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Asian Heritage Management

Contexts, concerns, and prospects

Edited by
Kapila D. Silva
and
Neel Kamal Chapagain

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Introduction

Contexts and concerns in Asian heritage management

Neel Kamal Chapagain

> *Asia is people.* People till Asia's earth, write Asia's poetry, make Asia's laws, fight Asia's wars, and dream Asia's dreams.
>
> (Welty 1966: 6; emphasis added)
>
> And thus create, maintain and modify Asia's heritage.
>
> (My addition)

The above remark by Paul Thomas Welty (1966) provides an excellent point of departure to reflect upon Asian heritage management. It reminds us that 'people' are the key patrons behind everything that happens in Asia, including what I added above – the creation, maintenance and modification of their heritage. It explicitly refers to people's interaction with the land, their creative expressions, policy frameworks, conflicts as well as aspirations, which are also some of the key aspects of Asian heritage. Primarily aimed for the American academic audience, Welty's book, titled *The Asians – their heritage and their destiny*, was 'written to introduce the people of Asia', whom Welty regarded as numerous, diverse, ancient and dynamic (Welty 1996: 1). Furthermore, Welty views Asian people as receptive of, and adaptable to, new ideas and institutions while also keeping up with their traditions. His reference to the diversity of Asian people and their versatile nature, which is well grounded in long-held traditions, is relevant to the discussion on Asian heritage management.

The reference to 'people' as the basis of discussing heritage reminds us of fundamental 'who' questions associated with heritage discourse – whose heritage, defined by whom, managed by whom, for whom, and so on. These questions have now become critical in the field of heritage management; as Luxen (2004: 5) mentions, 'the questions asked have graduated from "how to conserve?" to "why conserve?" and then to "for whom to conserve?"' Heritage management has attempted to acknowledge 'people' through the participatory processes for quite a while now. My reference to 'people' is, however, not intended to merely acknowledge and ask people's approval on preconceived conservation management plans; it is also to encourage us to step back from our professional mindset in order to approach the notion of heritage afresh from indigenous worldviews and practices (Chapagain 2009, 2011, 2012). This is not an easy task. Many communities or people may not even literally define their heritage as such,

because sometimes heritage is not an objective 'thing' to clearly articulate, but it is embedded in people's life. This reference to 'people' is a call to look at their everyday beliefs and perceptions, evolving practices, and contemporary aspirations associated with their 'heritage'. As we approach Asian heritage from the perspective of its people, we are often reminded to (re)think heritage as a living 'thing' – just like people – which is a key aspect to be considered in Asian heritage. Asian heritage is incomplete without the people; in fact, people enliven Asian heritage. This is not to negate the experts' discourse on heritage, or to confront the prevalent material and history-centred heritage concepts. Using people as the primary anchor, I argue that many of the issues and complexities associated with Asian heritage management can be better understood and addressed to a greater extent. That is not necessarily easy though, because it may require us to give up some of our preconceived notions of heritage and what we, as heritage professionals, are typically trained to do (Chapagain 2011, 2012). Reference to 'people' as the key idea allows us to logically integrate, sometimes problematic, distinctions of the concepts, such as tangible and intangible, natural and cultural, and historic and living that permeate the contemporary conservation lexicon. It also reminds us to acknowledge the everyday and common sense notions of heritage that people associate with, as opposed to only expert-assessed notions of heritage. This is more important in Asian heritage management, as many essays in this volume demonstrate, because heritage in Asia is constantly created, maintained and modified by Asian people, their belief systems, and everyday practices. There is a growing interest to articulate contextual heritage management approaches appropriate for Asian contexts.

Generally, 'Asia' is understood as a geographically defined area – a continent. 'Asian' then refers to a sense of belonging to, and identity associated with, the continent. However, it is also argued that the term 'Asia' is generally regarded as a Western construct and 'although residents of Asia have come to accept the term, the borders of the various regions of the continent are challenged by some of the participants' (Beeson and Stubbs 2012: 1). Hence, the very term 'Asia' itself comes with 'contestation, fluidity and ambiguity' (Winter and Daly 2012: 5); so are terms like 'Asian' and 'Asian heritage' as well as 'Asian identity'. The sense of Asian identity is argued to have originated 'largely in the reaction against the Western colonial system and in the common denominator of anti-colonial sentiment which the system fostered' (Shridharan 1988: vii). The premises of Asian identity, however, trace back to pre-colonial history when distinct cultures and civilizations were emerging on the continent. Today, the notions of geographically bound communities have been challenged (Anderson 1991). Also, the influence of globalization and cross-cultural mingling of populations across the world has challenged the perception of culture and heritage as bound within a defined physical boundary (Appadurai 1996, 2001). These contemporary discourses may be helpful in analysing the global stature of Asian heritage (both as influenced and influencing) as well as the complexities surrounding the basic terms. This volume instead focuses on Asian heritage as the physically grounded and historically evolved patterns in monumental as well as vernacular built

environment, traditional practices, intangible concepts, and cultural landscapes. The physical reference to the continent is important for many Asian cultures because the notion of heritage is deeply connected with their landscapes through the beliefs and enactment of various traditions in relation to the cultural landscapes. Asians do not just live *on* a particular continent; traditionally they live *in* it as an integral part of the landscape.

Asia is home to some of the most ancient civilizations and the oldest religious and philosophical traditions of the world. These histories and cultures of different groups and regions in Asia often overlap with each other. Sometimes the shared history and cultural traditions bring diverse communities under one cultural umbrella, whereas at other times specific local contexts give rise to diverse traditions within the same worldview. For instance, the influences of the three worldviews presented in this volume – Hindu, Buddhist and Islamic – have overlapped across time and space, resulting in a diverse heritage unique to different regions within the continent. Moreover, within each belief system, multiple traditions have emerged across different regions of Asia due to a myriad of reasons. Such complex historic and cultural processes often bemuse us so much that the notion of 'Asian heritage' seems ambiguous and even problematic; it is often difficult to articulate precisely what it is. Recognizing the fluidity and vagueness inherent with the term 'Asian heritage', it is used in this volume as an umbrella term to include the diversity of heritage and traditions that flourish on the Asian continent, and their shared historical and cultural affinities. The aim of this volume is to explore these unique historical and cultural processes of heritage in Asia and the approaches taken for their maintenance to examine the efficacies of current management practices, and to highlight some prospects emerging from and applicable to Asian heritage management.

Asian heritage consists not only of historic, monumental, and universally significant examples, but also constantly modified, locally appreciated examples that may exist at individual, familial or communal levels of importance. Asian heritage draws more from spiritual or intangible beliefs and worldviews than tangible or material aesthetic principles. Also, in general, Asian heritage encompasses people, nature and culture as integral parts of a holistic concept of heritage. The beauty of Asian heritage lies in its cultural pluralism which requires us to understand that each context has its own management needs and processes which are sometimes complicated by multiple layers of history and culture associated with it. Recent colonial history is another important layer added to many cases of Asian heritage. With some exceptions, the colonial history is accommodated within the historical and contemporary narrative in many Asian situations rather than being contested or discarded. As much as Asian heritage is rooted in its own traditions, it is currently also under the influence of globalization, particularly through institutions like UNESCO, the World Heritage and the Intangible Cultural Heritage listing process, through economic consequences such as tourism and urban migration, as well as conflicts arising from national and international geo-political scenarios. Therefore, Asian heritage management needs to respond to both local and global contexts. On the one hand, its historic

and cultural traditions provide tremendous prospects of formulating unique Asian ways of heritage management; on the other hand, Asian heritage management is increasingly influenced by global institutions, which are also, in turn, influenced by views emerging from the Asian context. I elaborate on these points in the following two sections, and then connect them with the contents of this volume.

Asian heritage

'Heritage is Everywhere', David Lowenthal (2004: 12) reminds us. On this, I would add that anything can become heritage when it matters to people. What matters to people is a cultural process, drawing from their worldviews, beliefs, practices, needs and aspirations. Smith (2006) rightly points out that there is 'no such thing as heritage' (*ibid*: 11) until the heritage elements go through a 'cultural process' (*ibid*: 3). In this volume, we regard heritage as a broadly used umbrella term for a variety of natural and human-made material objects as well as non-material aspects of culture. Some authors have delved into the definition, origin, and the uses of the term (Lowenthal 1998; Graham *et al.* 2000; Hewison 1987; Smith 2006). Here we will consider it in general everyday meaning. In its etymological sense, heritage is something we inherit, something we ascribe to ourselves, and something that we build upon. Hence, it is associated with our past, traditions, beliefs, rituals, memory, knowledge and skills, identity, pride, pain, shame, and many other aspects of everyday life as well. It is also perceived at different levels – from a very personal to a larger community level. Hence, Asian heritage can be conceptualized by reference to people at various levels – individual, familial, communal, national and international levels.

At the individual level, heritage may represent things and traditions that either an individual or a family inherits from their previous generations, or entities that represent them in the contemporary context. For example, a family house and keepsakes that are passed down from parents to their children, inherited family traditions and skills, and recent achievements that may be significant not only to present but future generations as well, could become a part of family heritage. The chapter in this volume by Syed Iskander Ariffin about Malay notions of heritage offers a typical case in Melaka, Malaysia, where an ancestral house was subjected to division and broken apart as per the will of the owner, so that his children could each inherit a piece of the family house. The division is not meant to 'destroy' the heritage but to ensure its continuity in both the material and emotional sense, through its use as part of multiple new houses built at different locations. Therefore, to look at an old house from a mere historical point of view does not often make sense. Thus, the concept of heritage and its conservation in Asian contexts needs more flexible perspectives than those afforded by current thinking on heritage management.

At a group or clan level, heritage may relate to ancestral places, worship of clan deities, and traditional livelihoods. In many Asian contexts, families of a clan trace their ancestry to the place where their great-grandparents lived and from where the later families branched out, which are celebrated, if not visited,

during rituals of remembering ancestors. This notion of ancestry, or one's traceable origin, in fact relates to larger communal groups as well. This is particularly so in modern socio-political contexts where both voluntary and involuntary migrations have led people to settle in different parts of the world, yet they keep relating their heritage to a particular place elsewhere. In Asia, one also comes across families that continue practicing their traditional professional work (craftsmanship, as the most familiar example) as their heritage. In some cases, this is even reflected in their family names; for instance, the *newārs* of Kathmandu Valley in Nepal bear traditional family names, such as *Chitrakār* (painters) or *Tamrakār* (metal craftsmen). The *newārs* as well as many other ethnic groups in Nepal have the tradition of revering a particular clan deity (*kul dēvatā*) which is often worshipped during special occasions by extended families belonging to the same clan lineage. There are also dedicated shrines for these clan deities, which form an important part of one's ancestral landscape.

Moving on to the community scale, Tara Sharma's chapter in this volume about the notion of heritage and its maintenance in traditional communities in Ladakh, India, illustrates some of the unique ways Asian communities define, maintain and promote their heritage. The heritage of Ladakhi communities is not valued in terms of their historic or archaeological values but on their everyday associations with traditionally recognized natural and man-made features of their village landscape. It must be noted here that many such community-based notions of heritage contradict the prevalent international notion of heritage and its management. This is because at the community level, the basis of recognizing heritage is people and their continued engagement with the cultural space rather than the material fabric of artefacts and buildings. Yet at another communal level, a village or a region might be well-known for certain traditional knowledge and services, or products thereof, which may be explicitly recognized as their heritage; the Ifugao rice terraces of Philippines Cordilleras are just one example. However, an increasing number of youths are migrating to urban areas leaving behind these farming practices, challenging the heritage of terraced farming. The increasing influence of urban economy and processes of urbanization is just one of many contemporary realities within which Asian heritage need to be situated.

Though mostly associated with what is inherited, heritage may also be a result of a recent phenomenon that attempts to ascribe meaning to present efforts and circumstances. The 'Chinese Pavilion', built for the Shanghai Expo in 2010, has become an important contemporary Chinese heritage asset, because it not only draws from the attributes of some of the unique architectural traditions of China but also makes a strong statement about the ongoing economic and technological leaps China is taking (Winter and Daly 2012). Hence, heritage is also a contemporary manipulation of the historic – how the past is interpreted in the present and connected to the future. In so doing, it involves tangible and intangible as well as cultural and natural features; it refers to places, objects or physical manifestations associated with certain events and memories.

The Asian landscape is full of traditional events and festivals that dramatically change the meaning and importance of a place or landscape. For example, people

in the southern plains (Terai – Madhesh) of Nepal celebrate an annual festival of *Chhath* during which at least one of the nearby water bodies (ponds and rivers) in each community is transformed as a sacred landscape (waterscape), regardless of its religious importance, where the community gathers to offer special homage to the rising sun on a particular morning. The festival spans a few days and involves various rituals and celebrations to thank the Sun for sustaining life on Earth, and to wish for prosperity for the family and community. In living cultures and communities across Asia, heritage, therefore, also refers to the ways by which beliefs and traditions are remembered as well as enacted to revere nature and ecology. Often a neighbourhood is temporarily transformed by informal construction as well as festive enactments associated with these rites. Each community has its cultural space ascribed to such festivities. In general they are not well defined; yet during the celebrations the logic of traditional planning and use of these spaces comes alive, and the built environment begins to make much more sense. Good examples include several religious processions (*jātrās*) in the Kathmandu Valley, which attribute meaning to the urban spaces in the traditional town layouts within the valley.

