestion selon les principes requis du quartier France en tant qu'Ensemble Historique inscrit sur la Liste du patrimoine mondial de l'UNESCO depuis le 29 juin 2012».

Suite à l'inscription sur la Liste du patrimoine mondial de la ville historique de Grand-Bassam, le Comité du patrimoine mondial a émis plusieurs recommandations dès 2012. Pourvoir à certaines de ces exigences portant sur le paysage urbain historique est une véritable entreprise, dans un contexte local (le cas de la MPC), national et sous régional, qui ne dispose pratiquement pas d'architectes spécialisés dans le patrimoine.

Le thème du projet pilote

Le projet pilote de Grand-Bassam a été conçu sur la base des besoins exprimés par l'État et la collectivité locale dans la gestion du site du patrimoine mondial et en cohérence avec les décisions du Comité du patrimoine mondial concernant le site. Le projet soutenu par AfriCap répondait en particulier aux recommandations concernant la nécessité d'actualiser la cartographie, la mise en place d'outils et indicateurs de suivi et la mise en œuvre d'une politique d'aide à la conservation des biens privés (UNESCO-WHC, 2012; UNESCO-WHC, 2013). Il s'agissait également d'activités du plan de gestion 2012-2017 pour le site, qui, au regard des moyens alloués à la structure, peinaient à être mises en œuvre.

Des outils simples et accessibles à tous

Le cadre législatif à Grand-Bassam précise clairement les interdictions s'appliquant à la zone inscrite. Seulement, ces textes sont peu diffusés et difficilement compréhensibles par le grand public. Pour dépasser ces manques, des travaux de groupes ont été lancés avec des représentants de la royauté, des collectivités locales, des experts, de la société civile et du grand public pour analyser son accessibilité puis proposer des améliorations en utilisant des médias communs. Parmi les résultats du projet à Grand-Bassam, on compte un support de sensibilisation (posters, powerpoint, discours, etc), un programme de sensibilisation à l'intention des écoles et un guide d'orientation pour construire et réhabiliter dans la ville historique. Ces outils, construits avec les participants, ont permis d'impulser à court terme une dynamique de préservation du centre historique (Rakotomamonjy, 2016).

Concernant la cartographie et le suivi de l'état de conservation de la ville, AfriCAP 2016 a entrepris diverses actions pour faciliter son appropriation avec des moyens limités. Ainsi :

- Les données cartographiques de 2008 ont été mises à jour et reprises sur un logiciel téléchargeable gratuitement, afin que les agents de la MPC puissent s'en approprier et effectuer des changements mineurs.
- La carte a également été imprimée en grand format et affichée pour pouvoir y signaler avec des punaises colorées des menaces ou l'état de conservation des bâtiments ou tout autre indicateur utile. Les prises de vues régulières de cette carte permettent un suivi de l'évolution du bien.
- Aussi, les participants ont été initiés à Google Earth comme outil de suivi et de documentation des biens.

Travaux de groupe entre les participants provenant de Saint Louis, Abomey et Grand-Bassam pour améliorer les guides de bonnes pratiques concernant la conservation du paysage historique urbain de Grand-Bassam

Les formations basées sur des travaux de groupe

Les participants aux formations ont été sélectionnés sur dossier en fonction de la présence sur leur territoire de patrimoines susceptibles d'être valorisés suivant la même approche que celle adoptée durant les projets *in situ*. Les évaluations des formations sont très positives, elles confirment les dire de E. Robert, intervenante aux premières formations tenues à Grand-Bassam en 2014, qui affirme que « le fait de construire un atelier de formation régional, associant des professionnels de plusieurs pays, autour d'une étude de cas et d'une problématique locale est un dispositif intéressant qui gagnerait à être systématisé sur d'autres sites culturels africains, en particulier les sites du patrimoine mondial. Avec un investissement relativement modeste et dans un temps très court, un atelier de ce type permet d'apporter aux autorités et gestionnaires du site bénéficiaire des réponses techniques relativement abouties à des problématiques concrètes de gestion, en partageant l'expérience de professionnels confrontés à des situations similaires dans leurs propres sites. L'atelier permet également aux représentants locaux – mairie, comité de gestion, maison du patrimoine – de se sentir partie prenante d'un réseau régional et international et d'une « communauté africaine du patrimoine », ce qui contribue à stimuler les dynamiques locales. (Robert, 2014)

AfriCAP 2016, l'effet papillon

L'expérience à Grand-Bassam a été mise à profit à travers le programme AfriCAP 2016 en la proposant comme cas d'étude et d'application. C'est ainsi qu'une trentaine d'autorités centrales, locales et agents du patrimoine provenant de quatre pays (Mali, Côte d'Ivoire, Bénin, Sénégal) ont participé aux actions de formation à Grand-Bassam. Parmi les villes représentées, nous comptions six villes historiques inscrites sur la Liste du patrimoine mondial (Tombouctou, Djenné, Saint-Louis, Bandiagara, Abomey et Grand-Bassam) et deux capitales (Porto-Novo et Dakar). Ces professionnels ont à la fois appris et contribué à la mise en place d'outils, en apportant leurs expertises respectives. L'ensemble des participants à ces activités ont été stupéfaits par la productivité du groupe de participants / enseignants pluridisciplinaires œuvrant, le court temps d'une formation, à construire un meilleur environnement pour la gestion de cette ville historique. Selon E. Robert « Un atelier sur ce modèle permet de capitaliser sur les acquis antérieurs, de valoriser et disséminer l'expertise régionale et de contribuer, plus largement, à la construction d'une « expérience africaine » du patrimoine, à partir de regards croisés » (Robert, 2014).

Conclusions

La structure d'AfriCAP 2016 (projet *in situ* et formations sur projet *in situ*) a été particulièrement lourde à gérer et à coordonner, mais elle a eu un certain nombre d'avantages :

Les projets *in situ* ont permis *primo* de garantir l'enracinement des formations dans les réalités du terrain et de mieux sensibiliser/former les participants ; *secundo* de contribuer de manière concrète tout en répondant aux besoins spécifiques des biens patrimoniaux et des communautés environnantes concernées et *tertio* d'engager des synergies entre les différents acteurs. Selon E. Robert « Cette méthodologie offre donc une alternative ou un complément efficace aux dispositifs traditionnels d'assistance technique *via* des missions d'experts » (Robert, 2014).

Les résultats atteints lors des formations à travers les travaux de groupe, avec l'apport d'un nombre important de participants et personnes ressources, sont particulièrement remarquables en terme de qualité, pertinence et efficacité (résultats probants en peu de temps).

La qualité des produits et l'efficacité de la méthode ont motivé les partenaires locaux et les parties prenantes, qui se sentent souvent seuls dans la mise en œuvre de projets complexes.

Lorsqu'on élargit les cibles des actions de renforcement de capacités on tisse un réseau d'acteurs à divers niveaux qui facilite la réalisation d'actions patrimoniales.

La tenue d'activités internationales (telles que les formations) attire le regard national sur le patrimoine objet de l'intervention. Par cette internationalisation, la visibilité de l'Action, des activités et des résultats est facilitée.

Les études de cas d'AfriCAP 2016 semblent confirmer que lorsque les différents acteurs locaux se renforcent et qu'une synergie entre eux se met en place, un véritable impact sur le patrimoine peut s'opérer. Pour que ceci soit une réalité, il a fallu construire au fil du temps une pédagogie située et holistique et une stratégie large de renforcement de capacités. Ces expériences confirment la pertinence d'agir sur le patrimoine tout en formant afin d'optimiser les efforts de renforcement de capacités consenties (Gandreau et Rakotomamonjy, 2016).

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Sukur's paved walkways
© Dipo Alafiatayo

Sukur: from conflict to reconstruction

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[2] Hidi (Chief) of Sukur

Introduction

Sukur Cultural Landscape World Heritage site is located in the Madagali local government area of the Adamawa state of Nigeria, along the Nigeria-Cameroon border, some 290 km from Yola, the Adamawa state capital of north-eastern Nigeria. It is a mountain settlement located at an elevation of 1,045 m. The total land area covered by the site is 1,942.50 ha, with a core area of 764.40 ha and a buffer zone of 1,178.10 ha, respectively.

Hidi's palace and museum building

The outstanding universal value (OUV) of the site is based on: (i) its exceptional landscape that illustrates, through its agricultural practices, land uses that mark a critical stage in human settlement and interactions with the natural environment; (ii) its survival over many centuries, despite ongoing change and threats to traditional settlement patterns; (iii) its eloquent testimony to continuing spiritual and cultural traditions. The terrace farming system on the hilly terrain is not unique, but its attachment and association with spiritual powers makes it unique, in particular by its use of paved tracks and the spiritual content of the terraces, along with their ritual features such as sacred trees. Sukur's elevated location makes it an ideal refuge from marauders and hostile attacks.

Cultural continuity and intangible heritage

One of the attributes that convey the site's OUV is its intangible heritage, as evident in belief systems, rituals, ceremonies and festivals. These are often associated with ritual rites performed by different traditional titleholders.

Some of the major festivals and ceremonies that involve the entire community are:

(i) *Yawal:* a thanksgiving festival held by the chief (Hidi) and his council to celebrate a bountiful harvest. Sukur operates a 13-month lunar calendar. The Huldu ceremony concludes Yawal;

(ii) *Mbur:* an initiation ceremony for young boys, from youth to adulthood;

(iii) *Zouku:* a purification ceremony; and

(iv) *Dzavdaf:* a ceremony to avoid calamity, which involves sacrifices and prayers for the fertility of the land.

An early morning attack

The terrorist group Boko Haram has wreaked havoc across many parts of north-eastern Nigeria, and neighbouring Cameroon and Niger, since 2009. By September 2014, the effects of the armed onslaught began to be felt in the Madagali area and Sukur became a refuge for displaced people from the settlements in the surrounding plains of Madagali, Mildu, Gubla, Sabon Gari and Kafin Hausa. With the increase in tension in the area, the Sukur community formed surveillance groups and developed its emergency alarm system, using the

traditional town criers and whistle-blowing, to alert the community of impending danger.

Square shaped guest hut at the Hidi's palace ongoing reconstruction.
© Oise Ayeni

Boko Haram attacked Sukur on 12 December, 2014. Eyewitnesses report that the local surveillance teams established around the entrance gates of Sukur sighted a group of insurgents climbing the hill to Sukur around 03.00. The surveillance team alerted the community by blowing horns and whistles, while the town criers shouted. Community members and refugees fled to safety across the border, towards Cameroon. When the attackers arrived in the village, the only people left in the village were those who were old and could not flee to safety. The insurgents burnt down parts of the *Hidi*'s palace, museum structures and collections, primary school, the health centre, churches, farm produce, farmlands and houses.

The attack lasted for about five hours, between 03.00 and 08.00. At the end of this attack, one person was confirmed dead and one injured. By 12.00, most of the people who fled had returned to their homes and started counting their losses.

Many cultural objects, e.g. festival costumes and drums, associated with the community's rites and festivals, were either destroyed or lost during the attack. Consequently, many cultural practices were halted, especially those related to agriculture and farming, even after people returned to their homes, and the people no longer observe and celebrate their festivals regularly for fear of attacks.

Reconstruction and rehabilitation

By May 2016, normal economic, social, religious and cultural activities had still not fully resumed in Sukur. The main focus of the people after the attack had been to restore their homesteads, as well as providing food, clothing and medication for their families. Some community members restored their houses. Community buildings such as the palace, palace square, primary school, primary health care centre and churches have yet to be restored. Farming and cattle fattening activities have not fully resumed due to the lack of capital. Reconstruction and rehabilitation efforts by the community members are gradually reanimating the settlement. Many refugees and newly married couples are building their own permanent homes in the village. The restoration of the community buildings are currently not a community priority, as community members respond to more urgent needs, and external assistance will be required to rebuild them.

With the increase in population and the requirements for reconstruction and rehabilitation on a hilly terrain, the water wells dug in 2012 by the National Commission for Museums and Monuments are no longer adequate. Health care services are lacking and the medical workers are now reluctant to go to the hilltop for medical services, thus forcing the community to seek medical attention in Cameroon or other places.

In the surrounding lowland plains, some economic activities have resumed around the settlements close to the foot of the mountain, as people can easily seek refuge in the mountains in the event of sudden attacks. The Nigerian army, on the other hand, mounted checkpoints along the nearby Gulak-Madagali road, leading into Sambisa forest, to block movements of the insurgents and their collaborators supplying them with food and fuel.

What remains to be done and what is needed at the site

Since December 2014, the community has been recuperating from the devastation wreaked by the insurgents' attack – especially the loss of economic capital in the form of flocks, farm produce and income. To start a new life, it will require a substantial period of farming in order to fund further economic activities. In this respect, the people will require loans and other financial assistance to achieve economic empowerment. There is also a need for more entrepreneurial training, in order to establish business ventures for self-sustaining economic activities.

All the community structures, i.e. monumental structures in the *Hidi*'s palace, guest houses and sacred places at the palace square, schools and clinics that were destroyed are still in a deplorable condition due to the capital input required for their restoration. Social and cultural gatherings have been halted for fear of unexpected attack, even when the insurgents are on the verge of being defeated by the joint regional forces from Nigeria, Cameroon, Chad and Niger. It is important to encourage the community to observe and celebrate all cultural festivals on their calendar, under tight security and monitoring, in order to ensure continuity, so that the authenticity and integrity of the landscape will prevail.

Recommendations for enhanced protection of the landscape

In order to enhance the protection of the buffer zone from deforestation by farmers, herdsmen and the community through felling trees for fuel and land clearing for farming, it is necessary to adhere to the land use regulations contained in the management plan. A reforestation programme should also be carried out around the buffer zone, and warning signs should be erected to deter trespassers.

1. Enhance the protection of the stone paved walkways, terraced farmlands, stone gates, stone corrals and sacred sites in the core area from erosion, farming, grazing and misuse of the attributes by the host community. These attributes are among the features that convey the OUV of the site and therefore should be protected. To achieve this objective, water channels should be diverted away from the pavements and the sacred sites, as water contains salt and can bring deterioration to the stones where the water is stagnant. In addition, starvation zones should be created around sacred areas like ritual and burial sites across the landscape for protection against fire outbreaks. Sensitization workshops should also be organized for the community on the identification of cultural attributes and wise use of heritage.

2. Enhance the protection of community buildings and monumental structures against wildfires, windstorm and deterioration, in order to maintain their authenticity and integrity. Such buildings include the *Hidi*'s palace, the palace square, iron smelting furnaces and other community landmarks. To achieve this objective, firefighting equipment should be provided to counter the regular outbreak of wildfires, and training workshops on firefighting should be organized for Sukur youths. There should be regular maintenance of the structures to prevent deterioration.

3. Enhance the protection of the core area with adequate security for the people, and also for the cultural materials, from insurgents and thieves, as the site is a living heritage site with different kinds of people entering the landscape for tourism and research. To achieve this objective, the youths should be trained along with members of the vigilante on how to use modern firearms. Information dissemination should be further strengthened to track down suspects.

4. Sustain traditional festivals, ceremonies and belief systems and secure protection against incursions from religious doctrines and changes arising from cross-cultural contacts. To achieve this, all festival grounds should be protected, costumes should be procured and preserved for the youths to ensure participation and continuity; thereafter, a round table conference should be organized on the relationship between culture and religion.

Conclusion

The return of vibrant human activity in Sukur is very encouraging, with the community's ongoing reconstruction effort. The community should be commended for their resilience and courage to come back to their settlements to continue with their economic, social and cultural activities. To enhance the efforts of the community, we call upon the National Commission for Museums and Monuments and UNESCO to provide assistance for the restoration of community buildings; provide health care facilities; to increase the supply of drinking water; and enhance the protection of other attributes conveying the values of the site, as these are capital-intensive and beyond the financial reach of the community. By so doing, the attributes used for inscription in 1999 should maintain their state of authenticity and integrity.

Matobo Hills, Zimbabwe
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Safeguarding African heritage – media: the missing link?

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Introduction and background

UNESCO's 1972 World Heritage Convention is clear on what constitutes heritage, which it classifies into two main categories, cultural and natural. Cultural heritage refers to a monument, group of buildings or site of historical, archaeological, scientific, ethnological or anthropological value. Natural heritage includes outstanding physical, biological and geographical features, different kinds of plants or animals species and areas with significant scientific or aesthetic value that could be best for conservation. Africa's 89 sites inscribed onto the World Heritage List not only affirm the richness of the African continent, but also highlight the vast potential that Africa has to drive its own developmental agenda, including tourism and infrastructure development.

However, a combination of factors, including corruption, weak management, poaching, climate change, armed conflict, urbanization, population growth and lack of information are threatening the existence of this rich African heritage and limiting its contribution to socio-economic development. To address the situation, Africa has acknowledged the need to safeguard heritage for present and future generations. For example, the continent aims to put in place a Framework for the Adoption of African Heritage Sites by 2025, while at the same time increasing the number of African World Heritage sites to 10 times the 2013 level (AUC, 2015).

The logic behind protecting and conserving heritage is that this can contribute significantly to sustainable development (UNESCO, 1972), which aims to balance the competing environmental, social and economic dimensions of development. In this regard, the task of safeguarding African heritage for sustainable development is generally not an easy one – it requires the support and inclusion of all stakeholders. One way of promoting support and inclusion among stakeholders is through establishing and maintaining a strong and vibrant information and communication campaign that rallies all parties towards a single goal. Hence, the role of the media in promoting the protection of African heritage for sustainable development cannot be underestimated, since the media is regarded as a powerful tool of mass mobilization.

This paper postulates that the media is the 'missing link' in the whole discourse around advancing the role of heritage by promoting sustainable development in Africa. It highlights the importance of engaging the media in the agenda to preserve African heritage for sustainable development. It explores how other countries in Asia and Europe have successfully engaged the media in encouraging stakeholders to protect their heritage. In fact, the desire to protect and preserve African heritage may remain elusive if the media continues to turn a blind eye on heritage issues by failing to provide a platform through which people can articulate and share ideas.

The role of the media in safeguarding African heritage

There is generally no one single definition of 'media', largely due to the breadth of the term, which is also usually used interchangeably with mass media, communication, press or journalism. Some scholars have described media as a device for moving messages across distance or time to accomplish mass communication (Defleur and Dennis, 1981) or as any form of communication that simultaneously reaches a large number of people,

and includes television, newspaper, magazines, the internet, billboards, film recording and books (Wimmer and Dominick, 2006).

However, among the most cited definitions of media, two stand out – media as the source of the information people need in order to make informed choices and decisions; and media as the channel through which mass communication is achieved (Fortunato, 2005). Further, it is generally agreed that the media performs three main roles, namely: media as **gatekeeper**, media as **agenda-setter**, and media as **watchdog** (Pintak, 2008).

Media as gatekeeper

The theory of media as gatekeeper argues that the media decides which stories and issues are important enough to receive public attention and which ones are not. This implies that the media is generally biased in news selection, hence there are many critical stories and issues that will never be in the public domain since the media will choose which information to publish. In this regard, if the African media is not properly engaged on issues of how to safeguard the continent's heritage, then such issues are highly unlikely to be publicized and known by the public.

It is, therefore, critical for stakeholders to proactively engage the African media to cover heritage issues so that such information can help shape public opinion and allow citizens to actively participate in the implementation of various strategies to safeguard heritage. Most importantly, knowledge gained from the media could prove vital in creating a sense of respect for and ownership of heritage, thereby motivating communities to preserve their heritage for present and future generations.

An ORTM photojournalist recording workmen applying earth plaster at the Tomb of Askia in Gao, Mali, 2014

Media as agenda-setter

Closely linked to the gatekeeper role, the media as agenda-setter concept contends that the media is largely responsible for deciding what issues society should discuss in the public sphere. In most cases, this theory is successfully executed by a 'collective process in which media, government and citizenry reciprocally influence one another' (Lang and Lang, 1983). Therefore, by involving media in the African heritage agenda, by which more news articles on heritage will be appear more frequently in the media, the continent will be better positioned to influence the formulation and implementation of policies that safeguard African heritage. As a result, audiences are most likely to regard heritage issues as more important, thus promoting safeguarding efforts. In the same light, citizens will also have an opportunity to influence decision-making, since their voices will be heard through the media.

Media as watchdog

In its role as watchdog, the media monitors the government and other relevant stakeholders who have greater influence in society. This role is important as it provides the 'checks and balances' and, in this case, it ensures that the agenda to safeguard African heritage is not just a talk show but a tangible and beneficial developmental process.

For example, if there are weak management structures to protect heritage sites, the media could expose such weaknesses in the hope that those in authority will seek ways of addressing the challenges. Furthermore, this role allows the media to track the implementation of various policies, commitments and decisions that governments would have made to safeguard African heritage.

The challenge is how to engage the African media and ensure that it plays its role in shaping public opinion on how to successfully turn African heritage into a driver of sustainable development. This engagement is important because access to the media increases choice, and provides an opportunity for cultural expression and dialogue, as well as facilitating the smooth flow of information among stakeholders on the benefits of promoting heritage.

Fitting the media puzzle to the heritage agenda

The African media has unintentionally played a secondary role in championing the African heritage agenda by letting other stakeholders such as political leaders, environmentalists, economists and researchers take a leading role in telling the African heritage story. This is not the case with other issues such as politics, sport or economics, where the media has adopted innovative ways of generating independent information, as well as according these issues prominence over heritage matters.

A snap analysis of the coverage of heritage issues by the African media shows that the reportage is event-based rather than issue-based, such that it is more often about what political leaders or researchers say at meetings, instead of providing in-depth investigative pieces and critical analyses of the benefits, opportunities and challenges of safeguarding African heritage. This secondary approach may, however, be justified to some degree as most journalists who report on heritage issues are not specialists in the area of African heritage.

As a result, the media has little option but to focus more on what political leaders or researchers say and not necessarily provide an objective analysis of key heritage issues. Furthermore, this type of coverage has contributed to the publication of fewer articles on African heritage as journalism in Africa continues to be highly focused on political and economic reporting, yet discussing African heritage is just as much a political, economic and social issue. The media is 'missing' from the African heritage agenda, largely due to the fact that most media practitioners have limited knowledge of heritage issues, hence they cannot report on a topic that they themselves cannot understand or appreciate.

Fitting the puzzle through building media capacity

To address this challenge, there is a need for capacity-building in the African media in order to enable it to participate actively in heritage issues. This requires putting in place initiatives to ensure that it plays an active and authoritative role in promoting the protection of African heritage for sustainable development.

One measure would be to provide training seminars for the media, to enhance knowledge on key heritage issues, including protecting heritage for sustainable development. It is also critical for the media to know the breadth and depth of national, regional, continental and international treaties and policies on world heritage. Once there are enough purveyors of information with a solid base of knowledge on heritage issues, Africa will be in a better position to drive forward its agenda of protecting its vast heritage.

Media training seminars could be complemented by the development of media guides and handbooks on reporting African heritage. The media guides and handbooks could contain key information about heritage issues including international treaties, relevant contacts and some of the heritage sites on the continent. The Southern African Research and Documentation Centre (SARDC) has developed similar guides for journalists on reporting gender, elections and the environment, which have proved useful and popular.

Another important intervention would be for organizations that deal with heritage issues to maintain close engagement with the media. For example, organizations should from time to time continue to provide information on African heritage to the media (to set the agenda), and also ensure that journalists constantly monitor on behalf of the citizens whatever those in authority are doing to protect heritage for present and future generations.

Engagement with the media could be through organizing press conferences, or the release of press statements, as well as inviting the media to cover important meetings such as the International Conference on Safeguarding African World Heritage as a Driver of Sustainable Development, that was held on 31 May – 3 June 2016 in Arusha, Tanzania. Such constant engagement with the media is likely to cultivate an interest among journalists to pursue stories on heritage, thereby increasing coverage of the subject.

Furthermore, there is a need to arrange media trips to some of the World Heritage sites located in Africa to allow journalists to appreciate the continent's rich heritage. An appreciation of African heritage is likely to encourage journalists to conduct investigative articles on whether African countries are doing enough to safeguard their heritage for present and future generations, as well

as whether the continent is taking advantage of its heritage to promote sustainable development.

Another initiative could be the establishment of a media fund that could assist African journalists to tackle heritage issues. This is in light of the fact that stories on heritage are expensive to produce, including travel to the particular sites to assess the state of the heritage. Complementary to this, media awards for reporting on African heritage could be organized to encourage more journalists to write about such issues.

Building the capacity of the African media is expected to allow Africa to 'tell its own story' and take charge of its development agenda, including safeguarding heritage for present and future generations. This is in light of the knowledge that the story of Africa continues to be packaged and edited in London, Paris and Atlanta (Molefe, 2003). Therefore, enabling the African media to report on African heritage will ensure that the media objectively reports on the issue, as local journalist are more knowledgeable about their surroundings and culture.

Such a development could avoid the misrepresentations of important facts on African heritage. For example, a report from 1857 on the First War of Independence in India, saw the *London Times* omit a serious fact that one half of the Red Fort, a heritage monument which was the residence of the Mughal emperors, had been destroyed and only focused on the revolt of the local people towards the English (Kumar, 2014).

Solving the puzzle through exploiting the medium of communication

In addition to capacity-building in the media, there is a need for Africa to take advantage of the media of communication such as radio, television, the internet, billboards and film recording to reach out to a wider audience. Of particular interest is the internet, especially social media, including Facebook, Twitter and YouTube, which has fast become a popular platform to create, upload and publish information.

According to the International Telecommunications Union (ITU, 2015), global internet penetration has grown sevenfold, from 6.5% to 43% in the last decade. In Africa, one in five people has access to the internet, compared to only one in ten in 2010. At the same time, the use of social media is growing at an incredible speed. In June 2015, Facebook counted more than 120 million active users across Africa, of which over 80% were accessing the platform using mobile devices (BBC Africa, 2015).

This impressive growth in the use of the internet in Africa shows that social media such as Twitter and Facebook cannot be neglected, as they are an important source for information and news, particularly for young people. In this regard, there is a need for Africa to take advantage of such channels of communication to help mobilize people and other stakeholders to take an active role in safeguarding African heritage.

Media professionals including bloggers or serial 'twitteratti', as well as other organizations involved in African heritage, should be tasked to share and popularize heritage issues with thousands of their followers, thereby encouraging more people to debate on the topic. For example, dedicated media experts could be employed to update their followers about the key issues being discussed by the International Conference on Safeguarding African World Heritage as a Driver of Sustainable Development. This exercise will raise the profile of heritage issues, thus taking them into the public sphere.

With regard to film recording, it is critical for Africa to preparing multimedia educational material focusing on specific heritage sites to both raise awareness on how communities could benefit from safeguarding their heritage, and to document the implications of failing to protect heritage. The documentation is aimed at preserving knowledge for future generations.

The National Geographic Society has recorded some successes in implementing this initiative. Working with some of the best scientists, photographers, journalists and film-makers, the National Geographic has managed to capture, captivate and entertain the global community through television channels, magazines, children's media, travel expeditions, books, maps, consumer products, location-based entertainment and experiences, and some of the most engaging digital and social media platforms in the world on world heritage.[1] It is imperative for Africa to also

1 https://www.nationalgeographic.org/

come up with similar interventions to encourage stakeholders to preserve their heritage.

Case studies

Drawing lessons from the Chinese experience

China is richly endowed with heritage, including the Great Wall, Forbidden City, Temple of Heaven and the Ming Dynasty Tombs. However, massive industrialization over the past few decades, coupled with uncontrolled urban development and environmental pollution, has seen China lose some of its heritage, with many other sites now in danger.

To address the situation, China has taken a number of measures to protect its heritage. One such initiative is enabling the media to take an active role in raising awareness about heritage. For example, a number of organizations working on protecting Chinese heritage such as the Beijing Cultural Heritage Protection Centre (CHP) are heavily involved in organizing training seminars for the Chinese media on heritage issues. This development has achieved impressive results, as heritage issues have become much more prominent in the media, generating both national and international debate.

In addition to this, most Chinese media organizations have set up dedicated sections in their newspapers or websites on heritage and culture. The China Central Television (CCTV) has a section[2] dedicated to Chinese heritage, which is a combination of videos and news articles.

The Chinese government has also identified the media as a key strategic partner in integrating heritage into economic activities such as tourism. As such, the media has been accorded greater responsibility to popularize and provide wider coverage of Chinese heritage. Therefore, almost all the scenic and historic sites with the potential to become a World Heritage site have been included into the development projects of local governments, and a significant amount of funding and intelligence has been invested in media campaigns aiming at publicizing those sites (Wang, 2005).

Huge investment by the Chinese government in media campaigns to publicize heritage sites may help to explain why there is also high media coverage of Chinese heritage and culture events. The Chinese experience provides useful lessons for Africa to adopt at a time when safeguarding African heritage has been identified as one of the key components of the development strategy for the continent.

The following boxes highlight some of the innovative projects involving the media that other countries have implemented to raise awareness of the importance of safeguarding world heritage and encouraging stakeholders to preserve their heritage for present and future generations.

Multimedia campaign saves cultural landscape of St. Petersburg in Russia

In November 2010, a multimedia event bridging Moscow, Kiev and Saint Petersburg was held on the theme 'UNESCO World Heritage sites. How not to get onto the "black list"?' The event was timed to coincide with the 65th anniversary of UNESCO. The Russian press were proactive in attempting to ban the construction of the 'Ohta-Center', which jeopardized the reputation of Saint Petersburg Governor Valentina Matvienko. At this stage, the greatest cultural treasure of Russia was saved. However, the attack on the cultural heritage did not stop there. At the moment, the public is actively fighting to preserve the cultural landscape of St. Petersburg. Despite the authorities' attempts to quash public protest, the media actively covers the events, which ultimately contributes to a more cautious attitude of the city administration towards the opinion of the townspeople.

Source: IDOSI Publications, 2013

2 http://english.cntv.cn/travel/heritage/intangible/index.shtml.

Soliciting media ideas to protect heritage

The mandate of the Ministry of Culture in India is to preserve, promote, explore and share India's culture and heritage along with its ethos and values for the benefit of mankind…The Ministry has decided to invite suggestions from the public regarding innovative ideas for the effective use of media in promoting Indian culture and heritage…

Source: Government of India[3]

Using media to save heritage

SAVE has been described as the most influential conservation group to have been established since William Morris founded the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings over a century ago. It was created in 1975 – European Architectural Heritage Year – by a group of journalists, historians, architects and planners to campaign publicly for endangered historic buildings.

Source: SAVE Britain's Heritage[4]

Way forward and conclusion

A media expert once said 'I do not believe that the media changes anything, but nothing can change without the media'. In the same light, there is no doubt that there are several benefits that could be achieved if the African media were engaged in promoting the protection of heritage for sustainable development. This is because the media has the capacity to educate and inform the public and policy-makers on the benefits of safeguarding heritage. Most importantly, the media is a powerful tool of mass mobilization that can help promote greater stakeholder participation in the implementation of strategies to preserve heritage for present and future generations.

However, it should be noted that the greater effort in this regard must still come from those institutions and relevant stakeholders with the authority to create the necessary avenues that would allow the media to contribute towards the African heritage agenda. Whether such institutions have the foresight to do so, is a question that can only be answered by them. However, without such a commitment, the vision to safeguard African heritage for sustainable development will remain elusive if the media continues to turn a blind eye to heritage issues.

As a way forward, it is critical for stakeholders to put in place strategies that incorporate the media to play an active role in the African heritage agenda. Such strategies should among other things include capacity-building in the media to improve reporting on African heritage, as well as taking advantage of various communication tools to raise awareness on the benefits of safeguarding African heritage for sustainable development.

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Robben Island, South Africa

Challenges and opportunities of involving stakeholders in developing World Heritage sites as 'hybrid' institutions

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Introduction: Cultural landscapes, stakeholders and *Ubuntu*

Management of cultural landscapes, given their geographical scale and different land use systems, is complex and requires an inclusive stakeholder approach (Taruvinga, 2014; Chirikure and Pwiti, 2008; Chirikure, 2013). Cultural landscapes have intricate and intertwined stakeholder relationships that require an effective framework to manage them. Stakeholders are people or groups who influence the site's values and may be dependent on the site's resources (IUCN, 2011). Stakeholders cut across the social, economic, political, educational, national and international spectrum of society. A participatory relationship with stakeholders is more beneficial than just consulting them when it is necessary (IUCN, 2011). The interests of stakeholders should be considered as they may be connected to the value of preserving heritage (IUCN, 2011). Heritage management in Africa does not specify the responsibilities nor guarantee the rights of communities at most heritage sites, due to colonial legacies (Ndoro and Gamini, 2015).

An ancient African concept, *Ubuntu*, is applied to explain how a people-centred approach, permeable walls, partisanship and progeny all interact together as stakeholders take collective decisions on conservation and sustainable development at heritage sites. *Ubuntu* is an African humanism, a philosophy, an ethic or a worldview, which first emerged in the second half of the 1900s (Gade, 2011). It can be traced back to the period from 1993 to 1995 through an Nguni proverb that states '*umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*' – 'a person is a person through other person' (Gade, 2011). *Ubuntu* was popularized during the transition from white minority rule to black majority in Africa (Samkange and Samkange, 1980; Gade, 2011). Africans joined hands and offered each other support to fight against oppressors. *Ubuntu* is often described as an 'excellent African quality' which causes experience to 'translate into action' (Davis et al., 1936; Jabavu, 1960; Thompson and Butler, 1975; Ngubane, 1979; Samkange and Samkange, 1980). *Ubuntu* was foundational to the spirit of reconciliation, nation-building, and bridge-building that enabled a 'deeply traumatized society' of South Africa to 'overcome and transcend the divisions of the past' (*Dikoko v Mokhatla,* 2006). The African Union is currently advocating for the same among African countries in order to achieve 'the Africa We Want'.

Four elements of *Ubuntu* that are applied in this discussion are a 'people-centredness' approach, 'permeable walls', 'partisanship' and 'progeny', all of which lead to production (Msila, 2015).

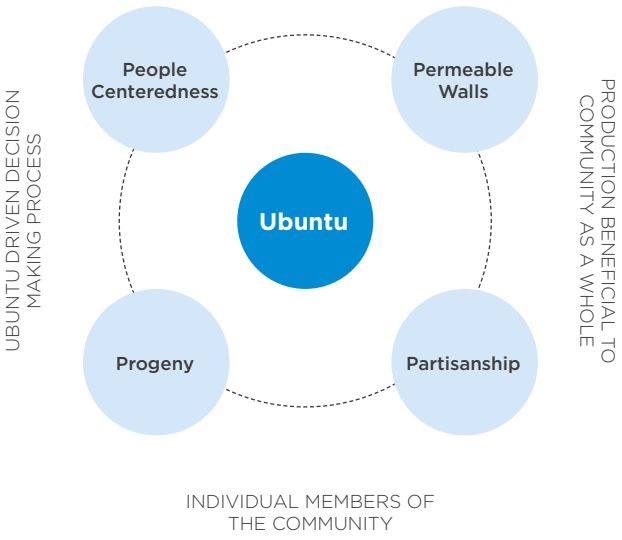

Figure 1: *Ubuntu*: a building block for stakeholder management

'People-centredness' is the role of people in making conscious decisions that affect them as a whole, while 'permeable walls' is communication that is not restricted by hierarchy, political position, educational background or position in society. 'Partisanship' is how loyalty is fostered among individual members of the community, and 'progeny' refers to how the individual members of the stakeholders promote collective decision-making which affects them as whole. *Ubuntu* thus provides an alternative stakeholder management option based on 'the attention one human being gives to another; the kindness, courtesy, consideration and friendliness in the relationship between people; a code of behaviour, an attitude to other people and to life' (Samkange and Samkange, 1980). It is a philosophy that promotes the common good of society and includes humanness as an essential element of human growth (Venter, 2004).

Case study: Robben Island World Heritage site (RIWHS)

Robben Island, located in Western Cape (South Africa), became a World Heritage site in 1999 under the category of cultural landscapes. RIWHS illustrates the 'triumph of human spirit over great adversity and injustice' caused by apartheid; a racial discriminatory governance system used to oppress black people in every aspect of life. It was a place of banishment or imprisonment for politically undesirable individuals by the apartheid government (RIM, 1998). However, the island has been used for different purposes at various times from the fifteenth to the twentieth century. Portuguese navigators arrived at the 'Cape of Good Hope'in the fifteenth century. In the seventeenth century, it served as a pantry or larder for sailors/traders. Later, San and traditional Xhosa leaders were banished to the island for resisting various waves of colonial regimes (the Dutch and the British). In the nineteenth century, lepers and mentally ill individuals were banished to the island as socially unacceptable members of the community. During the Second World War, the island was used as a military base by South Africa. Later, a common law prison was established, followed by the maximum-security prison for political prisoners, among them the late Nelson Mandela. All these landscapes are testimony to how the human spirit triumphed over great adversity through time and space. South Africa ended apartheid in April 1994 and Nelson Mandela became the first black president of the country.

