

MANAGING CULTURAL LANDSCAPES



KEY ISSUES IN
CULTURAL
HERITAGE

edited by Ken Taylor and Jane L. Lennon

ROUTLEDGE

Managing Cultural Landscapes

One of our deepest needs is for a sense of identity and belonging. A common feature in this is human attachment to landscape and how we find identity in landscape and place. The late 1980s and early 1990s saw a remarkable flowering of interest in, and understanding of, cultural landscapes. With these came a challenge to the 1960s and 1970s concept of heritage concentrating on great monuments and archaeological locations, famous architectural ensembles or historic sites with connections to the rich and famous.

Managing Cultural Landscapes explores the latest thought in landscape and place by:

- airing critical discussion of key issues in cultural landscapes through accessible accounts of how the concept of cultural landscape applies in diverse contexts across the globe and is inextricably tied to notions of living history where landscape itself is a rich social history record;
- widening the notion that landscape only involves rural settings to embrace historic urban landscapes/townscapes;
- examining critical issues of identity, maintenance of traditional skills and knowledge bases in the face of globalization, and new technologies;
- fostering international debate with interdisciplinary appeal to provide a critical text for academics, students, practitioners and informed community organisations;
- discussing how the cultural landscape concept can be a useful management tool relative to current issues and challenges.

With contributions from an international group of authors, *Managing Cultural Landscapes* provides an examination of the management of heritage values of cultural landscapes from Australia, Japan, China, USA, Canada, Thailand, Indonesia, Pacific Islands, India and the Philippines; reviews critically the factors behind the removal of Dresden and its cultural landscape from World Heritage listing; and gives an overview of historic urban landscape (HUL) thinking.

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Key Issues in Cultural Heritage

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**Managing Cultural
Landscapes**

Edited by
Ken Taylor and Jane L. Lennon

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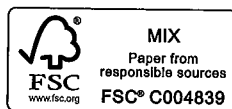
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Chapter I

Introduction

Leaping the fence

Ken Taylor and Jane L. Lennon

One of our deepest needs is for a sense of identity and belonging. A common denominator in this is human attachment to landscape and how we find identity in landscape and place. Thirty years or so ago the American geographer, Donald Meinig (1979: 1), proposed that '[l]andscape 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 '[l]andscape is defined by our vision and interpreted by our minds. It is a panorama which continuously changes as we move along any route' (ibid.: 3). In this interpretative way of seeing we ascribe values to landscape for intangible – often (but not always) spiritual – reasons. Landscape can therefore be seen as a cultural construct in which our sense of place and memories inhere and where we make places in a continuing process of inhabiting and changing the landscape. More recently John Wylie (2007) explores the extraordinary richness of debate over the definitions, meanings and use of the word 'landscape'.

Critical to ways of viewing landscape has been the increasing attention given internationally to the study of cultural landscapes, including to the extent of recognition in 1992 of World Heritage categories of cultural landscapes of outstanding universal value. It is a point to which authors in this volume consistently turn. It is celebrated in the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO 2009) publication *World Heritage Papers 26*, although we stress at the outset that the book is not only about World Heritage.

Within the parameters of a heritage discourse, the period of the later years of the 1980s and into the 1990s saw a remarkable flowering of interest in, and understanding of, cultural landscapes. As a result of this – and the associated emergence of a different value system inherent in cultural landscapes – there came a challenge to the 1960s and 1970s concept of heritage focusing on heritage sites and monuments with connections to the rich and iconic. Widening interest in public history and understanding that the landscape is an unsurpassed record of social history waiting to be read by 'those who know how to read it aright' (Hoskins 1955: 14) informed the

emergence of the cultural landscape movement. Interest academically and professionally in the ordinary, the everyday flourished.

This post-late 1980s movement significantly represents, therefore, an extension of the idea of landscape as cultural product, to landscape as cultural process. Inherent also in this is the recognition that to understand ourselves and human identities we need to look searchingly at our landscapes for through their history of being made, they are a clue to culture (Lewis 1979), and our ordinary everyday landscapes at that, not just the national icons. Just as William Kent, the eighteenth-century English landscape designer of the picturesque, was deemed to have 'leaped the fence to see that all nature was a garden',¹ the fence has been leaped by cultural heritage management theory and practice to take in the entire landscape shaped by people into an expanded scope of theoretical understanding and praxis.