Such cultural practices also point out another dimension of cultural heritage in Asia, which is rarely understood within current conservation thinking. It is the temporary and informal transformation of built space, by which cultural memories are enacted and brought to life. Mehrotra (2007) calls such temporal transformation of urban spaces the 'kinetic city' that 'constantly modifies and reinvents itself', and which, often being built with recycled material, is 'usually not perceived as architecture, but instead in terms of spaces, which hold associative values and supportive lives' (Mehrotra 2007: 342). These temporary and informal transformations of Asian cities through processions and decorations give a spiritual significance to the city where the fixed built environment alone would not necessarily have achieved such a heightened cultural significance. Mehrotra (2007: 343) sees in these kinaesthetic processes 'an indigenous urbanism that has its own particular "local" logic'. Moreover, the informal or kinetic urban heritage is not necessarily an adaptation out of poverty but rather 'a temporal articulation and occupation of space which not only creates a richer sensibility of spatial occupation, but also suggests how spatial limits are expanded to include formally unimagined uses in dense urban conditions' (Mehrotra 2007: 343). Mehrotra sees this as an important paradigm that is still missing in the heritage discourse in the Indian context of conservation education, which still borrows heavily the notions of significance and values, and heritage management approaches from monument- and history-centric heritage discourses originating in the European context. Mehrotra thus emphasises the importance of paying attention to the 'kinetic and informal' cities in addition to the 'static and formal' cities as a contextual framework for heritage conservation education in India. This argument is also valid for the rest of the Asian context. Using 'people' as a reference in heritage conceptualization would help us recognize these processes. Asian heritage is not only about formal definitions of tangible or intangible and natural or cultural heritage, but it is importantly about how people are involved

in these cultural processes and how they intuitively interconnect nature and culture, as well as tangible and intangible dimensions of heritage.

Apart from people manipulating and enacting cultural activities on a given urban space to create important heritage expressions, there are also state institutions that create, manipulate and propagate what should be considered 'heritage' and its broader political implications. At the national level, heritage is (re)created, (re)defined and promoted in certain historic and political contexts as well. However, heritage as a strategy of national unification or national pride is not free of contestation. For example, Jiawen Ai (2012) argues that the ruling Chinese Communist Party (CCP) has consciously created official narratives of China's cultural traditions to emphasise 'the "refined" beliefs, customs and values that manifest in Chinese history' (Ai 2012: 136) and thus, '(c)ultural heritage has become one of the main vehicles through which the CCP is marketing and promoting itself both domestically and internationally, seeking to anchor itself onto the legitimacy of thousands of years of history, while both conveniently bringing the rich diversity of cultural heritage under the umbrella of "Chinese" and white-washing the stain of the Cultural Revolution' (Ai 2012: 137).[1]

The colonial legacy is another nuance in Asian heritage. The colonial imprint is sometimes regarded as memorable heritage while other times it is intentionally forgotten or erased as a bitter experience. For instance, Seoul in South Korea, 'one of the oldest and largest cities in the world', represents 'the co-existence of Korean, Japanese, Chinese, and Western cultural elements' in its built environment. However, despite 'the successive layers of different political, economic, social, and cultural features of over 600 years of history', 'the Japanese impact on the city has not been accepted' (Rii 2002: 74). Such rejection of the Japanese influence (despite the physical evidence in built form) is an emotional response to the Japanese colonial project which allegedly tried not only to colonize but to wipe out the Korean culture. In most other cities in South and Southeast Asia, urban heritage associated with colonial legacies is not discarded but woven into the respective national heritage lists. For example, Sri Lanka has accommodated the colonial legacies within her national patrimony.

At times, the multiple layers of political history and associated cultural influences also add complexities to the way heritage is perceived, recognized and promoted. In Myanmar, the military regime's inconsistent approach towards its colonial buildings reflects the complications surrounding the responses to colonial heritage. Some of Myanmar's colonial heritage is intentionally erased and forgotten to show the modernization and progress led by the ruling force; whereas some is preserved to validate the military regime as the force of national unity emerging out of a colonial past. Moreover, Nwe and Philp (2002) elaborate that the military government has also strategically used heritage protection – particularly for Buddhist heritage – as a way to demonstrate their 'concern to preserve the "Asian" values and cultural identity of Myanmar' to reject 'the internationally accepted notions of "democracy" and "human rights"' (Nwe and Philp 2002: 164). 'The contradictions inherent in state policy concerning what is defined as cultural heritage, the impossibility of denying the colonial past, and the reluctant

acknowledgement and selective denouncements of Western influences are unique characteristics contributing to the re-invention of heritage in Yangon today' (Nwe and Philp 2002: 165). Anila Naeem's chapter in this volume also elaborates a similar condition that occurs at the national level in Pakistan. Here, the colonial legislative history and the intention of creating a national identity based on the Islamic faith of the majority lead to the neglect of other diverse cultural heritages within her national boundaries.

The multiple layers of history and community associations found in Asia may also complicate heritage management, particularly in terms of claims on the ownership and authority of heritage. A prominent case, for instance, is the Babri Masjid (mosque) in Ayodhya, India, which was vandalised by a Hindu mob in 1992. They claimed the existence of a Hindu temple dedicated to Ram (one of the Hindu Gods, who was believed to be born at this site in Ayodhya) prior to the mosque's presence at the site. This fuelled a long-standing debate on the ownership of the site. Such a conflict poses a challenge in heritage management as to what form such sites should be restored (Wijesuriya 2003). Sometimes the issue of ownership has even involved two neighbouring countries, such as the case of Preah Vihar being a conflict zone between Thailand and Cambodia. Winter (2010) notes the heightened tension between the two countries following Cambodia's successful nomination of Preah Vihar as a World Heritage site in 2008. The World Heritage listing intensified the already existing conflict of ownership of Preah Vihar, causing a military cross-fire between Cambodia and Thailand that resulted in some casualties as well (Winter 2010). Evidently, 'while heritage can unite, it can also divide' (Silverman and Ruggles 2007: 3).

Apart from the conflicts due to overlapping ownership of heritage, there are other bitter instances where religious and political extremism has threatened Asian heritage. As in the unfortunate case of the Taliban's destruction of Bamiyan Buddhas in Afghanistan,[2] heritage suffers when it is used as a target to express religious fundamentalism. Another example of destruction of heritage sites due to ethnic conflicts comes from Kandy in Sri Lanka, where the Temple of the Tooth Relic, belonging to the majority Sinhalese Buddhists, was intentionally attacked by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam, a separatist political organization, in 1998. 'The destruction of the temple is one of the most notable examples of heritage being deliberately targeted during a conflict in an attempt to destroy the identity of a group' (Wijesuriya 2007: 87).

Another challenging context for Asian heritage comes from the 'difficult heritage' sites that are 'places of pain and shame' containing 'scars of history resulting from involvement in war and civil unrest or adherence to belief systems based on intolerance, racial discrimination or ethnic hostilities' (Logan and Reeves 2009: 1). The sites and objects associated with the Khmer Rouge regime and its leaders, as well as places of mass massacre carried out by them in Cambodia are prime examples of such 'difficult heritage' which are increasingly becoming 'heritage' and 'tourism' sites (Long and Reeves 2009). Most of the Asian countries with colonial history have sites associated with war that are increasingly being presented as war memorials and war-time heritage that often face the challenge

of balancing between the representation of history and commemoration of the struggle. Another challenge for many local Asian heritage sites comes from the discrimination propagated by privileged groups in a society; for example, there are some Hindu temples where so called 'untouchables' (people traditionally regarded as belonging to lower social status in Hindu caste systems) were prohibited from engaging in certain activities in the temples. Public awareness of such unfair practices has significantly increased in recent decades, thus modifying problematic practices. These problematic traditions are also 'difficult heritage', which impede upon the human rights of certain groups of people in society. Managing heritage in such circumstances can be meaningful only when we approach heritage in relation to its fair use by all groups of people affiliated with it. Reference to people (of all groups) allows the management practice to seek alternatives or modifications to traditions rather than only blindly adhering to what may otherwise be termed as 'heritage'.

Despite some difficult and bitter situations, Asian societies, for the most part, acknowledge the cultural pluralism and co-existence of multi-cultural heritage. The predominantly Islamic nation of Indonesia promotes the Buddhist site of Borobudur as a part of its Hindu-Buddhist cultural history.[3] Many religious sites in Asia are visited by followers of different religions; for example, numerous shrines in the Kathmandu Valley are venerated both by Hindus and Buddhists. Mehorotra (2012) observed that the Taj Mahal in India, a famous mausoleum of a Mughal queen who is a Muslim by religion, was regarded by a group of Hindu visitors from rural India, as if it were a sacred shrine, just like any other Hindu temple for them. Lumbini, the birthplace of Buddha and a World Heritage site in Nepal, has been a site where participation of the international community is much encouraged (see Kai Weise's chapter on Lumbini). Such conscious or unconscious acts of people remind us of prospects of harmony and pluralism amidst the richly diverse Asian heritage. Therefore, the complexity of context and concerns of Asian heritage demands 'pluralism' in management approaches as well. Pluralism is not just the acknowledgement of diversity but active and meaningful engagement with this diversity. There cannot be one universal approach based on a single, overarching value system; heritage management must be contextualized to the needs and beliefs of each Asian cultural context.

Asian heritage management

Heritage management can generally be defined as a process of maintaining (and, sometimes enhancing) the significance of a particular heritage and making it available for relevant groups of people to engage with it. Cody and Fong (2012: 101) indicate that the term 'management' is a 'paradigm' in heritage discourse that 'became popular first in North America and Europe and then elsewhere'. This global paradigm of heritage management could contradict with Asian paradigms of heritage management. If we look at many traditional or indigenous ways of maintaining heritage in Asian cultures, it appears that heritage had been managed to ensure the continuity of its spiritual and social values. Fundamentally,

this is how much of Asian heritage has survived to date. This may not necessarily mean the survival of a particular material existence, however. There is a fundamental philosophical difference between the informal Asian ways of managing heritage and the formal North American, European or international paradigm of heritage management. In general, the concept of management is considered the domain of professionals formally trained in conservation management or related fields. In this volume, we use the term 'heritage management' as an umbrella term to include local traditions and informal practices as well as formal policies pertaining to the protection of historic and cultural heritage in Asia.[4] Our use of the term refers to both the formally trained professionals' domain of management, as well as the informal and traditional ways of managing heritage in Asian contexts, which often takes place without a formally drawn management plan. It is important to recognize the shift here, particularly as it relates to the Asian context, because this is what complicates heritage management in this context. In a typical Asian way of managing important heritage sites, an old structure may receive significant improvements and additions of other facilities; yet such practices may be termed 'vandalism' by international agencies (Wijesuriya 2001). As the two chapters by Tara Sharma and Vibha Bhattarai-Upadhyay in this volume also recognize, unique local practices do exist in many traditional communities; however, these practices often conflict with the internationally proliferated practices as espoused through the Venice Charter and similar documents.

The conventional international practice of conservation – as espoused and promoted by global institutions and professionals – has its philosophical origins in the European context (Jokilehto 1999). Through colonial influences as well as through the efforts of international organizations, the modern idea of heritage management has now spread across the world. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, colonial regimes in South and Southeast Asia introduced systems of archaeology-based conservation practices which still form the backbone of contemporary heritage legislation in both former colonies as well as those locations which were never colonized. For example, India inherited the British established Archaeological Survey of India and the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, whereas Nepal, which was never a colony, mostly imitated neighbouring India for her own policy formulations. In addition to colonial legacies, Asian countries have also adopted much of the modern heritage discourse from global institutions like UNESCO and the International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), particularly in the World Heritage programme.

The World Heritage designation and enforcement of its operational guidelines are primarily the domain of UNESCO and its World Heritage Centre, but they are 'imposed' only when its member states seek to do so. While UNESCO is an active agent of contemporary globalization of heritage, the member states are the ones who pursue their desire to participate in the global discourse of heritage. On the one hand, the instruments like the World Heritage Convention are constantly used and manipulated to achieve nationalistic agendas by individual states (Askew 2010). For example, Askew (2010) discusses governments in China and Morocco using the World Heritage nomination process to selectively justify their

political agendas. On the other hand, not every country nominates heritage for the World Heritage List. For example, Bhutan, Maldives, Qatar, Kuwait, and Myanmar do not have any sites on the World Heritage List despite the fact that there are many heritage sites in these countries, which are no less significant than any other World Heritage sites.[5] Michael Di Giovanni (2010) elaborates on the global influence of UNESCO and the World Heritage Convention as resulting in creating a universal heritage landscape that he calls 'heritage-scape'. While the creation of 'heritage-scape' itself is not a problem, it does raise some questions with regards to management of these heritage sites at fundamental levels; why, how and for whom should these sites be managed? A member state generally does not nominate a site for the tentative list of World Heritage until it can ensure that its management can be done in par with the World Heritage operational guidelines. Obviously, therein lays a dilemma that many Asian countries face, where the global and indigenous philosophies may not necessarily match. With the desire to promote national heritage in the international arena, often for global tourism, most member states do comply with the World Heritage operational guidelines, even if that means ignoring their own traditional practices (Chapagain 2008; see also the chapter by Bhattarai-Upadhyay in this volume).

Nevertheless, UNESCO itself is a dynamic institution that constantly revisits its own strategies and promotes new vocabularies and approaches. Reading the heritage charters and conventions, primarily those sponsored by UNESCO and ICOMOS, we can discern that the notion of heritage has been gradually broadened up; the monumental notion of heritage in the 1972 Convention was expanded to include cultural landscapes in 1992, and intangible cultural heritage received a distinct status through the 2003 Convention on Intangible Cultural Heritage.[6] The 2003 UNESCO convention explicitly considered the innate interdependence between intangible cultural heritage and tangible cultural and natural heritage (UNESCO 2003). However, the focus on intangible heritage conservation as a distinct instrument within UNESCO's heritage system has raised questions in terms of fuelling a divide between tangible and intangible, rather than positing the tangible and intangible as equal parts of the entire heritage discourse (Silva 2010; Smith and Akagawa 2009). As a matter of fact, Asian countries like Japan and South Korea had recognized the importance of intangible heritage long before the discussion ensued in the global forum. Moreover, it is important to recognize that it is intangible heritage that plays a significant role in defining Asian heritage in general. Howe and Logan (2002: 248) rightly argue that Asian cultural heritage 'is shaped by philosophies and religious systems that emphasise the intangible rather than the tangible' and hence 'Asian views of cultural heritage mean that priority in many countries is given to conserving the intangible heritage and religious sites rather than to conserving the urban built environment'.