Tourists boarding buses

Robben Island has multiple stakeholders, who are defined by the layered values of the site: they can be broadly categorized as significance/value based, institutional and strategic. All these stakeholders are intertwined in the conservation, social and tourism mandates of RIWHS. Conservation, in its broadest sense, is a traditional mandate of any heritage institution. For RIWHS, the social mandate largely revolves around the socio-economic and spiritual needs of ex-political prisoners (EPPs). Tourism is about providing a transformational experience for the benefit of visitors to the island. These mandates collectively create a pool of multiple stakeholders who need to be effectively managed. Significance/value-based stakeholders are defined by the layered (both cultural and natural) values of the cultural landscape, while institutional stakeholders are public sector bodies empowered through legal frameworks. Strategic stakeholders are those bringing in technical resources to support

conservation and sustainable development at the site.

a. Significance/value-based stakeholders

EPPs are the most well-known significance-based stakeholders of the RIWHS. Members of different political formations served their sentences at Robben Island. These parties include the African National Congress (ANC), Pan African Congress (PAC), Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), Unity Movement, Indian Congress, Communist Party and SWAPO (Namibia). The individual experiences of political prisoners form the 'popularized' narrative of the island. Through research, the memories of EPPs continue to be recorded, and this documentation provides a source of original stories for current and future guides at the site. EPPs have established formalized associations to push for their recognition, socio-economic needs and political agenda. The Ex Political Prisoners Association (EPPA) represents all ex-political prisoners, regardless of where they were imprisoned or their political affiliation (Tongo-Cetywayo, 2014). Foundations and trusts have been established to honour specific EPPs (e.g. the Ahmed Kathrada and Steve Biko Foundations, and the Robert Sobukwe Trust). These interact with the RIWHS in a variety of ways.

Different religious groups have maintained a presence on the island from the past until contemporary times, initially supporting lepers and prisoners, and now contemporary communities. The Kramat, Anglican and Garrison Churches, and the banishment landscapes on the island are testimonial to this. These groups visit the island for prayers and pilgrimages and, although they are not part of decision-making process at the site, they are often consulted on general processes. Thus, the people-centredness approach is being applied in a limited way, with few permeable walls, making partisanship and progeny difficult for these stakeholders, as they are consulted only when needed.

b. Institutional stakeholders

Robben Island is managed through a plethora of national and international legislative frameworks covering culture, nature and municipal aspects of the site; government departments are thus stakeholders. The Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) is responsible for all heritage institutions such as RIWHS in South Africa, and the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA) is the custodian of national heritage protocols and good practices. The Department of Environmental Affairs (DEA) is the 'watchdog' of the World Heritage Convention in South Africa and all Protected Areas, while the Department of Public Works (DPW) is responsible for maintaining all government-owned buildings, under which category the built environment of the island falls. The Department of Agriculture Forestry and Fisheries (DAFF) assists with policing and enforcing anti-poaching strategies to save marine resources and regulate fish harvesting in the buffer zone. The city of Cape Town provides advisory and regulatory municipal controls on fire safety, waste management, air quality and disaster management as part of the metropolitan Cape Town by laws. The World Heritage Committee enforces implementation with the World Heritage Convention at the site, and the National Department of Tourism (NDT) supports tourism initiatives. All these stakeholders require effective coordination by the management authority of the site.

c. Other strategic stakeholders

Cross-cutting strategic partners from the tertiary/academic sector, tourism industry, non-governmental organizations and environmental agencies all support the island. Formal agreements have been signed with some of these strategic stakeholders. For example, a Memorandum of Understanding between RIM and the University of Western Cape (UWC) provides for postgraduate heritage studies for African students and the management of Mayibuye Archives. Scholarships are extended to other African countries in recognition of the support rendered to South Africa during the struggle against apartheid. Collaborations with the University of Witwatersrand, University of Cape Town (UCT), University of Stellenbosch, South African Foundation for the Conservation of Coastal Birds (SANCCOB) and GeoScience are instrumental in supporting environmental research, historical, marine and related biodiversity projects on the island.

As a tourism destination, Robben Island attracts local and international visitors. Many strategic partners – tour operators, independent guides, marketing and tourism agencies – support tourism at the site. The expectations of visitors and the tourism industry need to be considered as they are stakeholders that drive tourism. NDT is supporting the island through tour guide training and tourism infrastructure projects at the site.

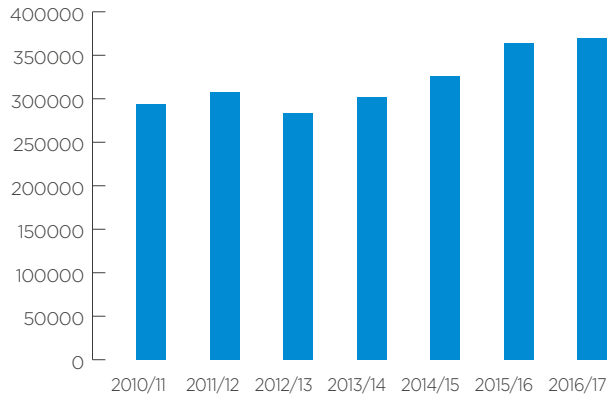

Figure 2: Visitors to Robben Island from 2010-2017
Source: Taruvinga (2014)

Understanding relationships among stakeholders

From the above synopsis, it can be seen that RIWHS stakeholders are interacting with conservation and sustainable development. However, while conservation is a traditional mandate, social and tourism responsibilities are not in the mainstream of RIWHS. Civic institutions often handle the latter, which then creates a problem in implementing *Ubuntu* elements at RIMHWS.

Conservation and stakeholders

Government departments support conservation programmes and compliance reporting at the site. DPW is responsible for the built environment and municipal services, while RIM is concerned with the interpretation, presentation, collections management and tourism aspects. The separation of these complementary functions has created a dysfunctional link between maintenance of the built environment and any adaptive reuse RIM may want to undertake. The delayed restoration of the blue stone quarry site, which was breached many years ago, is an example of this dysfunctional link. For DPW, the problem is structural and needs an engineering solution, while for RIM, issues of authenticity and significance, as well as the role of EPPs who used to work there during prison times, are of importance in the restoration process. RIM consulted EPPs in designing the restoration in order to influence this process. The delayed restoration triggered another conservation barrier, as the quarry site is now a habitat for penguins. The environmental impact assessment (EIA) has approved restoration, subject to minimal disturbance to breeding penguins, as fauna specialists have highlighted the importance of protecting the penguin colony. It is important to note that, at the time of World Heritage inscription, biodiversity was not considered, yet it is an equally important component of the site as penguins are considered to be an endangered species. This is a case where stakeholders' views affect decisions on conservation, including how such attributes can be used for sustainable tourism – something that has not happened for many years. This quarry site challenge is now being addressed through a tripartite agreement binding DAC, RIM and DPW on the restoration of built environment at the island.

An assessment of the relationship between government departments and other stakeholders at the site reveals that the former assumes that consulting the latter when needed validates their people-centredness approach, yet these stakeholders are not involved in the decision-making process. Furthermore, government departments have not fully embraced corporate social responsibilities like the private sector does, by adding benefits accruable to local communities. Government red tape, prolonged decision-making processes and a silo approach hamper communication. Recently, certain activities have begun to bring together government departments and other stakeholders at the site. For instance, the adaptive reuse initiative has brought together DPW, RIM, DAC and other stakeholders, and serves as a vehicle for conservation and social benefits for EPPs at the site. Such projects include establishing a visitor centre, craft shop, restaurants and offering accommodation using the existing infrastructure. Once communication and transparency improves, partisanship and progeny will naturally improve among the stakeholders at the site. Loyalty and respect is built out of cordial relations, integrity and transparency among stakeholders.

Tourism: a vehicle for socio-economic development

The current tourism product for the island is restricted to the maximum prison, Robert Sobukwe's house, the lime quarry site, world war guns and the village precinct. Product diversification to include the other values of the island is important in generating revenue and employment. RIM needs the support of the private sector to creatively diversify products in a changing socio-economic environment, which may open avenues to support community-based projects. For instance, the old fence legally disposed of by Robben Island as part of routine

maintenance has now become an 'artistic' jewel in the hands of a private artist. This could have been processed as part of a craft centre owned and operated by EPPs, with a ready market constituted by tourists visiting the site. Degraded heritage objects that cannot be restored can be processed into sustainable secondary products for public consumption, but heritage institutions are not in this creative space. This process can be a vehicle for skills transfer for local communities to become entrepreneurs; NDT is supporting 'destination development' and 'service excellence' projects at the site in order to improve visitor facilities, experience and service delivery through training and adaptive reuse of the built environment. The private sector can become an enabler in implementing sustainable and responsive adaptive strategies at heritage sites. Service level agreements are required to bind these operators to support conservation and implement sustainable development projects with tangible benefits to communities. Heritage institutions lack creativity in responding to the needs of local communities, and legislative limitations can no longer continue to be the reason why heritage institutions cannot purposely implement creative sustainable development programmes.

Social responsibility and relationship-building

RIWHS endeavours to fulfil the socio-economic needs of EPPs (Taruvinga, 2014). EPPs are employed in various positions at the institution, and are represented in its governing council. RIWHS offers funeral assistance to EPPs and records the funeral proceedings as part of building a body of knowledge on their stories (Taruvinga, 2014). Also, EPPs and six family members receive free tickets to the island once every year. However, RIWHS does not have any direct legal provision for offering such material benefits to the EPPs. They are provided as a goodwill gesture, in recognition of the lifelong association between the site and EPPs, and the underlying spirit of *Ubuntu*. This creates a relationship, opens up avenues for communication, and encourages loyalty in all stakeholders, but may not be sustainable in the long term (Taruvinga, 2014; Cezanne, 2013). This demonstrates the legal complexity of accommodating any social mandate in a heritage context, where even sharing entrance fees with communities is not legally provided for in most African countries (Taruvinga, 2014). Even though what RIWHS is doing may be inadequate, it is a starting point, which can be amplified through creative thinking, dialogue and communication with EPPs. Also, 'multiple dipping' of benefits by EPPs is a challenge beyond RIWHS, as such benefits are provided by other government departments, e.g. the Department of Military Veterans (DMV) and the Department of Defence. The qualifying EPPs receive pensions and medical benefits; quantifying and rationalizing the totality of socio-economic benefits accruing to them is difficult under these circumstances (Taruvinga, 2014). Whatever the case may be, RIWHS must play its role, including creating synergies with other departments and the private sector in offering benefits to EPPs through the principles of *Ubuntu*.

The current socio-economic status of EPPs – ranging from successful entrepreneurs and civil servants to the unemployed, who often struggle with basic needs – complicates this process. The first two groups need to support the unemployed group in the spirit of companionship, comradeship and sharing, all values anchored in the *Ubuntu* philosophy they shared during prison times. While this may be far-fetched in a capitalist context of developing nations, RIWHS is developing a charter to govern its relationship with EPPs, including positioning them strategically for opportunities that could be derived from sustainable development at the site. In the formative years of RIWHS, the Makana Trust, established for EPPs, was working with the island but suffered from internal challenges, which is not the subject matter of this discussion.

Stakeholders and their level of influence

A great deal of effort is needed to manage the stakeholders of RIWHS, given their diversity and varying interests. RIWHS undertook a 'power and satisfaction analysis' of stakeholders as part of its strategic planning in 2014/15, with the support of the University of Stellenbosch Business School.

The study reveals that, although EPPs and other stakeholders are important and have been engaged in recording their own stories, their day-to-day influence on the decision-making process is very limited. The low satisfaction rating given by this group may reflect their perception of the benefits that they receive from the site, and may also imply that their voices are not being heard in decisions on its conservation and sustainable development. This is a situation that must be rectified. The challenge is even greater for all the other significance-based stakeholders linked to the less profiled layers of the island. Power is largely in the hands of government departments (who wield financial control and political voice),

and this negates the spirit of the NARA document and *Ubuntu* elements that recognize the role of communities in managing their own heritage. At the same time, UNESCO is dependent on the government departments responsible for the daily management of the site. This creates a dysfunctional link between the recommendations of UNESCO and what the state party can actually do in relation to the resources they have. RIM is sympathetic to tourists, as illustrated by ongoing service delivery changes and adaptive reuse initiatives; SAHRA has the power ensure that RIM complies with heritage protocols, and even to stop conservation and adaptive projects if they could potentially damage the cultural significance of the site.

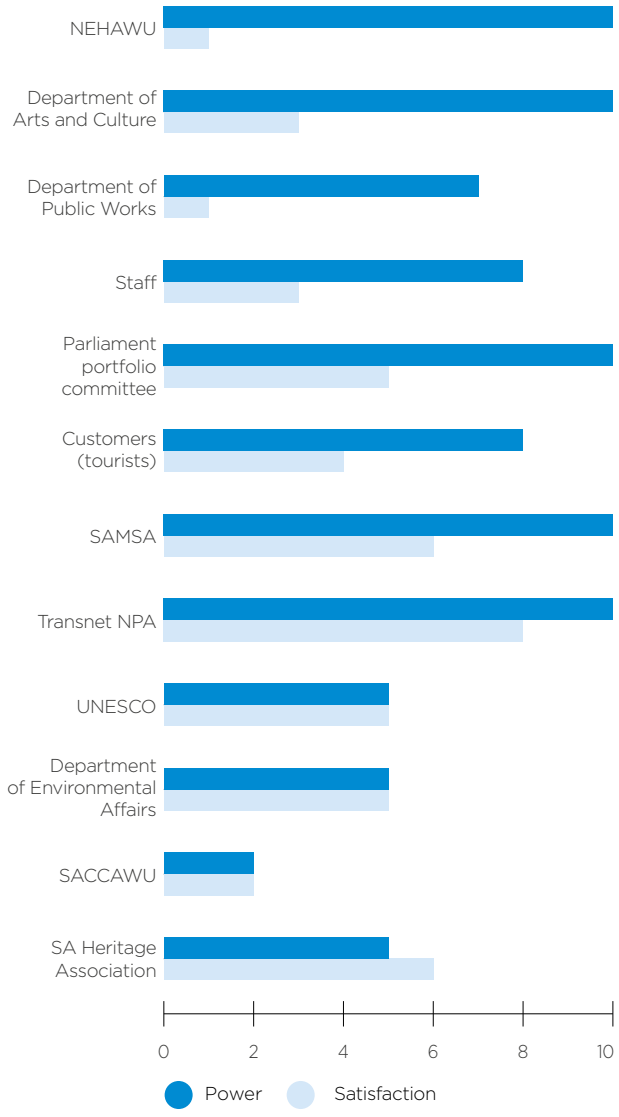

Figure 3. Robben Island World Heritage stakeholder power and satisfaction analysis
Source: Robben Island Museum (2014)

The role of a stakeholder approach in the management of Word Heritage sites should not only be measured by how effective these stakeholders are in supporting the outstanding universal value. The approach should also include improving channels of communication between the managing authority and all the stakeholders, and their level of contribution to the decision-making process on sustainable development at the site, as defined by the four elements of *Ubuntu*. The opinions of stakeholders may help in redefining and shaping heritage management, and in accessing technical and financial resources that are beyond the reach of heritage institutions. Stakeholders should be included throughout and not treated as an appendage when needs arise at heritage sites. At RIWHS, as in the past, most of these government departments operated in silos. For instance DPW did not have a clear understanding of the cultural significance of the island, leading to poor maintenance that might have destroyed the authenticity of the site. This resulted in a public outcry, including the 2010 UNESCO reactive monitoring mission and a 2014 investigation by the South African Office of the Public Protector. Moreover, most of these government departments were not consulted at the time of World Heritage inscription, nor their mandates considered in the first conservation plans for the site. As of now, RIM is formalizing agreements with some of them in order to obtain support for maintaining the island.

Stakeholders and governance framework

Managing a hybrid heritage institution in a changing socio-economic environment requires a responsive governance system that guides and develops the multiple mandates as viable business functions that can contribute to conservation and national development imperatives in a measurable way. Historically, the RIM Council was mainly composed of EPPs, with a few exceptions. Expertise missing from this Council includes maritime industry, marketing, tourism, engineering and education. These experts will bolster the implementation of the multiple mandates of the institution. Governing bodies for Heritage Institutions in Africa are political appointees who expect to receive remuneration and rarely open up strategic doors for the institution they are serving. There is a need to change the mindset and composition of the boards in Africa to ensure that they can bring business and visionary direction for managing hybrid heritage institutions. Governing bodies need to be aligned to global trends in which cross-cutting socio-economic sectors are represented, in order to give competent guidance on strategic matters.

Conclusion

Heritage institutions and international communities have appropriated the philosophy of community spirit, which assists in rebuilding within and among different communities (Motsei, 2007). Community development is now an integral part of heritage management as culture has become a catalyst of socio-economic development in Africa. *Ubuntu* is a cornerstone of community development that guides the growth and happiness of villages (Msila, 2015). Stakeholder involvement should embrace community spirit, community connectedness and crucial interdependences in supporting each other towards collective benefit at the site. *Ubuntu* fosters unity and solidarity as stakeholder-driven decisions are taken. This is not to say that, in applying *Ubuntu* elements, stakeholder tensions and conflicts are completely removed. The point is that *Ubuntu* creates a conducive environment and atmosphere for constructively dealing with stakeholders. Heritage sites should become platforms where decisions that serve the stakeholders as a whole are taken. There should be a deliberate process to increase the involvement of local communities in decision-making at World Heritage sites with regard to those issues affecting them. Local solutions should give rise to sustainable initiatives for both conservation and socio-economic development at World Heritage sites in Africa. Heritage sites should continue transmitting embodied values, while also meeting the socio-economic needs of stakeholders. While *Ubuntu* building blocks provide for a non-prescriptive participatory public approach framework at World Heritage sites, how the blocks fit into the global village needs further analysis. Effective stakeholder management is a catalyst for conservation and sustainable development in developing nations.

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Crépissage du Tombeau des Askia, 2014
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Le Tombeau des Askia de Gao, un espace de prévention et de résolution des conflits

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Le Mali : un pays riche et fier de sa culture

Situé au cœur de l'Afrique occidentale, le Mali est riche d'un patrimoine culturel et de civilisations ancestrales.

Héritier des civilisations des empires du Ghana, du Mali et du Songhoy, le Mali est une terre de rencontres, un foyer de production culturelle dynamique caractérisé par une diversité des expressions culturelles, à l'image de sa population composée d'une mosaïque de peuplements.

Ce riche patrimoine culturel comprend également des ressources archéologiques, des éléments d'architecture de terre composés de prestigieuses mosquées, de maisons monumentales et de célèbres églises, des lieux de mémoire, des paysages culturels ainsi que des routes et itinéraires culturels.

Sur cette liste non exhaustive figure le Tombeau des Askia de Gao ou *Askia Djira* (la moquée d'Askia), un patrimoine mondial aux multiples facettes : témoin historique d'une civilisation ancestrale, il est un exemple de lieu identitaire et fédérateur et le symbole d'une vision commune.

Témoin historique d'une civilisation ancestrale, édifié par Askia Mohamed, empereur Songhoy qui régna de 1492 à 1528, le Tombeau des Askia est un témoignage unique de la rencontre du peuple Songhoy avec l'Islam, les peuples arabo-berbères et l'Égypte ancienne ainsi que des échanges créatifs entre ces civilisations. Symbole historique de l'architecture en terre de type soudano-sahélienne et classé patrimoine mondial par l'UNESCO en 2004, soit 510 ans après sa construction en 1495, le Tombeau des Askia est le vestige le plus important et le mieux conservé de l'Empire Songhoy, un des plus puissants et mieux organisés de l'Afrique subsaharienne aux XV^{e} et XVI^{e} siècles.

Le Tombeau des Askia de Gao, un site du patrimoine mondial à sauver à tout prix
© A. Yattara

Sur le plan architectural, le bien est composé d'une tour pyramidale massive, de deux bâtiments rectangulaires servant de lieux de prière pour hommes et femmes, d'une esplanade pour les grandes prières du ramadan et de la tabaski et d'une nécropole, le tout formant un ensemble architectural soutenu par des sites associés comme la dune rose de Koima, le site de Gao Sanèye, le site de la mosquée de Kankou Moussa ou encore l'Ile de Gounzourey.

Exemple de lieu identitaire et fédérateur par excellence pour les communautés de Gao, le Tombeau des Askia est le symbole d'une marque identitaire très forte pour les populations.
Il est aussi un lieu d'expression de cohésion

sociale à travers diverses activités et pratiques traditionnelles comme l'organisation des grandes fêtes religieuses, de grands mariages, la fête de l'indépendance et le festival international de la culture songhoy ; toutes ces activités faisant du lieu un espace de rencontre, de brassage, de partage et de respect mutuel.

Rencontre de communautés sur le site dans le cadre du dialogue et de la cohésion sociale
© A. Yattara

Le Tombeau des Askia est aussi l'une des plus anciennes mosquées de Gao pour la prière du vendredi. Ce site est un endroit propice pour prêcher la bonne parole, la tolérance, le pardon et la paix. À ce titre, le site, à travers toutes ces pratiques qui y sont associées, joue un rôle identitaire et fédérateur pour les communautés de Gao. Leur attachement y est fort ainsi que leur importante participation à l'entretien régulier du site et aux travaux de crépissage organisés tous les deux ou trois ans. Cet évènement de grand rassemblement populaire constitue pour chaque habitant de Gao une des rares occasions à ne pas manquer pour contribuer en nature, en travail ou en faisant un don. C'est aussi un moment privilégié de retrouvailles, de rencontres entre jeunes et anciens et surtout *du donner et du recevoir*. Les liens se resserrent ainsi entre les membres de la communauté.

Symbole d'une vision commune, le Tombeau des Askia a résisté au temps et aux évènements qui ont marqué la vie de Gao et au-delà de l'Empire Songhoy : domination touareg, invasion marocaine, colonisation française, troubles des premières années de l'indépendance et conflits armés répétés.

En 2012, à la suite d'une rébellion touareg indépendantiste revendiquant la partition du pays, le Mali a été secoué par un conflit armé sans précédent pendant lequel des groupes terroristes ont pris pour cible le riche patrimoine culturel. Des mausolées et des monuments de grande valeur ont été détruits à Tombouctou sous l'œil impuissant des communautés. A Gao, le Tombeau des Askia a failli subir le même sort, mais la population a résisté en mettant en place un bouclier humain et en effectuant une prise en charge continue positive, en particulier de la part de la vaillante jeunesse, preuve d'un attachement fort et symbolique de tout un peuple pour préserver son patrimoine.

Cette crise n'est pas restée sans conséquence sur le tissu social. Montrées du doigt, des ethnies sont mises en cause pour entraîner haine, mépris et méfiance entre des personnes unies par l'histoire et le sang et qui ont toujours coexisté. En 2014, avec le retour progressif de la paix, les travaux de crépissage du Tombeau des Askia s'inscrivant dans la dynamique des mécanismes traditionnels de résolution des conflits furent un moment salutaire de rencontre, de pardon et de réconciliation pour la paix. Placé sous le signe du dialogue et de la cohésion sociale, l'évènement a réuni toutes les communautés locales et a été synonyme de réconciliation.

Poignée de main entre chef coutumier et leader communautaire sur le site pour la paix et la cohésion sociale
© A. Yattara

Cet acte fort, de se donner la main, pour un idéal commun et salué par tous, a été plus que jamais opportun afin de renforcer la vision des communautés de Gao pour ce haut lieu auquel elles sont fortement attachées.

Pour ces communautés de Gao et pour le Mali, la vision concernant le Tombeau des Askia est très claire. Le site doit continuer à perpétuer la mémoire de l'Empire. Tous les vestiges qui sont liés à cet état, particulièrement le Tombeau des Askia, sont des moments forts de rencontres

Premier crépissage post-crise, en 2014, de la tour pyramidale après le conflit armé de 2012

entre les communautés associés à une source de fierté. Elles souhaitent également que le site continue à renforcer les liens entres les différentes communautés maliennes. Enfin, les populations voient dans le Tombeau des Askia un lieu de résistance à l'image du puissant Empire Songhoy. Le site est à la fois un monument historique, un monument national, un lieu de rassemblement, un centre d'attraction touristique au niveau national et international, un lieu de dialogue, de communion, de partage et de cohésion sociale, ainsi qu'un espace privilégié de prévention et résolution des conflits pour la promotion de la paix et de la sécurité, condition *sine qua non* pour tout développement.

Maasai herdsman grazing his herd in the Ngorongoro crater, Tanzania
© CRAterre / N. Sanchez Munoz

INCLUSIVE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT
DÉVELOPPEMENT ÉCONOMIQUE INCLUSIF

Kilwa Kisiwani, Tanzania
© WMF / S. Battle

Kilwa, Tanzania: conservation and promotion of heritage resources for social and economic development

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Introduction

The natural harbour of Kilwa district, in southern Tanzania, has facilitated trade and exchange with the rest of Africa, the Middle East, Asia and Europe, enabling the city to become the most powerful Sultanate on the Swahili coast for nearly ten centuries.

Although Kilwa is perceived as a paradise by visitors, this is not necessarily the case for local people; although very proud of their cultural heritage, they are nonetheless faced with multiple difficulties in harnessing its potential financial benefits. The lucrative networks that sustained Kilwa as a prosperous trading centre until the nineteenth century have collapsed and Kilwa has become a small isolated town in modern Tanzania, surviving on fishing, agriculture and small businesses. The road that connects Kilwa to Dar was only completed in 2014, because tourism development has been concentrated on northern Tanzanian circuits, promoting natural parks above cultural resources. Although the impressive ruins of Kilwa were given World Heritage List status in 1981, the recognition of cultural values by the international community did not bring about the anticipated economic impact.

This article presents two recent developments dedicated to the preservation of Kilwa District's rich heritage, implemented according to the principles of sustainable development, with local people playing a leading role. The first project, co-piloted by the World Monuments Fund and Kilwa Antiquities office, ran from 2008 to 2015 at the World Heritage properties of Kilwa Kisiwani and Songo Mnara. The second project, managed by CRAterre in partnership with local authorities and Rochefort Ocean, focused on potential resources located outside the World Heritage boundaries.

World Monuments Fund: integrated preservation at Kilwa Kisiwani and Songo Mnara

The islands of Kilwa Kisiwani and Songo Mnara are home to structures that open a window onto more than 800 years of East African history. Kilwa Kisiwani contains the remains of two very important buildings: (i) Husuni Kubwa (or 'large house'), built between 1320 and 1333, which 'carried coastal architecture to greater heights than were ever attained later',[1] and is the earliest and most sophisticated surviving major building south of Somalia; and (ii) the Great Mosque, founded in the eleventh century, which was the largest and most sophisticated mosque south of the Sahara by the fourteenth century. Songo Mnara contains the remains of 40 stone houses dating from the fourteenth to sixteenth century, some of which are better preserved and more archaeologically intact than any comparable domestic building

1 In: Garlake, 2002, p. 171.

in East Africa.[2] The Portuguese fort is one of the few remaining Portuguese defensive structures in the region. Individually and as an ensemble, these structures are of exceptional importance, from an historic, scientific and cultural point of view.

The people who built Kilwa Kisiwani and Songo Mnara have long since disappeared, along with many of their cultural traditions, but the site, together with its archaeological remains, provides evidence of a sophisticated mercantile culture that thrived along the coast of East Africa for over 800 years. Kilwa Kisiwani and Songo Mnara are profoundly significant for modern narratives about African identity. The Great mosque, palaces and houses are testimony to a sophisticated indigenous African civilization that built on an elaborate scale with great skill, ingenuity and artistic achievement.

In 2004, the Tanzanian Antiquities Division petitioned UNESCO to place the site on its list of World Heritage in Danger in order to draw attention to its serious condition. The World Monuments Fund also listed the site as endangered on the 1996 and 2008 Watch Lists, as the site was becoming severely threatened by physical decay, coastal erosion and uncontrolled development. This last point is important because Lindi Region in Southern Tanzania, in which Kilwa District is located, is one of the least developed areas of Tanzania, lagging behind other parts of the country in most measurements of poverty. Large stretches of road between Dar es Salaam and Kilwa were, until recently, unpaved and prone to flooding, effectively cutting off the south from the rest of the country. Completion of a new road and massive inward investment alongside the exploitation of a major natural gas field will create significant opportunities for economic development. While the opportunities are welcomed, if development is not controlled it will damage and may destroy Kilwa's natural and cultural assets, and this remains the most serious threat to the site.

The World Monuments Fund (WMF) first became involved in preservation work at Kilwa Kisiwani and Songo Mnara in 2009, in partnership with the Antiquities Division of the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism. In 2011, WMF secured a major grant from the US Ambassadors Fund for Cultural Preservation to undertake an integrated preservation project at the site, and this project was successfully completed in 2014. The goals of the project were to create a framework for development on the islands, in which the competing demands of tourism, economic development, social change and heritage preservation were balanced for the benefit of all, ensuring the survival of the site for future generations. The project's three main components are described below.

1. Conservation of structures

Physical decay was one of the most severe problems affecting the site, due to harsh climatic conditions, with very high humidity, torrential seasonal rains and strong on-shore winds high in salinity. Water ingress at the standing structures precipitates the process of decay, washing away mortar, causing a build-up of salts and accelerating the decay of timber beams and lintels. This decay exacerbates weaknesses inherent in the original construction, with shallow or non-existent foundations, no coursing of stonework, and poor bonding between walls, leading to the loss of structural integrity and collapse. Some structures, particularly at Songo Mnara, had not been preserved since they were first excavated in the mid-1960s. Several parts of the site were in a critical condition and under imminent threat of structural collapse. There had been sporadic preservation efforts over the past decade, most notably by a French team at Kilwa Kisiwani, but although each of these had stabilized one element of the ensemble, large areas remained in poor condition.

The Antiquities Division, using a core team of skilled craftspeople, carried out the preservation work. The entire workforce employed for the project was drawn from communities on the two islands, thereby maximizing benefits to local residents. Work commenced with the preparation of measured survey drawings by two recent graduates from Ardhi University, who were trained in historic building survey techniques by the project architect. One of the complexities of working at Songo Mnara is the presence of largely intact archaeological resources just below ground level. A rescue and mitigation archaeology specialist was brought in to carry out emergency excavations and create a risk map. He worked alongside archaeologists from the Antiquities Division, providing training in rescue and mitigation archaeology, skills that did not exist in Tanzania. A master stonemason was engaged to train local masons in stone-cutting techniques. Over 70% of

2 See: Fleischer, 2011.

all standing structures at the site were successfully preserved.

2. Strengthening sea defences

A combination of climate change, which has led to a rise in sea levels, and unsustainable economic use of the marine environment, such as the removal of mangrove forest, excavation of beach sand and destruction of reefs, has exacerbated erosion at the site. This has resulted in severe damage from storm-driven high tides that have eroded the coast and undermined the foundations of structures adjacent to the shore. The effects of this were graphically illustrated in 2009, when a section of sea wall at Kilwa Kisiwani collapsed into the sea.

The objective of the project was to study the coastal environment at the site and prepare a risk map showing the areas of greatest vulnerability, identifying coastal features that merited protection, such as mangrove forest, and recommending measures to make the site more resilient to the effects of climate change. The study considered the effects of sea level rise over 50 and 90 years and drew some disturbing conclusions. Parts of some monuments are already at 120 cm below sea level; this will worsen as sea levels rise. The Gereza Fort and Makutani Palace are particularly threatened by coastal erosion, and will become more so. The report recommended a range of engineering solutions to combat these threats. Although most solutions were beyond the scope of the budget, gabions were installed at the Gereza Fort and Husuni Palace to mitigate the effects of wave action. A direct result of the study was the priority inclusion of its recommended mitigation measures for coastal erosion in a recent report[3] to guide investment priorities in coastal regions of Tanzania.

3. Strengthening management capacities

While both islands that make up the World Heritage site are protected in their entirety, they contain living villages. In the case of Kilwa Kisiwani, the village is adjacent to the ruins. Research suggests that there has been substantial development in the Kilwa Kisiwani village over the past decade; given current rates of population growth and the expansion of tourism, development pressure is likely to grow. There is no formal demarcation between the living village and historic structures. If encroachment has been limited up until now it is because development pressure has been low, and village inhabitants have respected ad hoc and customary arrangements. While this may continue into the future, population growth is likely to increase development pressure, which in turn will greatly increase the risk of ad hoc arrangements breaking down, with potentially serious consequences for heritage structures. The absence of a land use plan and the need to update the Conservation Management Plan were among the reasons UNESCO gave for putting Kilwa on the List of Heritage Sites in Danger.

The objective of the project was to create appropriate technical and human resources in the Antiquities Division to facilitate sustainable management of the site. Spatial planning enshrined in a formal Land Use Plan (LUP) is an essential tool, defining protected zones where development is prohibited, and identifying other areas where physical or economic development can take place without negatively impacting the site. As a prelude, the Zamani Group from the University of Cape Town (UCT) created a baseline survey map. Data collection was carried out by students from the University of Dar es Salaam as part of a summer internship. After extensive consultation using participatory planning techniques, a Village LUP was developed for Songo Mnara and ratified by the District Council. UCT provided training in use of GIS[4]-based management tools for staff of the Antiquities Division and Kilwa Lands Office. The Conservation Management Plan for the World Heritage site was revised and fully updated.

Preservation and sustainable development

Over the longer term, sustainable development in Kilwa District depends on creating jobs and generating wealth locally. As the District's major asset, the World Heritage site can play a major role in this. However, effective utilization of cultural assets is linked to a broader context of infrastructure development. In this respect, the project implemented by CRATerre, promoting tourism and creating infrastructure, is an essential complement to conservation.

In implementing the project at Kilwa, WMF established three principles, the first one of

3 World Bank Group, 2016.
4 Graphic information system

which was that the project set out to broaden the impact of the investment by including training and learning opportunities at every step. Close links were forged with two universities. A total of 97 students and teaching staff participated in field schools and internships during the course of the project. In addition, training courses were implemented in heritage management, stone-cutting, use of GIS software, and rescue and mitigation archaeology.

The second principle established was to maximize the participation of women. It has been shown in other low-income communities that increased earnings by women have significant knock-on benefits in terms of education for children, family health and women's choice in fertility. This was particularly important on Songo Mnara, which suffers from very high levels of poverty. Most residents of the island are subsistence fishers or farmers. There is no electricity, no health facilities and only rudimentary schooling to primary level. Perhaps most challenging of all is the absence of any source of drinking water, which means that boats must bring in all fresh water from the mainland. Of the project workforce, 37% were women, and 57% of all adult women on the island were employed at some point. In total, women made up 46% of all people employed by the project. In addition, 52% of participants in the training initiatives were women.

The third principle established at the outset was to maximize economic benefits for local inhabitants. WMF met with village elders and agreed a system whereby workers would be rotated, in order to ensure that economic benefits were spread as widely as possible throughout the communities. The project employed over 600 people in various capacities; 75% of the adult population on Songo Mnara, and 30% on Kilwa Kisiwani, earned an income from the project.

Why does this matter? It matters because heritage and development are two sides of the same coin. It is not possible to achieve sustainable development in the future without firm roots in the past. Further, conservation in the face of poverty is likely to be unsustainable, because people living in poverty focus their resources on surviving the present, not preserving the past.

At the conclusion of the project in August 2014, the full scope of the project had been successfully completed, and in many cases exceeded. Public recognition of the success of the project came in June 2014, when UNESCO removed the World Heritage site of Kilwa Kisiwani and Songo Mnara from the list of World Heritage in Danger.