This is not to say that the concept and study of landscape as product are superfluous, but rather they are complementary to understanding landscape as process. Products in the landscape – buildings, structures, patterns of land-use – are the tangible physical components of the landscape, the what, when and where. But these need to be viewed and understood within a cultural context of why they are there, why does the landscape take the shape that it does and who has been involved over time in its shaping. This is articulated by Baker (1992: 3) as the way in which

historical studies of landscapes must be grounded in analysis of material structures: they are properly concerned with tangible, visible expressions of different modes of production . . . But [that] such material structures are created and creatively destroyed within an ideological context: such studies must therefore acknowledge that landscapes are shaped by mental attitudes and that a proper understanding of landscapes must rest on the historical recovery of ideologies.

Baker takes this further with the view which we acknowledge as influential to our thinking that 'ideology, then, involves systems and structures of signification and domination: any landscape is likely to contain all manner of ideological representations so that a description of its appearance must also logically be "thickened"² into an expression of its meaning' (ibid.: 4). Such a view of landscape corresponds with that of Roland Barthes (1977) who emphasizes landscape as a system of signs and symbols, what he calls 'signifiers'. In this way landscapes can be read within a cultural context to reveal human values and plurality of meanings.

Michael Conzen (1994: 4) fluently summarizes these ideas with the reflection that

to view the landscape historically is to acknowledge its cumulative character; to acknowledge that nature, symbolism, and design are not static

elements of the human record but change with historical experience; and to acknowledge too that the geographically distinct quality of places is a product of selective addition and survival over time of each new set of forms peculiar to that region or locality.

With such thinking in mind the purpose behind the book is fourfold. First is the airing of critical discussion of key issues in cultural landscapes through accessible accounts of how the concept of cultural landscape has universal application with some focus on the Asia-Pacific and North America region, and is inextricably tied to notions of living history where landscape itself is a rich historical record. Nevertheless, we are not just looking at history, but also the present with the idea of landscape subject to the continuous process of being made and made-over by people (Figure 1.1). Landscape is not some historical museum stopped in time. Second is the widening of the notion that landscape only involves rural settings to embrace the inclusion of studies, thinking and work in the area of historic urban landscapes/townscapes. Third, the text examines matters of identity, maintaining traditional skills and knowledge bases in the face of globalization, and new technologies. Fourth, it is intended that the text will foster international debate focusing



Figure 1.1 Intensive summer cropping, Deqin Valley, Yunnan.

Source: J.L. Lennon.

on the Asia-Pacific and North American region with interdisciplinary appeal to provide a critical text for academics teaching heritage studies and their students, practitioners and informed community organizations.

Authors with extensive expert knowledge bring together a body of international work on management of heritage values of cultural landscapes covering: Australia, Japan, China, USA, Canada, Thailand, Indonesia, Pacific Islands, India, Philippines and Cambodia; the deepening interest in historic urban landscapes; a review of how and why the cultural landscape setting of Dresden was removed from the World Heritage List; and an exploration of the cultural landscape idea at a former military site in Germany. Accordingly the book is sub-divided into four sections. The first part – Emergence of cultural landscape concepts – traces the development of the theoretical and philosophical background allied to concepts and context for the cultural landscape idea; culture–nature relationships; application by the World Heritage Committee; and associated management imperatives. The second part – Managing Asia-Pacific cultural landscapes – focuses on the Asia-Pacific region with seven chapters critically reviewing concepts and practice within different cultures but bounded by their location in this increasingly important part of the global cultural heritage setting, albeit under-represented in global heritage listings (UNESCO 1994, 2007a; ICOMOS 2005). The third part – New applications – explores emerging ideas on what might be seen as new cultural landscape ideas with an international flavour through the idea of historic urban landscapes, a North American focus and specific commentary on the wider setting of Angkor. The fourth part – Future challenges – addresses the latest work at the rice terraces of the Philippine Cordilleras, an overview of cultural landscape practice in the Asia-Pacific region, the specific and special case of Dresden and its removal from the World Heritage List and culminates in an overview of contemporary management challenges. Whilst appreciation of the cultural landscape construct may have taken time to mature in some Asia-Pacific countries, nevertheless the potential cultural heritage significance of cultural landscapes was recognized over a decade ago in the *ASEAN Declaration on Cultural Heritage* with the comment that '[h]istoric sites, cultural landscapes, areas of scenic beauty and natural monuments shall be identified, recognized and protected' (ASEAN 2000: para. 2).