Despite the widespread influence of international norms in national legislations in Asia, there are instances where indigenous approaches based on intangible cultural values are still preferred in place of the conventional 'material-centric' approach. Discussing several examples from the Chinese context, including the

Confucius Temple complex in Qufu, Wei and Aass (1989) elaborate that the commonly observed management practices of rebuilding, enlarging and restoring clearly imply an emphasis on the spirit of the place rather than the physical details of architecture as one would typically see in Western heritage management practices. Another example comes from Thailand, where the government explicitly defied international norms of conservation (as promulgated through Venice Charter) in a UNESCO funded project as early as the 1980s, which actually led to the formation of what is called the Bangkok Charter (Byrne 2004). The chapter by Tara Sharma in this volume about the community perspective on their heritage and its management in Ladakh, India, further adds to this argument of intangible aspects being an integral part of the Asian heritage discourse (including the tangible/material aspects), and clearly demonstrates the need for drawing upon such approaches practiced by Asian communities. In fact, Asian heritage concepts and management approaches have already influenced international practices; for example, the tradition of the Ise Shrine reconstruction in Japan provided the momentum leading to the invocation of the Nara Convention and the Nara Document on Authenticity.

Tara Sharma's chapter highlights another important point too: the community in Ladakh perceives their heritage not only in terms of certain built structures, but also with reference to the village landscape as a whole. In their perception of culture and heritage, history and materiality are not so important, but the landscape features and the local meanings associated with them are. The essay by Syed Iskander Ariffin also emphasises the Islamic perspective in which the larger ecological context is considered an integral part of cultural heritage. Therefore, along with the emphasis on the intangible as an essential part of the overall heritage, Asian cultures also highlight the interconnections between what are often distinctly considered as natural heritage and cultural heritage. Such concepts that long existed in Asia have now also become important ingredients of modern heritage discourse, through the introduction of the concepts of cultural landscape and intangible cultural heritage. The chapters by Ken Taylor and by Amita Sinha in this volume discuss how the idea of cultural landscape has long been an essential component of Asian heritage, without the use of such an explicit construct. This is another important aspect for heritage management practice in the Asian context, where everything needs to be understood in its totality and as a continued process rather than being representative of a particular objective style and time period. Herein lies the fundamental conflict between modern heritage management approaches, coming primarily from the European context, and many indigenous Asian approaches to heritage management.

The inconsistencies between Asian and the Western (European or international) approaches towards heritage and management have been pointed out by several authors (Byrne 2004; Chapagain 2011; Chung 2005; MacKee 2009; Menon 2003; Wei and Aass 1989; Wijesuriya 2003). These inconsistencies emerge from the fact that Asian heritage is valued for its spiritual significance rather than historical and material significance. In that context, most of Asian heritage is constantly maintained and even uplifted by people without much

concern for the material authenticity. Hence, heritage management cannot be meaningful without people's involvement. Often when a foreign concept of management is endorsed through heritage legislation, heritage management encounters negative consequences and resistance from its own citizens. Lack of civic engagement in heritage management has been a major concern in many Asian countries. My personal observations of management issues at the World Heritage sites in Kathmandu Valley in Nepal attest to this argument (Chapagain 2008).

As a response to the need of national contexts, specific heritage principles for individual countries have also been devised (i.e. the China Principles proposed by the Getty Conservation Institute (Agnew *et al.* 2002)) and the Indonesia Charter for Heritage Conservation issued in 2003 by the Indonesian Network for Heritage Conservation and ICOMOS Indonesia (Engelhardt and Rogers 2009). To account for the diversity of cultural heritage in India – many of which have gone unprotected – the Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage (INTACH) has adopted a charter for unprotected cultural heritage in India (INTACH 2004). UNESCO Bangkok office has attempted to embed heritage practices in the context of Asia, most notably through the issuance of the Hoi An Protocols in 2001.[7] The Hoi An Protocols provide a prescriptive reference (instrument, in UNESCO's terminology) for heritage practitioners in Asia, and attempt to (re) interpret and to contextualize the internationally espoused concepts of conservation for the Asian context, following the precedence set by the Australia ICOMOS Burra Charter and the Nara Document on Authenticity. The protocols appropriately emphasise intangible cultural heritage (even before the UNESCO Convention on the Intangible Cultural Heritage came into force) and cultural landscapes, among other aspects of heritage. Many chapters in this volume address these issues as well.

The UNESCO Bangkok office has also been administering UNESCO Asia-Pacific Heritage Awards for best practices in public-private initiatives on conservation of built heritage in the Asia-Pacific region since 2000. Reflecting on the experience of these awards in the first five years, an official publication (Engelhardt 2007) articulates five principles as 'the first principles' of heritage conservation for the Asia-Pacific region and beyond. The 'first principles' appropriately recognize collective mapping of cultural space, authenticity based on cultural contexts, interrelationships between tangible and intangible heritage, recognition of traditional knowledge, and, most importantly, the negotiation process as key principles of successful conservation management. Though these are drawn from the Asian context, the 'first principles' can in fact enrich heritage management practices around the world. We can argue, therefore, that the Asian context has not only been influenced by global conservation discourse, but the Asian context has also inspired important revisions in the global heritage discourse.

It is evident that contemporary discussion on Asian heritage management must draw from global discourse as well as regional and local discourse. Asian heritage management is not confined to either global or local issues, but it is at best a

'glocalized' process – to draw upon the idea of 'glocalization' (Robertson 1995). Such interaction between the global and the local is further visible in management practices involving a number of international groups, such as the cases of Angkor and Lumbini (see the chapters by Chapman and Weise in this volume). Another layer of global and local interface is seen in the context of tourism, which is generally perceived as an important economic opportunity for sustaining heritage management. However, tourism may turn counterproductive to the very idea of heritage conservation and management if not managed properly. It is in such contexts that national policies and charters, and international conventions have important roles to play. While prescriptive documents like the Hoi An Protocols are a welcome addition to evolving practices, further discussion and reflection are needed to delve deeper into the nuances of managing heritage in an Asian context. In this regard, conversations and publications focused on Asian heritage have already begun on various fronts. While many individually authored articles have appeared in various conferences and journals, there are not many collective book-length publications dedicated to the Asian heritage management. Before delving into the contents of the current volume, a handful of noted events and publications of such nature is worth mentioning here briefly.

Some precedents to this volume

Several conferences and symposia have been organized to discuss the issues of Asian heritage management, some of which go unnoticed, whereas others draw attention through the resultant publications. In 1991, a symposium on *Cultural Heritage in Asia and the Pacific: Conservation and Policy* was organized at Honolulu, Hawai'i, by ICOMOS – USA and the Getty Conservation Institute. The symposium, through its plenary discussion, provided some recommendations for the governments in the Asia-Pacific region, to focus on education, policy making and networking. However, not much critical (re)thinking of heritage in Asian context was demonstrated as compared to a later conference in 1995. The Getty Conservation Institute, in collaboration with the Asia Society and the Siam Society, organized another conference on *The Future of Asia's Past: Preservation of Architectural Heritage of Asia* in Thailand that year. Drawing case studies on heritage management from 13 Asian countries, the conference deliberated on the themes of policy, cultural tourism, vernacular architecture, colonial legacy, public-private partnerships, and threats to heritage sites. Through case studies and panel discussions on these thematic issues, the conference concluded with several recommendations including the recognition of the living nature of Asian heritage, the emphasis on traditional craftsmanship, and concerns related to rapid economic progress, among others.

An international conference titled *Asian Approaches of Conservation* was organized by the Asian Academy of Heritage Management in 2006, the proceedings of which are neither widely circulated, nor do they really delve into an in-depth discussion deserved by the conference's title. Being an international conference with such an important thematic focus, the conference evidently missed a very important yet ambitious opportunity of critiquing existing approaches and articulating relevant approaches of heritage conservation in Asian contexts. The National Research Institute for Cultural Properties in Tokyo (Japan) has organized a series of seminars on the conservation of Asian cultural heritage, focusing on different themes each time; however, the published proceedings are not widely distributed.

Out of these efforts, two publications so far have emerged as important books. A series of symposia and meetings in South Korea and Australia culminated as a book titled *The Disappearing 'Asian' City: Protecting Asia's urban heritage in a globalizing world* (Logan 2002). This, too, points out that Asian urban heritage management needs to be situated with due reference to both global and local contexts. Through the case studies of a number of Asian cities, the book questions the 'Asianness' of Asian cities – both in terms of their unique features as well as their evolving nature. Another conference held in 2009 at the National University of Singapore's Asia Research Institute has been a catalyst for the recent publication, *Routledge Handbook of Heritage in Asia* (Daly and Winter 2012). This is a significant publication as it brings together contributions from different disciplinary perspectives on heritage in Asia. The book adds to the much-needed discussion of heritage in larger socio-economic, political, as well as environmental contexts.

This current volume is intended to contribute to this increasing knowledge base and discussion on Asian heritage management. It is by no means comprehensive, yet we bring together a wide range of topics from a diverse group of contributors. The contributors include both academics and practitioners (many falling into both categories) representing different cultural backgrounds from within and beyond the Asian continent. Altogether the volume represents the diversity of heritage and the professionals involved in the Asian heritage landscape; we have not attempted to maintain a consistent viewpoint throughout the volume, but have acknowledged and kept intact the viewpoints expressed by each author. An overview of the contents of this volume shall help to highlight some of the recurring themes in Asian heritage management today.

Contents of this volume

The chapters in this volume are organized into three sections: contexts, concerns and prospects. By doing this, we have attempted to emphasise that (i) Asian heritage must be understood in its own context(s) including the historic/traditional and contemporary; (ii) that there are challenges and concerns owing to both global and local circumstances; and (iii) that Asian heritage management needs contextualized approaches either rooted in Asian traditions or those that respond to the specific concerns that have emerged in Asian contexts. The contexts, concerns and prospects of Asian heritage management are interconnected and so are our chapters. Despite their placement into a certain part of the volume, the chapters are by no means limited just to their assigned section: each chapter offers insights into contexts, concerns as well as prospects for heritage management in Asia.

The categorization of chapters into one part, therefore, does not preclude their relevance for the other thematic sections.

Part I: Contexts

The first part of the volume brings together contributions that discuss the major worldviews that have influenced the making and maintenance of the majority of heritage in Asia. Though they may not have explicit reference to heritage management as such, they provide conceptual principles behind a variety of heritage expressions including art, architecture, festivals, rituals, everyday practices and their regulatory norms. In addition to the worldviews, the 'contexts' for Asian heritage also include contemporary policies and regulations adopted by individual countries and their administrative divisions. These policies are often derived from national political contexts as well as their affiliation with international conventions and guidelines, yet they also sometimes reflect the local contexts at individual community levels. The chapters included in this section dwell on these two major issues: Asian worldviews and policy frameworks.

Asian worldviews on heritage conservation

Much of the Asian cultural landscape is influenced by different religions and associated traditional practices; hence, the volume starts with an exploration of worldviews based on some of the major religious traditions of Asia. The first three chapters discuss Hindu, Buddhist and Islamic perspectives on heritage conservation. There are further variations and interpretations within these larger worldviews too; for example, Buddhist practices in Sri Lanka may differ methodologically from those of Japan. Similarly, the word 'Hindu' is a collective term given to a diverse group of religious traditions found in the Indian sub-continent, and thus is a religious system that flourished in South Asia, which later influenced some parts of Southeast Asia as well. Islam is another major religion practiced in many countries of Asia and therefore is an equally important aspect of the Asian cultural landscape. Discussion of these worldviews is a crucial starting point for this volume, as it emphasises some of the foundational concepts underlying the existence of Asian heritage.

Drawing upon the traditional treatises in South India, Binumol Tom brings to the fore a Hindu perspective on conservation, known as *jiirnnoddharana*. The key concept and approach of *jiirnnoddharana* is evident in the terminology itself – 'uplifting of the weakened one'. This uplifting or improvement is more akin to restoration with possible enhancement than to the mere preservation[8] of what existed. In the chapter on Buddhist perspectives on conservation, Neel Kamal Chapagain highlights the three key ontological concepts in Buddhism – the cyclical nature of existence and the notions of impermanence and insubstantiality of material form – which may be helpful in interpreting conservation in a Buddhist context. These Buddhist concepts are fundamentally contradictory to the notion of material authenticity that has been the core idea of current

conservation practice. Chapagain argues that such a contradiction does not preclude us from interpreting the idea of conservation in the Buddhist context; instead, it allows us to refine the practice of conservation, particularly in relation to non-material aspects of heritage and its relation to nature and ecology. Writing about Islamic perspectives, with specific reference to the Malay culture, Syed Iskander Ariffin interprets heritage conservation in light of the Qur'an and *Hadith* (the Prophetic tradition), the two fundamental sources of Islamic teachings. He points out that 'protection of cultural diversity is not a choice but a natural way of living in accordance with the teachings of Islam' because '… the earth we live on is a sacred place and has to be looked after by us with utmost care'. Ariffin draws parallels between Arabic words used in the Islamic texts and terms like conservation and preservation. For example, the word *muhafazah* is close to the word 'conservation' whereas '*hafz*, *muha-fazat*, and *muhafazat* are used interchangeably for both conservation[9] and preservation;[10] their use differs at times depending on the context of application'. Furthermore, Ariffin argues that the idea of preserving cultural artefacts is foreign to the Malay culture, which could at best associate symbolic memory as the focus of conservation, other than material authenticity.