Stone mason at work at Songo Mnara. October 2012.
© WMF/ S. Battle

Stone mason cutting coral stone at Songo Mnara. October 2012.
© WMF/ S. Battle

Promotion of other heritage resources

It is undeniable that the World Heritage site plays a very important role in attracting tourists, but once they are in Kilwa, they could stay longer to enjoy other cultural and natural resources of the region. Although the number of visitors travelling to Kilwa Islands is increasing,[5] most tourists in Tanzania still head toward the north without knowing that the south remains incredibly authentic. Kilwa is only four hours away from Dar-es-Salaam thanks to the

5 June 2012 – June 2013: 2,747 visitors / June 2013 – June 2014: 2,209 visitors / June 2014 – June 2015: 3,345 visitors (data provided by Kilwa Antiquities office).

Kilwa landscape – Makubuli Kilwa Masoko.

new road, and this peaceful and heritage-rich place may soon lose its identity.

To activate sustainable tourism development, the District authorities and CRAterre set in place a three-year project entitled 'Promoting heritage resources in Kilwa to strengthen social and economic development'. It started in September 2013 and was funded by the EU Programme for Culture and Creative Industries. The target was to identify, protect and promote all local heritage resources to encourage new income-generating activities for the local population. The basis for the sustainable development of the Kilwa region is in Kilwa itself, in its rich natural and cultural heritage, with its traditional solutions. These are the best resources for developing sustainable jobs and preserving Kilwa's authentic cultural landscape at the same time.

Each village in the landscape is a collective creation of its inhabitants, with each building contributing to the general appearance of a village. When imported construction materials and techniques invade an original landscape, the result is a mixture of references with no specific culture behind it, and villages end up resembling one another. This project draws inspiration from Kilwa's heritage and pays tribute to the people who kept the culture alive. The inhabitants of Kilwa played the principal role in acknowledging the wisdom behind their cultural heritage and adapting it to their actual needs. Public institutions also had a fundamental role in defining the collective standards and features that should be preserved in the urbanization process.

The strategy to expand the cultural tourism offer and enhance the attractiveness of the region beyond the World Heritage boundaries started with an activity figuratively located at the heart of this project: an **inventory** of existing cultural and natural resources was published, entitled 'Karibu Kilwa'.

The guides of Kilwa islands, the Project Coordinator, the staff from the District and Township, the Antiquity Officers and the local

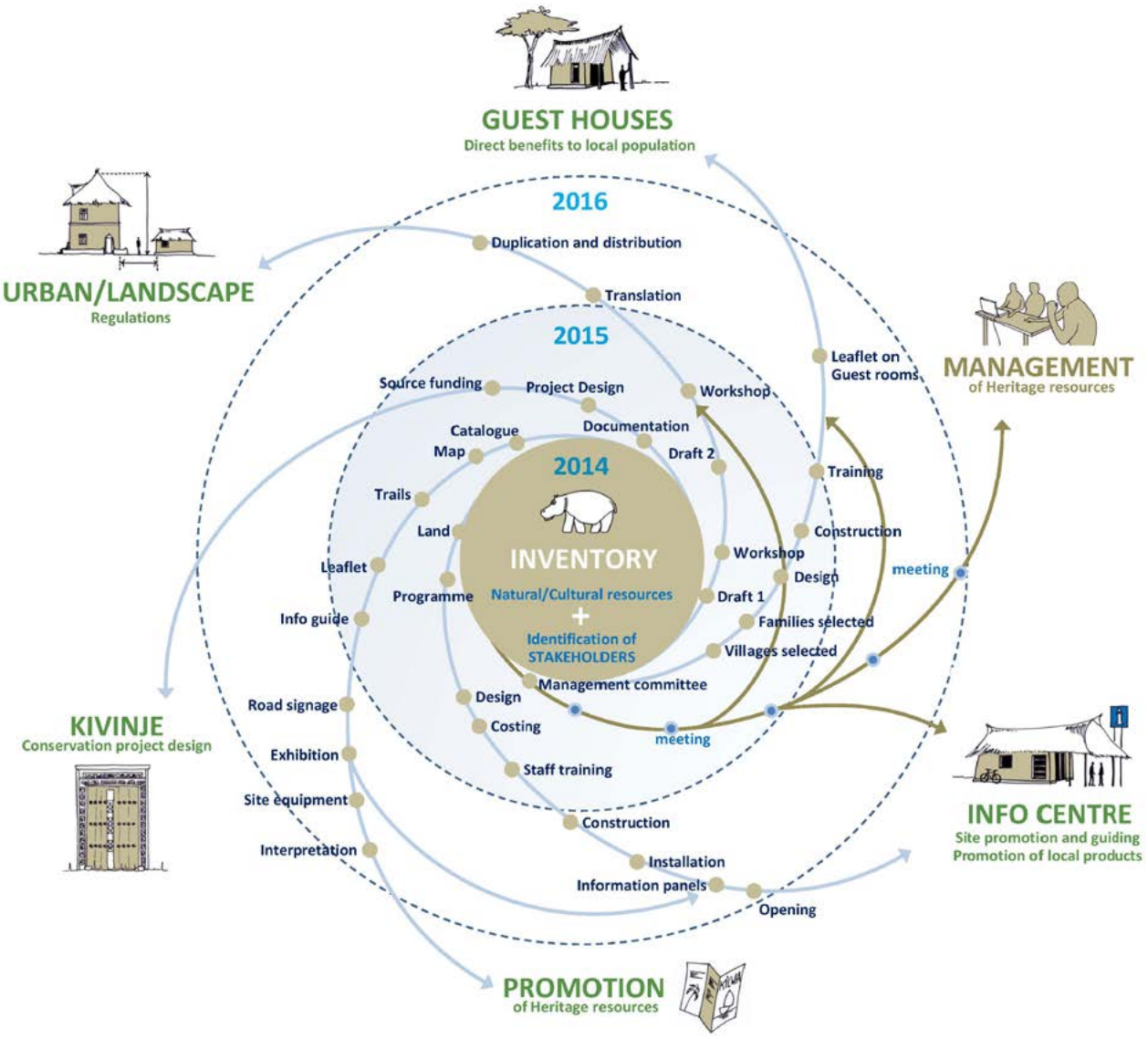

Figure 1. Diagram presenting the project activities derived from the inventory of heritage resources.
© CRAterre / S. Moriset

population in the concerned areas, comprised the team who developed the research for the inventory through the following process:

- Consultations with community members: CRAterre provided the researchers with a sample survey sheet, and accompanied them during the first few sites visits. Information provided by the villagers also led to the discovery of new sites.
- Researchers, armed with a camera and a notebook, gathered information on site and compiled it in the inventory sheets. At the end of the research, 12,000 pictures had been taken.
- CRAterre processed the raw data by designing the final layout of the publication in Kilwa, in the presence of the inventory team members.

This inventory established 48 new sites worth visiting. 1,300 copies of the first edition of the Karibu Kilwa book were printed in Dar-es-Salaam, at a cost of TZS 8,000 each. The Tanzania Tourist Board helped distribute them to different stakeholders (tour operators, travel agents, hotels, education institutions, airports and international tourism fairs). It is interesting to note that the local population buys copies just to keep at home, and that a proposal has been received from publishers who wish to print and sell the book at their bookshop in Dar-es-Salaam. The guides sell each

copy at TZS 15,000 in order to generate sufficient revenue for future reprinting, and also to reinforce the financial sustainability of the project in the long term. The guidebook has raised so much awareness of this region that another edition of 1,500 copies is under preparation.

Two other important activities were developed in parallel with the creation of the Karibu Kilwa book: the promotion of Kilwa as a destination and the **management of heritage sites**.

Since the beginning of the project in September 2013, more than 75 meetings were held with different actors to discuss heritage conservation, heritage and development, tourism heritage, etc., to transfer skills and ownership of the project results to various stakeholders. The local project coordinator participated in all these meetings and played an important role in advocating the key role of heritage. The project also emphasized the need to institutionalize the position of the local coordinator after the end of the project in order to sustain project results.

Another process has started to help identify failures and needs in the current management mechanisms of the sites. Most of them are already well-managed by villagers, but this survey aims to see how the collaboration between villagers, administrative authorities and local guides could be improved in order to ensure the preservation of these places and ensure a fair distribution of the economic impacts of tourism in the villages.

The **promotion of the sites**, crucial for the development of the project, relies on the six official guides at Kilwa. They were all formally registered as an association, then provided with computers, cameras, binoculars and uniforms. They participated directly in all the activities developed, such as the inventory process or the design and construction of the information centre. They were also trained by national experts in guiding bird watchers, French language and computer skills to ensure they keep on promoting Kilwa online (the association's email account, the website, Facebook, Flickr and Trip Advisor). Some of them have travelled to Rochefort to learn from the French expertise in tourism.

Other promotional materials developed include postcards picturing some of the beautiful spots of Kilwa, a leaflet presenting the destination, a map indicating all new sites, and a short promotional video. An exhibition entitled 'Correspondances Rochefort Océan – Kilwa'[6] was designed to show the parallel features between Rochefort and Kilwa. The 30 guesthouses and hotels of Masoko were also inventoried and the information made available in a folder at the information centre. Some panels exhibit the natural heritage of Kilwa (birds, trees or fishes) but additionally, the project wants to promote its cultural heritage in the so-called vernacular panels: how Kilwa people make boats, build their houses, fish, cook or produce their own tools and crafts.

To reinforce the accessibility of the new sites inventoried, 20 road signs were installed and 5 trails connecting some of the sites are described on double-sided A4 sheets available for free at the information centre and on the internet (www.kilwatourism.com). For a more comfortable visit, some facilities were built: a toilet block in Masoko, a bird-watching tower in Makubuli mangrove, three bandas/reception points with benches in Ngea, Lihimalyao and Mto Nyange, the clearing of three paths towards the sites, a water dam to preserve Mto Nyange pool, three canoes for Lake Maliwe, and bicycles, uniforms, shoes and first-aid boxes at each site.

Another ongoing activity is the construction of two **guesthouses** in Lihimalyao and Ngea villages, from where tourists can reach different sites without coming back to Kilwa Masoko. These guesthouses have utilized the traditional layout, building materials and techniques of the vernacular houses of these villages, and will be managed by the communities.

A key facility, where all the project results are presented, is the **Kilwa Information Centre** that includes a guides' office, an exhibition room, and a gift shop with locally made products. The project paid particular attention to the improvement of local products such as salt, honey, sesame biscuits, wood carving and other cultural items which are locally produced and consumed, and can be sold as tourist souvenirs if properly packaged. This shop only offers items that meet the provisions of the 'Made in Kilwa' charter prepared with the stakeholders.

Besides all the normal features of a tourist information centre, this particular building demonstrates that local materials are not outdated. The construction of the centre has proved that

6 http://www.grandsitedefrance.com/images/stories/pdf/docs/EXPO_KILWA_CARO-BD.pdf

Completed Kilwa information centre
© CRAterre / N. Sanchez Munoz

contemporary architecture could make use of the techniques developed over the past 1000 years in Kilwa, that many traditional construction techniques are alive, and that contemporary architecture does not necessarily require new materials. Most of the building materials were locally sourced – from coral stones to sand or soil, lime, wood and bamboo, palm fronds or woven mats. This resulted in direct economic benefit to the population,[7] either in the form of labour or in the supply or production of construction materials. For instance, the four mats used to cover the office ceiling represent twelve months of work for one woman. With the completion of the Dar-Kilwa road, more imported materials will be available in local shops. This will impact the environment, affect the authenticity of the place and could reduce local economic opportunities.

The antiquity office workers who were trained in the WMF conservation projects built the walls of the information centre using the same materials and techniques employed for the conservation of the Kisiwani ruins, proving that traditions are surviving, and can be used in contemporary buildings.

The construction process was a major event for Kilwa's population. A banner in Kiswahili was hung on the walls to inform the population about the future role of the building. People kept visiting it on a daily basis to discuss the evolution and the design, and congratulated the team for its work. The materials of this building are familiar to them because they have used the same in their homes. They are only set differently. They recognize this information centre as part of their culture, of their heritage, and so do visitors.

Conclusion

The experience of building the information centre inspired the production of a manual on sustainable architecture, which aims to provide ideas and recommendations to anyone

7 The construction cost was €13, 528 of which 57% represents direct labour, 25% local materials, and 7% imported materials such as electrical equipment. The remaining 11% represent transportation, tools and taxes. In total, 82% of the funds was spent on labour costs.

willing to build in Kilwa Masoko. It highlights the original features that make Kilwa Masoko beautiful, unique and valuable. The vernacular culture of Kilwa can provide valuable lessons for the sustainable development of the region, promoting its local economy while preserving its environment. Kilwa is growing fast, and although it does not have a Master Plan to control land use and regulate architecture, its authenticity is relatively undiminished, and inspiration can still be drawn from a whole range of examples to promote a sustainable way of living. Vernacular heritage is a resource that should be harnessed. As a consequence, the landscape will maintain its integrity, impact positively on the visitors' experience, and therefore on the development of the local economy.

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Snow, the abode of the gods Kitsamba and Nyabibuya.
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Cultural values conservation: an approach for preservation of cultural heritage and local economic development

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Introduction

Ugandan society is deeply rooted in cultural traditions and values, which have contributed to the propagation of social harmony and development. Uganda has several cultural sites, many of which are located in protected areas (Republic of Uganda, 2006). The Rwenzori Mountains National Park (RMNP), a World Heritage and RAMSAR Site, is one of the protected areas under the management of the Uganda Wildlife Authority (Ministry of Tourism Wildlife and Antiquities, 2013). It lies in western Uganda and borders the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). Portions of the Rwenzori Mountains were gazetted to protect their national conservation value as a water catchment. The associated cultural features, which constitute symbols of identity for the local communities, were ignored in the park's design, and parallel management structures were imposed by the government alongside the traditional management system (TMS).

Even before the colonial period, local people considered the Rwenzori Mountains, which form part of the RMNP, as a protected area (Yeoman et al., 1990). For the BaKonzo and Bamba people, who live on the slopes of the mountains, the site is a cultural and economic resource (Stacey, 1996). Traditional rituals performed within the protected area, including those related to hunting, exorcism and human burials, demonstrate the cultural significance of the mountains. Glaciers are at the centre of the traditional belief system of the BaKonzo people; they believe that the snow and ice (*Nzururu*) is the 'father' of Kitasamba and Nyabibuya, the BaKonzo deities responsible for the continuity and welfare of human life (Masereka, 2006).

While Uganda's national parks have seen considerable investment in community-oriented management initiatives, based on in-park resource harvesting and revenue-sharing from entry fees, over the past few decades, these initiatives have not resulted in improved relations with local communities (Secretariat of the Convention on Biological Diversity, 2010). There is a growing need to recognize the conservation of sacred sites and cultural landscape as an alternative model for sustainable development.

This paper illustrates a model for sustainable development that integrates culture, values and conservation into the management framework at the RMNP, along with an examination of the methods used to gather relevant information.

The approach

A multidisciplinary team was apppointed to review the existing General Management Plan (GMP). The team then held consultative meetings with various interest groups, and a field reconnaissance was undertaken to selected cultural sites. Mapping

data and information gathered from various sources (including a literature review) were used to recommend management actions. Changes to the relevant programmes of the GMP were drafted and were validated through consultative meetings. A focus group discussion was conducted to categorize stakeholders with a cultural leaning relevant for the integration process, based on their roles, mandates, thematic programme areas and the geographical scope of operations.

Cultural sites were mapped using a stratified sampling targeting ridge leaders (*mukuluwabulhambu*), who were knowledgeable about the cultural sites and their associated activities. The ridge leaders took a team of park staff, culture values and conservation project staff, and members of the Rwenzori Mountains Cultural Conservation Association (RweMCCA) to these sites. These sites were geo–referenced using GPS sets, the significance and related cultural practices for each were documented, and the data was stored in the Park Management Information System for further analysis. The data provided the baseline for a cultural resource inventory. Resource-users established a committee that negotiated access arrangements with the Park authorities relating to periods and times of access, number of people allowed, management of items taken into the park for purposes of performing a ritual, rules of the park and other relevant issues. This process culminated in the signing of a MoU to operationalize collaborative cultural resource management. A cultural values conservation education strategy to promote cultural awareness was developed through a consultative process.

A study carried out in partnership with the Mountains of the Moon University, Uganda, used Rapid Ethnographic Assessment Procedures (REAP) to identify the elements of the Konzo traditional management system, and how they interrelate, by uncovering local knowledge through a qualitative data collection process (Muhumuza, 2012). This consisted of semi-structured interviews, expert interviews, and focus group discussions. The experts' interviews targeted the ridge leaders; semi-structured interviews were impromptu meetings with local communities and focus group discussions were conducted with interest groups. The data from the 41 respondents was manually analysed due to the small sample size.

The use of totems was considered as an approach to protect species that were under threat as a result of cultural practices and other pressures, including trade. Focus group discussions were conducted with different clans, and one of the species prioritized for protection through a ranking system was the chimpanzee. Primate researchers were engaged to undertake a survey; transect lines were established to sample the chimpanzee population and walks conducted along them. Data was collected and analysed to determine the chimpanzee population, and evidence of threats to the chimpanzees was collected from the field.

A management plan was developed for two key cultural sites and a proposal for the development of cultural tourism products was prepared. These two documents were validated at a consultative workshop.

Results

Key stakeholders identified as relevant for the integration of culture into the park management framework included: recognized cultural institutions, community-based organizations with a cultural orientation; community-based natural resource management organizations; academic and research institutions; conservation agencies; non-governmental cultural organizations (e.g. the Uganda Cultural Foundation); faith-based organizations; community-based tourism organizations; and local governments. Since the government had not fully recognized and allowed the BaKonzo and the Bwamba cultural institutions to operate, a cultural community-based organization, RweMCCA was formed to spearhead the integration process.

Fifteen sacred sites, to which the BaKonzo and Bamba attach cultural connotations and respect, and which constitute the major cultural values in the park, were identified and mapped. These key sites are presented in **Table 1**; shows the distribution of the cultural sites within the park.

Table 1. The location and significance of sacred sites

Name of sacred site	Feature/location	Ownership	Significance
Nyawereka	Tortoise-shaped stone (2.5 km)	Batangi clan	This site is sacred for the Bikone community. It is visited for the cleansing of ridges, disease control, and the management of other natural risks.
Kahindangoma	A hill between two rivers (500 m)	All clans	A highly regarded royal palace. On 30 June each year, celebrations are held at Kahindangoma to mark the independence of the Rwenzururu kingdom. It is the king's palace and at this site, cleansing of ridges takes place. Various sacrifices and prayers for good luck, disease control, fertility and avoidance of natural disasters are offered.
Kasanga	Hill (2.5 km)	All clans	A royal palace located in Kilighutu village, housing royal regalia and considered to be a unifying place for all the BaKonzo
Bulemba	Hill	All the BaKonzo	A burial place for the king of BaKonzo (Mukirani Isaya). There is also another cultural site about 500 m away, which people go to for special spiritual powers, initiation rituals, memorials or historical anniversaries

The traditional management structure was found to be based on families, villages, ridges and clans, all of which were administered independently, as shown in **Figure 1**:

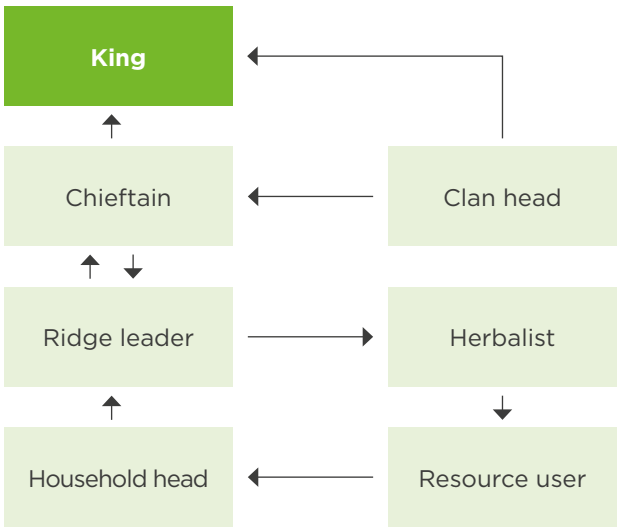

Figure 1. Konzo traditional management structure.
Source: Muhumuza, 2012.

Political authority over use of resources begins with *Nyineka,* the head of the family. The families make up a village (*obulhambo*); each village is under the leadership of the *mukuluwabulhambu* (ridge leader). The ridge leader reports to a leader called *Isemalhambu* (Chieftain), for whom they collect tributes. The Chieftain – a central figure with responsibility for more than one ridge – has judicial, executive and legislative powers, and reports to the king.

The review of the GMP formalized the process of the integration of cultural values into the management framework of the park. Activities to preserve important inherent cultural values were incorporated into tourism, community conservation and park operations programmes. The Board of Trustees of the Uganda Wildlife Authority (UWA) approved the revised GMP for implementation. The position of Cultural Values Warden was created and an officer recruited. The officer's duties include: (i) implementing cultural values into conservation activities as specified in the General Management Plan; (ii) coordinating activities with stakeholders; and (iii) promoting the cultural values conservation approach to the park management and throughout the UWA organization.

Traditional resource use in the park, influenced by various beliefs and taboos, is associated with gods, spirits and totems, and is vital for biodiversity conservation. Respondents revealed that the Rwenzori Mountain people are culturally grouped into 15 clans, with specific clans attached to various sacred sites. Each clan posseses a single totem and six clans are associated with particular animal totems (see **Table 2**).

Table 2. Clans and their associated totems

Clan name	Totem
Baswagha	Leopard
Abahira	Guinea fowl
Abathangi	Dog and chimpanzee
Abahambu	Red-eyed dove
Ababinga	Baboon
Abasukali (also called the royal clan)	Bushbuck

According to traditional beliefs totems must not be killed or harmed in any way by clan members. It is illegal for a relative such as a wife, who may be from a different tribe or clan with another totem, to hurt the totem of a husband or son. Severe punishments, such as banishment, fines, hard labour or even death, were applied to anyone who disrespected their totem. Consequently, people were afraid to kill or eat animals considered as their totems or those of their relatives (Muhumuza, 2012). A survey showed that there are 384 chimpanzees in the park. They are under threat due to poaching, where they are hunted for meat, trapped in snares laid for antelopes, killed for body parts due to superstitious beliefs, and sought after as medicine. The Batangi clan's chimpanzee totem was prioritized for conservation.

The cultural values conservation strategy recommended the creation of a museum as a key venue for the promotion of cultural awareness and education, through displays of cultural artefacts and regalia depicting the cultural beliefs, norms, traditions and practices of the kingdom's clans. It also proposed the use of information, educational and communication (IEC) materials in schools, intercultural galas, marathons, celebrations of cultural calendars and community meetings as crucial avenues for the promotion and teaching of cultural values. The park has a high potential for niche cultural tourism, due to its sacred sites and the cultural songs, dances and practices that can be harnessed to develop tourism to support the community. The study recommended a cultural trail, linking community homesteads and the royal tomb in the park via the proposed park museum.

The review of the GMP prioritized the collaborative management of cultural resources in the park. In accordance with the Wildlife Act 2000, cap 200 of Laws of Uganda, access arrangements were required for its 15 cultural sites. A cultural management committee was formed, comprised of traditional leaders responsible for cultural practices on the ridges at the site. The arrangements were negotiated based on the mapping information that detailed the cultural significance of each site. A MoU was signed between the UWA and *Obusinga Bwa Rwenzururu*, under which the traditional management structure for the cultural resources – specifically for access to the royal tomb of the first King of the BaKonzo – was established. Survey respondents indicated that a management structure comprising the traditional leaders, RweMCCA and UWA would be appropriate for the integration process (see **Figure 2**), and that the sites should be compatible with conservation, and of socio-cultural and economic significance to the communities. A plan was drawn up to ensure that these cultural sites are managed in a way that meets the objectives of preserving cultural heritage, conserving biodiversity and supporting community livelihood through local economic development initiatives such as cultural tourism. Guidelines for the integration of cultural values into the park management structure were developed for adoption by UWA.

Discussions

Ignoring culture when designating protected areas can pose a threat to neighbouring communities, whose livelihoods may depend on the area's resources, setting the stage for conflict as these communities become increasingly alienated (Conte, 2002).

The sacred sites in the Rwenzoris are valued as areas of worship, where clans perform rituals for ridge cleansing and offer sacrifices to the gods for healing and devotion. They also ensure the security of livelihoods in agriculture and industrial production, and are believed to offer protection from disease. The BaKonzo and Bamba consider sacred sites to be a cultural heritage from their great-grandfathers, and their spiritual belief system supports the conservation of natural resources in the park through a set of sanctions for not respecting totems and observing taboos. For many years, the Government did not recognize the sacred nature of the cultural sites in the park and the BaKonzo and Bamba site guardians were unable to gain access to them. Consequently, identifying and interacting with the cultural values of sacred sites required great sensitivity, respect and trust-building. Culture and biological diversity are also intimately and inextricably linked, with many sacred natural sites supporting high levels of biodiversity; the loss of cultural and spiritual diversity can therefore contribute to the loss of biological diversity.

The process of integrating culture and values into conservation entails the establishment of a framework for integration, a management structure, a tailored programme for promotion and education about the cultural values, and the provision of socio-economic and cultural benefits to the communities.

There is, however, a conflict between the philosophy of protected area managers and the cultural beliefs of the local people. Protected area

Konjo cultural dance E kyikibi performed by the Ruboni community
© Nelson Enyagu

managers do not fully comprehend the cultural practices carried out at different sites in the park to which communities demand access. A framework for the collaborative management of cultural resources through a MoU with the cultural institutions is critical for the integration process. A MoU signed between UWA and OBR strengthened the partnership between the conservation agency and the cultural institution for management of both natural and cultural resources, for the benefit of the communities. A management structure that integrates the traditional structure, the park authority and the cultural institutions has been suggested, in order to strengthen the links between each entity and improve the management of both natural and cultural resources.

The BaKonzo's cultural institution, *Obusinga Bwa Rwenzuru* (OBR) Kingdom, was recognized after the cultural values integration process.[1] The Bamba's cultural institution, *Obudingya Bwa Bamba* (OBB), was also recognized. These two cultural institutions are involved in the management of the cultural sites identified in the park.

A programme tailored to promote awareness and educate communities about their culture was developed and implemented to support the integration process of the cultural values conservation strategy. A museum was constructed in consultation with RweMCCA to interpret cultural artefacts to visiting communities and school groups.

1 *Obusinga Bwa Rwenzuru* (OBR) Kingdom replaced RweMCCA but the two terms are used interchangeably in this article.

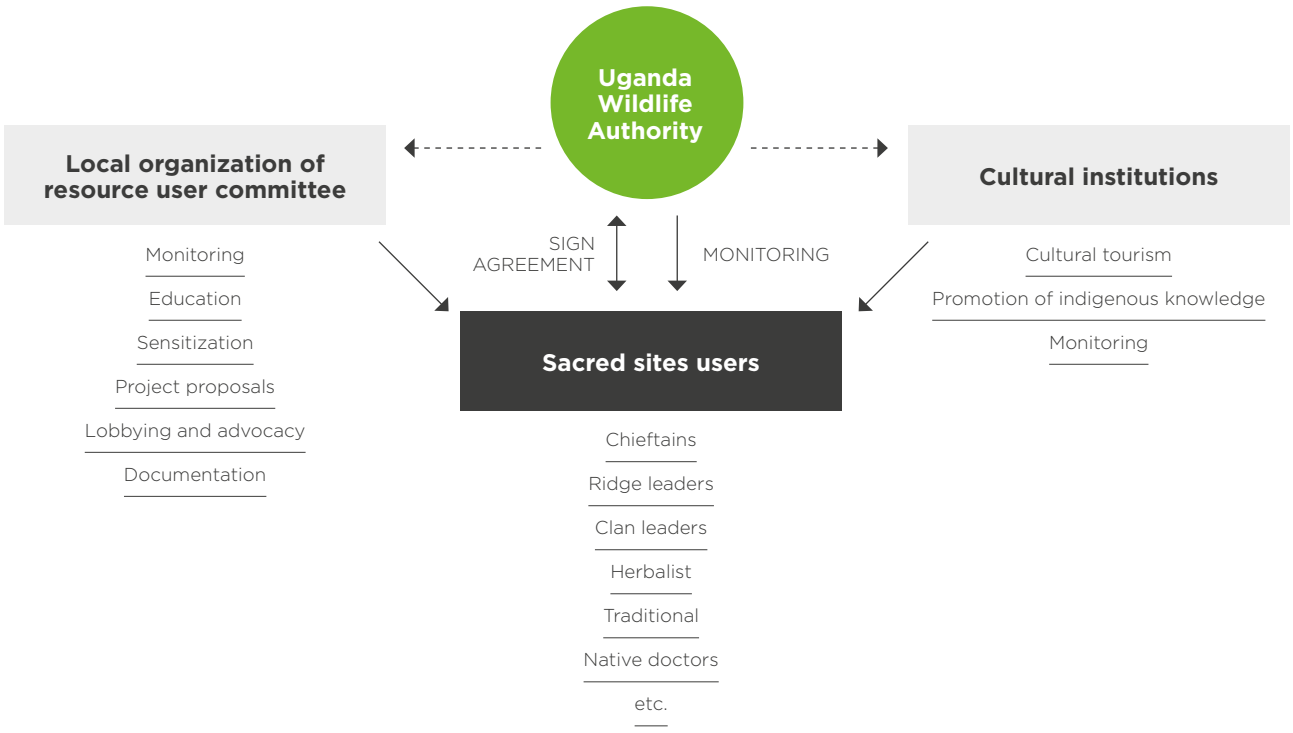

Figure 2: Suggested integrated management structure.
Source: Muhumuza (2012)

The anniversary of the death of the first King of the BaKonzo, Isaya Mukirania, is celebrated every year on the second day of September. During this event, the history of the 'Rwenzururu' Kindgom and the struggles of its people are recounted. Rituals are performed by traditional leaders in accordance with the traditions and norms of the 'BaKonzo', and cultural galas and inter-clan competitions such as marathons and football matches are organized as part of the anniversary commemmorations. This royal event is a unifying factor and creates awareness around the cultural calendar of the BaKonzo. Other activities are organized in schools, such as essay competitions on cultural topics, exhibitions and inter–clan sports competitions to promote local culture. However, indigenous traditional knowledge is beginning to disappear, due to lack of youth interest in cultural issues. This, coupled with stiff competition from western cultures, is impacting negatively on the intergenerational transfer of cultural heritage and its preservation.

The integration of culture into the management framework of a protected area is a unique, innovative and complementary approach to existing conservation initiatives. It preserves the cultural heritage, redefines a protected area for the community and makes it relevant to them. This generates support and promotes community participation in park management programmes, enhancing community livelihoods through local economic development initiatives.

Studies were designed to bring socio-economic benefits to the neighbouring communities of the two high-potential sites. The recommendations from these studies resulted in two cultural tourism products:

i) A trail developed in collaboration with OBR to provide experiences of cultural norms, traditions and practices at household, community and institutional levels. The trail consists of a village walk via homesteads, a primary school attended by the king, worship sites, and culminates in performances that interpret the culture of the BaKonzo;

ii) A 'chimpanzee watch' trail, which demonstrates its status as a totem, in order to protect and conserve the endangered species in the park. The trail is managed by a community group known as Kinyampanika Chimpanzee Conservation Development Association (KICHIDA), using traditional management systems to protect the sanctity of the cultural sites. This walk is interpreted to the visitors by the community guides.

These opportunities provided tangible economic benefits to communities engaged in cultural

tourism and in the appreciation and protection of cultural sites and biodiversity

Conclusion

The above integration of cultural values and conservation into the management framework of a protected area is an alternative model of sustainable development, and the first of its kind in Africa. Lessons from this model should be documented for adoption across other parks in Africa that have cultural significance.

The contribution of the cultural values approach in conservation is valuable when addressing community interest in park management. When the local people are actively engaged in these activities, they will develop a personal stake in long-term sustainable tourism development, through the conservation and maintenance of a site's authentic cultural heritage. The role of key stakeholders is crucial in understanding the rich cultural history of a national park by looking at the world outside its boundaries; cultural institutions are instrumental in creating awareness and conservation of cultural values as a valuable entity. Mutual appreciation and respect for the cultural values of communities and respect for wildlife resources are also important for the survial of local communities and biodiversity. The managers of protected areas who are custodians of these sacred sites should be ready to commit to this notion.

The younger generations have a crucial role to play in the adoption and utilization of this knowledge, and they must be included in the preservation of the cultural heritage of a community. Intergenerational transfer is crucial for the sustainable conservation of cultural values. Radio programmes may create awareness about cultural values, but there are other communication mechanisms that may reach the target people, e.g. open events such as funerals and weddings, which should be used in tandem with radio programmes.

Cultural values have a key role to play in increasing the tourism base in a protected area. The development of cultural tourism products at the identified cultural sites provides employment to the community as guides, and contributes to the local economy and to development.

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Sacred Mijikenda Kaya Forests
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Sustainable heritage management: the case of Mijikenda Kayas, Kenya

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Introduction

The concept of sustainable development is more often associated with protecting the natural environment, implying use and replacement, than with preserving cultural heritage. The focus of sustainable development for cultural heritage is preservation and change management (Loulanski, 2007). The cultural heritage sector has for years taken only a short-term view of repairing and restoring sanitized heritage environments, without thinking about the future contexts of heritage places. Sustainable heritage development, on the other hand, implies not only preservation of the cultural environment, but also intergenerational time frames that include planning for that heritage's future (Hassler et al., 2002). Sustainable heritage development also recognizes the social and physical environments of heritage places, recognizing the harmony of the natural environment in relation to culture, society and economy, as well as the conservation of all these aspects (Hembd and Silberstein, 2011).

Heritage, and sustainability, has several facets. One of these is the focus on the benefits that can accrue from the heritage site; another one is the recognition and maintenance of the traditional skills that could be critical for the conservation of that heritage place. Thirdly, there is the understanding that cultural heritage places sustain communities, acting as arenas of long-term memory for societies. Sustaining this memory within communities has implications on the survival of heritage places. It has been recognized in many parts of the world that the disappearance of heritage places can have serious negative effects on the communities that commemorate them. Sustaining heritage is thus a process of ensuring societal continuity at spiritual, social and psychological levels. For heritage to be managed sustainably, heritage managers and the community, or those groups who have a stake in the heritage, have to work together (Abungu, 2013; Kiriama, 2009*a*; Kiriama, 2009*b*).

For a long time, African heritage managers excluded the custodian and surrounding communities of heritage places from their management and conservation. This not only led to conflicts with the communities, but also put the heritage places in danger as the state institutions responsible for their conservation and management did not have enough resources to manage the heritage sites. Increasingly, most state institutions, which were already underfunded, are becoming short of funds to manage the heritage sites/places. These institutions, in an ironic twist, have now identified the heritage places as resources that can be used to generate income for both the institutions and the local communities in which the heritage places are located. Consequently, the local communities are now being involved in the management of these sites but in a way that is beneficial to both the community and the heritage place. This has also brought in the issue of public expertise, in which the abilities of local communities in the management of heritage are integrated into the official management systems.

This paper presents the application of sustainable heritage management at the Rabai Kayas of Kenya, the challenges faced and how these have been tackled. It argues that heritage has a role in sustainable community development and hopes that this will affect policy decisions, increasing resource allocation to heritage management and conservation.

Definitions

Though the concept of sustainable development came into international focus in 1972 at the UN's Stockholm Conference on the Human Environment, it was not until 2002 that it became firmly entrenched. (Nurse, 2006). The most common definition of sustainable development is the one put forward by the Brundtland Commission (WCED, 1987), which defines sustainable development as 'development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs'. This definition is, however, problematic, as it is perceived to link development with the natural environment. This is partly because many people, especially natural scientists, saw or still see only the *physical* environment as being affected by development projects, expending a great deal of effort on mitigating its effects; hence the establishment of campaign groups such as the Green Party, Greenpeace and the Green Belt Movement. As a consequence, sustainable development has long been defined within the constricted notions of modernization theories of development, which use Western paradigms as the 'universal' and the 'obvious' form of development (Aseniero, 1985).

In recent years however, it has been recognized that sustainable development should include the social, political and economic dimensions of development as well (Bell, 2003; OECD, 2001; Kadekodi, 1992). With this paradigm shift, cultural heritage is now recognized as another important facet of sustainable development. It is now understood that the meanings and values ascribed to culture by communities, as well as individuals, do to a large extent influence or create site-congruent patterns of economic development. The value that a community ascribes to a particular place or object will guide how that place or object is going to be used, enjoyed or perceived (Abungu, 2013). For instance, a landscape that is rich in mineral resources but at the same time has great cultural value may not be exploited if, in the community's view, cultural value supersedes the economic value. Therefore, for communities to take any economic development programmes seriously, these programmes must respect the community's heritage.