Focus on monuments and famous architectural or archaeological ensembles and their fabric conservation – particularly those of classical Europe from a high art/high aesthetic perspective – has historically informed international heritage practice as various commentators have consistently observed (for example Cleere 2001; Taylor and Altenburg 2006; Fengqi Qian 2007). Byrne proposes this is linked to an overriding concern with the tangible where 'on-ground heritage practice is almost exclusively focused on conserving the physicality of architecture and archaeological sites [which] all too easily leads to monumentalism' (2009: 243). Part I of this volume,

through Chapters 2 and 3 by Taylor and Lennon respectively, take this as a touchstone on which to develop firm ground in advancing an argument for widening international understanding and application of the cultural landscape construct.

Identity is a recurring theme in heritage discourse as Smith and Akagawa (2009: 7) opine with the comment that 'heritage is intimately linked with identity'. Chapters 2 and 3 argue as a foundational common denominator the premise that human identity, intangible values and landscape are inseparable. Linked to this is the social context of heritage and heritage places and their plurality of meanings for people, not least in the Asia-Pacific region for local communities who live in and around places identified globally as 'heritage'. The temples of Angkor, for example, are not simply dead ruins but part of a cultural landscape setting still used daily by local people (Taylor 2010) inhabiting a landscape that (as Chapter 2 suggests) surrounds, permeates and saturates the World Heritage area with meaning. Here intangible values spiritually associated with temples – ruins? – that are regarded as important living everyday places by local communities are where memory and landscape are inextricably intertwined. They speak of a sense of place where memories and identity inhere underpinning the notion that landscape making and ideology are inseparable (Baker 1992). Chapter 2 therefore seeks to explore intellectual foundations for the cultural landscape idea within the context of a global discourse for landscape meaning and explores the idea of landscape as process, not just product.

The World Heritage Committee faces the dilemma of inscribing landscapes to which people have deep attachment and may be managed according to centuries-old practices or beliefs. These cultural places are often memorable landscapes or natural landscapes imbued with meaning for local inhabitants (Figures 1.2, 1.3). With these factors in mind, Chapter 3 traces the development of the cultural landscape concept by the World Heritage Committee, trends in designations of places in the Asia-Pacific region as World Heritage cultural landscapes and a suite of issues arising from that designation process, including identification of all the values, maintaining traditional skills, knowledge, governance and training and the introduction of new infrastructure, land-uses and technologies including tourism into these landscapes. Setting limits of acceptable change and allowing the continuing practice of traditional agricultural methods in the context of global food supplies are key considerations (Lennon 2003). Issues in managing cultural landscapes following World Heritage studies are illustrated with examples from Australia, Japan, the Pacific, Cambodia and montane South East Asia.

A topic of considerable interest to which critical attention is being given is that of the culture–nature relationship and traditional ways of seeing cultural landscapes and, allied to this, traditional management approaches and biodiversity protection. Often these can be, and are, in contest with