While some terms equivalent to maintenance, repair and upkeep appear in these religious worldviews, it is important to recognize that they do not emphasise the material authenticity of heritage, which has been a key idea in conventional conservation thinking. All three religious worldviews consistently emphasise spiritual and symbolic aspects rather than physical and material aspects of cultural heritage. In an architectural context, this is also ascribed to the nature of the built environment which was often made of perishable materials. Thus, there is no expectation of material survival of buildings for a long period. We must also note that similar emphases on spiritual concepts are found in other non-Asian contexts as well, for example in Africa and the Pacific Islands.

Management frameworks

The second section in Part I deals with contemporary management frameworks established at national and international levels. The chapter by Anila Naeem explains how the constitutionally declared national identity of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan conflicts with the socio-cultural reality of the diverse heritage landscape that includes other religious and ethnic expressions, not just the Islamic ones. Present-day Pakistan contains some sites belonging to ancient civilizations, with many sites belonging to diverse cultural groups other than Islam. Recognizing non-Islamic heritage has been a challenge for a young country which was founded on the basis of the Islamic majority of its population when it emerged as an independent nation from British-occupied India. Reflecting on her own experiences in heritage policy making, Naeem discusses some recent efforts underway to bring such cultural diversity to the forefront, both in legislation and in practice.

In contrast with the case of Pakistan, the cases presented in the chapter by Fred Lee and Hilary du Cros highlight the diversity of heritage management

approaches in three cities in Southern China – Guangzhou, Hong Kong, and Macau. Even though these three cities are located within one small geographic region – the Pearl River Delta in Southern China – they 'have developed very different political-administrative systems as a result of distinctive historical trajectories: British-colonial derived in Hong Kong, Portuguese-colonial derived in Macau, and socialist-regime-in-transition-toward-market economy in Guangzhou, the capital of China's southern province of Guangdong'. The chapter elaborates the impact as well as the strengths and weaknesses of the distinct heritage management policies in these three cases. What emerges from this discussion is that the colonial legacy still survives at large in various Asian contexts, and that it influences the development of diverse conservation approaches even among similar geo-political situations. More importantly, the authors also recognize that lately 'the public's changing perceptions of cultural heritage and their aspirations for more proactive and inclusive heritage conservation efforts in these three cities have outpaced government measures for the review and amendment of the original legislation and regulatory frameworks'. Increasing public interest provides an important prospect in Asian heritage management because it will certainly help to bridge the gap between the fundamental basis of heritage and the conventional expert-led conservation approach.

Kai Weise's chapter on the World Heritage site of Lumbini, the birthplace of the Buddha, discusses yet another complexity in the Asian heritage management context. On the one hand, the importance of Lumbini to a global community invites international participation, while on the other hand its everyday management is subjected to the national policies and legislation of Nepal. While international assistance and monitoring is important, Weise also points out the fact that sometimes conflicting recommendations from international expert groups add to the already paramount confusion in managing such sites. Moreover, Lumbini is both an archaeological site of global importance and a living site of religious reverence for contemporary Buddhist communities across the world. The question then becomes how to strike a balance between these different sets of needs and significance which sometimes seem to conflict in practice. Drawing from his own experience of creating an integrated management plan for Lumbini, Weise describes the process undertaken to ensure an efficient and appropriate management plan that attempts to cater to the needs of both historic preservation as well as spiritual practices at Lumbini.

Part II: Concerns

Part II of the volume brings in seven essays highlighting two key concerns about heritage management in Asia. The first theme of these concerns points out the fact that heritage is much more than just monuments. As is evidenced by the recent fanfare with the UNESCO's Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention in the last decade, the heritage conservation community, until recently, was primarily engaged with heritage in a tangible or physical sense. As discussed earlier, some Asian countries like Japan and South Korea had long recognized intangible

practices as key aspects of cultural heritage and had their policies address these intangible aspects long before any international convention paid attention to such matters. Implicitly though, such measures had existed in the form of many traditional practices in other parts of Asia as well. Along the same line, various communities have regarded features of their natural environment as integral parts of their cultural heritage; for example, mountains, forests, and water bodies have traditionally been considered sacred sites and are integral parts of religious and folk stories. In many cases, such spiritual values associated with environmental features have contributed towards the preservation and management of natural landscapes as well. These points are further illustrated by the chapters included in the 'Beyond monuments' section.

Beyond monuments

Yushi Utaka's chapter illustrates the historic survival of the Himeji Castle in Japan and how it has become a revered landmark in people's memory as a guardian of the community. But the failure to capture this spirit in recent preservation efforts has raised some concerns about the potential detachment of the Castle from the community's mental landscape. Looking at the history of conservation interventions at the Himeji Castle, the chapter presents the evolution of conservation thinking and policies in Japan. Despite Japan's recognition of being in the forefront of safeguarding intangible cultural heritage, the case of the Himeji Castle's conservation indicates the adoption of 'material based' and 'monument-centric' conservation approach, instead of highlighting the spirit and memory based values the Himeji Castle represents. A similar situation is given in Vibha Bhattarai-Upadyay's chapter that reviews the heritage management practices in the Kathmandu Valley in Nepal. It focuses on the contemporary conservation activities at the Pashupatināth Temple in Kathmandu. The failure to incorporate traditional beliefs and practices and community associations with the Temple in its current heritage management plans has faced sheer resentments from the local resident community as well as the Hindu religious community at large. Bhattarai-Upadhyay points out a dilemma of a country trying to keep abreast of international norms and recommendations while ignoring its own rich traditions and community ownership of heritage management. In fact, it has been argued that Nepal's cultural heritage policies and government agencies' practices have been responsive more to international agencies like UNESCO rather than to its own people and their expectations (Shrestha 2002; Chapagain 2008).

Amita Sinha addresses the concern that much of the heritage discourse has not made a working connection between the tangible and intangible dimensions of cultural heritage. She suggests that cultural landscapes could provide clues to make such a connection because they are 'repositories of cultural heritage understood holistically, interwoven with folk beliefs, ways of seeing, prescribed patterns of movement and other forms of ritual behaviour, and aestheticized expressions of feeling in devotional poetry, dance, drama, and songs'. As Sinha points out, current heritage legislation in India has not yet recognized cultural

landscapes as a distinct heritage designation similar to archaeological sites, protected monuments or even protected wildlife and sanctuaries. Sinha further argues that the entire South Asian region does not yet have a successful cultural landscape conservation model; her essay offers a potential model based on her design and planning proposals for the sacred site of Govardan hill in Braj, India. Emphasising cultural landscapes and traditional ritual practices, Sinha's model 'acknowledges the temporality of landscapes, recognizes site making as an evolving process of human interaction with nature, and the interdependency of tangible and intangible forms of heritage'.

Taking the notion of intangible cultural heritage and cultural landscape concepts in a broader Asian context further, Ken Taylor revisits how the international heritage discourse, through various conventions in the past century, has gradually acknowledged the construct of cultural landscapes as a viable framework. The construct is very important for an Asian context where a dynamic relationship between people, nature and traditions is what forms the core of most of the sacred heritage sites as well as everyday cultural landscapes. In that light, Taylor emphasises that the cultural landscape approach facilitates people's engagement in broader heritage management by acknowledging their connections with the landscape, their values, and their needs.

Globalizing local heritage

In addition to recognizing the importance of intangible and 'living' aspects of heritage in Asia, there are other concerns related to the dynamics of globalization that are reshaping the heritage management discourse in the Asian context. It can be argued that the spread of the modern idea of conservation itself is an outcome of globalization which has nonetheless helped spur a certain degree of 'glocalization', a mix of globalization and localization (Robertson 1995). Globalization itself is not necessarily good or bad, but the process and route it takes may be either problematic or productive. Here we explore two specific concerns of globalization associated with heritage. First, globalization in Asia is associated with the history of colonization, which has also influenced heritage management practices in Asia, ramifications of which still continue in the heritage-scape of Asia. Second, cultural tourism is another outcome of 'glocalization'. It provides much-needed economic support to heritage management which might otherwise be suffering from a lack of resources. Yet, it is tourism that may be a key driving factor behind the 'museumification' of living heritage sites as well as the gentrification of the historic towns once economic forces become stronger than traditional communal life. Three chapters in the second section of Part II highlight these issues.

William Chapman's detailed exploration of the processes and players in the conservation of sites at Angkor in Cambodia addresses perhaps the most-noted example of globalization of heritage. The placing of Angkor on the global stage for conservation occurs at multiple fronts. First, it started from the 'discovery' of Angkor by the French expeditions to document, preserve and publicize Angkor

often as a colonial legacy of the French. Second, involvement of other countries demonstrate their interest and expertise on dealing with complex sites like Angkor while allowing them to experiment in their expertise on heritage conservation. Third, politically and economically struggling Cambodia tapped into international support to preserve one of its national icons. Finally, despite the initial detachment of the local population from their everyday site, the process has lately started to create a local management base that is rooted to the national context. Yet many concerns still remain, as Chapman succinctly points out in his concluding paragraph, that include threats from increased tourism, increased urbanization and modernization of settlements in and around the heritage sites, and, most importantly, the limited involvement of the local people in heritage management.

With globalization, local monuments have not only become the experts' domain but also sites for popular consumption. Despite the economic lure that tourism and globalization bring, serious concerns are being raised about the truthfulness of what is presented: unwanted over-commercialization of rituals as opposed to 'rituals' for rituals' sake, interference on everyday activities of the local community, and so on. Exploring the issue of commodification of intangible cultural heritage in East and Southeast Asia, Wantanee Suntikul highlights two specific cases of heritage commodification. First is the case of Hong Kong's Bun Festival, which was once banned, then re-opened, commoditized, and redesigned with fake traditions by the tourism authority of Hong Kong in response to what they saw as the needs of global consumers. The second case is the town of Luang Prabang in Laos which is an increasingly popular tourist destination as well as an important centre of Theravada Buddhism in Southeast Asia. In the first case, the concerns are associated with the government's efforts of commodifying heritage for tourists that not only distort the traditional characteristics of the festival but also turn the festival into a show rather than a community practice. The second case highlights how tourists' interest in observing, and even participating in, local cultural practices are gradually becoming problematic. This occurs both through tourists' behaviour as intruders in everyday activities of the local community, and also through some locals' temptation towards the economic opportunity presented by tourism. Examples of the latter include selling cultural artefacts to the tourists, preferring tourism related jobs over their traditional professions, and converting traditional housing into tourism-related service spaces, thereby triggering gentrification. Evidently, both global and local agencies share interests and participation in these transactions. Hence, Suntikul suggests we view such commodification practices within the larger socio-political and ideological structures that enable such transactions.

Dealing with the issues pertaining to the relationship of tourism and heritage from a heritage management perspective, Sharif Shams Imon discusses the challenges of making cultural tourism a sustainable activity in heritage sites in Asia. Imon draws attention to the sustainability of heritage tourism in Asia for three reasons: the 'tourism growth rate in Asia is the fastest in the world, … tourism development in most countries in Asia is still in its early stage, … and there is a

growing concern about the sustainability of the current heritage-based tourism development in less developed countries'. Though heritage management and tourism may often conflict in terms of values and priorities, the reality is that heritage management in many sites severely lacks economic resources, for which tourism seems to be a solution. Despite all the challenges there must be a way forward; Imon suggests approaches towards sustainable tourism to maintain a balance between cultural resources and their consumption. Furthermore, he emphasises the usefulness of the concepts of cultural capital and social sustainability. Imon argues that the concept of cultural capital can render heritage-based tourism programmes socially and environmentally sustainable by integrating cultural values into the project planning process.

Part III: Prospects

Following the discussions on contexts and concerns pertaining to heritage management in Asia, the final section brings forward some prospects that are emerging out of the ongoing theoretical and practical discourses within the Asian context. These are only representative concepts and processes, with some further thoughts included in the Epilogue at the end of this volume. The four chapters in this section offer a glimpse of an immense body of knowledge, activities, and possibilities of contextualizing heritage management approaches within Asian situations.

Drawing from her extensive work with communities in Ladakh, India, Tara Sharma shares with us a community-based approach to heritage management that transcends conventional notions and processes of heritage identification, documentation and conservation responses. The approach starts with a process of identification that questions what is heritage, followed by a question on what should be done. In Tara's words, '(t)he gap between traditional conservation approaches and contemporary conservation practices stems from the very definition of what constitutes heritage'. Accordingly, the approach begins with community engagement right when their heritage is identified, documented and prioritized for conservation interventions. The operational scale is a village level, where the natural features and associated folklores, as well as names of various locations including that of the village itself, provide references as to what actually constitutes the village in both physical and spiritual terms. In the process, people's perceptions and memories determine the importance of any identified heritage, rather than basing its value on its objective history and design features. Furthermore, instead of starting with what needs to be done in terms of conservation from the experts' point of view, the process starts with learning how the communities have maintained their heritage. This includes knowledge of which religious and cultural rituals would need to be followed, for which the local experts, in this case, the Buddhist monks, are consulted. The chapter also points out that the relevant concepts from religious beliefs should be brought into the heritage management approach. Similarly, the values and significance could be related to the spiritual meaning and symbolism instead of the form and aesthetics

of the preserved monuments. This experience in Ladakh provides a strong approach to be considered, not only for Asian but also for other heritage contexts.