Heritage is a broad spectrum of tangible and intangible elements, often the result of long-term human and natural actions. What is sustainable cultural heritage? Sustainable cultural heritage management is all those factors which, when put together, enable the community to live sustainably in harmony with its heritage resources. Sustainable cultural heritage does not only refer to cultural tourism and its benefits, but to a variety of factors – use of traditional conservation methods, management and interpretation knowledge – that can sustain communities. Sustainability is achieved when the management mechanism set-up guarantees the conservation of the site values in the long term (Moriset, 2006). It implies that the management mechanism is driven by available financial, human and technical means, and that the values on which this mechanism is rooted are accurately identified. The mechanism is not rigid, but is flexible enough to absorb social evolutions, ensuring the preservation of the past while accommodating change.

The World Bank has recognized that culture can be used as a resource for economic development. The Bank argues that those communities that are assisted to preserve their cultural assets witness more investment in the local area, which in turn leads to increased employment and higher levels of income and reduced poverty. This in turn generates more resources for environmental and cultural conservation. Conversely, lack of heritage conservation leads to social losses, such as increased levels of crime. The Bank concludes that communities identify themselves more with a given project when that project relates to the communities' cultural foundations (World Bank, 2010).

Community refers to a wide range of concepts, from a geographically bounded physical place with people living together and their livelihoods and social interaction needs, to groups of people whose interaction is not based on physical proximity but on common interests (Garkovich, 2011). For the purposes of this paper, the favoured concept of community is that of a geographically defined place, where people interact with each other and have psychological ties with each other and the place in which they live. Communities are, however, not homogeneous and to assume that communities can and do act for common interests is problematic. Studies of community activeness have documented serious gaps in local social organization and a dearth of locality-oriented action, especially in rural areas (Bridger and Luloff, 1999). It is also difficult to persuade individual actors to pursue joint welfare or interests. As a result, the establishment of a widely shared community understanding of heritage values is

important but difficult to attain, due to diverse and competing stakeholders and their interests.

Community heritage resources are the physical elements that define each community. They are the tangible embodiments of intangible historical, cultural, aesthetic and social values imparting to an area its particular sense of time and place. Sustainable heritage conservation, therefore, is about managing these elements for the benefit of present and future generations: the management of continuity within a context of change.

Mijikenda Kayas, Rabai

The Kayas (singular – *Kaya*; plural – *Makaya*) are sacred forests found on the hilltops and coastal plains of the Rabai region of Kenya. Rabai is a region located 50 km west of Mombasa City, with 700,000 adults and a population density of 493 per km^2. The Rabai or Aravai inhabit the area. They are a part of the Mijikenda, or 'nine villages' (*Miji* – villages, *kenda* – nine), ethnic group. These groups claim to be descended from the same area of Singwaya (*Shungwaya*) and speak the same language with various dialects (Spear, 1978). Historical and archaeological evidence shows that these groups – who include the Agiriama, Akambe, Arihe, Aravai, Achonyi, Adigo, Aduruma, Adzihana and Akauma – may have migrated from their original homeland of Singwaya (thought to be in modern-day southern Somalia), to their present land sometime in the sixteenth century (Mutoro, 1987; Kiriama, 2013). The Kenya-Tanzania frontier and the Sabaka River border the land of the Mijikenda to the south and to the north, respectively.

The historical development and location of the Kayas is intertwined with the beliefs and culture of the Mijikenda. Initially, the ancestors of these groups settled in six individually fortified hilltop villages, or *Kayas*, along the ridge behind the Kenyan coast. Three more Kayas were later added. The settlement in these nine distinct Kayas defined each of the nine distinct groups who make up the Mijikenda (Nyamweru, 2012). The siting of these Kayas on forested hilltops was a result of security concerns from marauding pastoral attackers. For instance, the Aravai claim that it was as a result of attacks from the Akwavi Maasai that they settled in their Kaya. After this settlement, each of the nine groups is said to have remained within the Kaya for a long time until the mid-nineteenth century when, as a result of enhanced security and population growth, the various groups left their forest refuges and began to clear and cultivate away from them (Parkin, 1991; Willis, 1996). However, even after the Kayas were abandoned, becoming uninhabited forested areas, the laws and rituals governing their protection remained intact (Kiriama, 2013).

Led by their elders, local communities maintained the sites of the original Kaya settlements as sacred places and burial grounds. The cutting of trees and destruction of vegetation around these sites was prohibited, thus preserving the surrounding Kaya forest as a screen or buffer for the forest clearings. Thus, while the surrounding areas were gradually converted to farmland, the Kaya sites are the few remaining patches of indigenous forests and cultivated landscapes. Many of the forest paths to the historical villages are still quite distinct and in some cases, remnants of gates and palisades are also visible.

Kaya settlement patterns

A typical Kaya is a clear circular opening several hundred metres across with a wooden fence or stockade all around it and paths leading through it via a dense primeval forest. The gates into the clearing have dry stone walling of two metres and a wooden doorframe. Powerful charms and armed guards protect these gates. Village meetings would be held by the council of elders (*ngambi*) in a grove of trees or a large thatched structure (*moro*), located in the centre of the Kaya. Certain sacred and protective objects, called *fingo*, which were brought from the original homeland of Singwaya, and essential to the well-being of the community, are believed to be buried in a central location in the Kaya. According to the elders, the *fingo* consist of a pot full of an assortment of medicine. The residential part of the Kaya is known as a *boma* and this was a large expanse of land where houses were built together. Coconut palms, used to tap the traditional brew – *mnazi* or *tembo* – were also planted in this area (Githito, 1998).

The council of elders is responsible for the day-to-day running of community affairs including spiritual, social and economic matters, meeting regularly to deliberate on issues related to food, water and security. The council of elders are respected members of the community who have gone through various initiation rites.

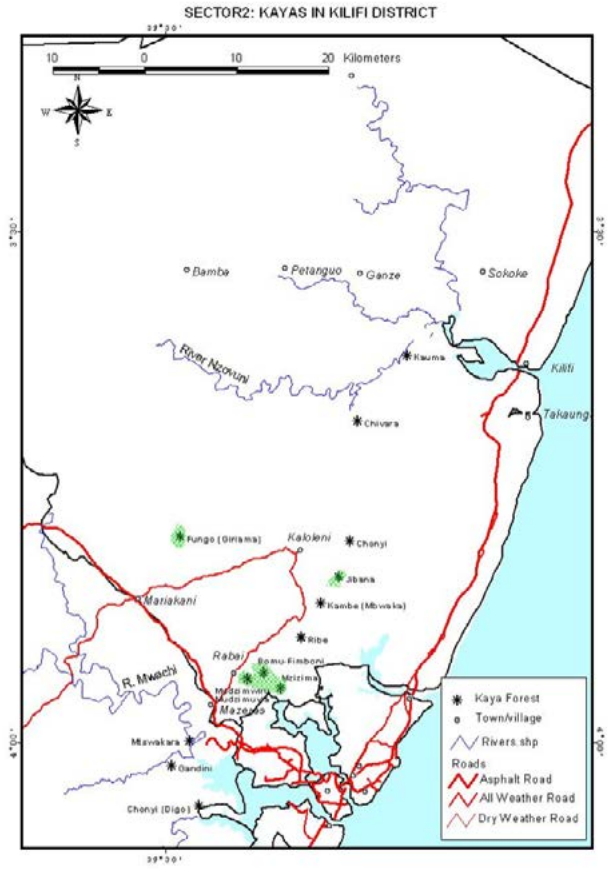

Figure 1. Location of Rabai Kaya.
Source: nomination file

Rabai Kaya elders
© Herman Kiriama

Currently, 45 Kayas have been identified and the Kenyan government has gazetted 40 of these either as National Monuments or Forest Reserves. In June 2008, 11 of these Kayas, including the Rabai Kaya of Mudzi Muvya, where this project is based, were inscribed on UNESCO's World Heritage List.

There are four Kayas in Rabai: *Mudzi Mwiru*, *Mudzi Muvya*, *Bomu/Timboni* and *Mzizima,* with a total cover of 756 ha, where 425 plant taxa, 8 of which are endemic to Rabai, 9 rare to the Kenyan Coast and 11 atypical to Kenya, have been recorded (Githito, 1998)

Visitors being entertained outside the visitor centre
© Herman Kiriama

Rabai Kaya conservation programme

The Kaya forests are natural biological phenomena that owe their existence to the culture, beliefs and history of the Mijikenda and are thus an example of the continued existence of traditional forms of land use that support biological diversity. As the natural and cultural aspects of the Kayas heritage are so closely interwoven, it follows that the integrity and security of this heritage is closely linked to its authenticity. The Kayas will continue to exist and be protected as long as local beliefs and regard for or use for them persists. In spite of the importance of the Kayas to the well-being of the community, hard economic conditions coupled with proximity to the coastal tourism hub, christianization/ islamization and western education, led many young people in Rabai to dismiss the importance of the Kayas and to desecrate the forests in search of sand and trees to sell to the construction industry. The fabric of the Kayas was further destroyed as the women harvested trees from the forest to use as fuel, and it became necessary to start a programme to complement the local belief systems by preserving the Kayas. The Rabai Kaya conservation programme was initiated in 2006 by the National Museums of Kenya, in conjunction with the Rabai community and the French Embassy in Kenya.

The objective of the Rabai Kaya conservation programme is to promote the conservation of the Kayas by reviving interest in the sites as centres of culture, history and biodiversity. This revival, however, endeavours to promote the sustainable use of Kayas by providing programmes to enable

the inhabitants to generate income from this resource. This is achieved through:

1. **Sustainable use**: Encouraging and training the communities in the sustainable use of the forests through assistance in establishing activities such as beekeeping and craft-making, as a way of conserving the forests while creating wealth in the community.
2. **Herbal medicine**: Many Kaya elders are herbalists. The programme harnessed this knowledge by collaborating with the elders to identify plants of medicinal value in Kaya Mudzi Muvya and thereafter encouraging the use of these plants in the community and other neighbouring groups. The project also assists the elders in preparing the medicines hygienically for sale to the wider community.
3. **Tourism**: The Kayas lie within the tourist circuit of the Kenyan coast. In consultation with the local elders, Kaya Mudzi Muvya was opened up for ecotourism with the establishment of nature trails.

These programmes were developed only after the community reached a consensus on who comprised the Kaya 'community'.[1] After several consultation meetings over a number of months, the Kaya 'community' was expanded to include women, youth and the elders. This community then established the Rabai Kaya Conservation Association, whose aim was to set up an ecotourism project with the objective of conserving the ecological and cultural heritage of Rabai. Secondly, community-based organizations (CBOs) representing these three groups (youth, women and elders) were identified and represented in the Rabai Kaya Conservation Association. The Association is thus made up of four CBOs: Bomani Women Group, Nagajeza Women Group, Rabai Conservation Group (Elders group) and *Uhifadhi wa Makaya ya Rabai* (Youth Group).

Thereafter, the groups agreed to form a management committee for the Rabai Conservation Association. All group members attending the Annual General Meeting elected this committee. The tasks of the management committee include:

- Overall management of the Kaya project on behalf of the community.
- Liaising with the national heritage institution (National Museums of Kenya) for technical advice.
- Working with the National heritage institution (National Museums of Kenya), which, on a *pro bono* basis, undertakes periodic monitoring of the condition, management and presentation of the Kaya.

It was also agreed that the community would retain 100% of revenue generated by the project and use it for community projects

After the Rabai people defined the Kaya community, formed the Rabai Conservation Association, elected the management committee and agreed on what projects to undertake, the National Museums of Kenya (NMK) then started fundraising for the project. Through the support of the NMK, the Rabai Kaya Conservation Association received a grant of USD 35,437 from the French Embassy in Nairobi to implement four income-generating activities, including: ecotourism, beekeeping, sale of herbal medicine and tree reforestation and sales.

Achievements

The main achievement of the project has been that it has united the Kaya elders, women and youth groups which had previously been antagonistic to one other. The Kaya elders saw the women and youth as intent on destroying the Kayas, while the women and youth saw the elders as preserving an archaic tradition and forest that did not benefit them materially. Both have now seen the benefit of preserving the Kayas and are working together. The medicinal value of the Kayas is now widely appreciated.

The project is also an example of how a partnership between a state institution (the National Museums of Kenya), development partners (French) and the local community can not only sustainably conserve a heritage resource, but can also contribute to minimizing environmental disasters. At a macro level, such a partnership contributes to the Sustainable Development Goal of poverty reduction. Several income-generating activities were established and continue to contribute to the community's economic well-being.

1 This was an important step because elders had considered that as custodians of Kayas, they were the only 'community' of the Kayas.

Eighty-one community members from four Rabai Kaya community groups have been trained in beekeeping. They have been equipped with the relevant skills for setting up and managing a modern apiary, for which the project made available the equipment. A total of 120 Langstroth hives were bought and installed inside Kaya Mudzi Muvya and the hives have been colonized. Two sites within the Kaya were identified for apiary establishment. The following factors were considered in the selection: (i) proximity to water source; (ii) availability of shade; (iii) availability of pollen (flowers); (iv) flat ground; (v) distance from disturbances like noise; (vi) distance from the ecotourism trails; (vii) security of the hives; (viii) distance from the sacred sections of the Kaya. Honey from the beehives is being harvested and is packed into 400 g jars, which are sold at USD 3.75 apiece.

For a long time, Kenyan tourism concentrated mainly on beach and game safaris. In recent years, however, a trend has started of encouraging cultural tourism as well. This kind of tourism not only encourages the visitors (tourists) to interact with local communities, it also enables the local communities to earn an income from their cultural resources, thus contributing to the conservation of these heritage resources. The Rabai Kayas ecotourism and conservation project is one such initiative. The project targets not only foreign tourists, but also local visitors, especially school and college students. These are the visitors of tomorrow, so involving them now will ensure sustainability of the project. Eight Mijikenda youths (male and female) who received training as tour guides are now involved in conducting visitors around the Kaya.

The nature trails at the Kaya forest were identified and defined by clearing the vegetation. An expert from the NMK's Coastal Conservation Unit collaborated with the Kaya elders to identify the various medicinal plants along the tour trails in order to provide adequate signage.

The management committee members also received project implementation, general and financial management training to equip them with project management skills.

Areas within the Kaya buffer zone, which had been destroyed by encroachment, were identified as ideal for establishing woodlands and these areas have been planted with indigenous species. The aim is to encourage people to harvest trees within these woodlands and thus protect the actual Kaya from encroachment. The replanting of the woodlands will be a continuous process.

An information centre was built next to the entrance of Kaya Mudzi Muvya. The centre is built over two floors: the upper floor is used as an information centre and shop while the ground floor serves as a honey storage and processing area. It presents the history, archaeology and biodiversity of the Kayas, the role of the elders and the general layout of the Kaya, and the areas to be visited.[2]

From the onset of the project, it was evident that the involvement of the women and youth was important for sustainability. This is because the women are the ones who were collecting wood and logs for house construction from the forest. The youth, on the other hand, were also collecting logs for construction as well as mining for construction sand, the result of which was a gradual reduction of the tree cover as well as soil erosion. Women and youth involved have now taken the lead in tackling these problems.

Challenges

Since the project was to take place in a sacred forest, something that had not been done before, there was some resistance from some of the local people who perceived this as a desecration of holy places. Adequate sensitization helped to overcome this perception. Another challenge was a lack of locals trained in project management, or local people who could train the management committee in these skills. This was addressed by the project – the NMK mobilized other partners to undertake the training as part of project activities.

The lessons learned from this project are:

- Local ownership can only be assured by involving the local community in project conception and design.
- As far as possible, the management of local resources should be left to the local people. Experts should only be engaged in an advisory capacity.

2 Prior to the establishment of the project, with permission from the elders, the writer and other archaeologists conducted archaeological investigations inside the nearby Kaya Mudzi Mwiru (the oldest of Rabai Kayas) and information obtained from here is displayed in the information centre.

- Every sector of the local community – elders, women and youth (male and female) should be involved in any programme aimed at local communities.
- Local traditions must be respected in the implementation of any heritage project.

Currently, no adverse effects have been observed from opening up the Kayas, which were traditionally sacred places that only the initiated were allowed to enter. In order for the Rabai Kayas to be opened for ecotourism, the elders had to conduct ceremonies to seek and obtain permission from the ancestors for uninitiated people to enter the Kayas. However, access to certain parts of the Kayas is still restricted to initiated elders only. Kayas are fragile ecosystems that could be destroyed by large human traffic. A formula is currently being worked out to determine the annual visitor-carrying capacity.

Conclusion

Direct community benefits from heritage resources can lead to proactiveness in maintaining the site and its environs. For instance, the harvesting of sand and the cutting of trees around the vicinity of the Kayas has stopped and the community members are now at the forefront of reporting infractions to the authorities as well as arresting culprits.

This model of heritage management has ensured that the resource (the Kayas) is conserved both for the present and future generations. This has been achieved by reinvesting money into the site and by maintaining the intangible aspects associated with the site (allowing the elders to continue carrying out their ceremonies and for the visitors to observe the rules and regulations of the sacred place). This has ensured that the sacredness of the Kaya is maintained, in spite of its new role as a tourist attraction. At the same time, the community better appreciates its heritage and also benefits from improved livelihoods as a result of the revenue stream from the site. The requisite traditional skills, necessary for the survival of the heritage, are strengthened and maintained as skills and memory are transferred across the community's generations; youths are learning from the elders the skills needed to maintain the heritage place.

The example of the Kayas reinforces the view that sustaining heritage is a process of societal continuity at spiritual, economic, social and psychological levels, requiring strong stakeholder involvement. As Rössler (2012) argues:

> The outstanding universal value of World Heritage sites is based on local values, local experiences and most importantly on local conservation efforts. World Heritage is not only the success story of heritage conservation efforts on a global scale, it is also a success story of local people and communities who make this global heritage possible.

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Sustainable development at World Heritage sites through government, private sector, NGO and local communities partnership

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Introduction

Various case studies have demonstrated that, if properly managed, World Heritage sites can contribute to the improvement of livelihoods and poverty alleviation. Since most of this heritage is found in rural areas, it is better placed to contribute to rural development. In line with the UN 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, UNESCO's General Assembly adopted a policy document on World Heritage and Sustainable Development in 2015 (UNESCO, 2015), which includes strengthening efforts to protect and safeguard the world's cultural and natural heritage. The policy advocates for inclusive social and economic development in the implementation of the Word Heritage Convention.

At national level, States Parties have come up with programmes and policies that establish the role of heritage in contributing to socio-economic development. In Botswana, the government has introduced the Community Based Natural Resources Management (CBNRM) programme to enable local communities to benefit from the conservation and management of natural resources. Originally, the approach was wildlife-based, but has now been extended to include other natural resources and cultural heritage.

The department has collaborated with donors from the private sector, agencies, and through bilateral cooperation to fund the development and conservation of National Monuments to enable local communities to derive benefits from heritage. One example is the Monument Development Programme, funded by the Ipelegeng Programme, which develops National Monuments in collaboration with community-based organizations (CBOs), enabling local communities to derive benefits from heritage sites. The department also introduced the Adopt a Monument Programme, in which it allows the private sector to adopt National Monuments and assist in their development and conservation.

These initiatives have created employment, income-generating activities and developments, especially for local communities in rural areas where such opportunities are scarce. This paper will discuss the Tsodilo Community Development Initiative (TCDI), born out of a collaboration between the Department of National Museums and Monuments, the private sector (Diamond Trust), NGOs (Letloa and the Trust for Okavango Cultural and Development Initiative, TOCaDI), and the local community through their CBO, the Tsodilo Community Development Trust (TCDT). The paper will also demonstrate how the project has created opportunities for the village and its people for support from different stakeholders.

Data is derived from secondary sources, which consist of management planning documents and articles written about the World Heritage site, and project documents such as annual reports, annual plans and consultancy reports on various activities. It is also based on the personal experiences of team members involved in the implementation of the project and officers for the National Museum,

and through communication with the project manager.

Heritage, tourism and sustainable development

The most common means of exploiting heritage resources is through the promotion of heritage-based tourism, as many tourists visit iconic places every year. Heritage tourism refers to the utilization of both cultural and natural heritage assets and resources to attract tourists. It has been argued that World Heritage nomination acts as a catalyst in making a place an important destination and can be a strong driver of economic development (Ndoro, 2015). This is true for Tsodilo Hills World Heritage site, which has seen an increase in the number of site visitors since its inscription in 2001.

Sustainable development of heritage resources for tourism requires the empowerment and involvement of local communities in the decision-making process. The Tsodilo project is mainly tourism-driven and has demonstrated that heritage tourism can contribute to rural development and poverty alleviation. The development of the site for cultural tourism has stimulated the economy of the local area and the country as a whole (Mbaiwa, 2015). The project involves local communities, from the development of the management plan, to the funding proposal to Diamond Trust and the formation of the CBO. Even during the implementation of the project, local communities have been involved and empowered to make decisions through different structures in the village.

Tsodilo World Heritage site

Tsodilo Hills World Heritage Site is located in a small village of the same name in the north-western part of Botswana, in the Okavango sub-district. The village has a population of 204 people, comprising 95 males and 109 females (Central Statistics Organisation, 2011), and is home to two ethnic groups, the Ju/'hoansi and Hambukushu. It is underdeveloped and has been classified as a Rural Area Development Settlement (RADS). Apart from a gravel road to the village, a Kgotla (village square), houses built by the village development committee and the museum and staff houses within the site, there is no basic government infrastructure such as water, schools or a clinic. Most of the developments in the village are recent and came as a result of the project.

Tsodilo

Tsodilo Hills was declared a National Monument in 1927 and a World Heritage site in 2001. Its outstanding universal value (OUV) is based on its exceptional rock art consisting of over 4,500 paintings, its long history of settlement as evidenced by a wealth of archaeological records and its intangible heritage, which shows the local people's close connection to the hills. The hills are known as the Male, Female, Child and Grandchild, with most of the rock art concentrated on the Female hill. On average, the site attracted 8,000 visitors in 2011 (Department of National Museums and Monuments, 2010–2013).

Table 1. Visitor statistics, Tsodilo World Heritage site 2010-2013.

Year	Citizens	Non-citizens	Total
2010	3 845	5 195	9 040
2011	2 383	5 317	7 700
2012	3 596	5 044	8 640
2013	2 782	4 239	7 021

Source: National Museum

History of management/ conservation

The history of conservation and management of the site began when the then director of the National Museum, the late Alec Campbell, started documenting the rock art at the site. However, it was not until 1994 that a management plan for the site was produced, the main focus of which was the development of the infrastructure at the site, with very little emphasis on the conservation of the site resources. Following World Heritage inscription in 2001, the department developed the Tsodilo World Heritage Management Plan (TWHMP) in 2003, which was replaced by the Tsodilo Integrated Management Plan (TIMP) in 2005.

The development of the TIMP in 2005 was prompted by: (i) the sudden interest by different stakeholders in the site as a result of its World Heritage status, especially those private investors who wanted to take advantage of the related tourism development opportunities; (ii) the government recognizing the need to develop a management plan that would ensure that the local communities of Tsodilo were included in the opportunities created by the World Heritage status of their cultural heritage. Hence, the management plan was deliberately drawn in such a way that development of tourism in the area would be community-driven. A funding proposal for the implementation of the integrated management plan was prepared by Letloa and TOCaDI in September, 2005 and submitted to the Diamond Trust, which provided project funding of BWP 10 million[1] (Letloa and TOCaDI, 2005). This gave birth to a community-driven project that transformed the village of Tsodilo and its inhabitants.

As the project unfolded over the years, a mid-term evaluation of the project was conducted, which produced two important documents – the Tsodilo Community Development Project Strategic Plan and Project Document 200 – which now provide a strategic direction for the implementation of the project. All the stakeholders, including the local communities, crafted a new vision: **'A popular tourism destination inhabited by healthy, educated and proud residents who thrive on the rich cultural and natural resources of Tsodilo, and guard them well'.** In 2009, the Tsodilo Core Area Management Plan was developed, with support from the African World Heritage Fund (AWHF), to cater for the conservation of the heritage resources of the World Heritage site.

The significance of Tsodilo Hills cannot be underestimated. It is: (i) a National Monument; (ii) part of the Okavango delta Ramsar site (ODRS), the Kavango Zambezi transfrontier Conservation Area (KAZA); and (iii) a World Heritage site. All this positions Tsodilo Hills very well as an important tourist attraction nationally, regionally and internationally.

Governance

The Department of National Museums and Monuments is the management authority responsible for the conservation, protection and management of the heritage resources of Tsodilo Hills, which are found in the core area of the site, and for monitoring developments in the buffer area. The Department has a site office and museum and staff houses in the core area, under the overall management of a regional office in Maun. The local community, through their CBO, the Tsodilo Community Development Trust (TCDT), is responsible for the management of the Low Sensitivity Tourism Zone (LSTZ), where all the tourism developments under the project are taking place. The TIMP established a management structure for the implementation and management of the project, the Tsodilo Management Authority (TMA). The TMA is made up of representatives from government, the local community and NGOs.

The project and its partners

The first phase of the project involved numerous activities, including: recruitment of staff to implement the project, buying a staff vehicle, construction of staff houses, community-run campsites, capacity-building for the TMA and TCDT boards, guide training, dance group training, the provision of water (borehole drilling and installation), crafts training, relocation of livestock, construction of a drift fence, and installation of telephone lines and electricity. New partners were brought on board and agreements signed to support the project, especially in capacity-building, which was expanded to include community members, site promotion and marketing as these had not been fully covered in the first phase.

1 Approximately USD 979,150

The marketing and promotion of the site increased the number of site visitors to a steady annual range of 7,000 – 9,000. To benefit from heritage tourism in Tsodilo, new products, activities and facilities should be developed to attract more tourists to the site. However, this should be accompanied by a visitor management strategy to ensure that tourism does not negatively impact the outstanding universal and local values of the site. In other places in Africa, increased tourism has led to the displacement of local people in order to allow for developments that will serve the interests of foreign visitors (Ndoro, 2015). The Tsodilo community is no exception, although it can be argued that this was a decision discussed and agreed with the local community. It is important to note that the Tsodilo Community also supports the development of existing local livelihoods such as pastoral farming and the overall well-being of the people through promoting health and education.

The project partners at the start of the project included the Department of National Museum and Monuments, the Diamond Trust, Letloa Trust, TCDT, and TOCaDI. Other partners have been brought on board to support different activities of the project, as indicated in **Table 2** below, which shows the stakeholders, the projects completed and those under implementation.

Table 2. Stakeholders and their projects

Stakeholder	Projects completed/to be completed
Diamond Trust	**Phase 1 of the project 2010–2014**, supported through funding of BWP 10 million. The following outcomes were achieved : • Training 14 community guides to enhance their skills in guiding tourists around the hills. • Drilling two boreholes and installing a water supply to the Tsodilo community. The village has two stand pipes. • Drilling of three boreholes for the farmers relocated from the LSTZ. • Construction of two houses for the project staff. • Purchase, equipment and furnishing of the portacabin project office. • Employment of three staff members in 2014 for the implementation of the project: a Tsodilo Management Authority Manager, a Tsodilo Community Development Trust Manager and a Development Facilitator. • Construction of a craft centre for the displaying and selling of crafts to visitors and a gatehouse to facilitate entry to the LSTZ (campsites). • Purchase of a vehicle for the project. • Construction/development of community-run campsites in the LSTZ. • Provision of three annual HIV/Aids training workshops for the community of Tsodilo since 2010, in collaboration with Letloa through the Letloa Health Programme and the District DAMSAC Office in Shakawe. • Support for the development of the Tsodilo Community Development Initiative Strategic Plan 2014–2020, and the Strategic Document 2014-2016. **Phase 2 of the project 2015–2017** Provided funding of BWP 4,919,575 over three years for a comprehensive capacity-building programme. The following activities are in progress: • From June 2015, 17 students from Tsodilo enrolled to study for various courses in hospitality and tourism management at the Career Dreams Training Centre in Maun. • Purchase of a new vehicle for the project. • Recruitment of three staff members: a TMA project manager, a financial officer and an administrative officer. • Rhino Trail Development project at a cost of BWP 1 million. • Support for a benchmarking mission by a team of three (TMA Manager, TWHS site manager and architect from DNMM) to Mapunbugwe to observe and appreciate how visitor facilities at Mapunbugwe, especially trails, have been designed in order to be enjoyed by people with different abilities.
Government/ Department of National Museum and Monuments	• Funding of BWP 421,488 for compensation payments to farmers relocated from the LSTZ to the Agricultural Zone. • Development and presentation of a proposal to MYSC for the Youth Capacity-Building Programme. • Recruitment of 14 local community members as permanent staff at the museum. • Space provided for the Trust-owned souvenir shop at the museum. • Facilitation of presentation to USAID to solicit support for the project.

Stakeholder	Projects completed/to be completed
Centre for Development Enterprise-Private Sector Development Programme (CDE-PSDP)	• Support for consultancy work to investigate and assess the cultural and heritage significance of Tsodilo Hills and surrounding areas. • Design of a marketing strategy and communication plan for Tsodilo Hills and surrounding cultural and heritage sites. • Contribution of BWP 200,000 towards community capacity-building and skills development programme.
Tsodilo Community Development Trust (TCDT)	Income earned from campsites and entrance fees: • 2014 – BWP 246,748 • 2015 – BWP 282,563 The Trust is investing money for the development of the community: • 2014 – BWP 147,500, allocated to projects • 2015 – BWP 180,000, allocated to projects • Funding for a museum custodian to successfully pursue a six-month course in professional guiding. • Support for the participation of two local community members in entrepreneurship training for World Heritage sites, provided by UNESCO/AWHF/CHDA. • Development of a children's playground. • Creation of six permanent jobs: two gate attendants/receptionists, two camp keepers, one borehole attendant and one craft shop manger. • Creation of temporary jobs for 15 people carrying out maintenance work at the camping facilities in preparation for the tourism season, and the installation and upgrading of the sewage system.
Local Enterprise Authority (LEA)	• Provision of a business awareness creation workshop for the Tsodilo community in 2014, which attracted 50 members from the community. • Funding the development of policies and procedures manual to strengthen governance systems of the trust board.
Ministry of Youth, Sport and Culture (MYSC)	• Funding of BWP 970,000 over three years (2016–2018) for a capacity-building programme targeting 170 youth in Tsodilo, and neighbouring villages of Chukumuchu and Nxamasere.
UNDP-GEF	• Funding of BWP 300,000 for the upgrade of existing tourism infrastructure. Installation of eco-friendly sewage disposal and solar energy systems on the campsites. • Installation of solar electricity at the gatehouse, project office and at one staff house. • Development of a fire management strategy for Tsodilo Hills World Heritage site in 2015, sponsored under the project 'Mainstreaming Sustainable Land Management in Rangeland Areas of Ngamiland District Landscapes for the Improvement of Livelihoods'.

Project success stories

Community craft centre
© G. Matswiri

The development of community campsites, craft centre, staff houses, entrance gate to the campsite, fencing of the campsite, installation of water supply, and borehole drilling created job opportunities for the people of Tsodilo. The project engaged local builders in the construction of facilities and community members provided the necessary labour. It also stimulated the local economy, as some of the raw materials such as grass and poles were sourced from people in the neighbourhood and some were bought from nearby shops in Shakawe, Gumare and Maun.

Water tank for village water supply
© G. Matswiri

Infrastructure development for heritage tourism at Tsodilo transformed the small village of Tsodilo and added new buildings to the existing traditional infrastructure. Those employed in the project and by the government have managed to improve their lives by building modern houses for themselves.

Although Tsodilo Hills is not a fully developed heritage site, it has already created jobs for some of the local community members through the community campsite, craft centre, souvenir shop and guiding in the hills. The TCDT (via income from campsites and entrance fees), the Diamond Trust and MYSC are funding capacity-building programmes for the youth from the village and surrounding areas, with training in different skills for the hotel and tourism sector. This will position them to benefit from employment opportunities that will be offered by an upcoming development of two lodges in the area. The project has enrolled 17 community members from Tsodilo in tourism and hospitality courses at the Career Dreams Centre.

Community-run campsites
© G. Matswiri

Tourism in Tsodilo has created potential opportunities in different sectors of the economy, such as providing food and refreshments to tourists, laundry services, bakery, poultry, selling of souvenirs, transport within the site, providing a supply of meat and vegetables to the lodge owners, etc. Currently, Tsodilo Village does not offer any of these services to visitors. A proposal to tap into this opportunity has been developed under the entrepreneurship training for World Heritage sites. The main aim of the proposal is to empower the Tsodilo community to engage in business enterprises at Tsodilo that will cater for the needs of visitors, providing income generation opportunities for the community to improve their livelihoods.

The proposal also aims to empower local community members to establish small business enterprises, in order to benefit from the opportunities offered by the World Heritage site and to improve their livelihoods. Plans are underway to solicit support from the different sectors, particularly from government programmes relating to this area. The idea is to assist local people to develop these business enterprises before the establishment of the lodges, so that by the time the lodges are complete, the businesses will be in operation and able to take on contracts with the business owners to supply goods and services.

The project has also provided basic facilities such as water for the community and their livestock. The TCDT is investing income generated from the camping and entrance fees to improve the welfare of vulnerable persons such as orphans, the elderly and children. A summary of the various partners' project contributions is presented in **Table 2**.

Challenges

As with most community-based projects that use the CBNRM approach, the common problem has always been the capacity of the Trust Board members to understand and implement community development projects. Most of the people in these villages are not educated and lack the capacities and skills necessary for community development, tourism development and management. There is always the challenge of sustainability – what is going to happen once the project partners are not there? Will the board of trustees be able to manage and sustain the project? The TCDI project is implemented through staff hired by the TMA, with the hope that once they have finished implementing the project activities, the TCDT will take over and run the projects for the benefit of the local people.

The mid-term evaluation established that the TCDT capacity appeared weak in planning, project management and resource management, and that it is unlikely that this will be achieved within the life of the project. Since most CBOs are granted user rights of natural and cultural resources and not granted land rights, it always takes time for the community to get a lease for developing and operating tourism facilities. The lease for the LSTZ has taken years and this has delayed the development of lodges in the area. As a result, the people of Tsodilo have lost a great many opportunities to benefit from tourism in the area. However, significant progress has been made and it is hoped that the lease will be ready before the end of this year.

Another challenge that faces the people of Tsodilo, especially in the development of tourism

facilities through a private sector partnership, is that in most cases communities operating through their CBOs do not always get a fair deal out of the partnership. Since the community is not experienced in this area, it is expected the TMA Board will ensure that the interests of the community are fully met. The National Museum, in chairing the board whose main interest is to ensure that the community derives benefits from heritage resources, is expected to help secure the interests of the community.

The road from the gatehouse to the museum (within the site) is poorly maintained and complaints received from tourists could lead to a decline in the number of visitors. The museum exhibition needs improvement. The government must invest in the development of the heritage product itself to attract more visitors. There is a need to invest in research about the significance and values of the cultural heritage, its interpretation, presentation and marketing. While Tsodilo has a lot to offer, it has not yet been fully developed as a cultural heritage product that will attract more visitors and entice them to stay for longer.

A further challenge is the weak NGO sector in Botswana. At the beginning of the project, Letloa and TOCaDI were fully involved, developing the integrated management plan, then developing the funding proposal on behalf of the community and subsequently being involved in the implementation of the project through administration and management of the project funds. TOCaDI was expected to mobilize the community and facilitate capacity-building. However, the two NGOs have failed in these areas and the TMA Board and the main project donor, Diamond Trust, have decided to part ways with them. The community has also expressed dissatisfaction with the services received. This is a cause for concern, as the government sees NGOs as important partners in the implementation and management of community development projects. Currently, Letloa and TOCaDI are facing financial and operational problems and cannot contribute effectively to the implementation of the projects. This leaves the government, in this case the National Museum and the TMA manager, to shoulder most of the responsibility for implementing the project. The department is accountable to the donors and has to ensure that the funds are used effectively for the project. However, the department has limited staff and in addition, the contract of the Project Manager came to an end on 31st December 2016, leaving a board of trustees not skilled enough to run a project of this nature.