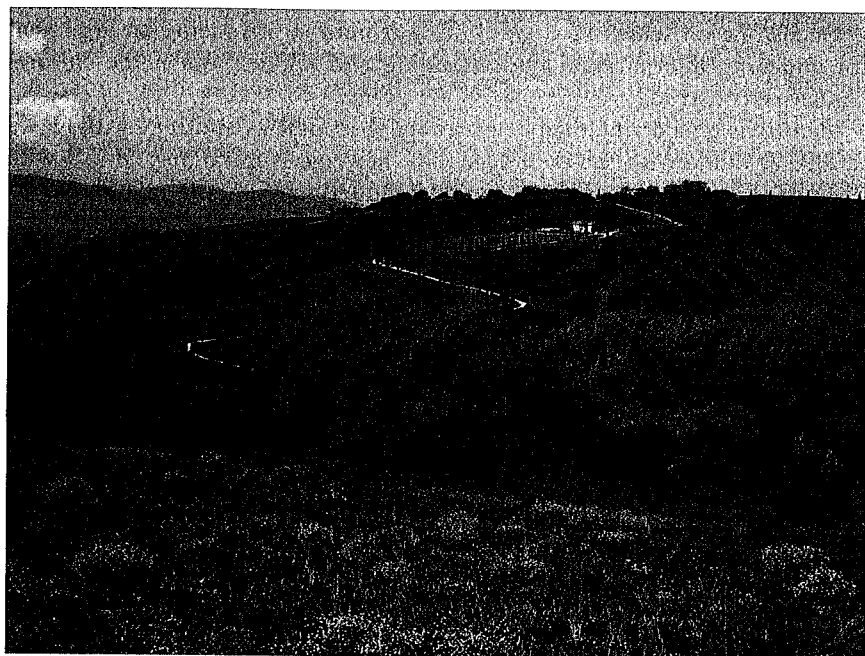


Figure 1.2 Val d'Orcia (Italy) World Heritage continuing cultural landscape (2004).

Source: K. Taylor.

mainstream internationalized universal heritage values where the heritage resource is viewed as a monument separate from its cultural landscape setting and, similarly, where natural values have been privileged over cultural values leading to removal and dispossession of traditional communities (UNESCO 2006; Pannell 2006; Head 2010; Brown and Kothari 2011; Wei-Chi Chang 2011). These are challenging issues in the Asia-Pacific region suggesting the need for thematic studies to be undertaken. The challenges are the focus of authors' contributions in Part II and Chapter 13 of Part III of the volume.

Amin (Chapter 4) traces an understanding of the beliefs and concepts of landscape as the ideal worldview of the Javanese and how these concepts disclose meanings in their manifestations in the cultural landscapes. She elucidates how landscape elements such as mountain, tree and water were and still are taken as important symbols that influence how landscapes are made and manifest in form, as at Borobudur temple and the traditional Bali terraced rice field system (*subak*). Feng Han, in Chapter 5, based on the Chinese traditional understanding of the relationships between human beings and nature, discusses the cross-cultural misunderstandings of World Heritage in China, especially about World Heritage cultural landscapes.



Figure 1.3 Uluru (Australia Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park) World Heritage associative cultural landscape (1994).

Source: Nicholas Hall.

She examines potential ways to fill the gaps from theoretical and practice perspectives, especially how China and the international community could complementarily deepen and widen the theory and practice of cultural landscapes. The implications and recommendations for the native landscape to be conserved in China based on Chinese traditions with the international inspirations are presented.

Inaba (Chapter 6) traces the introduction of the concept of cultural landscapes in Japan and how Japan not only introduced the concept of natural monuments, but importantly established a legal process and framework to which the concepts of places of scenic beauty and historic sites were added. As a result nature-related areas of natural monuments and places of scenic beauty have been developed in the framework of cultural heritage protection in Japan together with historic sites and other areas of cultural heritage, separately from, but in parallel with, the nature conservation and national park systems. The experience in Japan of the long history of the concept development of natural monuments and scenic beauty in the framework of cultural heritage is providing important testimony to the value of associative cultural landscapes in a non-European country in terms of the ways and means of protecting heritage sites and cultural associations with such arts as painting and literature. Inaba outlines how the protection programme of organically evolving landscapes was finally introduced into the Japanese legal system in 2004 adding to the 1975 historic towns and villages programme. She suggests these schemes are now being developed to combine areas of spatial planning and heritage conservation aiming at a more integrated approach. Here is a total view of landscape and how protection needs to be accommodated in appropriate national laws.

Ballard and Wilson (Chapter 7) address the exceptional challenge of managing cultural landscapes in a region where both the reach of the state and the capacity of state parties are highly limited. In contrast, with well over 90

per cent of Melanesian land under customary ownership, local landowners are effectively sovereign in matters relating to land. Melanesia is also the world's richest centre of cultural diversity, with more than one-fifth of the world's languages and cultures represented. As most of these communities continue to reside in their ancestral domains, there is a corresponding degree of variation evident in the character and local understanding of cultural landscapes. In an intriguing overview of this diversity in Melanesian cultural landscapes, the authors make a compelling case that no Melanesian landscape can be construed as an entirely natural landscape, free from the claims of cultural understanding or interpretation. More detailed treatment of three case studies illustrate this contention: the cultural landscape of Huli-speakers of the Southern Highlands of Papua New Guinea; the Kuk Early Agricultural Site, inscribed on the World Heritage List in 2008; and the World Heritage property of Chief Roi Mata's Domain in Vanuatu also inscribed in 2008.