Moving from the rural context of Ladakh to the urban context of Malacca (Melaka) in Malaysia, the chapter by Syed Abidin Idid and Dilshan Ossen proposes the Heritage Impact Assessment (HIA) as a potential tool for urban heritage management. Recognizing that heritage conservation does not exist in isolation but in a larger urban design and planning context, Idid and Ossen emphasise a planning-based approach for conservation, for which HIA could be a tool, just like the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) has been widely used for general development projects. Idid and Ossen point out that the processes for HIA are similar to those of EIA; yet, HIA draws explicitly from heritage management points of views and the notion of Outstanding Universal Value, as defined by the World Heritage Convention. While this is not uniquely emerging out of the Asian context, the approach is useful in heritage management in urban contexts in Asia where the planning processes in general suffer from the lack of competent heritage assessment systems.

Apart from these methodological processes, the prospects for managing heritage in Asia also require new theoretical frameworks. The need for new theoretical approaches is articulated in the question Jamie MacKee raises in his essay: 'How would the rich and unique cultural built heritage of Asia be interpreted and conserved if the theories and guidelines that were to underpin it were based on the cultural and philosophical traditions of the region?' In an attempt to answer this question, MacKee explores the potential connections between Buddhist philosophy and Systems Theory as a way to theorize the management of Buddhist cultural heritage, particularly in the South and Southeast Asian context. MacKee draws from his experience and observations in South Asia to theorize conservation from an established worldview which does not have an explicitly articulated response to the conservation and management of its heritage. MacKee suggests that the three principles of Buddhism, i.e. universal interconnectedness, radical interdependence, and mutual conditioning 'provide strong links with Systems Theory' and thus 'provide the methodology for describing intra- and inter-systems relationships that would be the basis for determining what is important about non-secular built heritage, why it is important, and how it could be conserved'. MacKee further illustrates the applicability of the framework by developing potential scenarios for the conservation of Abhayagiri *Stupa* in Sri Lanka.

The chapter by Kapila Silva suggests another potential framework for identifying heritage dimensions in inhabited historic towns in Asia, wherein achieving a balance between the needs of urban conservation with that of urban development is critical. Silva uses Kevin Lynch's concept of imageability of place as a potential theoretical framework to conceptualize a heritage site and its constituent heritage dimensions. The notion of place imageability is defined as the capacity of a place to be able to evoke mental images in the minds of people who experience it. Silva points out that place imageability is formulated together by physical and symbolic characteristics of a place. In that sense, a heritage site, for example,

with strong imageable capacity, offers a lasting impression of its sense of place and memory in people's minds. Therefore, heritage management could attempt to manage the imageability of a historic place which, in turn, facilitates maintaining an enduring memory of the place. Silva argues that correctly identified and managed imageability dimensions would help to determine what to sustain and what to change in the integrated conservation and development efforts of an historic town. Such a framework in fact is useful not only in the Asian context but in any historic urban context as well. Silva observes that this approach could offer a coherent theoretical framework for heritage management, as it clarifies and connects some concepts used in global heritage practice. Following the chapters in the 'Prospects' section, Silva concludes this volume with an Epilogue wherein he further reflects upon other aspects of prospects for Asian heritage management.

What is covered in this volume is only a representative set of contexts, concerns and prospects of Asian heritage management. What can be discerned from the chapters to follow is that Asian heritage management is situated within some unique and some typical contexts, including a set of diverse worldviews and practices. These philosophical traditions and methodological practices perceive heritage and its management in unique ways – more in mental or spiritual essence than in material appearance. On the other hand, what we regard as the field of heritage management has its origins in European contexts, but has since gained a global currency through international institutions and professionals' network. Therefore, some of the primary concerns in Asian heritage management come from mismatches of philosophical understandings of heritage as well as the institutionalization of management practices. While different approaches have their own merits and uses, what is indeed needed is a conscious approach of contextualizing heritage management in a way that integrates specific cultural norms while also acknowledging global discourse. Another set of concerns come amidst the interaction of the global and the local agencies, where again the concern is to ensure mutual acknowledgement and balanced relationships. One way to tease out such working relationships, at least in the Asian context, is to consider 'people' as an integral part of the 'heritage' discourse so that cultural beliefs and practices are appropriately brought into heritage management. The reference to people also helps management practices create a balance between the spiritual and the material, between objective reality and subjective differences, between the global and the local, and to integrate the dichotomized discourses of the tangible and the intangible, as well as cultural and natural heritage management together. As I mentioned in the opening paragraph, Asian heritage begins from and dwells around its 'people'. People or local communities continue the traditions created by their ancestors, devise new practices, build collective heritage, maintain as well as modify, erase and even re-create heritage. They provide the necessary context to heritage – as creators, followers, managers, users and consumers. Another set of people – the academicians, researchers, professionals and the like – can study and incorporate such contexts in contemporary theorising, policy making, and devising practices at both local and global levels. This discussion is,

in fact, relevant for heritage management in other continents too, as the Asian cases included in this volume have added rich and meaningful stimuli to expand the theories and practices of heritage management in Asia and beyond.

Notes

1 Also see Wang H.L. (2012) 'War and revolution as national heritage – 'Red Tourism' in China' in the *Routledge Handbook of Heritage in Asia*; and Hevia J. L. (2001) 'World Heritage, National Culture and Restoration of Chengde', *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique*, 9: 219–43.

2 See Wariko K. (ed.) (2001) *Bamiyan: Challenge to World Heritage,* for a collection of essays on various topics regarding this.

3 In her essay in this chapter, Wantanee Suntikul points out that the Indonesian government promotes Borobudur as a cultural heritage for tourist attraction rather than a religious site, thus making it a must-see stop on the Indonesian tourism circuit rather than a sacred place. The efforts taken to protect the site and the on-going discussion of reconsidering the site as a part of a larger cultural landscape should be appreciated, nevertheless.

4 Terms like 'preservation' and 'conservation' have their own specific connotations, yet they are used interchangeably as well. Moreover, what 'preservation' means to a US practitioner is often equivalent to 'conservation' elsewhere. Similarly, 'restoration' and 'renovation' are used interchangeably despite their specific meanings in technical conservation terminology. This volume includes discussions dealing with philosophical questions, methodological responses in documentation and intervention, policy making and implementation, politics of involvement in heritage sites, and so on. Some of the chapters have evolved from intense academic discussion, whereas some of them come straight from practice with less engagement in academic discourses. Hence, for the lack of a better alternative, we have used 'heritage management' as a generic umbrella term to encompass all different aspects pertaining to the study and practice of heritage in Asia.

5 As of July 2012, at the end of the 36th General Assembly of the World Heritage Committee, the UNESCO World Heritage List contains 277 heritage sites from the Asian continent, including the cultural, natural and mixed categories. The way UNESCO's statistics group the world regions should be noted. For example, it has combined Asia with the Pacific region, while the Arab states are listed as a separate region. Thus, the official statistics appear as follows: the Asia Pacific region has 151 cultural heritage sites, 55 natural heritage sites and 10 mixed (both cultural and natural) heritage sites.

6 Article 1 of the 2003 UNESCO Convention defines intangible cultural heritage:
'The "intangible cultural heritage" means the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity. For the purposes of this Convention, consideration will be given solely to such intangible cultural heritage as is compatible with existing international human rights instruments, as well as with the requirements of mutual respect among communities, groups and individuals, and of sustainable development' (UNESCO 2003).

7 It is officially called 'Hoi An Protocols for Best Conservation Practice in Asia: Professional Guidelines for Assuring and Preserving the Authenticity of Heritage

Sites in the Context of the Cultures of Asia', developed from an international experts' workshop on *Conserving the Past – An Asian Perspective of Authenticity in the Consolidation, Restoration and Reconstruction of Historic Monuments and Sites* organized in Hoi An, Viet Nam from 15 February to 3 March 2001. The document was adopted by the Asia-Oceania Region at the ICOMOS General Assembly in Xi'an, China in 2005.

8 *Restoration* implies intervention on a degrading or decaying object or building so as to reinstate its 'original' form. *Reconstruction* is similar to restoration but it differs in intent – restoration intends to bring back the original form and thus may not intervene on parts that seem structurally fine. Reconstruction, on the other hand, is the complete overhaul of the structure. In between, there is another term 'anastylosis', which is used to indicate a reconstruction but aimed to restore the original form precisely. In anastylosis, all the parts are dismantled and re-constructed, using the same parts in the same original/extant fashion. *Preservation* is the approach of keeping everything intact with less intervention. *Conservation* is often used as interchangeably with preservation, which is a term used mostly in the United States where the term conservation is not used in historic preservation but usually in the fields of nature and ecology only.

9 'The aim of conservation is to retain the cultural significance of a place and must include provision of its security, its maintenance, and its future' (Art. 2, *Burra Charter*).

10 'Preservation means maintaining the fabric and place in its existing state and retarding deterioration' (Art. 1.6, *Burra Charter*).

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10 The challenges of the cultural landscape construct and associated intangible values in an Asian context

Ken Taylor

Central to the cultural landscape construct is that heritage places are not separate dots on a map, rather that there is interdependence between people, events through time, and place. Linked to this is the notion that a deep human need for a sense of identity and belonging exists where a common denominator in this is attachment to landscape and how we find identity in landscape and place. Such attachment is universal and involves the relationship between culture – people – and nature, resulting in the formation of distinctive cultural landscapes as the settings for daily life, ritual, and contemplation. Therefore, it is critical to this discourse to understand the cultural traits of societies – their behaviours, beliefs, and symbols – and the necessity for examining them in their local context as demonstrated by Franz Boas over a century ago.[1]

In an Asian context, cultural landscapes have evolved reflecting the physical and emotional interaction between people and their environment, not simply as a tangible cultural product but as a result of cultural processes and associated intangible values. This is acknowledged in *Hoi An Protocols* (UNESCO Bangkok 2009) with the comment that '[i]dentification and inventory... should include intangible aspects as essential elements, which in Asia are often integral to authentic meaning and sense of place...' A further significant aspect of intangible values and meanings, not least in Asia, is found where people and nature traditionally are not separate; this is seen in the increasing attention being paid to the concept of sacred natural sites that are embedded within everyday cultural landscapes.[2] Linked to this is the concern for human rights and traditional knowledge systems where cultural and biological diversity have been protected.

This chapter explores the cultural landscape construct in the context of prospects for Asian heritage protection alongside the growing international interest in the importance of intangible values that are central to understanding the cultural landscape paradigm. It also directs inquiry and concern to addressing human rights questions when looking at whose landscape and whose values are included or excluded in managing Asian heritage. It further speculates on opportunities to recognise of Asian cultural landscapes within the World Heritage framework.

Landscape: an interpretation of the mind

Over thirty years ago Donald Meinig (1979:1) proposed that 'Landscape *is an attractive, important, and ambiguous term* [that] encompasses an ensemble of ordinary features which constitute an extraordinarily rich exhibit of the course and character of any society' and that 'Landscape is defined by our vision and interpreted by our minds' (*ibid*: 3). In other words, to understand ourselves, we need to look searchingly at our landscapes for they are a clue to culture (Lewis 1979), not just national icons, but also our ordinary everyday landscapes. The *klong* (canal) settlement of Lad Cha Do near Ayutthaya, Thailand, is a case in point (see Figure 10.1). It is a mixed fishing and rice-growing community of Thai and Hmong peoples. Additionally it has an historic market which is visited by locals and domestic tourists, and a boat festival which celebrates the customs and intangible values of the community and its deep relationship with its landscape setting. It is a redolent example of how people see and make landscapes as a result of a shared system of beliefs and ideologies: it reflects indelibly much of the invaluable mosaic of Asian cultural landscapes.

Landscape is, therefore, a cultural construct, a mirror of our enduring memories and myths encoded with meanings which can be read and interpreted. In this context Simon Schama in *Landscape and Memory* contends that:

> Before it can ever be the repose for the senses, landscape is the work of the mind. Its scenery is built up as much from strata of memory as from layers of rock.
> (Schama 1995: 6–7)

Images of landscape are evident in a remarkable range of our creations: literature, poetry, paintings, ceramics, tapestries and weaving, myths, gardens, cultural

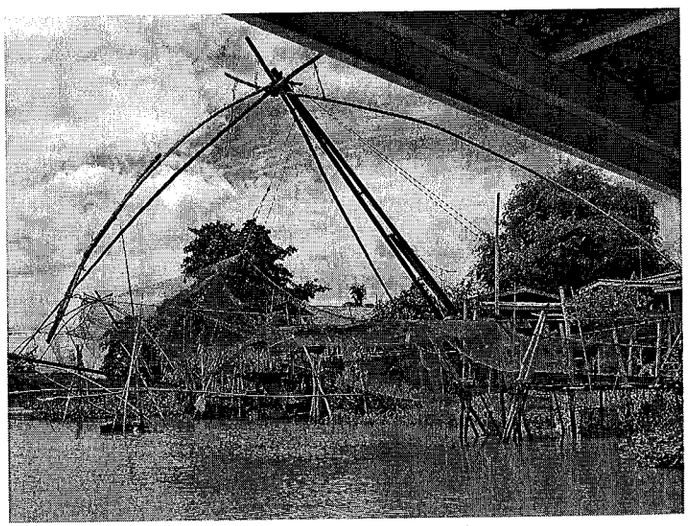

Figure 10.1 Lad Cha Do, Supanburi Province, Thailand.
(*Source:* K. Taylor)

activities, films, television documentaries, travel material, maps, and advertising. We laud our virtues and achievements through iconic landscape imagery, often forgetting that the ordinary everyday landscape equally reflects deeply who we are and is a storehouse of private and collective memories. In this vein Jane Austen, in the novel *Emma*, has Emma see a 'sweet view, sweet to the eye and the mind. English verdure, English culture, English comfort, seen under a bright sun, without being oppressive' (Austen 1816: 335).