Prospects for the future

Despite these challenges, the future looks bright for Tsodilo. The TCDI project has transformed the village and has the opportunity to grow due to the opportunities offered by development of heritage tourism in the area. The project is still in its infancy, but has already contributed to the socio-economic development of the people. It is important to note that Tsodilo has until recently been classified as a Rural Area Development Settlement and as such could not undertake developments like other gazetted villages in Botswana. The development of heritage tourism at the Tsodilo World Heritage site has to some extent provided services that government could not, such as a water supply and employment. Since most heritage sites are located in rural areas, they are better placed to contribute to poverty alleviation and rural development and will ultimately assist governments to achieve sustainable development goals.

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Olduvai Gorge, Ngorongoro Conservation Area, Tanzania

Towards a community-based conservation and sustainable use of Tanzania's Heritage

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Introduction

African World Heritage sites, unlike their counterparts in Europe and Asia, have the potential to become beacons of sustainable development and 'culture economy' resources for many rural populations. These heritage assets, of which the majority are located in rural parts of Africa, provide authentic experiences to visitors who are seeking senses of pride, processess of reinforced assimilation, cognitive perception and retroactive association (McIntosh and Prentice, 1999). Unlike museums or recreational parks in urban settings, which set their objectives through targeted visitors, World Heritage sites provide authentic cultural and natural experiences through their stated outstanding universal values (Fleming, 2006; Masele, 2012; Musiba, 2014). Furthermore, these sites do not need to affirm their authenticity, because they are already unique and authentic in their own right. However, if these sites have to become commodities of cultural heritage tourism consumption, then they cannot disentangle themselves from mainstream tourism, which is engrained in capital investment and maximizing profits, where tourists, businesses and the communities in which these assets are located must all share the pie (Pwiti, 1997; Williams and Lawson, 2001; Shackley, 2001). Thus, promotion of heritage tourism will need to consider factors that drive the tourism industry, which may not necessarily help to maintain the sites, but may also fail to curb some elements of tourism that could compromise the integrity of World Heritage sites.[1] One example of the unintended consequences of mainstream tourism industry is the Angkor experience, where it could be argued that the Ngorongoro Conservation Area (NCA), especially the Crater floor 'may be at the verge of reaching the Angkor dilemma in terms of uncontrolled number of visitors and vehicles'. Therefore, the need to diversify tourist attractions within the NCA is of the utmost urgency. However, both Laetoli and Olduvai Gorge cultural heritage sites could provide solutions to defusing tourist congestion within the crater floor once they have fully been developed. The two sites are perfectly positioned, in that they could cater for controlled and guided educational and cultural tourist experiences focusing on the resilience of humanity and its quest for existence, as recorded in the paleoanthropological and archaeological records (Musiba and Mabulla, 2003; Musiba et al., 2011; Musiba, 2014).

The NCA as a World Heritage site

The Ngorongoro Conservation Area lies between longitude 35°30′ E and latitude 3°15′ S, covering an area of 8,292 km² in the northern volcanic highlands of Tanzania (**Figure 1**), and was inscribed as a World Heritage site in 1979 under natural criteria (vii), (viii), (ix) and (x), and under cultural criterion (iv) in 2010. Its global importance and recognition stems from its rich and diverse fauna and flora, where its Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) is its grasslands and woodlands ecosystem that support very large and diverse flora and fauna populations, largely undisturbed by cultivation

1 See Guy De Rauney's 2012 BBC report on Angkor: http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-18363636

at the time of inscription. Equally exceptional are the paleoantological remains and many sites of unrivalled archaeological and paleoanthropological milieus where significant finds contributing to the scientific understanding of human origins have and continue to be discovered at Laetoli and Olduvai Gorge. The statement of integrity of the NCA echoes the integrity for its natural values at the date of inscription in 1979, and for its cultural value at the date of amendment in 2010, as clearly described in the following criteria:

Criterion (iv): Ngorongoro Conservation Area has yielded an exceptionally long sequence of crucial evidence related to human evolution and human-environment dynamics, collectively extending from four million years ago to the beginning of this era, including physical evidence of the most important benchmarks in human evolutionary development. Although the interpretation of many of the assemblages of Olduvai Gorge is still debatable, their extent and density are remarkable. Several of the type fossils in the hominin lineage come from this site. Furthermore, future research in the property is likely to reveal much more evidence concerning the rise of anatomically modern humans, modern behaviour and human ecology.

Criterion (vii): The stunning landscape of the Ngorongoro Crater, combined with its spectacular concentration of wildlife, is one of the greatest natural wonders of the planet. Spectacular numbers of wildebeest (well over 1 million animals) pass through the property as part of their annual migration across the Serengeti ecosystem and calve in the short grass plains which straddle the Ngorongoro Conservation Area/Serengeti National Park boundary. This constitutes a truly superb natural phenomenon.

Criterion (viii): Ngorongoro crater is the largest unbroken caldera in the world. The crater, together with the Olmoti and Empakaai craters are part of the eastern Rift Valley, whose volcanism dates back to the late Mesozoic/early Tertiary periods and is famous for its geology. The property also includes Laetoli and Olduvai Gorge, which contain an important paleontological record related to human evolution.

Criterion (ix): The variations in climate, landforms and altitude have resulted in several overlapping ecosystems and distinct habitats, with short grass plains, highland catchment forests, savanna woodlands, montane long grass plains and high open moorlands. The property is part of the Serengeti ecosystem, one of the last intact ecosystems in the world that harbours large and spectacular animal migrations.

Criterion (x): Ngorongoro Conservation Area is home to a population of some 25,000 large animals, mostly ungulates, alongside the highest density of mammalian predators in Africa including the densest known population of lion (estimated at 68 in 1987). The property harbours a range of endangered species, such as the black rhino, wild hunting dog, golden cat and 500 species of birds. The western slopes of the NCA, which is part of the Serengeti Plains ecosystem, supports one of the largest animal migrations on earth, including over 1 million wildebeest, 720,000 zebras, and about 350,000 Thompson and Grant gazelles.

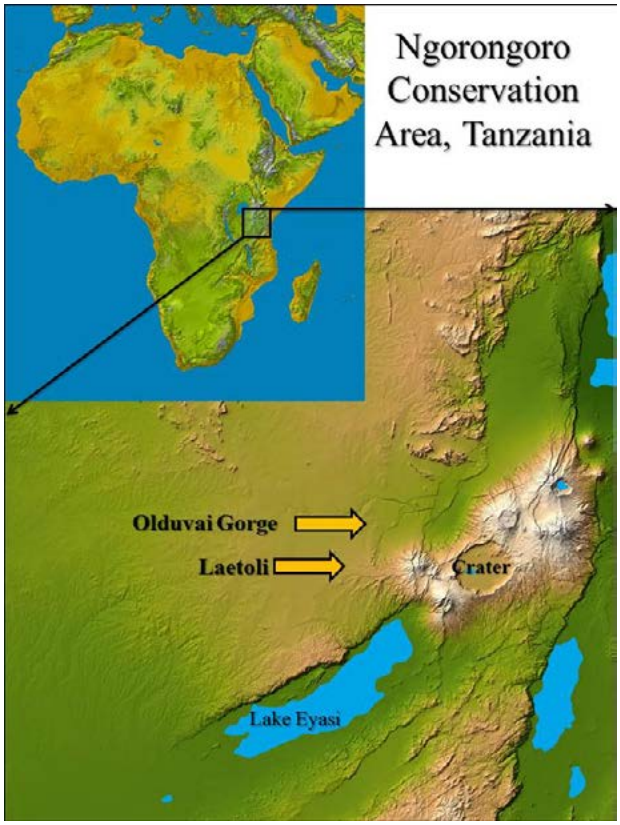

Figure 1. Satellite image showing the Ngorongoro Conservation Area including the crater floor, the northern highlands, Olduvai Gorge and Laetoli paleoanthropological sites.

Laetoli and Olduvai Gorge paleoanthropological sites as cultural heritage sites

The paleoanthropological sites of Laetoli and Olduvai Gorge within the NCA are home to some extensive scientific research on human origins, where a prolonged geological sequence covering the last

four million years containing evidence of human evolution and adaptability have been discovered (**Figure 2**). At Laetoli, the evidence includes: well-preserved animal and hominin footprints (associated with the evolution of upright posture and bipedal gait), and fossil fauna remains (including hominin remains attributed to *Australopithecus afarensis*, *Paranthropus aethiopicus* and early *Homo sapiens*). Stone tools of an Early Middle Stone Age industry have been recovered from the uppermost Ngaloba Beds at Laetoli, dating to 200 Ka. At Olduvai Gorge, a sequence of diverse, evolving hominin genera and species, ranging from *Australopithecus boisei* (previously known as *Zinjanthropus boisei* to some early members of the genus *Homo* (*Homo habilis*, *Homo erectus* and *Homo sapiens*), have been documented. Olduvai's geological sequence holds the only unbroken archaeological record in the world, ranging from Oldowan, Acheulian, Middle Stone Age to Later Stone Age toolkits, documenting a time span from 2 Ma to 45 Ka. Furthermore, discoveries of an archaic form of *Homo sapiens* remains at Lake Ndutu associated with a developed Acheulian toolkit, as well as Neolithic modern human remains in the Ngorongoro crater associated with stone bowls, document the Middle to Late Pleistocene lithic technology variabilities, developments and the transition to the use of bow and arrows as part of Iron Age technology in East Africa. The occurrence of Maasai *Olpul* rock art also clearly demonstartes the continuous use of the NCA landscape from 4 million years ago to the present. Consequently, the overall landscape can be considered as a cultural landscape with great potential to reveal more evidence concerning the rise and development of anatomically modern humans, modern behaviour and human ecology in East Africa.

Figure 2. Photos showing a portion of the exposed Laetoli hominid footprints (left) and the holotype mandible of Australopithecus afarensis (right) discovered at Laetoli.

The Siem Reap Declaration and its implications for Laetoli and Olduvai Gorge as drivers of economic development in Tanzania

At the UNESCO-UNWTO Siem Reap meetings ('Tourism and Culture – Building a New Partnership Model') in Cambodia in 2015, it was acknowledged that almost 40% of tourism was culturally motivated and that cultural or heritage tourism contributed more to local economies than mainstream tourism.[2] Furthermore, it was also recognized that for the first time in the history of our planet, over one billion international tourists travelled the world in 2012 – an astounding number that helped fuel the world economy (mostly in the Northern Hemisphere and South-East Asia) and thereby became one of the global socio-economic sectors of this century. It was also acknowledged that immense opportunities for inclusive economic growth and sustainable development through job creation, regeneration of rural and urban areas, and the appreciation and protection of natural and cultural heritage in our time was deeply rooted in tourism. Hence, tourism not only invigorates global economies, it also relinks humanity and our shared evolutionary history as a species (Nicholas et al., 2009). It was also recognized and accepted that sustainable tourism had the potential to be a considerable force in fostering appreciation and safeguarding of World Heritage sites, and it was fully acknowledged that tourism is the user of humanity's cultural heritage and a contributor to its enhancement (UNWTO, 1999; Ho and McKercher, 2004; Poria et al., 2003; Chrikule et al., 2010).

Additionally, the Siem Reap attendees also acknowledged that post-2015, economic development policies were required to take into account new partnership models for collaboration between tourism and culture; given the fact that there were synergies arleady in place between culture and tourism, it was then imperative that the two sectors needed to be reconnected. For any successful and sustainable economic growth and tourism to become a key driver in the preservation and promotion of cultural heritage, the engagement of stakeholders at all levels would be required to address cross-cuting issues in areas of governance, community empowerment, innovation and

2 http://www.unaoc.org/wp-content/uploads/Siem-Reap-Declaration-1.pdf

corporate social responsibility. It is only within such a framework that tourism can achieve social, economic and environmental sustainability, where the cultural and natural assets of any nation or community will be valued and protected by all. Therefore, it is safe to predict that sustainable tourism could become a key economic driver while nurturing a sense of pride, self-esteem and ownership within the communities, particularly in Africa, where most of these stakeholders have been marginalized by policies deeply rooted in colonial legacies. Communities surrounding cultural heritage assets are not only custodians but also stewards of such heritage, their engagement in sustainable tourism activities will ensure that sufficient revenues remain in their communities, a portion of which could easily be used in the management and conservation of cultural and natural heritage (Kneafsey, 2001; Aas et al., 2005; Nunkoo et al., 2012; Musiba, 2014).

Laetoli and Olduvai Gorge, two of the most important paleoanthropological and archaeological sites ever discovered in the field of human origins, offer tremendous opportunities where education, tourism and conservation could merge to create sustainable stewardship and use of such sites, in order to improve the lives of local communities. In fact, it is through sustainable tourism that the future (particularly the state of conservation) can only be guaranteed through shared, responsible development plans, which through a process of consideration, education and research, will validate the sites for the purposes of tourism. For example, Laetoli has the potential to not only become a centre of education and research excellence, but also a living natural laboratory where the paths between heritage conservation, sustainable tourism and community participation will converge to create meaningful, mutually beneficial and sustained economic development. Laetoli can serve as a springboard for many other African World Heritage sites in that it is a mixed site (i.e. with multiple uses and statuses). Likewise, the Leakey family's sustained research at Olduvai Gorge serves as a beacon of academic excellence in the field of archaeology. Olduvai Gorge is not only a paleoanthropological and archaeological site, it is a scientific Mecca for visitors and researchers interested in humanity's evolutionary journey. The site, particularly the Mary and Louis Leakey research camp, has the potential to become a living museum, not only narrating their enduring life as scientists but telling the story that recaptures humanity's resilience and quest for our survival as a species. It is in fact at Olduvai Gorge that not only can we travel back in time to see how our ancestors became innovative and overcame the challenges of their landscape, but also how they endured and successfully diverged into several lineages, into which humanity was born before dispersing thoughout the world.

Parallells between Zhoukodian, Laetoli and Olduvai Gorge World Heritage sites

Inscribed in 1987 as a World Heritage site under criteria (iii) and (vi), Zhoukodian (also known as Choukoutien) lies within the Fangshanxian County, 42 km south-west of Beijing, within Beijing Municipality. The site, which consists of a cave system on steep hills (locally known as the 'Dragon Bone' and 'Chicken Bone'), latitude $39^{0}43'$ N and longitude $115^{0}55'$ E at the juncture of the North China Plain and the Yanshan Mountains, preserves some of the most important Pleistocene paleoanthropological remains in Asia. The site yielded the famous skull of *Sinanthropus pekinensis* (Peking Man), which was taxonomically assigned into the genera and species of *Homo erectus* (700,000 – 200,000 years ago), as well as numerous archaic/early *Homo sapiens* remains (30,000 – 200 years ago) all documenting human occupation in Asia. The site also preserves some important archaeological remains, including stone tools of Acheulian Industry type and early evidence of intentional use of fire. Stratigraphically, the Zhoukoudian paleoanthropological site consists of 15 fossiliferous identified localities, of which Locality 1 in the Lower Cave yielded all the *Sinanthropus* fossil remains (**Figure 3**). A total of 17 stratigraphic layers have been identified and were assigned alphabetic letters from **A** to **O** (Schwartz and Tattersall, 2003).

Accordingly, Zhoukodian is perhaps one of the most important paleoanthropological sites in Asia (including South-East Asia), preserving major prehistoric remains documenting human origins and cultural evolution with significant value in our quest to understand and reconstruct human evolutionary history. This is clearly illustrated in UNESCO's World Heritage criteria (iii) and (vi):

> Criterion (iii): The Zhoukoudian site bears witness to the human communities of the Asian continent from the Middle Pleistocene Period to the Paleolithic, illustrating the process of evolution.
>
> Criterion (vi): The discovery of hominid remains at Zhoukoudian and subsequent research in

the 1920s and 1930s excited universal interest, overthrowing the chronology of history that had been generally accepted up to that time. The excavations and scientific work at the Zhoukoudian site are thus of significant value in the history of world archaeology, and have played an important role in the world history of science.

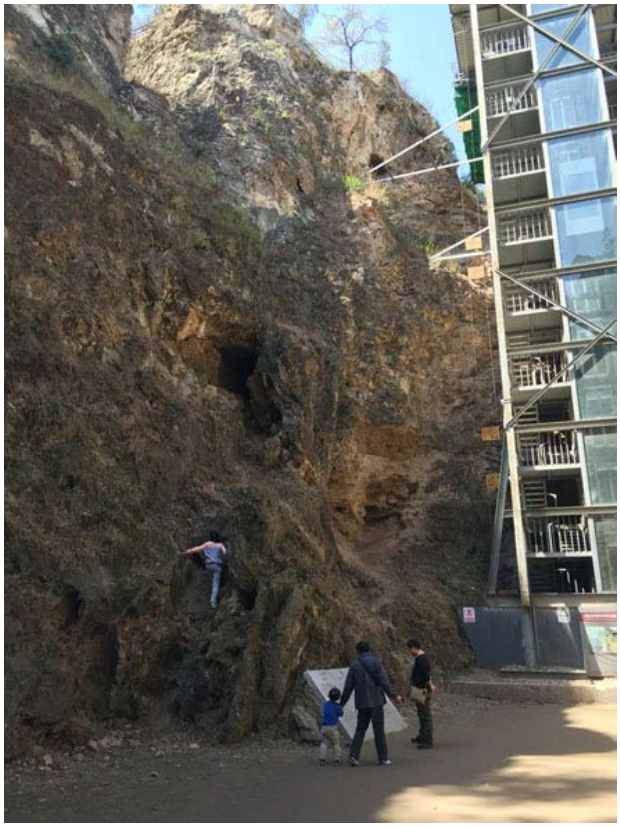

Figure 3. Photo showing visitors at the base of Locality 1, where remains of Homo erectus (Sinanthropus pekinensis) were discovered.

As a Cultural Heritage site, Zhoukoudian's integrity centres on the fact that all elements necessary to express the values of the site are included within the boundary of the property where the archaeological and paleontological localities preserving the ancient human fossils, or 'Peking Man', were found; the living environments of ancient humans (the cave system) and the scientific excavation and research during the 1920s and 1930s have all been preserved, thereby confirming the significant scientific value of the property. Unfortunately, scientific work at Zhoukoudian was affected by events during the Sino-Japanese war in 1937, which resulted in the loss of five skull caps of *Homo erectus* (*Sinanthropus pekinensis*) remains. After the war, new research uncovered more finds, which partially compensated for the major loss of the 'Peking Man' remains discovered in the 1920s, and helped Zhoukoudian to retain its scientific value. Furthermore, the Peking Man Site at Zhoukodian bears historic evidence of human evolution, maintaining and passing on this authentic historic information, and promoting research into the origins of early humans. Through the continued protection of the site and the fossil localities, humanity's history is thus enriched with scientific knowledge. In this sense, Zhoukoudian parallels Laetoli and Olduvai Gorge in that they all preserve unique paleoanthropological records documenting humanity's evolutionary prehistory. Because of these similarities, we have used examples of Zhoukoudian's successes and errors to discuss Laetoli and Olduvai Gorge as educational, scientific and economic centres with the potential to bring socio-economic benefits and to improve the living conditions of surrounding communities.

Lessons from the Zhoukodian World Heritage site

Since its inscription as a World Heritage site in 1987, Zhoukoudian has endured some tremendous conservation challenges and changes, while at the same time maintaining its authenticity and its OUV – an experience similar to that of Laetoli and Olduvai Gorge. At Zhoukoudian, most of the transformations were motivated by national pride and a sense of national esteem and ownership, particularly after the Sino-Japanese War. This led to the establishment of Zhoukoudian as a centre of educational excellence through collaborative research, sustained conservation and the establishment of a museum.

Success however, has not come easily, as we have discovered through our rapid ethnographic survey of tourists and local communities adjacent to Zhoukoudian County in Fangshan District, particularly with regard to local stakeholders' input to conservation and sustainable use of the site and the museum. Since most of the decisions relating to the future of the site and its inscription to the World Heritage site list were carried out by technocrats and bureaucrats in Beijing, some of the local communities surrounding the site were caught offguard and had little or no opportunity to contribute to the dialogue of transforming the site into what is today hailed as a success story. For example, a forty year-old taxi driver recounted that he never participated in any discussions about the site construction, even though his family lives nearby (about 20 km away). Additionally, a 33 year-old college teacher who lives in Fangshan District, lamented that the decisions were only made by the state and as a result, many

people from the area felt no sense of pride and do not even visit the site. He said that every detail was decided, planned and excuted by the government, so communities surrounding the site never really felt that they had any stake in the project. A 25 year-old graduate student lamented that the separation of the museum from the site did not make any sense, as it made it so difficult to contextualize events that occurred on site. He went on to compare this with his own hometown of Xi'an, where the Banpo Heritage Site has an on-site museum, which helps visitors not only to visualize events that took place in the distant past, but also to contextualize everything by the way that the narrative and images converge.

Another female student who was familiar with the site also commented that although the site interpretations and the exhibit were excellent, she felt that another important part of the story covering the period of the Sino-Japanese war and its effect on the site was lacking. Many of the visitors had a sense of belonging and felt nostalgic about the site. For example, one male student could be heard saying 'Zhoukoudian World Heritage site is the most glorius part of our heritage... I feel proud of the Peking Man'. He further noted that 'the value of Peking Man is irreplaceable in human history'. Such a comment clearly confirms our view that World Heritage sites have the potential to help visitors achieve a sense of belonging. Perhaps one of the best comments was from a 20 year-old female student who said that it was very difficult to imagine that ancestors had lived at Zhoukoudian 300,000 years ago, and shared morphological similarities with her (eyes, hair, nose, etc.), but she understood how important the site was to her and her generation, and made a very perceptive comment "...It was a really long time ago, individuals are tiny, but the whole human race is great...". That is a sense we all feel when we visit sites of such importance. At Laetoli, for example, schoolchildren who visit the footprint site (even though it is covered for protection) are carried away by the fact that they are almost travelling back in time 3.56 million years to witness strides and prints left behind by our ancestors, which have been preserved in the hardened volcanic sediments at Site G.

Conclusion

The conservation narratives and parallel community experiences between Laetoli (in the Ngorongoro Conservation Area in Tanzania) and Zhoukhoudian (in the Fangshan District in China) provide us with a compelling case on how important it is to engage local stakeholders in decision-making, planning, conservation and sustainable use of World Heritage sites. This reminds us how important it is to balance capital and human resources (including proper infrastructure), in order to successfully maintain sites such as Zhoukhoudian and Laetoli. We are reminded of the importance of engaging the communities surrounding the heritage sites by the impressive master plan and resources set aside by Zhoukoudian, and by the pressure put on the Tanzanian government by the Laetoli community to sustainably conserve and use the site. However, the communites at both Zhoukhoudian and Laetoli still felt left out in terms of planning and executing the conservation projects, and they have strongly expressed their feeling of loss and lack of sense of ownership. Furthermore, many stakeholders also reported diminished emotional and psychological investment in the sites (particularly at Zhoukhoudian), leaving many very unhappy.

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Gobustan Rock Art Cultural Landscape, Azerbaijan
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Cultural heritage and sustainability: focusing on the implementation phase of major projects

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Introduction

In recent years, the protection and management of cultural heritage has gained an important role in major international projects. The importance now placed on managing cultural heritage derives from the material and reputational risks that project proponents and lenders face if heritage resources are not managed effectively, from the significance placed on these resources by stakeholders, and from the opportunities to be found in aligning the interests of project proponents, project lenders and cultural heritage stakeholders during the implementation phase of a project.

Experience from recent major projects indicates that the successful implementation of project-based cultural heritage management can be crucial in developing countries in establishing a cultural heritage programme that is supportive of broader sustainability goals. This experience indicates that a sustainable national-level cultural heritage programme can reinforce efforts to augment the tourism sector, empower a variety of local stakeholders, including indigenous groups, and enhance existing relationships between various authorities. The proven mechanism for these positive changes is the incorporation of capacity-building into project impact assessment commitments, and the execution of these commitments during the implementation phase of a series of large projects.

This paper summarizes efforts to successfully reinforce national-level cultural heritage practice in Azerbaijan through the implementation of commitments made during the impact assessment phase for British Petroleum's (BP) major projects. Capacity-building efforts were undertaken with national-level cultural heritage managers and institutions, with NGOs and within BP to enhance capabilities, resources and understanding of the issues. These efforts have led to increased professionalism among all the relevant parties and the availability of greater resources that have been applied to a variety of more recent projects and resource management needs. I also will suggest how this successful approach can be applied to projects in Africa to stimulate sustainable national-level cultural heritage programmes.

Setting the stage

Azerbaijan is a former Soviet Republic which, in the 1990s, was establishing itself economically and politically, while sitting on potentially vast oil and gas wealth. Yet, political and administrative infrastructure and civil society were weak and disconnected from the standards and practice in western Europe and the US. The Contract of the Century, signed in 1994 between Azerbaijan and a consortium of oil and gas companies and supported by financing from the International Finance Corporation (IFC), European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) and private lenders, created a foundation for external investment in Azerbaijani regulatory and academic institutions (Sagheb and Javadi, 1994). That agreement culminated in several major oil and gas projects, the Azeri-Chirag-Gunashli (ACG), Shah Deniz offshore developments, the Western Route and Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan (BTC) oil pipelines, and the South Caucasus Pipeline (SCP) and SCP Expansion (SCPx) gas pipelines. These investments have, in turn, contributed to transformations in the overall capacity

of the environmental and heritage protection and management sector.

Cultural heritage protection in Azerbaijan during the 1990s and early 2000s was fragmented and poorly developed. Although legal mechanisms were in place to establish and empower a national Ministry of Culture (now the Ministry of Culture and Tourism [MoCT])[1] that agency had little to no background in protecting cultural heritage in the context of a development project, and was not integrated into a national programme of regulatory review or into the review of impact assessments prepared to international standards. Similarly, the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography (IoAE) in the National Academy of Sciences[2] had a history of completing academically-focused archaeological excavations, but little recent experience in completing archaeological studies ahead of a major construction project. Coordination with NGOs and non-governmental specialists also was almost non-existent at that time.

The presence of such institutional weaknesses in Azerbaijan in the 1990s meant that the infrastructure for cultural heritage protection was not in place at the time that several major projects were planned and the national authorities were unable to help the project developers meet international performance standards. Yet, the major lending institutions' performance standards (such as those of the IFC) generally presuppose that there are national-level authorities in place with the infrastructure and expertise to protect heritage resources. This is where the need for incremental capacity-building in developing countries shows itself.

The heritage protection activities for the Western Route Export Pipeline (WREP) illustrate the challenges facing the protection and management of cultural heritage in the 1990s.[3] That project, designed and constructed to deliver Caspian oil to Georgia through an 830 km-long pipeline, was planned at a time when there was minimal national-level experience with such projects or of the potential impacts on cultural heritage sites and monuments. The impact assessment, prepared with the assistance of the IoAE, recognized the potential for archaeological sites in the area of impacts, but was not able to confidently assess the number of resources that might be impacted or their sensitivity. Relatively few archaeological sites were reportedly impacted during the construction of the pipeline in Azerbaijan and there were no substantive rescue excavations, across an area that archaeologists and BP would later learn was rich in important sites. The failure to recognize and address the risks to cultural heritage posed by the construction of a major pipeline in Azerbaijan would have negative short-term impacts on cultural heritage protection.

The AGT pipelines in Azerbaijan

After WREP, BP and its consortium partners turned to planning two of the most strategically significant pipelines in the world, which together are referred to as the Azerbaijan-Georgia-Turkey (AGT) pipelines.[4] The 1,768-km BTC pipeline takes Caspian oil from Azerbaijan, through Georgia, to a port on the Mediterranean in Ceyhan, Turkey. The 691-km SCP pipeline takes Caspian natural gas from Azerbaijan, through Georgia, to a connection in eastern Turkey, where it is added to Turkey's gas transmission system. The two pipelines were completed and operational by 2006 and 2007, respectively, and represent two of the largest and most ambitious pipeline projects ever constructed. Key components of the projects included the construction or expansion of processing terminals, compressor stations and other facilities, crossings of the Kura and other major waterbodies, a crossing of the South Caucasus mountains, and the Ceyhan export terminal. Together, the two parallel pipelines encompassed adjacent rights-of-way measuring over 90 m in width; the onshore direct impacts of the two pipeline projects exceeded 120 km^2.

The preparation of the impact assessments for the BTC and SCP projects included the completion of biological, social and cultural heritage baseline surveys in each country. In Azerbaijan, the surveys were conducted over the course of a few weeks by a small team of expatriates and local specialists recruited from academic institutions, the National Academy of Sciences and, in the case of the cultural heritage baseline survey, from the IoAE. The cultural heritage baseline survey was supported by a programme for reviewing satellite imagery to identify previously unknown cultural heritage sites as part of the planning process.

Interestingly, although the Azerbaijani Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources (MENR)

1 http://mct.gov.az/en/
2 http://arxeologiya.az/
3 http://www.bp.com/en_ge/bp-georgia/about-bp/bp-in-georgia/western-route-export-pipeline--wrep-.html
4 http://www.bp.com/en_az/caspian/operationsprojects/pipelines.html

was required to coordinate with the MoCT, little consultation took place between those two authorities until after the initial baseline surveys were completed and the impact assessments drafted and released for public review. Similarly, little consultation took place between IoAE and MoCT during the early years of the projects, even though MoCT at the time had no internal capabilities for reviewing archaeological site studies and MoCT had the regulatory role for such review. This failure in coordination of national level authorities was a challenge for project planning and implementation for several years in Azerbaijan.

The cultural heritage baseline studies for the AGT Pipelines in Azerbaijan, completed relatively quickly and with the added input from satellite imagery analysis, identified only a small fraction of the archaeological sites in the pipeline projects' areas of impact. Approximately 72 sites were identified during the cultural heritage field surveys (Polglase, n.d.). Another 166 anomalous areas, which might have been cultural heritage sites, were identified in the satellite imagery studies, although the exact nature of many of these anomalies was not confirmed in most cases by ground truthing. The locations of these nearly 240 areas of real or potential cultural sensitivity were factored into planning and route selection as a component of the impact assessment. These planning efforts to address cultural resources are impressive at face value, yet a number of project challenges arose during project execution.

Let us now consider the projects' overall plan for addressing cultural heritage. Five phases of cultural heritage work were defined in the BTC Azerbaijan Cultural Heritage Management Plan (CHMP) and this framework was also used for the SCP project. Here are the key elements of the five phases of work (AETC Ltd./ERM, 2002):

- Phase 1: Baseline surveys
  - Field surveys and satellite imagery analyses for initial route and reroutes
  - Incorporation of survey results into impact assessment
  - Categorization of sites in terms of sensitivity and need for additional study
  - Preparation of CHMP
- Phase 2: Trial trenching
  - Assessment of the significance of potentially important sites that could not be avoided (nine sites in the BTC and SCP rights-of-way)
  - Determination of the need for mitigative excavations, in areas where sites could not be avoided by redesign
- Phase 3: Investigation of sites
  - Designed to mitigate known impacts ahead of construction
  - Four sites identified at the end of Phase 2 studies in Azerbaijan for excavations
- Phase 4: Archaeological monitoring of construction activities
  - Application of a chance finds procedure (CFP)
  - Use of an active Watching Brief Programme to monitor construction activities
  - Required rapid response to assess site sensitivity
  - If necessary, conduct archaeological excavations to mitigate project impacts
  - An additional 45 sites were identified during construction activities, all of which received some level of mitigative excavations (Polglase, n.d.)
- Phase 5: Post-construction activities
  - Initially planned to be limited to technical reporting
  - Ultimately, Phase 5 was expanded significantly because of the nature of the project findings

The key components of the overall plan were the completion of the Phase 1 baseline survey, a limited number of archaeological mitigations, and the use of the CFP to assess archaeological sites discovered during construction activities and mitigate impacts. In fact, this combination of limited pre-construction baseline surveys and the use of a CFP to mitigate construction impacts is a standard for international cultural heritage management for major projects and is one that has been reinforced by the IFC's Performance Standard 8 (Cultural Heritage). Performance Standard 8 specifically states:

> The client is responsible for siting and designing a project to avoid significant adverse impacts to cultural heritage. The environmental and social risks and impacts identification process should determine whether the proposed location of a project is in areas where cultural heritage is expected to be found, either during construction or operations. In such cases, as part of the client's ESMS, the client will develop provisions for managing chance finds through a chance find procedure which will be applied in the event that cultural heritage is subsequently discovered. The client will not disturb any chance find further until an assessment by competent professionals

is made and actions consistent with the requirements of this Performance Standard are identified. (IFC, 2012)

Example of a Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age grave found in a Necropolis during the AGT Pipelines projects, Azerbaijan.
© Christopher Polglase

Given this direction to emphasize the use of a CFP, it would be reasonable to expect that this approach would provide a positive project outcome. However, in the case of the AGT Pipelines, there were 45 archaeological sites found during construction activities in Azerbaijan. The discovery of each site required a response from an IoAE archaeologist. In several cases, two or more rounds of archaeological testing and excavation were required before a site was cleared by the IoAE and construction in the relevant area could be completed. At a minimum, the archaeological testing and/or excavation took 3-5 days for the archaeological response and clearance. At nearly two dozen sites, however, the sensitivity and complexity of the archaeological discovery required extensive negotiations with the IoAE (as the relevant national-level authority), followed by the mobilization of a large team of archaeologists and labourers for excavations that extended for up to six weeks. In these instances, the impacts on the project schedule and budget were severe and greatly exceeded the costs of the excavations themselves. The impacts to the reputation of the project were also notable and initially negative, as representatives of the IoAE also found reasons to complain in the national media about BP's management of the archaeological resources found during construction.

The efforts spent to address the archaeological sites found during construction and the negotiations with IoAE on mitigation measures took place with little to no input from the MoCT, or national-level stakeholder groups. An audit undertaken by a group of NGOs post-construction found that the projects had not effectively engaged the MoCT, as the national-level authority with responsibility for protection of monuments, or other stakeholder groups that might have provided useful feedback on mitigation approaches.

What was nearly lost in the need to respond to the archaeological discoveries and the intermittent difficulties with the IoAE, was the significance of the archaeological sites that had been discovered. These sites included several necropoli dating from Late Bronze Age to Early Iron Age, isolated *kurgans* (burials mounds) and *kurgan* 'fields' from the Chalcolithic to Iron Age, numerous 'jar graves', as well as several prehistoric and Medieval settlements. Together, this group of archaeological monuments, many of national-level significance, contributed significantly to Azerbaijan's understanding of its prehistory and history.

Towards the end of the construction of the two pipelines in Azerbaijan, the projects began to pivot towards what was defined in the CHMP as Phase 5: Post-construction activities. As originally planned, Phase 5 was to have been limited to technical reporting. BP and the AGT team, realizing the significance of the resources that had been discovered and the potential information that should be shared with the public, decided to invest in a broader component of public education, data sharing and capacity-building. This programme of post-construction activity recognized the potential value that capacity-building programmes can provide. The IFC, in the Performance Standard 8 Guidance Note, explains:

> A general 'capacity building' effort, which might be of benefit to the project and a country's heritage program, may be the building of the regulatory capacity of the heritage authority in ways that relate specifically to the client's project (IFC, 2012, p.13).

This recognition of the value of capacity-building follows guidance provided by the World Bank in its Bank Procedures 4.11 (Physical Cultural Heritage):

> The TT (Bank's Task Team) reviews the need, if any, for enhancement of the borrower's capacity to implement this policy, particularly in respect of information on physical cultural resources, on-site training, institutional strengthening, inter-institutional collaboration, and rapid-response capacity for handling chance finds. The TT then considers the need for such capacity enhancement, including project components to strengthen capacity... (World Bank, 2006, p.2).

The AGT management team ultimately decided to invest in a variety of initial external activities. These included:

- Sponsoring a conference in Baku in 2005, which was hosted by IoAE and included archaeologists, ethnographers and historians from across the South Caucasus;
- Refurbishing of the MoCT's Garanboy Museum to house archaeological collections from nearby archaeological sites;
- Providing hardware, software and training to the MoCT for the establishment of a GIS programme for the Gobustan Reserve (one of Azerbaijan's World Heritage sites) to manage archaeological and other site data;
- Assisting the Gobustan Reserve in the preparation of a cultural heritage management plan;
- Advising the IoAE, through international experts, on the management and maintenance of archaeological collections for long-term research;
- Establishing an artefact conservation laboratory and training IoAE archaeologists on how to conserve artefacts for long-term protection and interpretation;
- Coordinating with the IoAE to present the archaeological and historical data collected during the project to the public in monographs and television broadcasts; and
- Coordinating with and guiding national-level NGOs that had an interest in cultural heritage protection by understanding and participating in major projects.