In Chapter 8 Thakur proposes that traditional knowledge represents a deep sense of geography that has shaped and integrated culture with the physical environment. In the Indian ethos, geography has always been more than a physical description of hills, plains and rivers. It is a collective perception of geographical units, *Janapada*, where memory, information and imagination come together, bringing about a collective metaphysical meaning stemming from the lyrical and literary aspects of religious texts and descriptions and relates them to the natural surroundings. The author discusses how these critical factors influence the concept of cultural landscapes in India with reference to particular cases and associated management challenges. We see how the Indian concept of cyclic time has contributed to the distinct nature of the Indian cultural landscape and is deeply rooted in the Indian psyche and how geography, history, faith and culture come together to make this landscape. India has always been a mirror to world influences as a microcosm of the world's systems of traditional knowledge, with continuous cultural synthesis and integration occurring since antiquity. In content and appreciation, Indian landscapes are distinct, and they have yet to be absorbed into UNESCO's definition of cultural landscapes. Thakur stresses that the making of the Indian cultural landscape is a cultural phenomenon and therefore its conservation must also be based on an adequate cultural knowledge and perspective within a holistic and integrated paradigm.

Sirisrisak and Akagawa, in Chapter 9, take as a starting point for their discussion how for Thailand, as with many other Asian countries, the concept of cultural landscapes and associated international frameworks – for example World Heritage categories – are relatively new. The authors critically discuss how there is thus a challenge in applying the frameworks and accepting the holistic idea of landscape as a heritage conservation management tool against the conventional view of heritage values residing primarily in

monuments and prescribed sites. They use as a base for their discussion the varying topographical features in different regions of Thailand that result in distinctive physical landscapes including the densely populated Central Plain, the Northern Valley region where the Chao Phraya River rises, the Northeast or Korat Plain with the Mekong, Moon and Chi major rivers, the Southeast Coast suitable for tropical fruit farming and the southern region of humid tropical forest facing the Andaman Sea and Myanmar on the west and the Gulf of Thailand on the east. Superimposed on the topographic base is the cultural landscape affected by political and economic development that has contributed to change in the landscape. In particular a number of landscapes that have been developing during the Rattanakosin Period (1782–present) result from the ideologies and actions of various people over time. The chapter presents an understanding of the cultural landscape in Thailand through the overview of historical development and today's cultural landscape themes. The authors address how the concept of cultural landscape and potential identification, assessment and management protection have been applied through the pilot Cultural Environment Conservation System (CECS) focusing on waterways and canal systems in three pilot areas in Nonthaburi, Samut Songkhram and Bangkok. All these notably include urban cultural landscapes and were undertaken as part of the Thailand Cultural Environment Project (TCEP).

In the last chapter of Part II (Chapter 10) Butland takes as a platform how post-positivist awareness within heritage discourse recognizes that individuals and communities will potentially deviate in the way that they integrate heritage with contemporary spaces through highly variable, evolving and individualized historic and modern meanings. She proposes that it is thus appropriate to understand the construction and role of scale within heritage as a set of changing, socially and politically constructed relationships between heritage sites, their management and their surrounding areas. Focusing on the World Heritage site of Angkor, the research presented in this chapter questions the actual material entities to which meanings and values are attached, demonstrating that these also diverge for heritage sites and their landscapes. Considering two key Khmer groups (staff of the APSARA³ authority and members of the Siem Reap population) she demonstrates how posing the questions, 'what is Angkor and why is it important?', reveals the construction of spaces of significance and insignificance through the values and meanings attached to a site. The field research that is the basis for this chapter used interviews, discourse and textual analysis of archival documents, and detailed field observation, integrated through spatial analysis to explore spatial influences, impacts and perceptions of cultural heritage management, and to encourage a more inclusive representation of Angkor and its surrounds (its cultural landscape setting). The chapter suggests there are different understandings of various heritage scales that have implications for management of cultural landscapes.