In the seventeenth century in Europe, particularly England, the idea of landscape was supplemented and enriched when it became associated with landscape paintings in the picturesque genre. These schools included the Dutch realistic *landscap* (*lantskip* in English) school and the Italianate School history paintings by artists such as Claude Lorrain, with figures set in idealized, picturesque pastoral scenes. Particularly through the latter genre landscape and scenery as an idealized representation of nature became fused. Here, as John Dixon Hunt (1992: 4) suggests, 'it was and continues to be a mode of processing the physical world [i.e. nature] for our consumption or for our greater comfort'. Landscape as idea and entity was thus reinforced, importantly, in the Western mind as the meeting point of culture and nature. A similar meeting point had existed in the Eastern mind in a tradition going back a thousand years. This is seen, for example, in Chinese landscape paintings or landscape backgrounds to the traditional stories depicted on murals in Thai Buddhist temples, as shown in Figure 10.2, Bang Ka Phom Temple in Amphawa, Thailand (Luekveerawattana 2006).

Figure 10.2 Bang Ka Phom Temple (c.1769), Amphawa District, Samutsongkhram, Thailand: embossed mural depicting scenes (Jatakas) from the life of the Lord Buddha.
(*Source:* K. Taylor)

Philosophical shifts

Post-Second World War concerns which gathered international momentum in the 1960s led to the adoption of the World Heritage Convention in 1972. Then in the 1980s, a conservation philosophy emerged that would challenge the 1960s and 1970s concept of heritage focussing on great monuments and archaeological locations, famous architectural ensembles, or historic sites with art historical connotations.[3] It was a refreshing broadening of a heritage conservation value system that now embraced the notion of cultural landscapes, ordinary everyday places coalescing with the idea of living history, intangible values and community involvement. Importantly, the cultural landscape movement had as a major platform of its thinking the interconnection of culture and nature. This is a fusion that is critical to the cultural landscape construct (Taylor 2012), in particular the landmark decision in 1992 to recognize three categories of cultural landscapes for World Heritage purposes (see Table 10.1). The fusion was further strengthened in 2005 when cultural and natural criteria in the World Heritage Operational Guidelines (UNESCO 2005) were merged instead of being separate. Mechtild Rössler (2006:15) neatly captures the mood and the movement in this connection with the comment:

Table 10.1 World Heritage cultural landscape categories

Cultural landscapes fall into three main categories (UNESCO Operational Guidelines, 2008, Annex 3), namely:

The most easily identifiable is the clearly defined landscape designed and created intentionally by man. This embraces garden and parkland landscapes constructed for aesthetic reasons which are often (but not always) associated with religious or other monumental buildings and ensembles.

The second category is the organically evolved landscape. This results from an initial social, economic, administrative, and/or religious imperative and has developed its present form by association with and in response to its natural environment. Such landscapes reflect that process of evolution in their form and component features.

They fall into two sub-categories:

- A relict (or fossil) landscape is one in which an evolutionary process came to an end at some time in the past, either abruptly or over a period. Its significant distinguishing features are, however, still visible in material form.
- A continuing landscape is one which retains an active social role in contemporary society closely associated with the traditional way of life, and in which the evolutionary process is still in progress. At the same time it exhibits significant material evidence of its evolution over time.

The final category is the associative cultural landscape. The inclusion of such landscapes on the World Heritage List is justifiable by virtue of the powerful religious, artistic or cultural associations of the natural element rather than material cultural evidence, which may be insignificant or even absent.

(*Source:* UNESCO Website; Available HTTP: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/culturallandscape/#1 >)

World Heritage is no longer strictly limited to the protection of nature and the world's monuments; the diversity of living cultural places, natural sacred sites and cultural landscapes is also now included on the World Heritage List.

By mid-2012 there were around 78 listed landscapes worldwide, where, as Francesco Bandarin (2009: 3) points out, 'most of them are living cultural landscapes, less relic[t] and associative.' He further draws attention to the fact that all three categories 'provide an opening of the World Heritage Convention for cultures not or under-represented prior to 1992' and quotes as examples the inscription of the Kaya Forest Systems in Kenya, Chief Roi Mata's Domain in Vanuatu, the Kuk Early Agricultural site in Papua New Guinea, and the Tobacco production of Vinales Valley in Cuba. He speculates 'none of these sites would have had a chance prior to 1992 of being recognized.' In the context of Asia, it is perhaps somewhat disappointing, that there are only twenty inscriptions, although this is an improvement on the 2008 figure of thirteen out of a total of sixty-one worldwide (Taylor 2009).

Intangible spiritual values and landscape

Underpinning the concept of the ideology of landscape itself as the setting for everything we do is a common theme that the landscape is the repository of intangible (spiritual) values and human meanings that nurture our very existence. This is why landscape and memory are inseparable: because landscape is the nerve centre of our personal and collective memories. Expressions of everyday heritage incumbent in the cultural landscape concept link comfortably with current international notions of the significance of cultural landscapes and ideas of the ordinarily sacred.[4] Pivotal to this is the realisation that the places, traditions, and activities of ordinary people create a rich cultural tapestry of life. This occurs particularly through our recognition of the values people attach to their everyday places and concomitant sense of place and identity, where identity is critical to a sense of place (*genius loci*).

This line of thought suggests, therefore, that both tangible physical identity and intangible identity related to the distinctiveness of our lived-in world and human experiences are inextricably interwoven with place meaning and significance for people and the symbols, images, and meanings associated with places and landscapes. Nowhere is this more relevant, in my view, than in the Asia-Pacific region, where some of the world's outstanding examples of living history and heritage exist in its cultural landscapes, traditions and representations. Examples include the wider landscape settings of places such as Angkor, Borobudur, and Hue. Each has deep associative cultural landscape meanings inherent in the way human modifications to the natural landscape features emphasize the landscape's symbolic meaning. Engelhardt (2001: 9), with specific reference to Asia and the Pacific region, proposes that it is 'clearly the cognitive and spiritual values of cultural landscapes... that are their most salient features'.

Community landscape conservation

As noted above, the number of cultural landscapes with World Heritage status is limited and will remain so given that inscription rests on demonstration of Outstanding Universal Value (OUV). Nevertheless their existence is significant as it reflects the broadening appreciation and understanding of the inextricable relationship between people with their tangible and spiritual values and places in global heritage thinking.

This broadening is effectively supported by formal governmental recognition worldwide of the IUCN (International Union for the Conservation of Nature) Protected Areas (PAs), in particular Category V[5] (see Phillips 2002 and Dudley 2005). Even so it has to be recognized that World Heritage examples augmented by PAs represent a limited number of landscapes internationally. The majority of landscapes will remain as landscapes cared for by local communities (see Figure 10.1) what Barrow and Pathak (2005) term Community Conserved Areas (CCAs). Linking the idea of CCAs to the conservation of biodiversity, they make the following observation that, in my view, has widespread implications for cultural landscape management throughout Asia:

> In the emphasis on "official" protected areas, one aspect has been consistently overlooked, or not understood, namely that rural people conserve vast areas of land and biodiversity for their own needs, whether utilitarian, cultural or spiritual (*ibid*: 65).

Parallel with CCAs are IUCN's Indigenous and Community Conserved Areas (ICCAs). These are regarded as 'natural and/or modified ecosystems containing significant biodiversity values, ecological services and cultural values, primarily conserved by indigenous peoples and local communities, both sedentary and mobile through customary laws and other effective means' (IUCN 2009: 3–4). This role of customary laws as a conservation tool is of crucial importance, recognizing that, for millennia, traditional management has played a critical role in conserving a variety of natural environments and species for a range of purposes, economic as well as cultural, spiritual and aesthetic. It is noted that significantly ICCAs, *inter alia*, help maintain essential ecosystem functions (such as water security) provide biological corridors, and are built on sophisticated collective ecological knowledge integrating customary and statutory laws. The customary *subak* system of water management (irrigation) for paddy fields in Bali is a cogent example. *Subak* is not simply a mechanical device providing water, but is linked to associated temples and the water allocation is controlled (Lansing 1987). The system has been in existence since about the ninth century, based on the philosophy of the Hindu-Balinese principle of *Tri Hita Karana*. It 'emphasizes that happiness, prosperity and peacefulness can only be attained if *gods, humans, and nature* live in harmony with each other' (UNESCO Jakarta & Ministry of Culture and Tourism 2008). Notably the system, nominated in 2011 as a World Heritage cultural landscape by Indonesia, was inscribed on the

World Heritage List in June 2012 under the title *Cultural Landscape of Bali Province*.

People–nature relationship

Biodiversity and people

In the cultural landscape idea – landscape as a cultural construct – culture and nature coexist within a humanistic philosophy of the world around us (Taylor 2012). It is a holistic approach to the human-nature relationship as opposed to the idea of human detachment from nature (Taylor and Lennon 2012). It is also a non-Western paradigm common to traditional communities and indigenous people worldwide and is reflective of the relationships between people and nature in Asia. In this paradigm there is no division between culture and nature as in the Western conceptual division based on a scientific view of nature rather than a humanistic view; the activities of humans and nature are fundamentally bound for mutual survival.

Traditional communities live in, or visit, so-called natural places in the Western idiom as part of their life systems, and may have done so for millennia, for example, Nanda Devi and Valley of Flowers National Parks in India, or Sagarmatha National Park in Nepal. Notwithstanding this cultural connection, both are listed only under natural criteria for World Heritage inscription, although at least the nomination of the latter does refer to the presence of Sherpas with their unique culture that adds further interest to this site (Taylor 2012). A 1999 state of conservation report adds: 'The significant culture of the Sherpas is an integral part of the nature-culture continuum' (UNESCO 1999). Of note in these culture–nature and tangible-intangible relationships is the mounting appreciation of links between cultural and biological diversity and traditional sustainable land use. It begs the question of whether renomination as cultural landscapes ought to be seriously contemplated of some listed sites in Asia inscribed as either natural sites, or mixed natural and cultural.

Head (2010) takes what she calls the 'nature-culture dichotomy' as a major theme in a review of cultural landscapes. She observes how, for much of associated history, the two have been seen as oppositional, but then explores how the gap is being bridged, through:

> ... an emerging trend in some ecological studies, particularly historical ones, to use the cultural landscape concept to recognize the human presence in the landscape and/or to discuss issues of biodiversity conservation in humanized landscapes, for example through traditional agricultural ones (*ibid*: 429)

Head further proposes that ecologists are increasingly recognizing that 'management of "nature" cannot happen only in protected areas, but must include landscapes where humans are dominant' (*ibid*: 434).

Debate and thinking on the culture–nature link was the focus in 2011 of a theme issue of *Management of Environmental Quality: An International Journal*

(Vol 22, No. 2, 2011). In setting the context, a wide-ranging overview by Brown and Khotari (2011) addresses traditional landscapes and community-conserved areas. The authors suggest a number of key points emerging from the review (*ibid*: 139):

- the role of traditional ecological knowledge systems;
- cultural practices and social institutions in creating these landscapes and ensuring their stewardship;
- the importance of securing customary governance; and
- the need for dynamic socio-ecological indicators to measure the resilience of different landscapes.

They critically probe the role of what they call *living landscapes* in sustaining agro-diversity as well as inherent wild biodiversity values, ensuring ecosystems function, and supporting livelihoods and food security. They further propose that:

> Among the striking features of traditional agricultural landscapes across diverse settings are their sophistication, complexity and resilience. Landscapes rich in agro-diversity are often the product of complex farming systems that have developed in response to the unique physical conditions of a given location, such as altitude, slopes, soils, climates and latitude, as well as cultural and social influences (Phillips and Stolton 2008). These landscapes, in many cases created and cared for by indigenous peoples and local communities, have been shaped by the dynamic interaction of people and nature over time by sophisticated knowledge systems and practices. They encompass a variety of ecological settings, embody human ingenuity, and are continually evolving and adapting. They are rich in agro-diversity as well as inherent wild biodiversity and intangible cultural and spiritual values.
>
> (Brown and Khotari 2011: 139–40)

In addressing the challenge of conservation governance, Brown and Khotari note the shift in conservation paradigms emanating from the World Park Congress in Durban in 2003.[6] This Congress produced the Durban Accord and Action Plan, the Message to the Convention on Biological Diversity, and over thirty specific recommendations. 'All these outputs strongly stressed the need to centrally involve indigenous people and local communities in conservation, including respecting their customary and territorial rights, and their right to a central role in decision-making'[7] (Brown and Khotari 2011: 142).

Sacred natural sites and biodiversity

A significant aspect of intangible values and meanings in Asia is that people and nature traditionally are not separate; this is seen in the increasing attention being paid to the concept of sacred natural sites that are embedded within everyday living cultural landscapes. UNESCO's commentary (2007: 115) on associative

landscape as being 'particularly crucial in the recognition of intangible values and the heritage of local communities and indigenous people' has particular relevance for the Asia-Pacific region. These landscapes symbolize 'the acceptance and integration of communities and their relationship to the environment, even if such landscapes are linked to powerful religious, artistic or cultural associations of the natural elements rather than material cultural evidence' (UNESCO 2007: 115). This was the theme and focus of a significant UNESCO/IUCN international symposium *Conserving Cultural and Biological Diversity: The Role of Sacred Natural Sites and Cultural Landscapes* in 2005 (UNESCO/IUCN 2006). This theme was also critically explored by Verschuuren *et al.* (2010) in *Sacred Natural Sites: Conserving Nature and Culture*. The UNESCO/IUCN symposium addressed questions of how cultural and biological diversity can be safeguarded in a globalizing world, as well as the role sacred natural sites and associative cultural landscapes might play in conserving diversities.