BP also undertook internal efforts to learn from their experiences from the two projects, which included:

- Upgrading and expanding BP's archaeological GIS to allow it to be used for and inform future project planning; and
- Providing cultural heritage awareness training to BP's operational managers and field personnel who manage all of their pipelines in Azerbaijan.

As these elements came together, BP made one final investment through a grant to the Asian Cultural History Programme at the Smithsonian Institution. Under this grant, the Smithsonian assisted BP with the following from 2008 to 2011:

- Design and installation of an archaeology exhibit at the Caspian Energy Centre at the Sangachal Terminal;
- Supporting the Gobustan Reserve in analyses to determine best practices for protecting the reserve's internationally-recognized rock art;
- Training archaeologists from the IoAE and the Georgia National Museum at the Smithsonian;
- Organization and hosting of a conference in Baku for archaeologists from Azerbaijan, Georgia and Turkey to discuss the results of the AGT cultural heritage programmes;
- Website[5] preparation to present a summary of the results of the cultural heritage programmes (**Figure 2**) (Taylor et al., 2012); and
- A highly illustrated publication of the results of the cultural heritage programme for distribution to national leaders and educational institutions (Taylor et al., 2011).

Screen capture of introductory page to AGT cultural heritage website

The key gains made in cultural heritage management and protection during the AGT Pipelines projects can be summarized as follows:

- There were gains made in the administrative functions at the IoAE;
- There was improved capacity for executing an archaeological project for a major project by IoAE – nearly all of the archaeologists at the IoAE had the opportunity to participate in the Phase 3-4 activities, which ran from 2003 to 2005;
- The artefact collections at the IoAE were nearly doubled, and BP contributed to IoAE's understanding of how to manage large artefact collections and how to conserve artefacts for storage and display;
- BP and its partners were sensitized to the significance and scale of the archaeological and

5 www.agt.si.edu

historical resources in Azerbaijan and the value of stakeholder engagement with IoAE;

- BP also learned what can happen if a cultural heritage baseline survey is conducted quickly and with few resources, leading to the discovery of many sites during construction; and
- The complexity of the relationships between the MoCT, the IoAE and the MENR became clear, and BP learned the importance of engaging those authorities early in the lifecycle of a project.

Shah Deniz 2 Project

The AGT Pipelines projects proved to be highly successful and profitable both to the consortium and to Azerbaijan, and their strategic significance was reinforced by a decision to expand several assets to support the Southern Gas Corridor, which is designed to provide Caspian natural gas to central Europe.[6] In Azerbaijan, the critical components of this broad programme are referred to as the Shah Deniz Stage 2 (SD2) Project, which includes additional offshore drilling and production, the expansion of the Sangachal Terminal, and the South Caucasus Pipeline Expansion (SCPx) project.

The value of lessons learned and investments made by BP and its partners in cultural heritage protection, capacity-building, and raising awareness of heritage preservation standards were demonstrated by the early phases of the SD2 Project. The expansion of the Sangachal Terminal represented a major development in an area of known archaeological sites and in the vicinity of two monuments. Sites in the area included:

- A fifteenth-century caravanserai, a listed monument, near the proposed new entrance to the terminal (**Figure 3**);
- A historically utilized 'sand cave', also a listed monument, near the pipeline onshore landing;
- Several medieval archaeological sites, which were not listed but had the potential to be listed.

Based on the lessons learned from the AGT Pipelines projects, the SD2 management team decided to take the following course of action for the expansion of the Sangachal Terminal:

- To engage a cultural heritage expert, who had experience in Azerbaijan, in the early stages of project planning, in order to scope the cultural heritage needs of the project and to participate in the impact assessments;
- To undertake early consultation with the IoAE and the MoCT to assess the two authorities' expectations;
- To conduct an intensive and systematic pre-construction cultural heritage baseline survey that included an archaeological survey and assessments of direct and potentially indirect effects of the project on the two recorded monuments; and
- To implement a programme of active archaeological monitoring during construction activities, from 2012 to 2016, that was led by a team of archaeological professionals.

The Sangachal caravanserai (c. 1440), as documented during the SD2 Project.

Based on these proactive efforts, the SD2 management team was able to see the following benefits and take the following management measures:

- BP gained a more effective and collaborative relationship with the MoCT and IoAE, which will support future projects in Azerbaijan;
- The IoAE gained additional management and personnel experience from participating in intensive field surveys and a long-running archaeological monitoring programme;
- The SD2 team opted to relocate their proposed new entrance to the terminal, which minimized any indirect impacts on the Sangachal caravanserai; and
- The project construction team implemented a seismic monitoring programme to minimize any impacts on the sand cave.

6 http://www.bp.com/en_az/caspian/operationsprojects/Shahdeniz/SouthernCorridor.html

These efforts have supported the professional development of the national authorities in Azerbaijan and have added to overall technical capacity at a time when the nation is under increasing development pressure. These contributions to the capacity of the MoCT and the IoAE assist BP and its partners in the execution of the SCPx Project, which is currently underway. In addition, the two authorities have begun to apply the lessons they have learned in projects for the State Oil Company to other oil and gas developers, and to other projects planned in the country.

Lessons learned for sustainable development in Africa

One of the key lessons from the author's experience with the projects in Azerbaijan is that a combination of internal (to the project proponent) lack of understanding of cultural heritage risks and sensitivity, and external institutional weakness among national-level authorities can have a negative effect on cultural heritage and on all of the project participants (including the lenders and authorities). In such instances, it is important to address these internal and external challenges through incremental capacity-building. This need for capacity-building is best recognized during the course of preparing the project's impact assessment and specific efforts to build local capacity should be defined as commitments in the assessment's list of mitigations. A well-choreographed suite of capacity-building measures may need to be implemented across several major projects to allow the efforts to take hold and make a long-term contribution.

The appropriate areas on which to focus capacity-building efforts will vary from country to country, and from institution to institution. Here is a proposed list of topics worthy of consideration for capacity-building to promote sustainable management and protection of cultural heritage in Africa:

- Reinforce the professionalism of national authorities and local cultural heritage practitioners through engagement with international experts and integration into major project teams through multiple projects;
- Recognize and address the need for cooperation between diverse national-level authorities and promote regular engagement and communication with key project proponents;
- Determine best practices for engaging with NGOs and incorporating their input into project planning and decision-making;
- Establish or strengthen data management capabilities in the national-level authorities, including GIS of heritage resources, and build systems for preserving archaeological reports, site records and artefact collections;
- Enhance awareness of cultural heritage sensitivity and provide road maps to acquiring key data for lenders and project proponents, through a system similar to the Country Profiles begun by the World Bank (World Bank, 2017); and
- Create a means, through regulation or law, to specifically define the sensitivity (i.e. significance) of cultural heritage sites and monuments, to streamline their management and enhance communication with relevant parties.

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Lamu Old Town (Kenya) is the oldest and best preserved example of Swahili settlement in East Africa

Infrastructural development and conservation of heritage: a case study of Lamu Old Town World Heritage site

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Introduction

Like many African countries, Kenya's rich cultural and natural heritage faces stiff challenges due to macroeconomic blueprints designed to catapult the country into a middle-income economy. These blueprints have overlooked critical heritage conservation aspects. One of the most prominent investment blueprints is the Lamu Port South Sudan Ethiopia Development Corridor Project (LAPSSET), an ambitious project that was initially conceived in 1975. The plan was revived at the beginning of the twenty-first century and included in Kenya's Vision 2030. Its main goal is to open up a second transport corridor, linking Kenya to Ethiopia and South Sudan. It is projected that the LAPPSET will triple the country's investment capacity by opening up parts of Kenya that have not received any investment since Independence 50 years ago.

In 2009, the cost of LAPSSET was estimated at USD 16 billion. After further studies were carried out, this estimate rose to between USD 22 billion and USD 23 billion. The project has eight major components, namely: construction of a modern port, standard gauge railway, highways, international airports, resort cities, an oil refinery, a crude oil pipeline and services-related infrastructure.

The LAPSSET Corridor Project is among the top infrastructure programmes championed under the African Union's Presidential Infrastructure Championship Initiative (PICI). Through it, Kenya seeks to strengthen its position as the gateway and transport hub to the East African subregion and the Great Lakes region. The corridor is expected to facilitate trade and promote regional economic integration and interconnectivity between African countries. Since it was revived, it remains at the forefront of Kenya's economic and political agenda and the current President of Kenya toured the Lamu Port Project area in January 2016.

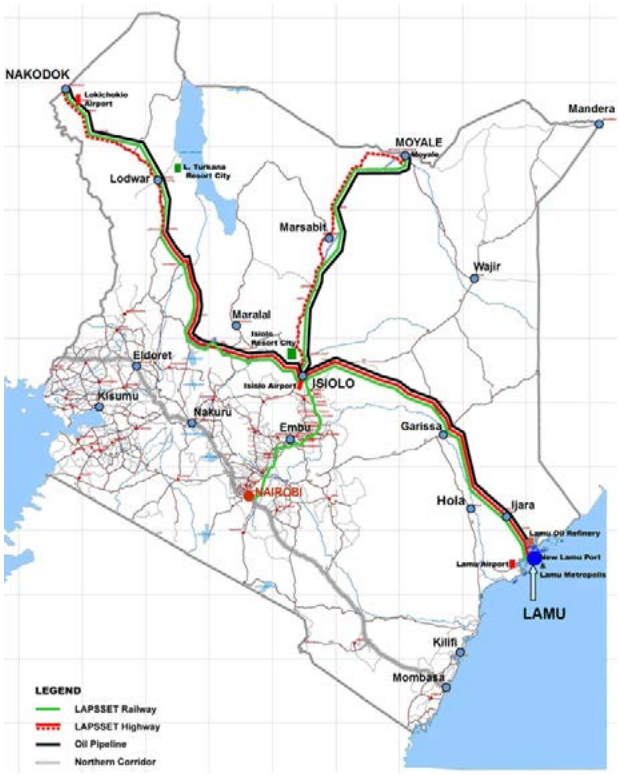

Figure 1.a. LAPSSET Transport Corridor Development Plan.
Source: LAPSSET Authority.

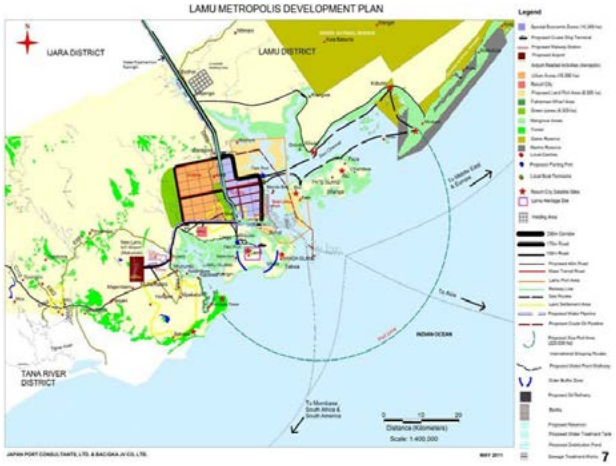

Figure 1.b. LAPSSET Project component 1.
Source: LAPSSET Authority.

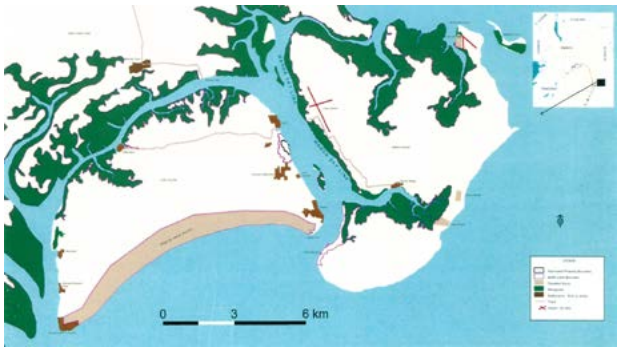

Figure 1.c. Maps of Lamu showing the entire island and the mangrove forests, Lamu Old Town World Heritage site

Lamu World Heritage site

Lamu Old Town, located in Kenya's coastal region, is one of the oldest living Swahili towns in East Africa. The town is located on an island which is part of an archipelago system of six inhabited islands. It is interconnected with the surrounding environment of sea, mangrove forests, farmlands, sand dunes and the mainland. It consists of four historic settlements, namely: Lamu, Matondoni, Kipungani and Shela. Lamu Old Town was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 2001 for its architecture and urban structures that reveal the cultural influences of Africa, Asia and Europe that interacted over several centuries to produce its distinctive Swahili culture. Lamu has gradually evolved to be a centre of Islamic studies in Eastern Africa.

The challenge of conservation

The local community and heritage conservators are concerned by the choice of the Lamu area as the convergence point of the LAPSSET project components. The main concern is that the World Heritage site and its surrounding area may suffer irreversible changes that come with projects of such magnitude. The project planners assumed that by keeping project activities away from the site, Lamu Old Town would be left intact. The principal concern for the conservationists and the Lamu community is the extent to which Lamu heritage can resist the likely strain of the LAPSSET projects and how the proposed change will affect the delicate natural environment. The fear remains that the projects are likely to rapidly disrupt the town's cultural traditions. Change to the physical environment is likely to affect the tangible and intangible aspects of the town's cultural heritage, which has stood the test of time and which the inhabitants proudly maintain as part of their identity. The need to maintain the Lamu socio-cultural fabric by the Swahili people has been expressed on many occasions, and in 2013 UNESCO and the Government of Kenya commissioned the Lamu Heritage Impact Assessment study.

While economic development is welcome, the dilemma remains that project planners are insensitive to heritage that is intertwined in a people's identity, worldview and their livelihoods. The worry for conservators is that some policies have not been holistically modelled, leaving out critical areas of inquiry before a project can be interrogated, approved and generally adopted by the stakeholders. The other challenge is that the project areas being rapidly opened up are the main carriers of distinctive heritage on African soil.

Current status of the LAPSSET projects

The first three berths of the port are currently under construction and the Kenyan government plans to develop and operate the remaining 29 berths under the Public Private Partnership (PPP) framework. This takes on board the findings of the 2011 feasibility study that indicates that the Lamu Port has an economic internal rate of return (EIRR) of 23.4% and is therefore viable for private sector investment (Kasuku, 2014). However, no PPPs have been signed yet. The construction

Lamu waterfront

works for the port support infrastructure, such as the port headquarters, power transmission lines and substation, water supply pipeline and a police station had already been completed by December (Kasuku, 2016).

The Kenya Railways Corporation (KRC) and LAPPSET have signed a MOU to work together on the Lamu – Isiolo – South Sudan (Juba) – Ethiopia railway. The preliminary design and feasibility report were submitted to the LAPSSET Authority and KRC in April 2015.

The Manda Island airport terminal has been rebuilt and its runway expanded from 1.1 km to 2.3 km. The new terminal and runway are operational. Pending works for the airport's modernization include the construction of a parallel taxiway and an aircraft apron area to improve plane-handling capacity.

Competing interests

A number of factors are responsible for the launch of the LAPSSET projects, despite a shortage of funds to carry out all the proposed works. These include local, regional and global politics and vested economic interests. At the international level, competition for substantial stakes is already being felt amongst nations and the multinationals. The LAPSSET projects have attracted interest due to a variety of factors that include: geopolitics, business (especially from multinational companies that hope to secure lucrative contracts), and the threat of terrorism. The forerunners in this include: Kenya, Japan, USA, China, Uganda, South Sudan, Ethiopia and Tanzania. Several companies are vying for natural resource investment, including that of an oil pipeline from Lokichar, in Turkana, to Lamu. While the UNESCO World Heritage Committee is calling for sustainable conservation at the World Heritage site, the Government of Kenya is faced with the dilemma of implementing the proposed development, conserving heritage and accommodating the wishes of all interested parties.

Lamu street view.

The competing interests are evident to the Kenyan media. In one newspaper article, it has been reported that:

> American firms could edge out Chinese rivals from KSh 2.4 trillion Lamu Port and related infrastructures project, in a coup that could highlight President Barack Obama's historic visit. It is anticipated that Betchel, US' largest infrastructure developer, could lead in grabbing a slice of the megaproject, which includes development of the port, a crude oil pipeline and a natural gas power plant. The American trade delegation .....told Mr. Kenyatta that the US government is also interested in the LAPSSET project and wants to get a share of the business.... (Standard Newspaper, 26 July 2015)

Given the above scenario, the opinion of heritage conservators is that while heritage concerns may be expressed and heard, the top decision-makers may not prioritize them. The solution would be to adopt a more conciliatory approach to face these realities. The 'no LAPSSET corridor project' option is currently no longer on the table. It is therefore necessary to consider a solution in which possible alternatives and mitigation measures regarding heritage resources are taken, with the National Museums of Kenya (NMK) being brought in at the decision-making level.

Currently, the local community has lodged a court case accusing the government of non-inclusion during the feasibility studies of the project, and as such violating constitutional rights as outlined in Article 42 of the Kenyan Constitution. While this may be sub judice, it may appear that some studies involved interviews with communities. The NMK is embroiled in the legal suit. The dilemma for the NMK, as a conservator, is the lack of consultation by the chief decision-makers, their apathy to heritage issues and unrealistic expectations by the communities. Some expectations simply can never be met in the real world and indeed the consultation process can never be politically neutral.

Analysis of the project issues

In 2013–2014, a group of heritage experts were commissioned by the State Party of Kenya to conduct a heritage impact assessment (HIA) on Lamu, through funding by UNESCO in collaboration with the Netherlands Funds in Trust. A comprehensive report was prepared with recommendations for mitigations to conserve the Lamu Heritage in the wake of the various projects.

The Lamu HIA report noted that:

> while Lamu Island and the Lamu Old Town World Heritage Property is physically removed from the direct project footprint, the likely negative impacts to the tangible attributes of the core zone of the WH property are mostly indirect, there are many direct and indirect impacts effected on the setting of the WH property – the Lamu Archipelago cultural landscape – and the cumulative negative effects on the cultural and natural heritage of this cultural landscape will have a permanent high negative impact on the WH property (Bakker et al., 2015, p. 4).

The key concern raised in the report is the potential socio-economic impact during the planning, construction and operation phases.

Sustainability issues

The community involvement in the development is at stake, and there is a concern is that the community is not being included in the economic transformation. The Swahili culture gives Lamu its distinctive character which in due course may be lost as the disenfranchised community withdraws to the periphery. According to the HIA report:

> While the Port will open up the Lamu archipelago in a manner reminiscent of the historical trading ports, in this new dispensation the decision making is not led by the local communities but by forces external to their world view. There is therefore a potential of not only marginalizing the community but total disruption of a tradition and all sustaining traditional lifestyle developed and nurtured over millennia with attendant loss of their heritage (Bakker et al., 2015).

The plight of the local community stems from the interest that others have developed in land. Speculation in the area is at an all-time high as investors scramble for land in anticipation of generous government compensation as established by the 2012 Land Act of Kenya. The irregular land acquisition was, however, reversed in 2014 when the government cancelled all land titles acquired, given that the land had not been adjudicated in the Lamu County.

Local communities have also raised concerns about the real impacts of potential project benefits, and question the extent to which they will benefit. Some local community members are concerned that some provisions of the 2010 Constitution of Kenya regarding land and environment might have been disregarded. The relevant section of the Constitution (Part 1, Section 60) establishes the principle that 'land in Kenya shall be held, used and managed in a manner that is equitable, efficient, productive and sustainable, and in accordance with sound conservation and protection of ecologically sensitive areas' (GOK, 2010). The Constitution also establishes, in Section 69 on environment and natural resources, that 'the State shall ensure sustainable exploitation, utilization, management and conservation of the environment and natural resources, and ensure the equitable sharing of the accruing benefits'.

The Swahili of Lamu are known to have traditionally been a fishing culture. The fishing and marine zone is composed of Amu, Faza, Kizingitini and parts of Kiunga, all of which are within the Lamu Archipelago, which has 19 landing beaches. For this reason, there are strong concerns that a likely impact of LAPSSET on the natural environment will be resource tenure insecurity for the local communities, given that coastal and marine fisheries are an important source of income for many families. It is also likely that fishing areas could be lost to the shipping lanes (Bakker et al., 2015). Pressure on mangroves and other coastal and marine resources are also increasing, with rising populations and increased fishing activity (Secure Project, 2010). This will interfere with the biodiversity and the ecosystem of the area.

Another concern is that the shallow aquifers of the Lamu Archipelago are threatened by the growing demand from small hotels and lodges, especially in Kiwayu Island, aggravating the fresh water deficiency. The LAPSSET projects will increase demand for fresh water and create more pressure on the water resource.

Pragmatic steps taken to address some of the challenges by the government

In view of the above points, and in line with the recommendation proposed by the Lamu HIA report, the State Party of Kenya has adopted a conciliatory role to address the issues at Lamu. Key aspects addressed so far include:

1. Revocation of illegally acquired title deeds. Land speculators who had positioned themselves, in anticipation of government compensation for the expected compulsory acquisition of land, had their title deeds revoked.

2. In 2014, the National Museums of Kenya signed a MOU with the LAPSSET Authority, focused on a technical opinion based on the LAMU HIA report. The MOU set out future collaboration in the interest of conservation of the Lamu heritage and its environment within the entire LAPSSET footprint. This is a positive step towards achieving aspiration 3 and 6 of the Africa Agenda 2063 that are about good governance and people-driven development.

3. A proposed coal processing plant, which was initially planned to be in Pate Island, was relocated to the mainland after pressure from the NMK, local communities and other conservationists. In addition to the relocation,

the company carrying out preliminary studies for the coal processing plant contracted NMK archaeologists in 2014 to carry out preliminary surveys of the proposed coal processing plant site. It is hoped that engagement will be maintained and will help meet the UN SDG 15 which focuses on protection, restoration and promotion of sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems, reversing land degradation and halting biodiversity loss.

4. The Kenyan Government is also already in the process of formulating a World Heritage promotion and management policy that will specifically address the spectrum of conservation challenges at potential and inscribed World Heritage properties. The document is in its draft stage and includes the contributions of major national stakeholders. It incorporates all the principles of UNESCO's *Policy Document for the Integration of a Sustainable Development Perspective into the Processes of the World Heritage Convention*, adopted during the 20th World Heritage General Assembly of State Parties in 2015.

5. Conservationists in Kenya have also leveraged the provision of the Kenyan Constitution that expands democratic space to local communities, citing environment and culture as the foundation of the Kenyan nation and giving communities power in matters to do with their heritage. It is on the strength of this that there are petitions in courts regarding environmental concerns. This contains excesses by planners and developers in issues that are bound to disadvantage certain sections of the communities and their habitations.

6. The LAPSSET Authority has also established a cordon line beyond which development will not take place towards the mangroves in the mainland adjacent to Lamu. It is established that the Lamu Island will not have any LAPSSET-related infrastructural development but additionally, the demarcated line provides a buffer area in the mainland which LAPPSET projects will not cross.

Conclusion

Africa's renaissance and regeneration has led to intense competition for trade and commercial advantage. The region has recently had issues of infrastructural development that include mining, water dam construction, and the opening up of large-scale agricultural lands that had previously been wilderness, to the discomfort of many conservationists.

The Kenyan dilemma is replicated across Africa, where the question is how diverse interests can be accommodated in economic development without compromising cultural and natural heritage values. While it may not be logical to expect the African continent to be held in a kind of a time warp, there are urgent social, cultural and environmental issues to be considered, in order to ensure that development activities alleviate, not aggravate, poverty levels.

Economic development is welcome but sustainable development is more meaningful. While it will not be realistic to expect culture to be held in a static mode, enough space and time must be allocated to enable age-old cultures to absorb the shock of change. This change must not, however, be disruptive. If the Swahili culture as is lived in Lamu now is rapidly changed, the authenticity of the town as a World Heritage site will certainly be lost. Loss of livelihood may result in people relocating and leaving a 'ghost town'. The change must also be principally beneficial to the local people, otherwise if they feel disadvantaged and migrate to other alternative settlements, the town will cease to be a Swahili town.

Globalization and the postmodern world notwithstanding, there are some aspects of social integrity that define the outstanding aspects of a culture, which the local community must be allowed to control. Finally, communities must be supported and encouraged to debate and interrogate government development decisions, if indeed the decisions are intended to be beneficial to the communities in the first place.

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PART 3

Asmara, Eritrea
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Engaging World Heritage to drive sustainable development in Africa: next steps

Ishanlosen Odiaua and Edmond Moukala

Faire du patrimoine mondial un moteur du développement durable en Afrique : la marche à suivre

Ishanlosen Odiaua et Edmond Moukala

Fishermen on the west bank of Lake Edward, Virunga National Park, Democratic Republic of the Congo / Pêcheurs sur la rive ouest du Lac Edouard, Parc national des Virunga, République démocratique du Congo

Summary

The case studies presented in Part 2 of this publication collectively refer to, and underline, the interdependency between heritage conservation and sustainable development. From the many different points discussed by the authors, there emerge five key issues (see **Table 1** below):

1. Co-management and community engagement
2. Identity
3. Partnerships
4. Capacity-building/training/education
5. Infrastructure investments

Table 1. Key issues emerging from case studies

	Co-management/ community engagement	Identity	Partnerships	Capacity-building/ training/education	Infrastructure investments
Chanda	X		X	X	
Dzekoto and Bosu	X			X	
Garba	X		X		
Kümpel et al.	X		X		X
Makombo	X				
Murusuri et al.	X	X		X	
Ranivo et al.	X				
Ceesay	X		X		
Diop	X				
Forest		X			
Gauhar	X			X	
Guenneguez	X	X			
Imalwa	X			X	X
Jaramillo		X		X	
Kim		X			
Rakotomamonjy et al.		X	X	X	
Sham and Gezik		X			
Sikuka				X	
Taruvinga	X		X	X	
Yattara		X			
Battle et al.		X	X		X
Guma et al.	X	X	X		
Kiriama	X		X		
Matswiri	X		X	X	
Musiba and Kang	X		X		
Polglase				X	X
Wanderi		X	X		X

The next section summarizes how each of these five issues is relevant to the link between heritage conservation and sustainable development.

Co-management and community engagement

Seventeen papers allude to the importance of engaging with local communities in order to share the benefits from World Heritage sites. The key conclusions are:

- Community knowledge of places and landscape can contribute to managing biodiversity and species recovery, thus reducing the ecosystem degradation.
- Social inclusion is a strategy for economic development. It is important to recognize and respond to the socio-economic needs of communities in and around protected areas. Community engagement to address these needs can reduce pressure on natural resources, result in increased economic benefits and encourage local commitment to conservation efforts. The improved relations between authorities and communities can lead to improved management;
- Encouraging local innovation can lead to local solutions that deliver sustainable initiatives for conservation and socio-economic development at African World Heritage sites.

Thus, when governments provide the right conditions and incentives, communities can be at the centre of the process of engendering inclusive

Analyse

L'ensemble des articles évoque l'interdépendance de la conservation du patrimoine et du développement durable, dont ils soulignent l'importance. Des nombreux thèmes abordés par les auteurs, cinq points clés seront traités plus en détail (voir **tableau 1** ci-dessous).

1. Cogestion et implication de la communauté
2. Identité
3. Partenariats
4. Renforcement des capacités/formation/éducation
5. Investissements d'infrastructures

Tableau 1. Points clés découlant des études de cas

	Cogestion/ implication de la communauté	Identité	Partenariats	Renforcement des capacités/ formation/éducation	Investissements d'infrastructures
Chanda	X		X	X	
Dzekoto + Bosu	X			X	
Garba	X		X		
Kümpel et al.	X		X		X
Makombo	X				
Murusuri et al.	X	X		X	
Ranivo et al.	X				
Ceesay	X		X		
Diop	X				
Forest		X			
Gauhar	X			X	
Guenneguez	X	X			
Imalwa	X			X	X
Jaramillo		X		X	
Kim		X			
Rakotomamonjy et al.		X	X	X	
Sham + Gezik		X			
Sikuka				X	
Taruvinga	X		X	X	
Yattara		X			
Battle et al.		X	X		X
Guma et al.	X	X	X		
Kiriama	X		X		
Matswiri	X		X	X	
Musiba + Kang	X		X		
Polglase				X	X
Wanderi		X	X		X

Ce récapitulatif montre comment chacun de ces thèmes présente un intérêt pour le lien entre conservation du patrimoine et développement durable.

Cogestion et implication de la communauté

Dix-sept articles soulignent l'importance que revêt l'implication des communautés locales pour une répartition appropriée des bénéfices tirés des sites du patrimoine mondial. Les principales conclusions sont les suivantes :

- La connaissance des lieux et des paysages que possèdent les communautés peut contribuer à la gestion de la biodiversité et au rétablissement des espèces, ce qui atténue la dégradation de l'écosystème.
- L'inclusion sociale est une stratégie pour le développement économique. Il est essentiel de définir les besoins socioéconomiques des communautés dans et aux alentours des zones protégées et d'y apporter des réponses. L'engagement des communautés pour répondre à ces besoins peut réduire la pression sur les ressources naturelles, entrainer des bénéfices accrus et favoriser l'implication des acteurs locaux aux efforts de conservation ; en outre, l'amélioration des relations entre autorités et communautés qui en découle contribue à l'amélioration de la gestion.
- En favorisant l'innovation locale, on obtient des solutions locales qui donnent lieu à des initiatives durables de conservation et de développement socioéconomique des sites africains du patrimoine mondial.

development at World Heritage sites, predicated on economic, social, environmental and gender justice. Within an enabling environment, heritage management can strengthen human capital by building on traditional knowledge and conservation methods and ensuring sustainability in protected areas.

Identity

The question of identity, in relation to World Heritage sites, is referred to directly or indirectly by eleven of the articles. The examples of conflict situations remind us of the extent to which conflict can undermine social cohesion through the destruction of cultural reference points, and thus cripple sustainable development. World Heritage sites can play a role in maintaining or reconstructing social cohesion and identity, while cultural identity around World Heritage sites promotes peace. The examples also demonstrate that communal activities that help conserve areas around which shared narratives have been built can be powerful elements for healing and recovery.

Cultural identity is not limited to intangible heritage or human settlements. Association with physical elements in the natural environment also defines the identity of many African societies. This identification with place was first a local value before it was recognized as an 'outstanding universal value' (OUV). For example, the identities of the communities around Mount Kilimanjaro are intricately linked with the mountain, which is their lifeline – 'if Mount Kilimanjaro perishes, we will all perish too'.

The appropriation of heritage by local populations is a critical element in the construction of a common community past and identity, contributing to reflections on the role of heritage in contemporary society. While World Heritage designation can strengthen local identity and contribute to the management and conservation efforts at the site, non-sustainable development could threaten social cohesion and cultural identity.

In conclusion, the values associated with heritage places are important for fostering community identity, social cohesion, peace and supporting sustainable development efforts.

Partnerships

Several papers highlight that partnerships are important for sustainability and heritage management. In the context of sustainable development, the partnership model that will work best for World Heritage is one that brings together public and private sectors as well as community-based organizations around a site. Such partnerships can lead to national legal reform, as is currently underway in Kenya. Partnership between the public sector, development partners and the community can sustainably conserve a heritage resource, contribute to poverty reduction through income-generating activities and yield better economic and conservation outcomes.

As the smallest unit of government directly overseeing affairs around the locations in which heritage properties are located, local governments are important partners to work with to raise awareness of the power of heritage to increase the well-being of surrounding populations. International cooperation can address capacity-building for local government actors as a strategic input for improving conservation and management outcomes at African World Heritage sites.

Capacity-building and sensitization

The incomparable values of what is now officially recognized as 'World Heritage' were known and appreciated by local host communities, and conserved through traditional management systems, long before the advent of modern conservation science. At least eleven papers strongly indicate the need to involve communities in heritage education, capacity-building efforts, training and sensitization. Mainstreaming heritage concerns in the national education system can be used to promote social inclusion across all strata of society.

The African media can play a crucial role in the mass dissemination of knowledge and information about the connections between heritage and sustainable development; this is critical for making

Pour résumer, lorsque les gouvernements réunissent les conditions nécessaires et mettent en place des initiatives appropriées, les communautés sont au cœur du processus de développement inclusif des sites du patrimoine mondial, développement fondé sur la justice économique, sociale et environnementale ainsi que sur l'équité entre les sexes. Dans un environnement propice, la gestion du patrimoine peut renforcer le capital humain en tirant parti des savoirs et des méthodes de conservation traditionnels et en s'assurant de la viabilité des zones protégées.

Identité

La question de l'identité, en tant qu'elle se rapporte aux sites du patrimoine mondial, est abordée de manière directe ou indirecte dans 11 articles. Les exemples cités nous rappellent à quel point les conflits peuvent saper la cohésion sociale du fait de la destruction des points de référence culturels, et donc compromettre le développement durable. Les sites du patrimoine mondial peuvent contribuer à la préservation ou à la reconstruction de la cohésion et de l'identité sociales, tandis que l'identité culturelle attachée à ces sites est facteur de paix. Ces exemples montrent aussi que les activités communes qui contribuent à la conservation des zones autour desquelles se sont construits les récits communs peuvent être des outils puissants pour panser les blessures.

L'identité culturelle ne se limite ni au patrimoine immatériel ni aux établissements humains. Dans beaucoup de sociétés africaines, l'identité est définie par la croyance spirituelle dans l'environnement naturel de ces sociétés. L'identification au lieu a d'abord été une valeur locale avant d'être reconnue comme valeur universelle exceptionnelle. Ainsi, les identités des communautés vivant aux alentours du Kilimandjaro sont étroitement liées à la montagne, qui est leur ligne de vie : « si le Kilimandjaro périt, nous périrons tous ».

L'appropriation du patrimoine par les populations locales est un élément essentiel de la construction de l'identité et du passé communs de la communauté et alimente la réflexion sur le rôle du patrimoine dans la société contemporaine. L'inscription au patrimoine mondial peut renforcer l'identité locale et contribuer aux efforts de gestion et de conservation du site. En revanche, un développement non durable peut mettre en péril la cohésion sociale et l'identité culturelle.

Pour conclure, les valeurs associées aux sites du patrimoine sont essentielles pour promouvoir l'identité communautaire, la cohésion sociale et la paix ainsi que pour soutenir les efforts déployés en faveur du développement durable.

Partenariats

Plusieurs articles soulignent que les partenariats revêtent une grande importance pour le développement durable et la gestion du patrimoine. Dans le contexte du développement durable, le modèle de partenariat le mieux adapté au patrimoine mondial doit permettre de réunir autour d'un même site les secteurs public et privé ainsi que les organisations communautaires. Ces partenariats peuvent donner lieu à une réforme juridique nationale, comme c'est actuellement le cas au Kenya. Les partenariats entre le secteur public, les partenaires du développement et la communauté contribuent à la conservation durable des ressources du patrimoine, à la réduction de la pauvreté, grâce aux activités rémunératrices qui sont mises en place, et à l'amélioration des résultats en termes d'économie et de conservation.

Les collectivités locales, qui gèrent directement les lieux où sont situés les biens du patrimoine, constituent des partenaires avec qui il importe de travailler pour sensibiliser l'opinion à la capacité du patrimoine à améliorer le bien-être des populations vivant aux alentours des sites. La coopération internationale peut contribuer à renforcer les capacités des collectivités locales, facteur déterminant de l'amélioration de la conservation et de la gestion des sites africains du patrimoine mondial.

Renforcement des capacités et sensibilisation

Les valeurs incomparables de ce qui est maintenant officiellement reconnu comme « patrimoine mondial » étaient connues et appréciées par les communautés d'accueil locales et conservées par des systèmes de gestion traditionnels, bien avant l'avènement de la science moderne de la conservation. Au moins 11 articles évoquent de manière très éloquente, bien que diverse, la nécessité d'associer les communautés à l'éducation, au renforcement des capacités, à la formation et à la sensibilisation dans le domaine du patrimoine. L'intégration des questions relatives au patrimoine au système éducatif national contribuera à promouvoir l'inclusion sociale dans toutes les strates de la société.

the argument for conservation to local and national populations.