The widening interest in cultural landscapes study and the mantra that they are not static but part of a continuing process of change, rethinking and re-theorization is illustrated in chapters in Part III. Bandarin, in Chapter 11, addresses the emergent concept of historic urban landscapes (HULs). He discusses how urban historic conservation, a practice defined at the end of the nineteenth century, has found an important place in the world of cultural heritage. Urban heritage reflects not only the values normally embodied in monuments (such as memory and artistic values), but it also represents civic identities and the living expression of historic evolution. In more recent times, urban heritage has also become an invaluable asset for economic development, mostly, but not exclusively, linked to the growth of the global tourism industry. He suggests that two ideas are at the root of urban historic conservation: the willingness to preserve the physical spaces and the historic buildings, and the intention to conserve the traditional social fabric of a city or of an urban area. Many excellent plans and programmes that started in the 1960s and 1970s – e.g. the *Secteurs sauvegardés* in France or the Plans for the Historic Centres in Italy – have become models of public intervention in this field. However, Bandarin explains how those policies have not been fully successful at the global scale: on the contrary, many changes have happened and are happening that are seriously questioning the possibility of an integrated urban conservation. We see that historic cities have dramatically changed their social and economic role following radical gentrification processes, or the expansion of the tertiary sector. Furthermore, they have – with few exceptions – become centres of culture and leisure tourism to a scale that has altered – when not subverted – the traditional social, demographic and economic structure. While the approach to the historic city as a monument has worked, the idea of preserving the historic city as social fabric has failed. A visit to many famous historic cities, such as Venice, Quebec, Marrakech or Lijang, allows us to perceive the extent of the social transformations brought about by tourism and other economic processes in the past decades, and the impacts of the loss of the traditional life in those places. It is clear that the force of the market processes has largely overcome the original intentions of planners and politicians. Even when the traditional structure of the historic district has been preserved, urban policies have failed in most cases to ensure adequate protection for the setting and the environment of the urban historic fabric. In this context Bandarin poses the intriguing question for doctrinal consideration: Venice or Varanassi?

Mitchell and Melnick, in Chapter 12, propose that once considered as monuments of brilliant landscape design, cultural landscapes are now understood as dynamic cultural, human and natural systems. Cultural landscapes are not simply a designation or a technical tool, but rather a point of view, a framework and a concept that can be productively applied to many types of places at many different scales. They provide a

brief overview of the development and evolution of the cultural landscape concept and landscape conservation in the US. They address how, relying on locally based approaches and new types of governance structures that enable collaboration across disciplines, jurisdictional boundaries and multiple ownerships, landscape conservation today requires different management strategies. These shifts in cultural landscape practice in the US correspond with international trends as indicated by the type of cultural landscapes nominated to the World Heritage List. In the US over the last 15 years, this evolution has also created a diverse and multidisciplinary professional field of practice and engaged many people and their communities in landscape stewardship. The authors outline how there has been a paradigm shift in the relevancy of cultural landscapes to complex contemporary social issues. Through recent innovations, landscape conservation has begun to address some of the more challenging social and environmental issues including changing demographics, loss of sense of place, community engagement and sustainability in the face of climate change. These issues are discussed in case studies of Marsh-Billings-Rockefeller National Historical Park (Vermont), Cuyahoga Valley National Park (Ohio), Grant-Kohrs Ranch National Historic Site (Montana) and the John H. Chafee Blackstone River Valley National Heritage Corridor across central Massachusetts and northern Rhode Island.

The question of rights of indigenous people and traditional communities is a primary concern in cultural landscape study and practice. In 2007, for example, the World Heritage Committee asked the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) and the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) to report on 'how references to values of minorities, indigenous and/or local people were made or obviously omitted' in nominations (UNESCO 2007b: 3). In this connection Andrews and Bugey (Chapter 13) take as a starting point how Canada, when the World Heritage Committee adopted cultural landscape categories, adapted the framework for its national heritage system. The concept of Aboriginal cultural landscapes, Canada's approach to associative cultural landscapes, laid the basis for acknowledging alternative worldviews in a values-based approach to cultural heritage. They explain, nevertheless, how the World Heritage Committee, Parks Canada and provincial and territorial heritage agencies continue to have difficulty with the nature of associative cultural landscapes. They examine how an abandoned uranium mine on Great Bear Lake in the Northwest Territories of Canada has become an integral part of the Sahtúot'ine cultural landscape through the impact of a number of deaths due to cancer among a generation of men who worked as ore carriers and how people are using the concept of cultural landscape to bring attention to their experience. In contrast, the people in Łutselk'e, on Great Slave Lake in the Northwest Territories, are employing the concept to stop proposed uranium exploration. Andrews and Bugey critically demonstrate