In some Asian countries, mimicking the Western wilderness and science-based national park ethic, the removal or marginalising of traditional people and local communities in selected national parks and World Heritage areas has regrettably occurred. In a telling essay, Lhakpa Sherpa (2006) shows how *beyul*, the cultural phenomenon of sacred hidden valleys in the Nepalese Himalaya, encourages biodiversity conservation. He also shows how Western influenced initiatives are targeting *beyul* for establishing protected areas without recognising the symbiotic relationship between the local community and environmental conservation: modern development, education, globalisation and tourism do not lend support to traditional stewardship.

The ancient *beyul* tradition and modern protection both aim at biodiversity conservation and improved human livelihoods, but Lhakpa Sherpa (*ibid*) reflects on how their respective implementation tools differ. National park protection depends on powerful national legislation and global scientific justifications. But, whilst traditional residents have accepted protecting wild flora and fauna because it coincides with their own belief systems, the managers, policy makers and scientists have been slow to recognise the value of time-honoured traditions in biodiversity conservation. Modern infrastructure ignores sensitivity to the sacred nature of the land and is in danger of overwhelming traditional concepts. *Beyul* and other sacred natural sites can be assets for ecosystem conservation and lead to conservation of significant intangible cultural values. Sherpa therefore proposes a series of actions involving: strengthening involvement of local people with greater recognition of indigenous knowledge; physical surveys; collection of oral and written evidence; documentation and publication of material; and dissemination of information to local schools and communities to rekindle the spirit and pride in *beyul*.

In line with involving local people in national park settings are two examples from Chiang Mai in Thailand: Doi Suthep and Doi Inthanon national parks. In both these parks, local Hmong hill-tribe people are allowed to live in their traditional villages, continuing traditional lifestyle and crafts. One spin-off is tourism attraction, which in turn, gives them earning capacity. Additionally, in Doi

Inthanon the Hmong maintain intensive market gardening agriculture, raising crops for urban markets as well as local sales.

The twenty-seven essays in *Sacred Natural Sites (*Verschuuren *et al.* 2010) are a welcome addition to the academic and professional literature on the relationship between people and nature. The book's theme underscores the inextricable links between cultural and biological diversity with the intimacy that exists between indigenous and traditional communities and their landscapes. The concern for the links relates closely to the work of IUCN, where sacred natural sites play a particularly important role, demonstrating the special relationship between nature and people. Instances of clashes between traditional management and that based on a Western scientific notion of national parks are recorded in various chapters. One highlighted aspect is the increasing challenge in conservation management of the rights of traditional owners. This is lucidly articulated by Studley in his review of the eco-spiritual domains and sacred values of peoples in Eastern Kham (Studley in Verschuuren *et al.*). In particular, he suggests that:

> The sacred dimension can and does play an important role in landscape care and nature conservation but eco-spiritual values continue to be ignored as a result of the mono-cultural myopia of dominant western research epistemologies. Intangible values only make sense when research epistemologies are predicated on pluralism, holism, multi-culturalism and post-modern logic and science.
>
> (Studley 2010: 117)

Addressing the challenge of recognizing both the role of sacred forests and cooperation between local actions and government initiatives, Pei (2010 in Verschuuren *et al.)* uses the example of the Dai people and other minority groups in Yunnan, China. He acknowledges the importance to biodiversity of their balanced relationship with nature through the practice of traditional knowledge, technologies and cultural beliefs. This is in the context of Yunnan's rich and diverse flora and fauna, representing 52 per cent of the plant taxa, and 54 per cent of the total vertebrate species for all China. The remarkable biodiversity related to dramatic geographical variations is matched by its high cultural diversity, with twenty-six ethnic groups in Yunnan. This example shows how the tradition of worshipping mountains and sacred forests has resulted in protection of natural elements through 'history and culture value systems based on respect of the biological environment' (Pei 2010: 99).

Such examples are the opposite of the modernist view of natural resources (e.g. forests as valuable only for their economic return from resource exploitation). To acknowledge wider values as against mainstream 'perverse economic theory [and] cultural elitism of western science' (*ibid*: 115) requires government action and policies to safeguard traditional management regimes in areas where cultural and natural diversity are deemed important. It follows that such policies require further appropriate studies by enlightened governments in association with traditional and indigenous owners.

Human rights

A recurring theme and challenge in the debate on the link between traditional landscape management practices and biodiversity is that of human rights. Here two international instruments are relevant. The first is the 2001 UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity which acknowledges the fundamental role of the protection of human rights of indigenous people. This includes respecting traditional knowledge and its contribution, for example, to environmental protection and management of natural resources and the synergy possible between modern science and local knowledge. Preceding this, but of relevance, is the 1992 Convention on Biological Diversity. This instrument acknowledges that cultural systems, practices that favor natural resource management and value and knowledge systems of indigenous and local peoples, can be role models for helping shift dangerous patterns in modern over consumption of natural resources. Many traditional Asian agricultural landscapes fit this model. The otherwise seemingly unremarkable Vietnamese rural landscape in Figure 10.3 is an example.

In the human rights discourse and its applicability to landscape management in Asia, of fundamental concern is that of the need – and wisdom – of balancing local values against universal international practices and values. The latter have had the tendency to dominate management approaches based on a Western hegemony of conservation rationale both in cultural and natural heritage. This is reflected in the famous sites and monuments approach on the one hand and scientific underpinnings of nature on the other. In World Heritage terms, the introduction of cultural landscape categories has been seen as an antidote. Similarly, on a

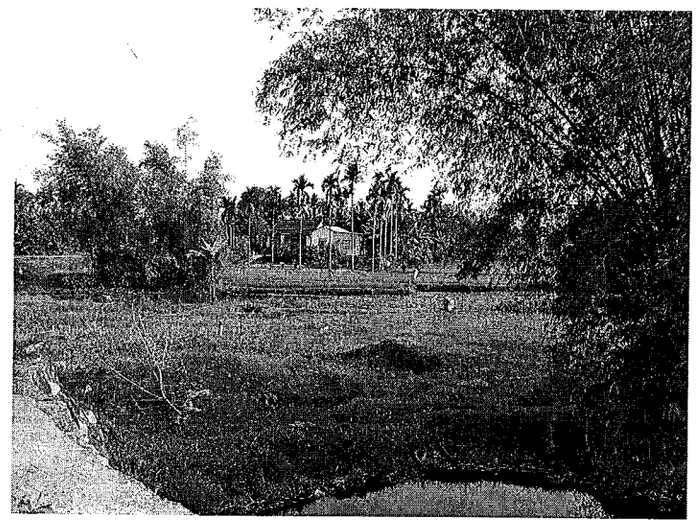

Figure 10.3 Rural landscape near the World Heritage sites of Hoi An and My Son in Vietnam. (*Source:* K. Taylor)

wider scale, is the broadening of understanding of Protected Area landscapes and the role of people in their management. As IUCN cogently argues, there is a pressing need generally, and not just in World Heritage sites, 'to strike *a balance between the local and the universal*... to anchor action in human solidarity at the local level.' (IUCN 2007: 3; emphasis added). In looking at international standards, the fundamental question arises:

> ... '[W]hose values are we addressing and whose heritage is it?' Whilst acknowledging the importance of establishing professional standards of practice for protection of the world's cultural heritage, it is imperative that universality of practice and adoption of standards do not overwhelm local values.
>
> (Taylor 2010: 1340)

IUCN plays a major role in arguing to strike a balance between universal values and local values. For example, in *Policy Matters: Conservation and Human Rights*, it (2007) draws attention to how 'conservation has too often undermined human rights' (IUCN 2007: 6). From an Asian perspective, examples from China, Thailand, Nepal, and India are discussed in this document (*ibid*: 76–114), a summary of which are given below. The Chinese case is that of the Dulong ethnic minority in the Dulongjiang valley, a tributary of the Irrawaddy. Traditionally the Dulong have sustained a rotational type of agriculture (swidden) involving the cultivation of *Alnus nepalensis*, a nitrogen-fixing tree (Wilkes and Sicai 2007). A new national soil and forest conservation project in 2003, the Sloping Land Conversion Programme, ended traditional Dulong practices. The effect has been to increase dependency on grain hand-outs and decrease agro-biodiversity, which threatens to wipe out the Dulong's bio-cultural heritage. The change stems from the 1999 Chinese central government's Sloping Land Conversion Programme (SLCP) aimed at increasing tree cover on farmland slopes over 25 degrees, accompanied by providing grain subsidies to meet subsequent needs of farmers. The subsidies, however, are limited to eight years. In 2003, the major proportion of the Dulong's traditionally cultivated land under the swidden system in the valley, 66 per cent, was on slopes over 25 degrees. The remainder was permanent arable land. In 2003, the swidden rotational system stopped on the sloping land and villagers were given subsidized grain supplies, to bring them at least to the accepted poverty line. But there is a price to pay, including abandoning traditional agriculture, with the subsequent loss of rare plant species particularly suited to traditional rotational farming. Looming over this is the long-term impact if grain subsidies are withdrawn or reduced. Additionally, traditional grain foods from swidden agriculture have been central to the Dulong culture: importantly, they are not only connected to ecological knowledge, but also to religion and social organization. Traditional Dulong grains are nutritious, and Dulong cultural views hold that mixed grains other than rice –not a major food for the Dulong people – are healthy.

The Chinese government upholds people's rights to subsistence, rights to development, and rights to enjoy an upgraded environment. Nevertheless, the

case study of the Dulong raises the issue of rights of cultural practices and rights over bio-cultural heritage, local communities embodying traditional lifestyles are empowered, as set out in the 1992 *Convention on Biological Diversity*.[8] The conclusion to the Dulong case study warns that:

> Without formal recognition of the concepts of rights over biocultural heritage in national law, and without government supported mechanisms in place through which indigenous communities can make effective claims, the future of the Dulong – and countless other indigenous experts and communities facing similar challenges – looks bleak.
>
> (IUCN 2007:83)

The Thai example (Abreu 2007) outlines how, even where conservationists have good intentions, if local people are not involved, their livelihoods can be damaged, and the traditional ethical and religious beliefs that contribute to conservation can be undermined. The case study centres on the development of a new tourist hotel in the Silalang area of Nan Province, in northern Thailand, sited in a remote valley surrounded by farming communities near Doi Phuka National Park. Local people have mainly depended on rice cultivation augmented by collecting non-timber forest products (NTFP), even within the boundaries of Phuka National Park. In contrast, the Royal Thai Forest Department (RTFD) favours a conservation policy that restricts local peoples, not least in NTFP collection. As one villager points out the RTFD does not understand the villagers' livelihoods and reflects that traditional ways of using forest products are not at odds with conservation. The hotel owner vowed to support official conservation efforts. With the hotel owner's imprimatur, monks from a local temple ordained the area, including the trees with the beehives, so that they became off limits for local people. Photographs of the ordination were then used as advertisements for the hotel. As a result, three poor families were denied the right to collect honey once a year in April, the sale of which helped them to pay for their children's school fees. In effect, conservation based on a Western hegemonic approach compromised the children's human right to education, let alone the traditional activity of the community. This is an example of how conservationists' good intentions can damage livelihoods and undermine traditional ethical and religious beliefs that could in fact contribute to conservation, when there is no local people's involvement.

The commentary on India (Wani and Khotari 2007) reviews the impact of some of India's conservation policies on the livelihoods of communities living within protected areas (including national parks where human activities are prohibited, and wildlife sanctuaries where some activities and rights are permitted). This is set against the background of both the United Nation's Millennium Development Goals of halving extreme poverty by 2015 and the human rights framework. The context of this is around 600 Protected Areas, covering 6 per cent of India to protect ecosystems and wildlife. However, these areas are also home to 3 to 4 million people, and 275 million people depend on NTFPs for their

livelihood. As the authors reflect, the official conservation policy of India is in many ways unsuited to the country, as it is based on the Western model, in particular the US Yellowstone National Park. They do, however, make a number of recommendations with the dual purpose of addressing gaps within current conservation policies while ensuring that human rights are safeguarded.

The case studies, particularly the Thai and the Chinese examples, are cogent examples of what, in the social sciences, are known as *unintended consequences* (i.e. outcomes that may not be the results intended by a purposeful action).[9]

At the international level, in 2007 the World Heritage Committee requested that ICOMOS and IUCN comment on the inclusion of local people in World Heritage nominations.[10] A submission, *Joint statement of indigenous organizations on continuous violations of the principle of free, prior and informed consent in the context of the World Heritage Convention*, was made to the 2011 World Heritage Committee meeting.[11] In this connection Silverman (2010), in discussing the case of Phimai, Thailand,[12] on the World Heritage Tentative List, reports that there is varied support for the nomination. This is a result of a lack of consultation with local stakeholders, further exacerbated by a master plan that has called for the expropriation of several buildings, including homes and businesses, surrounding the temple in the middle of the town. Originally the space surrounding the central temple was open. Conservation management founded on the tenet of returning places to something resembling their original layout, based presumably on what someone, or some agency, deems significant and authentic, may be seen to ignore what local people deem to be significant, based on their attachment to the place and associated daily activities. Within a cultural landscape ambit, such considerations also bring into play the concept of layers through time, and the question of 'whose place is it?' When Borobudur was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1991, villagers in a settlement near the foot of the monument were evicted and their land was appropriated. The village had existed for generations and was part of the cultural landscape setting of Borobudur, its context and meanings. This was one year before the introduction of the cultural landscape categories into the World Heritage Convention and raises the question of whether dispossession of local people would now be acceptable. The village was a part of the cultural landscape setting of Borobudur, reflecting a millennium of human history and landscape management.