Infrastructure investments

The transformational change required to impact the lives of communities around World Heritage sites requires investment in infrastructure; however, it can be very challenging to conserve OUV within the context of large infrastructure projects. While several of the papers cite examples of tourism activities around the sites, attention is also drawn to the kind of infrastructure needed to bring change and ease the living conditions of host communities. To stimulate tourism volume to heritage sites and improve the quality of life for host communities, it is necessary to develop infrastructure: (i) to provide energy to power production units; (ii) to transport goods and services to markets; (iii) for education and social services; as well as (iv) for communication. Various approaches are being tested at several African World Heritage sites and it remains to be seen which of them is most effective.

However, for this development to be inclusive, it must target not only the tourist market but also improve the life of the host community, with adequate development control in place to preserve natural and cultural heritage resources. In this respect, World Heritage sites can provide examples of how heritage can help create jobs and generate wealth locally through various economic activities, by linking the effective utilization of cultural assets to the broader context of planned infrastructure development in order to open up remote regions and integrate them into the national economy.

The political economy of conservation and development in Africa

While sustainable development is broadly accepted as a concept, the challenge has been how to operationalize the concept, in terms of objectives, actions and measurable indicators. The definition of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) by the international community – 'development that

Soap factory on the outskirts of Virunga National Park, Democratic Republic of the Congo / Savonnerie industrielle en périphérie du Parc national des Virunga, République démocratique du Congo
© Luis F. Rodríguez Mendizábal

promotes prosperity and economic opportunity, greater social well-being, and protection of the environment' – is an effort to meet this challenge.

The introductory chapter offers an idea of the involvement of African governments with the World Heritage Convention, and many of the authors in this book suggest that cultural and natural conservation in themselves are elements of sustainable development. Such an approach might not be sufficient to operationalize heritage concerns in the African context of accelerating development. Notwithstanding the validity and relevance of ongoing efforts, the relevance and impact of our efforts would benefit from closer and more explicit links to the SDGs. While all the papers in this book reflect the spirit of the SDGs in relation to heritage management and conservation, they also illustrate how difficult it has been for the heritage community of practice to find its place and pertinence in ongoing development activities. Better positioning of efforts relative to the SDGs

Les médias africains ont un rôle décisif à jouer dans la diffusion massive des connaissances et des informations sur les liens entre le patrimoine et le développement durable ; ceci est essentiel pour faire l'argument de la conservation aux populations locales et nationales.

Investissements d'infrastructures

Les changements transformationnels qu'il convient de faire pour améliorer la vie des communautés résidant à proximité des sites du patrimoine mondial exigent des investissements d'infrastructures. Il peut cependant s'avérer très difficile de conserver la VUE lors des projets d'infrastructures de vaste envergure. Tout en citant en exemple les activités touristiques menées aux alentours des sites, plusieurs articles s'interrogent sur le type d'infrastructures nécessaire pour susciter des changements et améliorer les conditions de vie des communautés. Afin de stimuler la fréquentation touristique sur les sites du patrimoine et d'améliorer la qualité de vie des communautés hôtes, il est nécessaire de développer l'infrastructure : (i) pour fournir de l'énergie aux unités de production d'énergie ; (ii) pour transporter des biens et des services jusqu'aux marchés ; (iii) pour l'éducation et les services sociaux; ainsi que (iv) pour la communication. Diverses approches sont actuellement mises à l'essai sur plusieurs sites du patrimoine mondial de la région afin de déterminer celle qui sera la plus efficace.

Toutefois, pour que le développement soit inclusif, il doit non seulement cibler le marché touristique mais aussi améliorer les conditions de vie de la communauté hôte, avec une bonne maitrise des ressources culturelles et naturelles. À cet égard, les sites du patrimoine mondial illustrent la façon dont le patrimoine peut contribuer à la création d'emplois et de richesses au niveau local et ce grâce aux diverses activités économiques, en liant l'exploitation efficace des atouts culturels au contexte plus large du développement planifié des infrastructures, afin de désenclaver les régions isolées et de les intégrer à l'économie nationale.

L'économie politique de la conservation et du développement en Afrique

Le développement durable est un concept largement accepté. Le défi consiste à le mettre en application en termes d'objectifs, d'actions et d'indicateurs mesurables. La définition des Objectifs de développement durable (ODD) par la communauté internationale – « un développement apte à promouvoir la prospérité et les opportunités économiques, un plus grand bien-être social et la protection de l'environnement » – tente de relever ce défi.

L'introduction du présent ouvrage offre une idée de la participation des gouvernements africains à la Convention du patrimoine mondial et plusieurs auteurs sont nombreux à estimer que la conservation de sites culturels et naturels constitue un véritable élément du développement durable. Cette approche ne suffira sans doute pas à répondre aux préoccupations liées au patrimoine dans le contexte de l'accélération du développement en Afrique. Sans rien enlever à la validité et à la pertinence des efforts entrepris, des liens plus étroits et plus explicites avec les ODD donneraient plus de pertinence à nos propres initiatives et en renforcerait les effets. Si les articles réunis dans le présent ouvrage se réfèrent aux ODD dans le cadre de la gestion et de la conservation du patrimoine, ils témoignent également des difficultés

would also provide levers and a platform to influence key actors of Africa's development, such as Government, sources of financing and business.

UNESCO has already embarked on a path to define heritage indicators in the context of the SDGs, first with the adoption of the policy and then with the Vilm (Germany) workshop in November 2016, which developed an action plan to engage all stakeholders of the Convention.

This section provides a diagnostic of the African road to the SDGs, in an attempt to better understand the regional commitment to the conservation of natural and cultural heritage, and to help operationalize UNESCO's *Policy Document for the Integration of a Sustainable Development Perspective in Africa*. It also examines some of the challenges to the effective conservation of African cultural and natural heritage, in light of the SDGs, and makes recommendations to address these challenges.

Africa's road to the SDGs

In 2011, efforts were underway to articulate a common African position for the post-2015 development agenda, as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) era – or the global target to end extreme poverty by the year 2015 – was slowly drawing to a close. Governments remained committed to meeting the MDGs and building on those achievements. An African Union mandate to a high-level committee of heads of state and government, to identify Africa's post-2015 priorities, produced the Common African Position (CAP) on the Post-2015 Development Agenda (African Union, 2014), which was adopted by the African Union in January 2014. A key priority of the CAP is the eradication of poverty. The document also calls for a development approach based on:

- Infrastructure;
- science;
- technology development, transfer and innovation;
- addressing the challenges posed by climate change, loss of biodiversity, sustainable natural resource management;
- ensuring peace and security; and
- responsive and accountable governance.

In January 2015, the AU adopted the visionary 'Shared Strategic Framework for Inclusive Growth and Sustainable Development', in Agenda 2063 – The Africa We Want. Among other things, the document aims that by 2063, 'Africa's unique natural endowments, its environment and ecosystems, including its wildlife and wild lands are healthy, valued and protected, with climate resilient economies and communities'. It also aspires to 'an Africa with a strong cultural identity, common heritage, values and ethics'.

In July 2015, the UN summit of heads of state and governments adopted the Addis Ababa Action Agenda (United Nations, 2015). This agenda provides a foundation for implementing the global agenda for sustainable development and is an affirmation of 'strong political commitment to address the challenge of financing and creating an enabling environment at all levels for sustainable development in the spirit of global partnership and solidarity'. Key points of the agenda are improvement of domestic resource mobilization and a pledge to increase South-South cooperation. Through the agenda, African countries agreed on initiatives in technology, infrastructure, social protection, health and climate change, among other themes.

With the financing commitment secured, a summit of the UN adopted the post-2015 development agenda in September 2015 – the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. This agenda 'builds on the Millennium Development Goals and seeks to complete what they did not achieve, particularly in reaching the most vulnerable' and 'sets' SDGs. Both the AU's Agenda 2063 and the UN Addis Ababa Action Agenda are recognized in Agenda 2030, which establishes a set of 17 SDGs with 169 targets. Heritage is specifically addressed in SDG 11.4, which commits to: 'Strengthen efforts to protect and safeguard the world's cultural and natural heritage', and several other SDGs respond in different ways to natural and cultural heritage concerns.

Africa is one of UNESCO's two priorities – the other is gender equality. In 2016, the Africa Department

rencontrées par la communauté de pratique du patrimoine pour trouver une place appropriée dans les initiatives de développement en cours. Mieux dirigés, les efforts déployés en lien avec les ODD pourraient constituer des leviers d'action et une plate-forme qui permettraient d'exercer une influence sur les acteurs clés du développement de l'Afrique : gouvernements, sources de financements, entreprises, etc.

L'UNESCO a d'ores et déjà pris des mesures afin de définir des indicateurs du patrimoine en lien avec les ODD, d'abord en adoptant la Politique puis en organisant l'atelier de Vilm (Allemagne) en novembre 2016, où a été élaboré un plan d'action destiné à impliquer toutes les parties prenantes de la Convention.

Cette section propose un diagnostic du chemin emprunté par l'Afrique pour réaliser les ODD, et ce afin de mieux comprendre les engagements pris au niveau régional en matière de conservation du patrimoine naturel et culturel, et d'aider à rendre opérationnel le Document de politique de l'UNESCO pour l'intégration d'une perspective de développement durable en Afrique. Elle examine également les difficultés qui entravent la conservation efficace de ce patrimoine, à la lumière des ODD, et formule des recommandations afin d'apporter des solutions.

Le cheminement de l'Afrique vers les ODD

En 2011, des efforts ont été engagés afin de définir une position africaine commune dans la perspective du programme de développement de l'après-2015, alors même que s'achevait peu à peu la période des Objectifs du Millénaire pour le développement, adoptés par la communauté internationale pour mettre un terme à l'extrême pauvreté avant la fin 2015. L'Union africaine a chargé un comité de haut niveau composé de chefs d'État et de gouvernement de fixer les priorités de l'Afrique pour l'après-2015. Il en a résulté la Position commune africaine sur le programme de développement pour l'après-2015 (Union africaine, 2014), qui a été adoptée par l'Union africaine en janvier 2014. L'une des grandes priorités de la Position est la fin de la pauvreté. L'approche du développement préconisée dans ce document est axée sur :

- l'infrastructure
- la science
- le transfert et l'innovation dans les domaines des technologies
- la recherche de solutions face aux défis du changement climatique et de la perte de biodiversité, la gestion durable des ressources naturelles
- l'instauration de la paix et de la sécurité, et
- une gouvernance responsable.

Peu après, en janvier 2015, l'UA a adopté un texte visionnaire, l'Agenda 2063 – L'Afrique que nous voulons, « Cadre stratégique partagé pour une croissance inclusive et un développement durable ». L'Agenda aspire à ce que d'ici à 2063, « Les atouts naturels exceptionnels de l'Afrique, son environnement et ses écosystèmes, y compris la faune et les terres sauvages, soient sains, mis en valeur et protégés, avec des économies et des communautés à l'épreuve du climat ». Il a également pour ambition « une Afrique dotée d'une identité culturelle forte et partageant un patrimoine, des valeurs et une éthique communs ».

Le sommet des Chefs d'État et de gouvernement de juillet 2015 a adopté le Programme d'action d'Addis-Abeba (Nations Unies, 2015), qui pose les bases de la mise en œuvre des ODD et vient réaffirmer la « volonté politique résolue de relever les défis du financement et de créer, à tous les niveaux, un environnement propice au développement durable, dans un esprit de partenariat et de solidarité planétaires ». Le Programme a pour points clés l'accroissement de la mobilisation des ressources nationales et la volonté de renforcer la coopération Sud-Sud. Les pays africains ont approuvé les initiatives proposées, notamment en matière de technologies, d'infrastructures, de protection sociale, de santé et de changement climatique.

Les engagements financiers ayant été garantis, le sommet des Nations Unies réuni en septembre 2015 a adopté le Programme de développement durable à l'horizon 2030 pour la période de l'après-2015. Les ODD définis par le Programme « s'inscrivent dans le prolongement des Objectifs du Millénaire pour le développement et visent à réaliser ce que ceux-ci n'ont pas permis de faire, en particulier pour les groupes les plus vulnérables ». Le Programme 2030 fait référence à l'Agenda 2063 comme au Programme d'action d'Addis-Abeba. Il fixe 17 Objectifs de développement durable (ODD) et 169 cibles. Outre que l'ODD 11.4 prévoie expressément de « Redoubler d'efforts pour protéger et préserver le patrimoine culturel et naturel mondial », d'autres ODD apportent eux aussi des réponses aux préoccupations que suscite le patrimoine naturel et culturel.

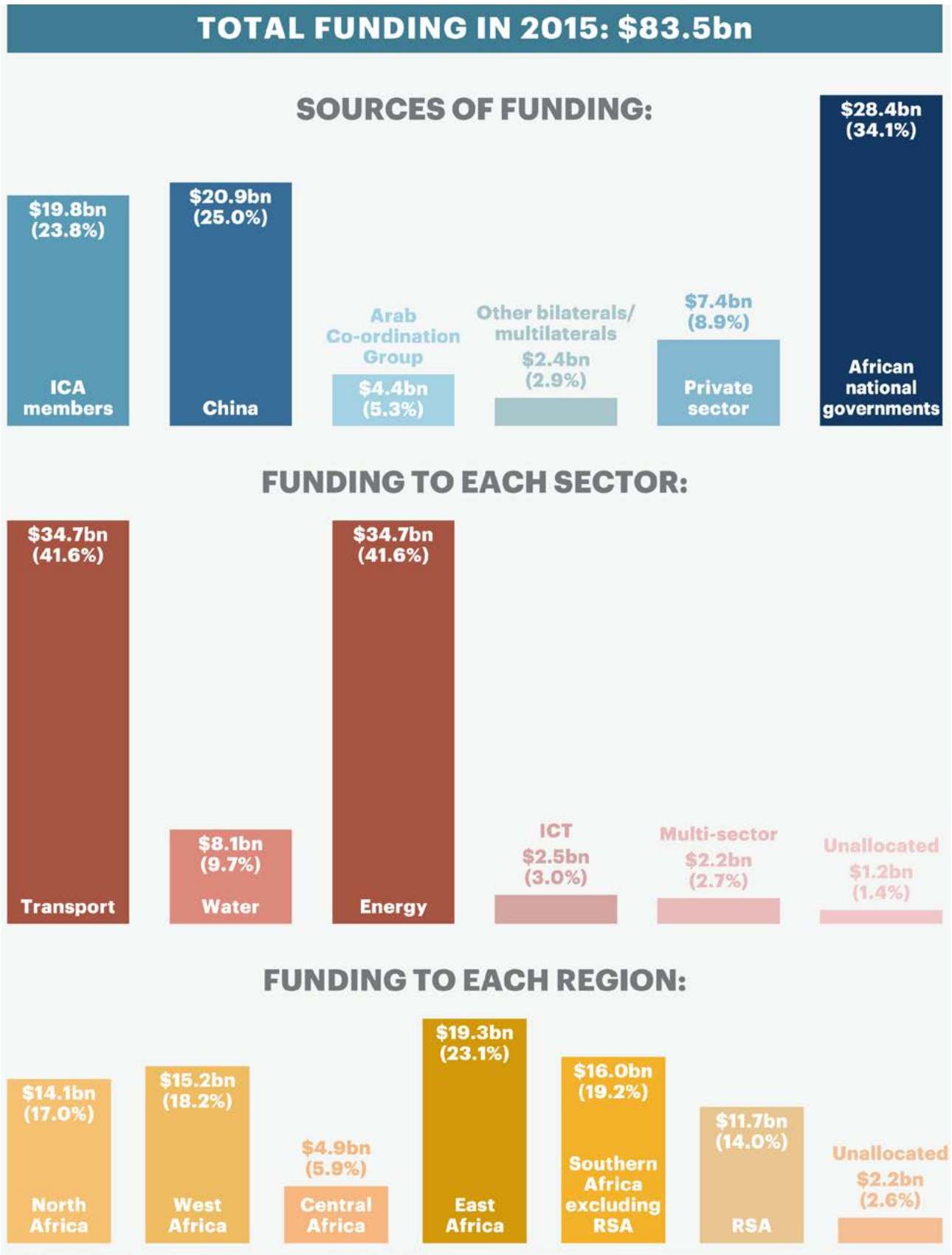


Figure 1. Total infrastructure funding in Africa in 2015.
Source: ICA, 2015

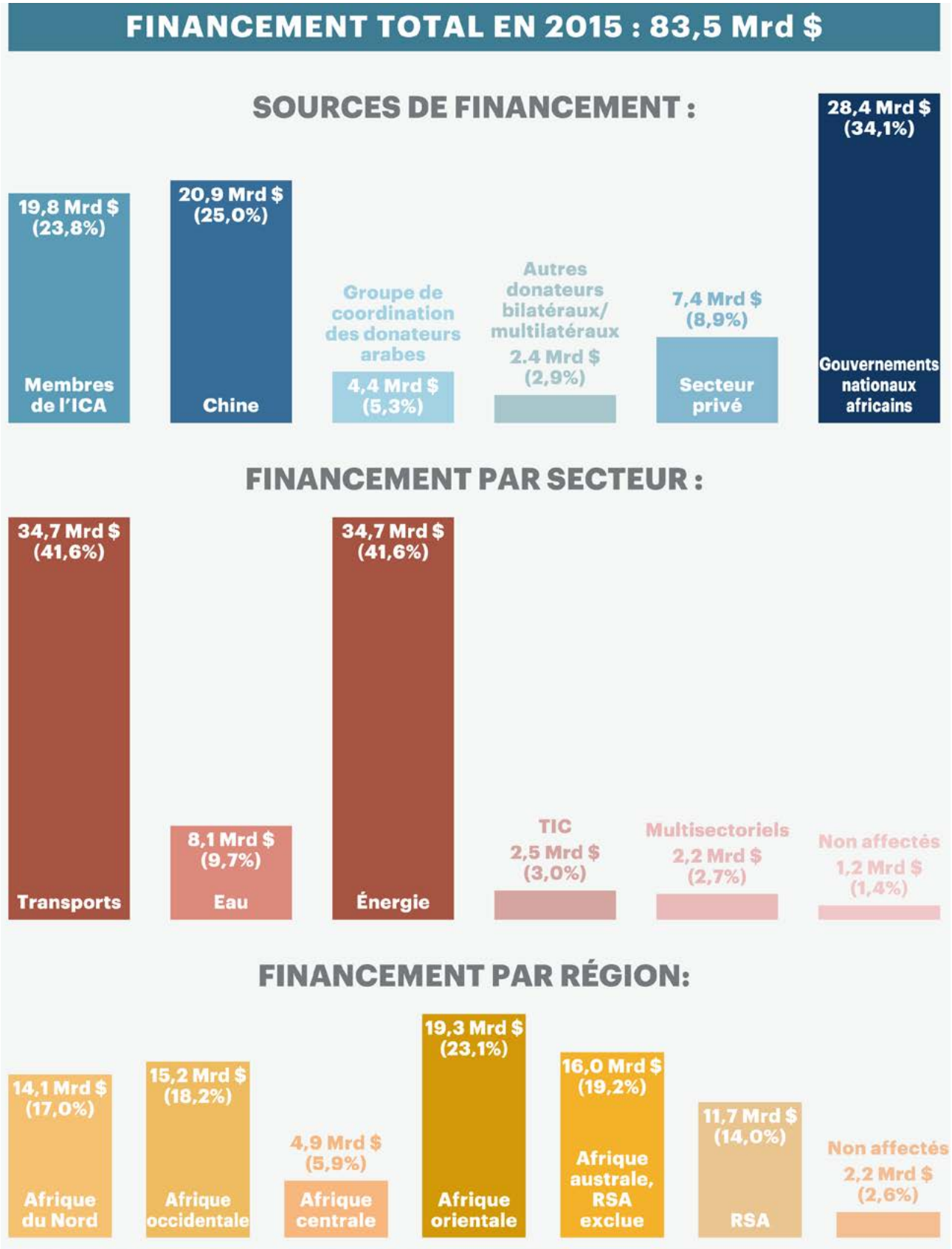


Figure 1. Total des investissements d'infrastructures en Afrique en 2015
Source : ICA, 2015

Mrd$ = milliards de dollars des États-Unis

of UNESCO mapped the contribution of the flagship programmes of UNESCO's Operational Strategy for Priority Africa to the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and the African Union Agenda 2063. The document[1] was presented to the Executive Board of UNESCO in August 2016. With regard to heritage issues, the document refers to 'the power of culture for sustainable development' under which it seeks to raise young Africans' awareness of the values of heritage.

Given this background, it becomes evident that Agenda 2063, focused on regional trade and integration, establishes the blueprint for much of the development actions underway in the region. Under the mandate of Agenda 2063, the Africa Union Commission (AUC) has developed several frameworks to accompany Member States in their development efforts[2] and define the priority areas of the First Ten Year Implementation Plan. For instance, the Programme for Infrastructure Development in Africa (PIDA)[3] is dedicated to facilitating integration of continental trade movement of goods and services by the transport, energy, transboundary water and telecommunication/ICT sectors. PIDA takes on board the concerns of the SDGs, especially SDG 9 on building resilient infrastructure (ICA, 2015). Given the programmatic approach, several technical studies have been carried out; some of these relate to strategic management of transboundary river basins likely to be affected by developments in the water, agriculture and energy sectors.[4]

In order to achieve the vision of Agenda 2063, States Parties seek funding from various sources – national budgets, international finance institutions and private sector financing. The International Consortium for Africa (ICA) estimates that in 2015, the total funding for infrastructure development in the region was USD 83.5 billion, with the highest sources coming from national governments and the Government of China. Energy and transport infrastructure each account for 41.6% of these funds with the East and southern African regions receiving the highest level of investment funding.

These programmatic approaches from AU level feed into national systems and are in turn subject to the national policy and regulatory frameworks in the relevant sectors, including environmental control.

Given this background, the operating environment within which we have to address World Heritage concerns in Africa becomes clearer. One thing is certain: African governments recognize the importance and contributions of cultural and natural heritage to social and economic development in the region, and have incorporated this into the regional development agenda. Understanding these regional – and subsequently national – positions can contribute to the operationalization of UNESCO's policy in the region.

Challenges

Agenda 2063 commits to a prosperous Africa based on inclusive growth and sustainable development, using its vast natural resources in an environmentally responsible manner, while promoting the cultural capital of its citizenry. Nonetheless, Africa is underrepresented in terms of World Heritage sites. The continent has huge potential to inscribe more World Heritage sites to reflect the diversity of its people and environment. Communities around World Heritage sites often perceive the 'outstanding universal value' as non-inclusive of their own local values, which include developmental aspirations. It is thus important to convince States Parties that nominating sites will not undermine their development efforts, but rather enhance them. The major challenge to be addressed in operationalizing the SDGs in African

1 UNESCO 2016. http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0024/002457/245724e.pdf
2 These include: Comprehensive African Agricultural Development Programme (CAADP), Programme for Infrastructural Development in Africa (PIDA), African Mining Vision (AMV), Science Technology Innovation Strategy for Africa (STISA), Boosting Intra African Trade (BIAT), Accelerated Industrial Development for Africa (AIDA). Africa Union 2015*b*.
3 PIDA is a joint initiative of the African Union Commission (AUC), the New Partnership for Africa's Development Planning and Coordination Agency (NPCA), and the African Development Bank (AfDB)
4 ICA, IUCN and International Water Association (IWA) commissioned a report on the water, agriculture and energy security 'nexus' in Africa, outlining a roadmap towards solutions in a typical transboundary river basin. ICA et al., 2015.

L'Afrique est l'une des deux priorités de l'UNESCO, – l'autre étant l'égalité des genres. En 2016, le Département Afrique de l'UNESCO a inventorié les contributions des programmes phares de la Stratégie opérationnelle pour la priorité Afrique de l'UNESCO au Programme de développement durable à l'horizon 2030. Le document[1] a été présenté au Conseil exécutif de l'UNESCO en août 2016. S'agissant du patrimoine, le document évoque le « pouvoir de la culture au service du développement durable », afin de sensibiliser les jeunes Africains aux valeurs du patrimoine.

Dans un tel contexte, il est clair que l'Agenda 2063, axé sur le commerce et l'intégration au niveau régional, établit un modèle pour les activités de développement dans la région. En vertu de la mission que lui a assignée l'Agenda 2063, la Commission de l'Union africaine (CUA) a établi plusieurs cadres destinés à accompagner les États membres dans leurs efforts de développement[2] et à définir les domaines d'action prioritaires du premier plan décennal de mise en œuvre. Ainsi, le Programme de développement des infrastructures en Afrique (PIDA)[3] vise à favoriser l'intégration du commerce continental de biens et de services dans les secteurs des transports, de l'énergie, des eaux transfrontalières et des télécommunications/TIC. Le PIDA reprend les préoccupations exprimées dans les ODD, et en particulier l'ODD 9, « Bâtir une infrastructure résiliente » (ICA 2015). Étant donné l'approche programmatique, plusieurs études techniques ont été menées, dont certaines portent sur la gestion stratégique des bassins transfrontaliers susceptibles de subir les contrecoups des changements touchant les secteurs de l'eau, de l'agriculture et de l'énergie[4].

Afin de donner corps à la vision de l'Agenda 2063, les États parties recherchent des financements auprès de sources diverses, budgets nationaux, institutions financières internationales et secteur privé. Le Consortium africain pour les infrastructures (ICA) estime qu'en 2015 le financement des projets d'infrastructures dans la région s'élevait au total à 83,5 milliards de dollars des États-Unis, les plus grands contributeurs étant les Gouvernements des pays africains et le Gouvernement chinois. Les domaines de l'énergie et des transports ont capté chacun 41,6 % des investissements. C'est dans les régions d'Afrique australe et d'Afrique de l'Est que les investissements ont été les plus élevés.

Ces approches programmatiques menées à partir de l'UA alimentent les systèmes nationaux et sont ensuite soumises aux cadres politiques et réglementaires nationaux dans les secteurs concernés, notamment dans le domaine de la protection de l'environnement.

Dans ce contexte, nous comprenons mieux à présent l'environnement dans lequel nous sommes amenés à traiter les problèmes relatifs au patrimoine mondial en Afrique. Une chose est sûre, les gouvernements africains ont conscience de l'importance du patrimoine culturel et naturel et de sa contribution au développement économique et social de la région, et ils ont intégré ces considérations au programme de développement régional. Une meilleure compréhension de ces positions régionales, et nationales, contribuera à la mise en œuvre de la Politique de l'UNESCO dans la région.

Défis

L'Agenda 2063 vise également à assurer à l'Afrique un avenir prospère fondé sur une croissance inclusive et sur le développement durable grâce à l'exploitation écologiquement responsable des immenses ressources naturelles du continent, tout en favorisant le capital culturel des populations. Or, l'Afrique est sous-représentée sur la Liste du patrimoine mondial. Le continent dispose pourtant d'un riche potentiel et l'inscription d'un plus grand nombre de sites sur la Liste du patrimoine mondial permettrait de refléter la diversité de ses peuples et de ses environnements. Les communautés autour des sites du patrimoine mondial perçoivent souvent la «valeur universelle exceptionnelle» comme n'incluant pas leurs propres valeurs locales,

1 UNESCO 2016. 200 EX/13.INF. Harmonisation de la stratégie opérationnelle de l'UNESCO pour la priorité Afrique avec le Programme de développement durable à l'horizon 2030 et l'Agenda 2063 de l'Union africaine. Lien : http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0024/002457/245724f.pdf

2 Notamment : le Programme intégré pour le développement de l'agriculture en Afrique (PDDAA), le Programme de développement des infrastructures en Afrique (PIDA), la Vision pour l'industrie minière en Afrique (AMV), la Stratégie pour la science, la technologie et l'innovation en Afrique (STISA), le Plan d'action pour l'intensification du Commerce intra-africain (BIAT), le Plan d'action pour le développement industriel accéléré de l'Afrique (AIDA). Union africaine, 2015 (b).

3 Le PIDA est une initiative conjointe de la Commission de l'Union africaine (CUA), de l'Agence de planification et de coordination du Nouveau Partenariat pour le développement de l'Afrique (NPCA) et de la Banque africaine de développement (BAD).

4 L'ICA, l'UICN et l'Association internationale de l'eau (IWA) ont fait réaliser un rapport sur les liens entre l'eau, l'agriculture et la sécurité énergétique en Afrique, proposant une feuille de route afin de trouver des solutions dans un bassin transfrontalier typique. (Nexus Trade-offs and Strategies for Addressing the Water, Agriculture and Energy Security Nexus in Africa, https://www.icafrica.org/fileadmin/documents/Publications/Nexus_Trade-off_and_Strategies__ICA_Report__June2016_2_1_.pdf)

World Heritage sites is to integrate heritage discourse into the development agenda and ensure a wider distribution of economic benefits at World Heritage sites.

Since the mid-twentieth century, when the formal administrative systems of heritage management were introduced into African territories by the respective colonizing powers, traditional management practices and links between cultural and natural heritage were gradually broken up and local heritage management structures came under the control of centralized bureaucracies in many places (Odiaua, 2012). As the World Heritage movement was born and grew, the divide between the management of cultural and natural heritage increased. Over the past decade, it has increasingly become clear that this artificial divide is disruptive to effective management of cultural and natural heritage in a region where the two are very closely entwined, and there are concerted efforts to close the gap.

While a lot appears to have been done to address natural heritage in development, the dynamic nature of cultural heritage and practices make it more challenging to do so and more work is required to address cultural heritage in development. This is important because the 'expert' opinion regarding cultural and natural heritage is often perceived as one that does not encourage development and progress, and risks leaving places behind in the past. This does not bode well for living cultural sites, as inhabitants, on whose knowledge and engagement the sustainability of the site depends, are often tempted to leave the historic places because of perceptions of official (sometimes 'UNESCO') restrictions on improvements (Odiaua, 2012). While the 'arrogance of expert opinion' is not limited to Africa,[5] the peculiar nature of Africa makes it a priority.

The position of African governments regarding World Heritage and development is reminiscent of the words of Chinua Achebe (Achebe, 1994): 'I cannot live on the bank of a river and wash my hand with spittle'. As Abungu points out in his paper, effective management of World Heritage in Africa is often hampered by the 'conflictual situations' created by the extent to which the Convention is perceived to reflect and represent the realities and interests of Africans; and further shares two anecdotes that give an insight into the reticence of some African States Parties to nominate sites for World Heritage listing. Wanderi also invokes that maintaining the OUV of World Heritage sites is challenging both for local communities and for heritage managers. In short, the benefits of African world heritage should be appreciated first and foremost by Africans, and not only by the international community.

Integrating heritage discourse into the development agenda

Over the past decade, concerns about the infrastructural developments affecting World Heritage sites around the world continue to dominate the debates of the World Heritage Committee. Faced with the massive infrastructural development needed to realize the Agenda 2063, African governments have called on the international community for 'tangible proposals' to alleviate poverty without compromising the OUV of World Heritage sites.[6]

The lifestyle of developed countries depends on access to natural resources, many of which are in Africa. Africans should not be denied equivalent development but the dilemma is that the environmental and social impacts of Western style development should be avoided. This is the core message of the SDGs, especially SDG 9. The focus should be to support industrialization in the region by encouraging innovation, based on the respect of sustainable development principles.

Kümpel et al. touch on this core issue when they suggest that because of OUV, World Heritage sites should be 'no-go' areas for what they refer to

5 The architect who oversaw the major stage of a recent restoration of the Chartres Cathedral World Heritage site is reported to have responded to criticism by stating 'I'm very democratic, but the public is not competent to judge'. (Ramm, 2017).

6 The Honorable Kassim Majaliwa, Prime Minister of the United Republic of Tanzania, in his opening speech at the International Conference on Safeguarding African World Heritage as a Driver for Sustainable Development. Arusha, Tanzania, 31 May 2016.

y compris les aspirations de développement. Il importe toutefois de convaincre les États parties que les propositions d'inscription ne vont nullement compromettre leurs efforts de développement mais, bien au contraire, les stimuler. Le plus gros obstacle à surmonter pour que les ODD soient mis en œuvre sur les sites africains du patrimoine mondial consiste à tenir compte du patrimoine dans le programme de développement. Il convient également, même s'il s'agit d'un problème moindre, d'améliorer la répartition des retombées économiques des sites du patrimoine mondial.

Depuis qu'au milieu du XX^{e} siècle des systèmes officiels et administratifs de gestion du patrimoine ont été mis en place par les puissances coloniales sur les territoires africains, les pratiques traditionnelles de gestion ont peu à peu disparu tandis que les liens entre le patrimoine culturel et naturel se distendaient et que les structures locales de gestion du patrimoine étaient centralisées (Odiaua, 2012). Tandis que le mouvement du patrimoine mondial voyait le jour et prenait son essor, le fossé s'élargissait entre la gestion du patrimoine culturel et naturel. Au cours des dix dernières années, il est clairement apparu que cette fracture artificielle compromettait la gestion efficace du patrimoine culturel et naturel, une action concertée a donc été engagée afin de la réduire.

Bien que des efforts considérables aient été déployés afin de tenir compte du patrimoine naturel dans le développement, de par la nature dynamique du patrimoine culturel et des pratiques qui y sont associées, l'entreprise est plus ardue, il faudra donc redoubler d'efforts pour que le patrimoine culturel soit pris en considération dans le développement. Il s'agit là d'un point fondamental. En effet, on considère souvent les « experts » du patrimoine culturel et naturel comme étant peu favorables au développement et au progrès, les sites risquant alors de rester prisonniers du passé. Ce qui ne présage rien de bon pour des sites culturels vivants car les populations, dont les connaissances et l'implication sont cruciales pour la viabilité des sites, sont souvent tentées de quitter ces lieux historiques, croyant que les responsables (et parfois « l'UNESCO ») sont réservés à l'idée de toute amélioration (Odiaua, 2012). Si « l'arrogance des experts »[5] n'est pas une spécificité africaine, en raison de la nature particulière de l'Afrique, cette question revêt une importance cruciale.

La position des gouvernements africains sur le patrimoine mondial et le développement nous rappelle les paroles de Chinua Achebe (Achebe, 1994), « je ne peux pas vivre sur les rives d'un fleuve et me laver les mains avec ma salive ». Comme le fait remarquer Abungu dans son article, la gestion efficace du patrimoine mondial en Afrique est souvent compromise par des « situations conflictuelles » suscitées par des interrogations sur la façon dont est perçue la Convention, et sur son aptitude à refléter et représenter les réalités et les intérêts africains. Il raconte également deux anecdotes qui en disent long sur la réticence de certains États parties africains à proposer d'inscrire des sites sur la Liste du patrimoine mondial. Wanderi affirme par ailleurs que la VUE de sites du patrimoine mondial constitue un défi à la fois pour les communautés locales et pour les gestionnaires du patrimoine. En bref, c'est d'abord et avant tout aux Africains de tirer parti des effets bénéfiques du patrimoine mondial africain, et non pas seulement à la communauté internationale.

Intégrer la question du patrimoine au programme de développement

Au cours de la décennie écoulée, les inquiétudes suscitées par les effets préjudiciables du développement des infrastructures sur les sites du patrimoine mondial à travers le monde ont été au cœur des débats du Comité du patrimoine mondial. Placés devant la nécessité de développer massivement leurs infrastructures afin de réaliser l'Agenda 2063, les gouvernements de la région ont appelé la communauté internationale à formuler des « propositions concrètes » afin de lutter contre la pauvreté sans compromettre la valeur universelle exceptionnelle des sites du patrimoine mondial[6].

Le mode de vie des pays développés est tributaire de l'accès aux ressources naturelles, dont l'Afrique détient de vastes réserves. Les Africains ne doivent pas se voir refuser un niveau de développement équivalent, le dilemme étant d'éviter les conséquences sociales et environnementales du développement à l'occidentale. Tel est le message clé des ODD, et plus particulièrement de l'ODD 9. L'accent doit être mis sur l'industrialisation de la région en encourageant l'innovation et en se fondant sur le respect des principes du développement durable.

5 L'architecte qui a supervisé l'essentiel des récents travaux de restauration de la Cathédrale de Chartres, inscrite sur la Liste du patrimoine mondial, aurait répliqué aux critiques en ces termes : « Je suis très démocratique, mais le public n'est pas compétent pour juger » (Ramm, 2017).

6 Kassim Majaliwa, Premier Ministre de la République-Unie de Tanzanie, dans son discours inaugural devant la Conférence internationale sur la sauvegarde du patrimoine mondial africain, moteur de développement durable, Arusha, Tanzanie, 31 mai 2016.

as 'incompatible activities', and propose five key principles for decision-makers:

1. Valuation that is socially and environmentally conscious.
2. Investment decisions that focus on long-term value.
3. Governance that is representative of all beneficiaries.
4. Policy-making that is evidence-based and transparent.
5. Regulations that are enforced and followed.