how Canadian Aboriginal peoples are using the Western-derived concept of cultural landscapes to advance their own objectives in resource development to a national authority. They ask, as the concept of cultural landscapes evolves, are indigenous peoples challenging the post-colonial logic of a modern liberal democracy such as Canada by employing Western concepts of land value in their struggle for protection of their own interests? More importantly, what can governments and heritage organizations learn from this approach to make commemoration and protection instruments more appropriate for indigenous societies? These themes are tackled through an examination of the recent experiences of Déligne and Łutselk'e with cultural landscapes.

Chapter 14 by Hack examines the intriguing site of Kummersdorf Military Training Ground in Germany and its cultural significance that he points out will be vital for managing the site in the future. In this connection a project group has been formed that intends to promote Kummersdorf as a heritage site. The former Army Proving Ground (*Heeresversuchsanstalt*) of Kummersdorf lies south of Berlin. From 1875 to 1945, Kummersdorf developed into the biggest military weapon and technology development and testing complex in Germany. It was a landscape dedicated to the development of weapons of war, surrounded by numerous important military complexes, located in Germany – one of the most war-driven countries of the last century. Kummersdorf contributed to the development of technology but also to destruction and death. It was here that the young rocket scientist Wernher von Braun developed rocket engines that were the stepping stones towards the V2, the first long range ballistic rocket. During the Cold War, Kummersdorf served as a logistics centre and as an airport for the Soviet Forces stationed in Germany. Since the withdrawal of the Russian Army, the site is being taken over by nature. Leading on from this, Kummersdorf's potential of becoming a World Heritage site is discussed.

Chapters in Part IV address management imperatives central to which is the challenge of applying and accepting the holistic idea of landscape as a heritage conservation management tool against the conventional view of heritage values residing primarily in monuments and prescribed sites. Starting with Chapter 15, Villalón elucidates how continuing living traditions and enlisting local provincial government is working to protect the rice terraces of the Philippine Cordilleras. He explains how there is a high level of national awareness of the heritage value of the rice terraces of the Philippine Cordilleras. Every school child is taught that the terraces are a national symbol, one of the important national monuments of the country, considered as a single monument in keeping with national perception of heritage as monumental. However to the Ifugao stakeholders and guardians of the site, their view of the terraces has expanded considerably over the years since its inscription. Their view of the site is now beyond that of a monument. If World Heritage listing

introduced the concept of cultural landscapes, fine-tuning of the concept was achieved with the site's 'In Danger' inscription. We see how the Ifugao provincial government took conservation activity away from the national authorities and brought it to the community level in partnership with the Save the Ifugao Terraces Movement (SITMo), a local non-governmental organization. Together they carried out programmes recommended by the World Heritage Committee. These community-based programmes successfully brought home the reality that heritage, when properly cared for, was an unrecognized, viable income-generation resource. This was a complete reversal of attitude from the earlier widespread misconception that upon World Heritage inscription, UNESCO would provide both financial and technical assistance to the site.

Engelhardt, in Chapter 16, introduces the *Hoi An Protocols*, a singularly important document addressing the challenges of the under-protection of the heritage of Asia evidenced by the relative under-representation of cultural sites from the region inscribed on the World Heritage List, the erosion of the heritage fabric of Asian urban areas and by the relatively low contribution of cultural enterprises to the gross domestic product of Asian economies. The *Protocols* offer a set of practical guidelines for the conservation of cultural heritage sites in the Asian context.