In reviews of World Heritage nominations by ICOMOS, reviewers, where appropriate, may draw attention to the lack of inclusion of local community and indigenous values. In 2011, for example, the nomination for the Yapese Stone Money Sites in Palau and Yap was deferred; re-nomination was recommended for a number of reasons, including the requirement to '[d]ocument and archive the cultural tradition of the layout of discs [money] and the rituals associated with the money and dancing grounds for the benefit of future generations' (UNESCO 2011: 200). Furthermore, the World Heritage Committee noted that 'ICOMOS recommends the encouragement of involvement of the traditional owners in consideration of the nomination and in an overall transboundary joint management committee' (*ibid*: 198) and that 'the traditions and rituals associated with

the stone money exchange and location are an important component of the property's value but have not been documented' (*ibid*: 199–200).

This discussion brings into focus the deep and enduring relationship between traditional knowledge and skills, and the way in which this connection is embedded in people's memory and place meaning, thereby making it central to human rights issues. Whilst this phenomenon has tangible associations with place and objects, the relationship encompasses spiritual values and associations with these places and objects. The latter aspect intensifies a sense of meaning for people within the traditional spectrum and application of knowledge systems. This factor needs to be taken into account when judging traditional management regimes for landscapes of another culture, not least that changes that may be taking place in those landscapes. It can be a thorny challenge.

By way of example in Asia is that of particularly spectacular rice paddy landscapes; at least they are spectacular in a global heritage conservation context. I will use the example of the Rice Terraces of the Philippines Cordilleras (listed in 1995 as a World Heritage continuing cultural landscape) and the Ifugao people, the traditional owners and managers of the landscape. Underlying any discussion is a series of questions: What is their meaning to the Ifugao people with the traditional knowledge systems and ways of managing them? What are their rights within an international spectrum of conservation? Who listens to them? How do we accommodate change? In our zeal to see such places conserved what do we, or should we, in human rights terms, ask of the local communities who own the land?

Originally not part of the World Heritage nomination process in 1995, the Ifugao people have now been brought into the management and governance equation (Villalón 2012). This occurred after management responsibility was transferred from central government agencies to the Ifugao Provincial Government, following the placement of terraces on the World Heritage in Danger List in 2001.[13] Villalón (2012: 301) explains how the provincial government works closely with Save the Ifugao Terraces Movement (SITMo), a local non-governmental organization (NGO). Together, they are addressing programmes recommended by the World Heritage Committee, including reviewing the existing management plan, carrying out stakeholders' meetings, and ensuring that site conservation and management are planned and undertaken in a comprehensive and sustainable manner.

The Provincial Government set about correcting issues that were causing difficulty in implementing the management plan for the rice terraces of the Philippine Cordilleras:

- introducing an integrated site management approach to raise awareness in all levels (especially in decision making at the national level);
- updating the Six-Year Master Development Plan vis-à-vis experiences encountered by the Ifugao Terraces Commission and its successor, the Banaue Rice Terraces Task Force;
- improving training for Task Force and community level managers;

- improving training among community leaders to assure their participation in site management;
- improving public involvement in site management;
- manifesting sustainable benefits of conservation (cultural, agricultural, environmental and specially economic);
- reviving cultural, agricultural and ecological traditions; and
- reviving pride of place among the local community.

One of the major challenges facing the terrace management groups is making decisions on future acceptable levels of change, as the terrace landscape is changing in many ways. These include pressure for new buildings in the landscape; younger people become less interested in farming; there is a need for income generation; there are tourism pressures; the need to upgrade infrastructure such as road access; and the question of how to grow enough rice for local consumption. These are challenges for local management, but also for the experts from UNESCO and ICOMOS in realizing that such landscapes are not museums, but living, changing entities as local people's values change: hence the term 'acceptable levels of change.' At least now, local people are actively involved in their landscape's future.[14] Their traditional knowledge and expertise are recognized within a human rights perspective of the management of this World Heritage site.

Management and governance

Khotari reflects that since the 2003 Durban World Park Congress meeting there have been 'shifts in international conservation paradigms and that the inescapable conclusion is that the future of conservation lies, at least partly, in the past' (Khotari 2008: 23). He lists three broad features which highlight the growing recognition of the role of indigenous people and local communities in government-designated protected-area management and the importance of landscapes managed by communities themselves:

- expanding the governance of protected areas to include communities, either as partners in government and/or NGO-run areas, or in their own right as custodians and managers;
- moving out of the island mentality of protected areas and looking at landscapes and seascapes as a whole [focusing] as much on their political, economic, and cultural aspects as on their crucial biological values; and
- linking protected areas to the goals of addressing poverty and livelihood security, and significantly enhancing the generation of conservation related benefits to local people.

Similar attention at the World Heritage level is also present with a set of six principles promulgated as a foundation for a management framework of cultural landscapes. The 'six principles embody many of the fundamental ideas and approaches that should underpin strategies and also inform specific

activities for the management of World Heritage cultural landscapes' (UNESCO 2009: 35):

- people associated with the cultural landscape are the primary stakeholders;
- successful management is inclusive and transparent, and governance is shaped through dialogue and agreement;
- the value of the cultural landscape is based on the interaction between people and their environment and the focus of management is on this relationship;
- the focus of management is on guiding change to retain the values of the cultural landscape;
- management of cultural landscapes is integrated into the larger landscape context; and
- successful management contributes to a sustainable society.

Feng Han (2012: 105) gives the successful example of the Miao Ethnic Group village of Kongbai, Guizhou Province, China. She observes that, from the perspective of respect for local values, the conservation management proposals for this village cultural landscape aim to protect and revitalize the vulnerable traditional customs and stimulate traditional management. Respect for the wisdom and knowledge systems of the villagers, rather than imposition of proposals from outside, is critical. Ethnographers worked in the village and successfully reactivated the traditional power of the Head of the village to organize the construction of a new road that benefits every family. This regenerated landscape values and collective memory for the village people that had been almost lost during modernization and the addition of new buildings. Economists helped the villagers with their traditional handcraft – silver jewellery – to enter the market and to form an association to protect intangible cultural heritage aspects.

Fundamental to shifting management processes is the understanding of the importance of various governance options. For example, IUCN recognizes diverse governance types for its protected landscape categories (Dudley 2008) that include:

- governance by government (at federal/state/subnational or municipal level);
- shared governance;
- private governance; and
- governance by indigenous peoples and local communities.

Critical to achieving good outcomes in managing cultural landscapes as the interconnection of culture and nature – the fusion that is critical to the cultural landscape construct (Taylor 2012) – is how these governance types can be made to interact. Rather than see them as discrete, there is an advantage in recognising how and where various governance approaches may, and indeed should, overlap in the management of cultural landscapes, whether they be IUCN Protected Landscapes, CCAs, ICCAs, or World Heritage properties. This is particularly important in connection with the role of indigenous and local communities.

As Khotari (2008) notes there is increasing participation of local communities and other citizens in the management of areas that were once solely government controlled, thereby shifting into a collaborative management mode. He also comments that there is increasing recognition of indigenous and community conserved areas (ICCAs) existing in diverse forms across the world and observes that:

> [t]here is no comprehensive assessment of how many countries have moved into these directions. However, a survey of protected area agencies just prior to the World Parks Congress, gave a good indication. In the period 1992–2002, of the 48 PA agencies that responded to the survey, over one-third reported that they had moved towards some form of decentralisation in their structure, and engaged a larger range of stakeholders than before. Over half reported that they now required, by law, participatory management of PAs. In 1992, 42% of the agencies had said they were the only decision-making authority; by 2002, only 12% said the same. Overall, the survey showed that "PA managers recognise that community support is a requirement of 'good governance' and more effort is being directed at involving various stakeholder groups. The general perception is that increased participation has resulted in more effective decision making" (Chape *et al.* 2008).
>
> (Khotari 2008: 25)

Examples of the collaborative approach to cultural landscape management exist in Canada's thirteen national parks. These are managed between Parks Canada and native groups; in Australia's Indigenous Protected Areas (IPAs) programme which is part of the Australian Government's 'Indigenous Australians Caring for Country' programme (Department of Sustainability, Environment, Water, Population and Communities 2011); or in Doi Suthep and Doi Inthanon in Thailand (see above in Sacred natural sites and biodiversity).

Additionally, UNESCO, in considering natural values of cultural landscapes, notes that IUCN has identified the following benefits within protected landscape and seascapes:

- Conserving nature and biodiversity;
- Buffering more strictly controlled areas;
- Conserving human history in structures and land use patterns;
- Maintaining traditional ways of life;
- Offering recreation and inspiration;
- Providing education and understanding;
- Demonstrating durable systems of use in harmony with nature.

(UNESCO 2009:23)

Presumably, the inference in this comment by UNESCO is that the identified benefits should be taken into consideration when preparing management plans for World Heritage cultural landscapes. Further, within the mosaic of forward-looking

management and governance regimes is the recognition of the spiritual as well as material benefits of protecting traditional communities and indigenous cultural landscapes. Finally, key questions we need to keep at the forefront of our management/governance deliberations are *Who owns nature?* and *For whom is it to be protected*? (Descola 2008).

Conclusion

The concept of the cultural landscape has broadened international appreciation of the role of intangible values in place meaning and added to the body of knowledge on critical heritage thinking. As indicated, the concept has started to take a firmer hold in an Asian context, with an accompanying increase in the number of Asian cultural landscapes nominated for World Heritage listing (albeit that these are still limited). A number of places on the World Heritage List, including prominent Asian examples which have not been nominated or inscribed as cultural landscapes, undoubtedly fit the cultural landscape idea, as Fowler flagged in a review of World Heritage cultural landscapes for the period 1992–2002 (Fowler 2003). Additionally, he suggested 100 other sites on the Tentative List that could be nominated as cultural landscapes.

In my opinion, the cultural landscape settings of World Heritage places like Borobudur, Ayutthaya or Angkor all qualify for serious consideration as addenda to the listed areas. Whether such action will take place is debateable, given that each signatory country to the World Heritage Convention is permitted only one nomination per year. An addition to an existing nomination is allowed where the additional information or reasons for re-nomination do not involve major changes to the existing nomination. The new nomination may not necessarily be easy to establish, and countries are not keen to lose the opportunity for additional nominations to their league table. A World Heritage listing carries with it high stakes and prestige.

In light of the above discussion, a number of key points emerge for further consideration:

- Recognition of the fact that it is the familiar, everyday landscapes that have meaning for most people and the ones they wish to conserve.
- Acceptance of the concept of limits of acceptable change based on the fact that people's values – such as traditional owners – change through time and between generations, and that these values will be manifested through changes in the landscape. Landscapes are not immutable museum pieces. We need to be able to understand and empathize with people's values. When we refer to experts, always remember that expertise also rests with locals based on traditional knowledge systems.
- Address ways of empowering and encouraging local people to participate in conservation management initiatives.
- The concept of bio-cultural heritage needs to be formally recognized in national law in order to empower traditional communities to

effectively negotiate the impacts of conservation and development (IUCN 2007: 77).

- Use the cultural landscape concept to recognize the human presence in the landscape and/or to discuss issues of biodiversity conservation in humanized landscapes, for example through traditional agricultural landscapes (Head 2012: 429).
- Encourage NGO participation, as with SITMo at the Philippine Cordilleran Rice Terraces.
- Aim for balance between local values and universal international practice and values (i.e. whose values do we need to address).
- Always think of possible unintended consequences of our management actions.

Notes

1 See Franz Boas: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Franz_Boas.
2 See for example, Verschuuren, B. *et al.* (eds.) (2009) *Sacred Natural Sites: Conserving Nature and Culture*, London and Washington DC: Earthscan.
3 *ICOMOS International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites* reflected this thinking in Article 3: 'The intention in conserving and restoring monuments is to safeguard them no less as works of art than as historical evidence'. < www.international.icomos.org/venicecharter2004/index.html >.Cached - Similar
4 See Lynda Sexson (1992) Ordinarily Sacred. Studies in religion and culture, University of Virginia Press, for exploration of the term 'ordinarily sacred'.
5 IUCN recognizes six categories of Protected Areas ranging from strict nature reserve/wilderness status (Category I a/b) to areas (Category V) 'that encompass traditional, inhabited landscapes and seascapes where human actions have shaped cultural landscapes with high biodiversity' (Dudley 2008: vii).
6 Organized by IUCN's World Commission on Protected Areas.
7 See www.iucn.org/themes/wcpa/wpc3003
8 See http://www.cbd.int/convention/text/
9 The concept has long existed, but was named and popularised in the 20th century by American sociologist Robert K. Merton; Online. Available HTTP: < http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Unintended_consequences >
10 See UNESCO (2007) *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*, World Heritage Committee Thirty-first Session, Christchurch, New Zealand 23 June–2 July 2007: WHC-07/31.COM/9. Paris: UNESCO World Heritage Centre. Online. Available HTTP: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/sessions/31COM/documents/ >
11 See, UNESCO WHC Decision 35 COM 12E.
12 Phimai dates from the eleventh to the twelfth century and has connections with Angkor.
13 WHC-01/CONF.203/24, Paris: UNESCO. Online. Available HTTP: < http://whc.unesco.org/en/sessions/25COM > (accessed 19 January 2011).
14 The author was fortunate to be invited by Professor Nobuko Indaba, Tsukuba University (Graduate School, World Heritage Studies) to accompany a research team of staff and PhD students to a field exercise 4-11 March 2012 at the Cordilleran Rice Terraces. The team worked in the fields with local Ifugao people and SITMo at Hungduan, reviewing *What is HERITAGE for the Hungduan People,* culminating in a workshop with the local community. An illustrated research report is available, see http://gnp.hass.tsukuba.ac.jp/

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