These principles reflect international best practice. However, principle 5 should acknowledge that States Parties are sovereign in setting their national regulations and international commitments, such as the Convention, and should not be hampered from addressing legacy issues in a fair and efficient manner, some of which arise from decisions taken before national independence. There is a risk that blindly insisting on the 'no-go principle' for existing commitments could lead to the marginalization of heritage concerns from development activities and investments, create a reluctance to nominate news sites or even lead to the delisting of certain sites. Nominating a site for World Heritage listing does not mean that governments relinquish control over their future development to international bodies. It is unfair to ask countries to forfeit economic and social development for conservation, but it is appropriate to ask them to respect their engagements and obligations under Agenda 2063 and Agenda 2030.

Defining economic benefits at African World Heritage sites

Many of the papers in this publication equate inclusive economic development around World Heritage sites with tourism activities. It is true that site visits, the services that they generate such as hospitality and travel, as well as the purchase of associated cultural and social products, are by far the biggest source of revenue associated with World Heritage sites. However, tourism has inherent risks, most particularly the risk of denaturing or degrading sites, and the risk of excluding local populations if there is insufficient local capture of the generated benefits. Furthermore, tourism can be disrupted when there is insecurity, as demonstrated in Mali.

Not all World Heritage sites in the region can expect to generate substantial economic benefits from their global status. Few sites have developed the brand that sells their uniqueness to the world and, even where it exists, tourism by itself might not generate enough funds to manage and maintain the site to the level expected by the Convention.

This is why it is important to complement sustainable tourism activities by promoting 'local culture and products' (SDG 8), and improved agricultural production and agribusiness (Agenda 2063).

Virunga National Park

The expansive area of the Virunga National Park World Heritage Site is home to a quarter of the world's mountain gorillas, a unique and diverse ecosystem and biodiversity. Located in an area known for security issues, the economic value of Virunga's natural resources is highly coveted by the surrounding population of over 4 million inhabitants, international corporations, poachers and other stakeholders. The political challenges, historic grievances, poverty and the lack of economic opportunities in an area ravaged by war and civil conflict, constitute conservation challenges for the site. To respond to these challenges and secure the Park's resources, in 2008 the Government of the Democratic Republic of Congo entered into management partnership with the private sector Virunga Alliance. The strategic approach of this alliance is based on the objective to protect the park by restoring peace for the development of the region. This strategy focuses on four very diverse intervention areas: renewable energy, agro-industry, tourism and sustainable fishing. By 2016, at least four rural hydropower dams had been built, benefitting over 200,000 people and providing power to small-scale industries in the agriculture sector. Tourism activities are also picking up, and the Virunga Alliance reports an income of USD 2.8 million between 2012 and 2016, with 30% of the park's revenue being reinvested in community development projects.[7] Taken together with the activities in the fishing sector, several thousand people have been employed. This success story is not without controversy, and there are park-people contestations and legacy issues that require attention (Verweijen and Marijnene, 2016; Marijnene, 2017; Yee, 2017), and it remains to be seen to what extent economic development can address these latent social tensions.

Kumpel et al. abordent cette question fondamentale lorsqu'ils laissent entendre qu'à cause de la VUE, les sites du patrimoine mondial devraient être « interdits d'accès » à ce qu'ils décrivent comme étant des « activités incompatibles ». Ils proposent à cet égard cinq principes clés à l'intention des décideurs :

1. Une valorisation qui tienne compte des aspects sociaux et environnementaux
2. Des décisions d'investissement qui privilégient la valeur à long terme
3. Une gouvernance qui tienne compte de l'ensemble des bénéficiaires
4. Une élaboration des politiques transparente et fondée sur des données factuelles
5. Des réglementations mises en application et observées.

Ces principes s'inspirent des bonnes pratiques internationales. Cependant, le principe 5 devrait reconnaître que les États parties sont souverains lorsqu'ils adoptent des réglementations nationales et prennent des engagements internationaux, tels que la Convention, et qu'ils doivent pouvoir sans entrave traiter de manière équitable et efficace les problèmes hérités du passé, dont certains sont la conséquence de décisions prises avant l'indépendance nationale. Une insistance aveugle sur le « principe d'interdiction » en ce qui concerne les engagements existants risque en effet de dissocier les questions de patrimoine des efforts et des investissements liés au développement et de se traduire par une réticence à faire de nouvelles propositions d'inscription, voire par la radiation de certains sites. Les propositions d'inscription ne signifient nullement que le gouvernement renonce à exercer la maîtrise de son futur développement au profit d'organismes internationaux. Il est injuste de demander aux pays de renoncer au développement économique et social au nom de la conservation. En revanche, il est juste de les inviter à respecter leurs engagements et obligations en vertu de l'Agenda 2063 et du Programme 2030.

Définir les retombées économiques des sites africains du patrimoine mondial

Beaucoup d'articles réunis dans la présente publication réduisent le développement économique inclusif sur les sites du patrimoine mondial au tourisme. Il n'est pas faux que les visites de ces sites et les services que cela suppose, dans les domaines de l'hôtellerie et des transports, ainsi que l'achat de produits culturels et sociaux associés, représentent de loin la plus grande source de revenus des sites du patrimoine mondial. Cependant, le tourisme n'est pas exempt de risques : les sites risquent d'être dénaturés ou dégradés, les populations locales risquent de se voir exclues si la part des profits qui leur est attribuée se révèle insuffisante. Il arrive que le tourisme souffre de perturbations, pendant les périodes d'insécurité, comme nous avons pu le voir au Mali.

Le Parc national des Virunga

Le Parc national des Virunga, site du patrimoine mondial qui s'étend sur un immense territoire, abrite un tiers de la population mondiale des gorilles de montagne et présente des écosystèmes exceptionnels et très variés ainsi qu'une riche biodiversité. La valeur économique des ressources naturelles du Parc national des Virunga, situé dans une région où les problèmes d'insécurité sont notoires, est très convoitée par la population environnante, soit plus de 4 millions d'habitants, mais aussi par les entreprises internationales, les braconniers et autres parties intéressées. Les problèmes politiques, les griefs historiques, la pauvreté et le manque de débouchés économiques dans une région ravagée par la guerre et les conflits civils rendent la conservation de ce site extrêmement difficile. Afin de trouver une solution à ces problèmes et de garantir les ressources du Parc, en 2008, le Gouvernement de la République démocratique du Congo a établi un partenariat avec l'Alliance Virunga, acteur du secteur privé. L'approche stratégique de cette alliance a pour objectif de protéger le parc en restaurant la paix en vue du développement de la région. Cette stratégie privilégie quatre domaines d'intervention très divers : les énergies renouvelables, l'agro-industrie, le tourisme et la pêche durable. En 2016, au moins quatre barrages hydroélectriques avaient été construits, alimentant en électricité plus de 200 000 personnes ainsi que des petites entreprises agricoles. Le tourisme est en plein essor et l'Alliance Virunga a fait état d'un revenu de 2,8 millions de dollars des États-Unis entre 2012 et 2016 ; 30 % des recettes du Parc sont réinvesties dans des projets de développement communautaire[7]. Ces projets, ainsi que les activités menées dans le secteur de la pêche, ont permis à plusieurs milliers de personnes de trouver un emploi. Cette belle réussite suscite cependant des controverses, et plusieurs cas d'opposition entre le Parc et certaines personnes ainsi que des problèmes hérités nécessitent qu'on y accorde une certaine attention (Verweijen et Marijnene, 2016 ; Marijnene, 2017 ; Yee, 2017). Il reste à voir dans quelle mesure le développement économique pourra mettre un terme à ces tensions sociales latentes.

World Heritage sites should not exclude all types of industrial production. The potential of natural features such as water bodies, wind and solar energy, etc. can be developed to sustainably generate electricity, as demonstrated at Virunga National Park (see **Box 1**).

The impacts of s1uch investments are quickly felt and appreciated – jobs are created during construction and operation phases, electricity distribution is expanded, small and medium-sized enterprises are created and sustained. When people are able to make the links between the protected area and the improvements in their lives, there is motivation to protect the heritage asset.

Recommendations

How can the heritage community in Africa operationalize the *Policy Document for the Integration of a Sustainable Development Perspective* into the processes of the World Heritage Convention in order to operationalize it and establish measurable indicators?

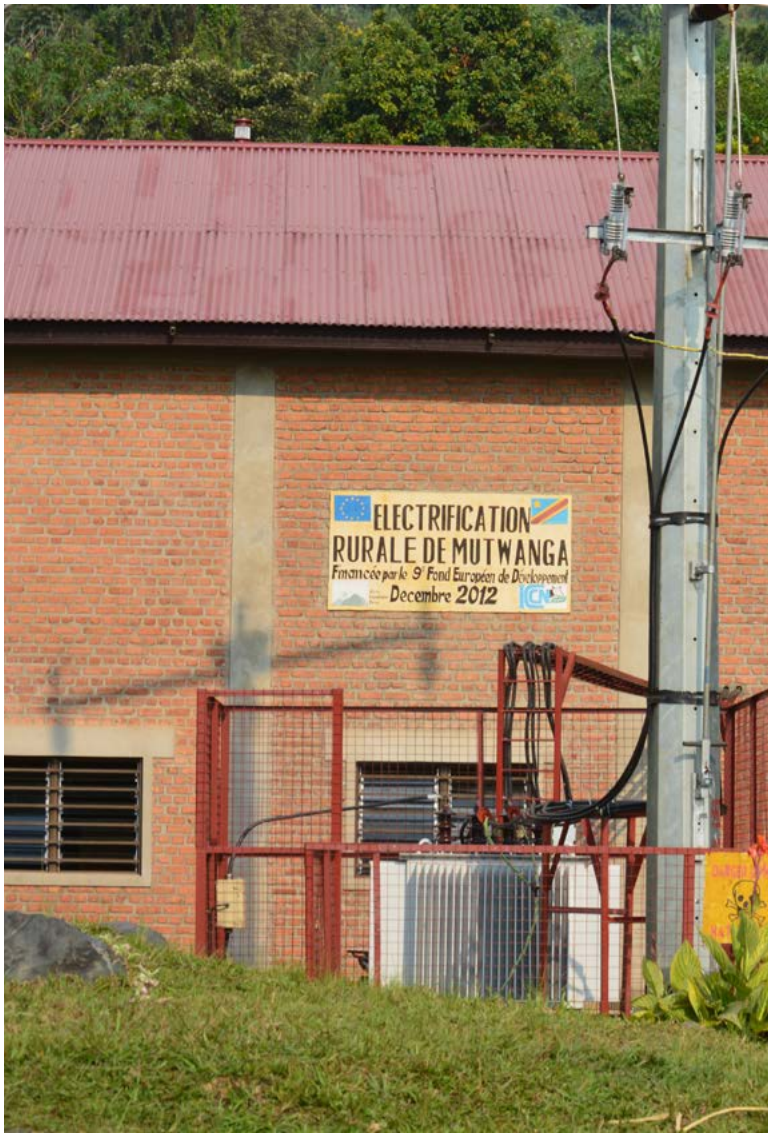
One thing is certain: the investments are coming! The current drive to harness Africa's vast resources for her development is going to continue, with significant increases in the coming decade as investors commit funds with the hope of high returns. Rather than view development as a threat to heritage, can 'experts' use it as an opportunity to improve conservation and heritage management? While the impact assessment process is one entry point to secure the resources for discovering and managing heritage, mainstreaming heritage concerns into the development discourse can go a long way.

In this light, the following actions could be considered:

1. Link heritage concerns with other SDGs.
2. Regional engagement.
3. Mainstream World Heritage concerns into national regulatory systems.
4. Leverage infrastructure investments as an opportunity for conservation.
5. Build capacity based on acknowledgement of local knowledge and concerns.
6. Support activities
   - Invest in youths
   - Promote mass dissemination.

1. Link heritage concerns with other SDGs

While world cultural and natural heritage is specifically mentioned in SDG 11.4, there are commonalities between the policy and other SDGs that can be leveraged to monitor SDG 11.4. This can be done both at global and national levels.



7 https://virunga.org/virunga-alliance/

On ne peut certes pas s'attendre à ce que tous les sites du patrimoine mondial de la région tirent des profits économiques importants de leur statut mondial. Peu de sites ont créé une marque capable de vendre leur singularité au monde et, lorsque c'est le cas, le tourisme ne génère pas nécessairement assez de recettes pour que la gestion et l'entretien du site répondent au niveau de qualité attendu par la Convention.

C'est la raison pour laquelle il est essentiel de compléter le tourisme durable sur les sites du patrimoine en mettant en valeur « la culture et les produits locaux » (ODD 8) et en renforçant la production agricole et l'industrie agroalimentaire (Agenda 2063).

Small hydroelectric power plant at Mutwanga. Pilot power plant of the rural electrification programme of Virunga Alliance. Virunga National Park, Democratic Republic of the Congo / Mini-centrale hydroélectrique de Mutwanga. Centrale pilote du programme d'électrification rurale de l'Alliance Virunga, Parc national des Virunga, République démocratique du Congo

Les sites du patrimoine mondial ne doivent pas exclure tous les types de production industrielle. Il doit être possible de développer le potentiel de certaines caractéristiques naturelles, les cours d'eau ou le potentiel éolien, de l'énergie solaire par exemple, pour produire de l'électricité de façon durable, comme l'illustre le cas du Parc national des Virunga (voir **encadré 1**).

Ces investissements ont produit des effets qui ont été rapidement perçus et appréciés – création d'emplois pendant les phases de construction et de mise en œuvre, développement de la distribution d'électricité, création durable de petites et moyennes entreprises. Lorsque les individus sont capables d'établir un lien entre le site protégé et l'amélioration de leur existence, ils ont la motivation requise pour protéger les biens du patrimoine.

Recommandations

Comment la communauté du patrimoine en Afrique peut-elle mettre en œuvre la *politique pour l'intégration d'une perspective de développement durable dans les processus de la Convention du patrimoine mondial* et élaborer des indicateurs mesurables ?

Une chose est sûre : les investissements arrivent ! Les investisseurs s'engagent dans l'espoir de rendements élevés, l'élan qui a été donné pour que l'Afrique exploite ses immenses ressources pour son propre développement va donc se poursuivre et s'intensifier considérablement au cours des prochaines décennies. Au lieu de considérer le développement comme une menace pour le patrimoine, les « experts » ne pourraient-ils pas y voir la possibilité d'améliorer la conservation et la gestion du patrimoine ? Bien que les études d'impact constituent un point de départ pour trouver les financements nécessaires à l'identification et à la gestion du patrimoine, la réflexion sur le développement a encore bien du chemin à parcourir pour intégrer la question du patrimoine.

À la lumière de ce qui précède, les mesures suivantes pourraient être envisagées :

1. Relier la question du patrimoine aux autres ODD

2. Engagement régional

7 https://virunga.org/virunga-alliance/

Efforts are already underway to define indicators at global level but this should not stop national initiatives, and it is essential to work with national SDG committees to raise the profile of the heritage concerns and develop ways to track and monitor its progress.

2. Regional engagement

The development agenda of African States Parties aims for inclusive economic and sustainable development, and is not opposed to the ideals of the Convention.

World Heritage can thus be leveraged for developing innovative solutions to ensure sustainable development, aligning with the trends in the sector to this effect. The development trend is not limited to individual countries but is a continental effort and vision. There is a need to engage in stronger discussions at regional level with the various development partners, primarily the national governments and the African Development Bank, which plays a crucial role in the deployment of the AU's Agenda 2063. Another critical partner is the Government of China,[8] which has the second largest investment in infrastructure development in the region. As a response to the policy's take on social inclusion, there should be a concerted effort to extend and design capacity-building programmes, beyond the restrained audience of heritage practitioners, bringing together stakeholders from varied backgrounds and interests.

States Parties should also be encouraged to continue their support for the African World Heritage Fund (AWHF), its policy level dialogue with the African Union to help develop strategies to insert the Agenda 2063 cultural and natural heritage agenda within the framework of the PIDA, and subsequently provide advisory services to the concerned States Parties.

3. Mainstream World Heritage concerns into national regulatory systems

As most infrastructure investment funds currently come from national governments in the region, mainstreaming heritage into national country systems is critical. The call is 'not to reinvent the wheel, but build on what a country has'.[9] Heritage concerns can be integrated into country economic and urban planning, environmental regulations, transportation and power infrastructure, etc. This can be done by encouraging national heritage institutions to: (i) introduce themselves into the national SDG discourse by associating closely with national SDG committee, in order to ensure that heritage concerns are taken onboard as the SDGs are embedded into national plans and policies; (ii) help develop national indicators for cultural and natural heritage protection; and (iii) collaborate with national economic planning agencies to ensure that heritage concerns are included in national plans and policies to enable cross-referencing. Consultations and consensus, sometimes negotiations, will be necessary to arrive at solutions that respond to mutual concerns. Greater effort is required in this regard to close the gap between World Heritage Committee decisions and implementation at national level.

In light of the national development processes, advisory bodies to the World Heritage Committee should provide quicker responses and guidance to States Parties who request their assistance in managing OUV, in order that these are considered in decision-making.

4. Leverage infrastructure investments as an opportunity for conservation

Given the distribution of investment funding, the national regulatory frameworks remain key to mainstreaming World Heritage concerns into the national system. Furthermore, the various investment partners are required to operate according to good international industry practice that, in most cases, takes on board the principles

8 The 2014 Social Responsibility Declaration by Chinese Enterprises in Africa, which arrived at a consensus on the social responsibility of Chinese enterprises in Africa to respect culture and customs, protect the local environment and natural resources, and contribute to the sustainable development of African economy and society.

9 https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/content/documents/8506IASD%20Workshop%20Report%2020150703.pdf

3. Intégrer la question du patrimoine mondial aux systèmes réglementaires nationaux
4. Tirer parti des investissements d'infrastructures au profit de la conservation
5. Renforcer les capacités en fonction de la reconnaissance des savoirs et des préoccupations locales
6. Activités de soutien
   - Investir dans la jeunesse
   - Favoriser la diffusion à large échelle.

1. Relier la question du patrimoine aux autres ODD

Bien que l'ODD 11.4 mentionne spécifiquement le patrimoine culturel et naturel mondial, certains points communs à la Politique et aux autres ODD peuvent être utilisés dans le cadre du suivi de cet ODD, et ce à la fois aux niveaux mondial et national. Bien que des efforts aient déjà été déployés au niveau mondial pour définir des indicateurs de l'ODD 11.4, ce n'est pas une raison pour freiner les initiatives nationales. Il est primordial à cette fin de collaborer avec les comités nationaux sur les ODD afin d'accorder une plus grande priorité aux questions du patrimoine et de définir des méthodes de suivi et d'évaluation des progrès.

2. Engagement régional

Le programme de développement des États parties africains se fixe pour objectif un développement économique inclusif et durable, il n'est en rien contraire aux idéaux de la Convention.

Il est possible de tirer parti du patrimoine mondial afin d'élaborer des solutions novatrices qui favoriseront le développement durable, en s'assurant de la concordance entre cet objectif et les tendances de ce secteur. Le développement n'est pas qu'une tendance nationale, c'est une action et une vision communes à l'ensemble du continent. Il convient de renforcer les discussions engagées au niveau régional avec les différents partenaires du développement, en premier lieu les gouvernements et la Banque africaine de développement, qui joue un rôle crucial dans la mise en œuvre de l'Agenda 2063 de l'UA. Le Gouvernement de la Chine[8], deuxième investisseur dans le développement des infrastructures de la région, est lui aussi un partenaire majeur. En réponse à la position de la Politique sur l'inclusion sociale, il convient de mener une action concertée pour élaborer et élargir des programmes de renforcement des capacités qui puissent s'adresser non seulement aux professionnels du patrimoine, qui forment un public restreint, mais aussi aux parties prenantes représentant des domaines et des intérêts divers.

Les États parties doivent également être encouragés à renforcer leur soutien au Fonds pour le patrimoine mondial africain (FPMA) , à dialoguer avec l'Union africaine au niveau politique pour définir des stratégies destinées à intégrer la question du patrimoine culturel et naturel de l'Agenda 2063 au cadre du PIDA et, par la suite, à offrir des services de conseil aux États parties concernés.

3. Intégrer la question du patrimoine mondial aux systèmes réglementaires nationaux

Étant donné que les sources de financement des investissements d'infrastructures proviennent pour l'essentiel des gouvernements de la région, l'intégration du patrimoine aux systèmes nationaux revêt une importance capitale, l'idée étant « *non pas de réinventer la roue mais de tirer parti des atouts du pays*[9] ». Les questions liées au patrimoine peuvent être intégrées à la planification urbaine et économique du pays, aux réglementations sur l'environnement, aux infrastructures des secteurs des transports et de l'énergie, etc. À cette fin, les institutions nationales du patrimoine seront encouragées à : (i) participer aux réflexions sur les ODD au niveau national en tissant d'étroites relations avec le comité national chargé des ODD afin de veiller à ce que la question du patrimoine soit prise en compte lors de l'incorporation des ODD aux plans et politiques du pays ; (ii) contribuer à définir des indicateurs nationaux sur la protection du patrimoine culturel et naturel ; (iii) collaborer avec les agences nationales de planification économique pour faire en sorte que les questions liées au patrimoine soient prises en compte dans les plans et politiques du pays et permettre ainsi des références croisées. Les consultations, la recherche de consensus, parfois les négociations, seront nécessaires pour parvenir à des solutions qui tiennent compte des préoccupations mutuelles. Il importe à cet égard de redoubler d'efforts afin de

8 La Déclaration de 2014 concernant la responsabilité sociale des entreprises chinoises en Afrique invite les entreprises chinoises présentes en Afrique à respecter la culture et les coutumes ainsi qu'à protéger l'environnement local et les ressources naturelles et à contribuer au développement durable de l'économie et de la société africaines.

9 https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/content/documents/8506IASD %20Workshop %20Report %2020150703.pdf

of sustainability. With this variety of actors, it becomes evident that the World Heritage and sustainable development concerns must be observed through a broader lens.

Poorly planned development projects are a sure trajectory to the destruction of heritage sites and associated biodiversity. As the playing field in which African heritage institutions find themselves grows more sophisticated, greater effort is required to equip professionals in the sector to confidently engage with development actors from the public and private sectors to obtain the desired conservation results for heritage sites. In this way, they can leverage their interaction with the development sector to develop innovative solutions that will ensure that the development needs of communities and countries can be met, without having negative impacts on cultural and natural heritage, whether on the World Heritage List or not.

Development projects provide an opportunity to identify heritage and for national heritage institutions to expand national heritage inventories, thus contributing to States Parties' response to the Convention's Article 5(4): 'to take the appropriate legal, scientific, technical, administrative and financial measures necessary for the identification, protection, conservation, presentation and rehabilitation of this heritage'. The Committee can, within the spirit of attaining SDGs, provide support to African States Parties for heritage managers to have a place at the discussions around national infrastructure, and other, development. Such support to heritage professionals could improve general heritage management and enable broader participation and support in and from the development sector.

5. Build capacity based on acknowledgement of local knowledge and concerns

Education and training at all levels are indispensable for the appreciation and transmission of heritage values. In traditional settings, these values were passed down first within family circles and then as part of the community's established systems. Socio-political conditions have since evolved; communities are no longer isolated and are aware of what goes on in the bigger world. Addressing local concerns and traditional conservation and knowledge systems can lead to improved management and conservation of heritage. Harnessing the wealth of traditional knowledge in a respectful manner to foster mutual understanding between traditional ways and modern science will be very useful for capacity-building. Education based on communities' and scientific knowledge can contribute to preparing the next generation to take over heritage management in an informed manner.

The World Heritage site is often the stage for the daily life of the 'local' person who experiences it up close, while the arena of the Convention and its operating guidelines is that of the 'expert'. Local concerns are important – people know very clearly what is important to them and this is sometimes not the same as the 'expert' opinion. 'Consultations' should go beyond lip service and box-ticking to encouraging local communities to articulate their positions and world view, and collaborating very closely with them to think through solutions. Efforts currently underway can be strengthened to obtain meaningful results by applying the following suggested steps (adapted from Odiaua, 2012):

(i) respect traditional rights and knowledge rights;

(ii) consult patiently with communities in order to understand the nuances between common concerns, separate from individual interests;

(iii) determine, through discussions, the community's conservation and economic priorities;

(iv) present expert positions on OUV;

(v) hold discussions to arrive at a common understanding of the issues that affect the heritage resource from expert and community perspectives, in order to agree on the points for which scientific knowledge should be further developed;

(vi) involve the community as major partners in the design, implementation and monitoring of conservation works.

Through listening to community concerns, means and methods can be worked out so that benefits

réduire l'écart entre les décisions du Comité et leur application à l'échelle nationale.

À la lumière des processus nationaux de développement, il serait souhaitable que les Organisations consultatives du Comité du patrimoine mondial fournissent plus rapidement des réponses et des conseils aux institutions nationales qui leur demandent de les aider à gérer les VUE de façon à ce que ces éléments soient pris en considération dans les prises de décision.

4. Tirer parti des investissements d'infrastructures au profit de la conservation

Compte tenu de la répartition des investissements, les cadres réglementaires nationaux sont essentiels afin que le système national tienne compte des préoccupations liées au patrimoine mondial. En outre, les partenaires d'investissement sont tenus de respecter les bonnes pratiques internationales qui, dans la plupart des cas, adhèrent aux principes de durabilité. Étant donné la diversité des acteurs, il va de soi qu'il convient d'adopter une approche plus large pour examiner les questions liées au patrimoine mondial et au développement durable.

Les projets de développement mal planifiés sont le plus sûr moyen de provoquer la destruction des sites du patrimoine et de la biodiversité qui y est associée. Les institutions africaines du patrimoine étant appelées à évoluer dans un environnement de plus en plus complexe, il convient de redoubler d'efforts afin de donner aux professionnels du secteur les moyens nécessaires pour coopérer en toute confiance avec les acteurs du développement, qu'ils soient issus du secteur public ou privé, afin d'obtenir les résultats souhaités en termes de conservation des sites du patrimoine. Ils seront ainsi en mesure de profiter de leurs interactions avec le secteur du développement pour trouver des solutions novatrices qui garantiront que les besoins en développement des communautés et des pays sont satisfaits sans effets préjudiciables pour les sites du patrimoine culturel et naturel, qu'ils soient ou non inscrits sur la Liste du patrimoine mondial.

Les projets de développement sont l'occasion d'identifier le patrimoine et, pour les institutions nationales du patrimoine, d'étoffer les inventaires du patrimoine national, contribuant ainsi à la mise en œuvre par l'État partie de l'article 5 (d) de la Convention : « prendre les mesures juridiques, scientifiques, techniques, administratives et financières adéquates pour l'identification, la protection, la conservation, la mise en valeur et la réanimation de ce patrimoine ». Le Comité du patrimoine mondial peut, dans le but de réaliser les ODD, fournir une assistance aux États parties africains afin que les gestionnaires de sites aient leur place à la table des discussions sur l'évolution des infrastructures nationales et d'autres activités de développement. L'aide apportée aux professionnels du patrimoine permettrait d'améliorer la gestion générale du patrimoine, de favoriser une plus large participation du secteur du développement et d'en obtenir un soutien accru.

5. Renforcer les capacités en fonction de la reconnaissance des savoirs et des préoccupations locales

L'éducation et la formation à tous les niveaux sont indispensables pour que les valeurs du patrimoine soient appréciées et transmises. Dans les contextes traditionnels, ces valeurs étaient transmises aux enfants dès leur plus jeune âge, d'abord au sein de la famille, puis dans le cadre de systèmes communautaires bien établis. Les conditions socioéconomiques ont depuis évolué et les communautés, sorties de leur isolement, savent ce qui se passe dans le reste du monde. La prise en compte des préoccupations locales et des systèmes traditionnels de conservation et de connaissances contribuera à améliorer la gestion et la conservation du patrimoine.

L'éducation fondée sur les savoirs des communautés et les connaissances scientifiques contribue à préparer la nouvelle génération à prendre en charge le patrimoine de façon éclairée.

Il est essentiel que les savoirs traditionnels soient utilisés de manière respectueuse afin de favoriser la compréhension mutuelle entre les pratiques traditionnelles et les sciences modernes. Tandis que le quotidien de la personne « locale » tourne autour du site du patrimoine mondial, auquel elle est exposée de près, celui de « l'expert » s'inscrit dans le contexte de la Convention et de ses directives opérationnelles. Les préoccupations locales revêtent une grande importance, les gens savent exactement ce qui compte pour eux, ce qui ne correspond pas toujours à l'avis de « l'expert ». Les « consultations » ne doivent pas être de pure forme, il ne s'agit pas seulement de cocher des cases mais de permettre aux communautés locales de définir leurs positions et leur conception du monde tout en favorisant une étroite collaboration avec ces communautés pour réfléchir à des solutions. Les initiatives en cours peuvent être renforcées afin d'obtenir des résultats appréciables en passant par les étapes proposées ci-dessous (adapté de Odiaua, 2012) :

from World Heritage status can be increased by defining income-sharing all along the value chain. For example, the World Heritage site can be branded, communities can be organized into cooperatives that invest in providing services or producing their unique branded products to be sold far beyond the site. Such an approach respects SDGs and can be mainstreamed into national plans.

6. Support activities

Invest in youths

The involvement of young people is crucial for ensuring that the concerns of future generations are adequately taken on board in the spirit of sustainable development. It involves intergenerational knowledge and skills transfer – 'the wealth that is left for the children' (Odiaua, 2012) – innovation and new understanding of old things. An important element of capacity-building efforts should thus be to include interactions between members of host communities and young people to promote knowledge transfer and innovation. Young people can bring a new perspective to the interpretation of heritage resources as they inherit from the older generations and steer through the realities of contemporary life. Both the UN's Agenda 2030 and the AU's Agenda 2063 recognize the innovative force of youth; it is thus important to encourage their participation in heritage matters, in order to stimulate the development of adapted and appropriate means of production peculiar to time and place. Integrating young people into the development discourse, especially with respect to heritage, will also respond to the undertakings of both Agendas.

Promote mass dissemination

The mass media in Africa is an important tool for the promotion of African heritage; it ensures the mass dissemination of information – in local languages and to vast audiences – about the role of heritage in development. Members of the press can be invited to training seminars and heritage events, and encouraged to support the use of social media to improve the portrayal of heritage to the general populace. Heritage institutions can partner with the media to ensure the dissemination of factual information about the heritage sites and the World Heritage Convention, while encouraging the message that the heritage belongs to the people and not to UNESCO; thus, they have a stake in ensuring proper protection and management.

In conclusion, it is certain that the OUVs of African cultural and natural heritage stand to gain from the improved quality of life of its people. The health of every society is dependent on the ability of its members to sustain themselves through their interactions with the natural environment, and sustainability and conservation cannot be achieved outside of a human rights-based approach. In setting clear priorities for its First Ten Year Implementation Plan of Agenda 2063, the African Union seeks 'a high standard of living, quality of life and well-being for all' through the provision of 'incomes, jobs and decent work'. In all, the aspirations of Agenda 2063 are aligned with the SDGs of the 2030 Agenda and are not at variance with the World Heritage Convention.

(i) respecter les droits traditionnels et les droits relatifs aux savoirs ;

(ii) consulter les communautés en faisant preuve de patience afin de comprendre avec toutes leurs nuances les préoccupations communes, qui sont différentes des intérêts particuliers ;

(iii) déterminer, au moyen de discussions, quelles sont les priorités de la communauté en termes de conservation et de développement économique ;

(iv) présenter les positions des experts sur la valeur universelle exceptionnelle ;

(v) engager des discussions pour concilier les avis des experts et de la communauté sur les facteurs qui compromettent les ressources du patrimoine afin de s'entendre sur les domaines dans lesquels il convient d'approfondir les connaissances scientifiques ;

(vi) impliquer les communautés, considérées comme les partenaires clés de la conception, dans la mise en œuvre et le suivi du travail de conservation.

En prêtant l'oreille aux préoccupations de la communauté, il sera possible d'élaborer des moyens et des méthodes qui permettront de renforcer les effets positifs découlant de l'inscription au patrimoine mondial, et ce grâce à une répartition bien définie des revenus tout au long de la chaîne de valeur. Ainsi, il est possible de créer la marque du site du patrimoine mondial et les communautés peuvent s'organiser en coopératives qui investissent dans la prestation de services ou produisent sous leur marque des produits exclusifs qui seront commercialisés loin du site. Une telle approche, respectueuse des ODD, peut être intégrée aux plans nationaux.

6. Activités de soutien

Investir dans la jeunesse

Il est indispensable d'impliquer les jeunes afin que les préoccupations des « générations à venir » soient suffisamment prises en considération, et ce dans l'esprit du développement durable. Sont nécessaires à cette fin les connaissances intergénérationnelles et les transferts de compétences – « la richesse laissée aux enfants » (Odiaua, 2012) –, l'innovation et la possibilité de considérer les choses du passé d'un regard neuf. Les initiatives de renforcement des capacités devraient notamment prévoir des interactions entre les membres des communautés hôtes et les jeunes afin de favoriser le transfert des connaissances et l'innovation. Les jeunes apportent leur propre interprétation des ressources du patrimoine qu'ils héritent des générations plus anciennes, tandis qu'ils évoluent dans les réalités de la vie contemporaine. L'Agenda 2030 de l'ONU et l'Agenda 2063 de l'UA reconnaissent la force innovante de la jeunesse ; il importe de reconnaître la force novatrice des jeunes et de les encourager à s'impliquer dans le domaine du patrimoine afin de favoriser l'élaboration de moyens de production appropriés, adaptés au temps et au lieu. L'implication des jeunes dans la réflexion sur le développement, notamment en ce qui concerne le patrimoine, reflète également les aspirations de ces deux programmes.

Favoriser la diffusion à grande échelle

En Afrique, les médias sont un moyen essentiel de mise en valeur du patrimoine africain, dans la mesure où ils peuvent diffuser à grande échelle, dans les langues locales et à des publics très nombreux, des informations sur la contribution du patrimoine au développement. Les professionnels des médias peuvent être invités à participer à des séminaires de formation ou à des manifestations sur le patrimoine, et encouragés à soutenir le recours aux médias sociaux pour améliorer la description du patrimoine dans l'intérêt du public. Les institutions du patrimoine peuvent établir des partenariats avec les médias pour favoriser la diffusion de données factuelles sur les sites du patrimoine et la Convention du patrimoine mondial, tout en renforçant le message selon lequel le patrimoine appartient au peuple et non pas à l'UNESCO. Elles auront ainsi intérêt à garantir une protection et une gestion efficaces du patrimoine.

Pour conclure, il est certain que les VUE du patrimoine culturel et naturel africain profitent de l'amélioration de la qualité de vie de son peuple. La santé de chaque société dépend de la capacité de ses membres à subvenir à leurs besoins grâce à leurs interactions avec l'environnement naturel et, la durabilité et la conservation sont impossibles sans une approche basée sur les droits humains. En établissant des priorités claires pour le premier plan décennal de mise en œuvre de l'Agenda 2063, l'Union africaine vise à atteindre « un niveau de vie, une qualité de vie et un bien-être élevés pour tous » à travers la disposition de « revenus, d'emploi et de travail décent ». Les aspirations de l'Agenda 2063 sont en total accord avec les Objectifs de développement durable de l'Agenda 2030 et ne contredisent pas la Convention du patrimoine mondial.

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Sub-Saharan Africa is undergoing a sustained period of infrastructural development and change. This is also affecting World Heritage in the region. Through case studies from the region and other parts of the world, this publication analyses the dynamics of this change, with respect to World Heritage, and offers suggestions for leveraging African World Heritage in sustainable development.

L'Afrique sub-saharienne vit actuellement une période de développement des infrastructures et de changement qui a également des conséquences sur le patrimoine mondial de la région. À travers différentes études de cas issues de cette même région et d'autres parties du monde, cette publication analyse les dynamiques de ce changement, du point de vue du patrimoine mondial, et suggère des propositions afin de faire de ce dernier un levier du développement durable.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

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World Heritage Convention

Convention du Patrimoine mondial

Sustainable Development Goals

Objectifs de développement durable

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