Removal of a property from the World Heritage List is not an action to be contemplated lightly and States Parties to the World Heritage Convention usually react in ways commensurate to trying to maintain a site placed on the List of World Heritage in Danger. The cultural landscape of the Elbe Valley, Dresden, is the pre-eminent exception. Albert and Gaillard (Chapter 17) track how and why the Dresden Elbe Valley (Germany), after being inscribed on the World Heritage List in 2004, was transferred to the List of World Heritage in Danger in 2006, and finally delisted in 2009. The authors demonstrate how the World Heritage Committee took these decisions because of the construction of a bridge (*Waldschlösschenbrücke*) with its location in the centre of the World Heritage property, which it was deemed by the World Heritage Committee would destroy irreversibly the integrity and the outstanding universal value of the site. An alternative to the bridge, for example the construction of a tunnel, for improving the traffic needs and for saving the World Heritage status was proposed. It was not accepted and according to the official policy not possible. This chapter shows that the main reasons for the site being removed from the World Heritage List can be found in misunderstandings between the interested parties and the part played by political interests.

The final chapter (Chapter 18) under the heading of 'Prospects and challenges for cultural landscape management' draws together the threads and elucidates the key issues from the challenges raised by each author without simply summarizing what has been said in the preceding chapters. The key issues in the Asia-Pacific region reviewed include:

- identification (raising awareness of heritage and societal values of cultural landscapes by local communities not just international experts) and changed paradigms (community and minority involvement, lived-in landscapes and areas beyond the monument, historic urban areas with distinctive 'hidden' quarters and serial sites based on a theme);
- management of whole landscapes using generic guidelines and established local customs;
- maintaining traditional skills and knowledge in the face of globalization and pressures for change especially in associative cultural landscapes where spiritual values reside (using socio-ecological indicators to measure resilience and defining what changes can be permitted in the landscape whilst still maintaining heritage values);
- inserting new technologies and plant species in cultural landscapes and built elements in historic urban landscapes where traditional designs and construction methods give defining character;
- managing tourism to ensure continuing viability for traditional communities while enabling visitor access to and appreciation of the landscape. Here we may note how Winter (2009: 54 quoting Evans 2000: 132), referring to Mexico and Lombok as examples, explores how 'development of a tourist art and craft market has effectively revitalized indigenous art, and local economies'. What is happening, effectively, is that we see an evolving process of design and production techniques where, we suggest, intangible values are remade. The question arises: is this what is meant in relation to intangible heritage that is 'constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment' (UNESCO 2003: Article 2)?

These issues also need to be seen in the light of UNESCO's list of regional threats: development and population pressures, urban expansion and agricultural development, uncontrolled tourism, vandalism, theft and destruction of heritage, natural disasters, military and armed conflicts.

In the Pacific, global climate change and resultant rising sea levels are a major threat. For North America the issues are not the same. Here cultural landscape conservation has been mostly public in national parks as well as historically designed landscapes such as Olmstead's Central Park, but new legal agreements, such as protective covenants in key places such as rural Vermont where well-known and cherished historic rural landscapes exist or large-scale Historic Areas covering landscapes inhabited by millions of people, are currently emerging. Side by side, in long-occupied lands, indigenous peoples – Aboriginal peoples in Canada and Native Americans – are using treaties, legal claims and culturally led initiatives as well as petrodollars or casino profits to maintain or reconnect with their cultural landscapes in accordance with their values.

Changed paradigms in both natural and cultural heritage conservation

practice will be reflected in increased appreciation for cultural landscapes and a broader range of such lived-in and loved places being recognized for their World Heritage level values.

Notes

- 1 Horace Walpole commenting on William Kent's talent as landscape garden designer.
- 2 Baker referring to this metaphor being derived from Geertz, C. (1973) 'Thick description: towards an interpretative theory of culture', in *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*, New York, Basic Books.
- 3 The Authority for the Protection and Management of Angkor and the Region of Siem Reap (APSARA), created by the Cambodian government in 1995, is in charge of research, protection and conservation of cultural heritage, as well as urban and tourist development (<http://www.autoriteapsara.org/en/apsara.html>). Not an acronym, *Apsaras* are beautiful, supernatural women. They are youthful and elegant, and proficient in the art of dancing. They are the wives of the Gandharvas, the court servants of Indra. They dance to the music made by their husbands, usually in the palaces of the gods, and entertain gods and fallen heroes. As caretakers of fallen heroes, they may be compared to the Valkyries of Norse mythology.

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