

Introduction

As we have mentioned in the previous issue, the editing committee of our journal decided to publish the most of the proceeding of the International Conference “Past for the future and future for the past: preservation and promotion of the World Heritage Sites”, October 10th–14th, 2018 held in Sighișoara, in two issues.

In the first issue of 2020 volume, we published 10 articles divided into two chapters. The first chapter, “Strategies for Preservation and Safeguarding World Heritage Sites”, includes five papers discussing issues on implementing the World Heritage Convention, Nomination of the sites for the World Heritage List, Recognizing Associative Values in the World Heritage, conflicts with authenticity and integrity, etc. The second chapter, entitled “World Heritage Sites – Management and Sustainable Development”, includes the other five papers, which debate the experience of managing the Heritage Sites from various countries, their State of conservation and Periodic Reporting.

In the current issue, we are publishing another 11 papers divided into two chapters too. The third chapter, “World Heritage and Local Communities – Consulting, Involving, Participation”, includes six papers focused on various experiences of the community participation in preservation, revitalization and promotion of the World Heritage Sites, like Saint Petersburg (Russia) and Old Havana (Cuba), and the role of the new World Heritage Watch movement (Germany). The chapter concludes with a paper on the relations between Heritage



Figure 1. Debates at the International Conference “Past for the future and future for the past: preservation and promotion of the World Heritage Sites”, October 10th–14th, 2018 Sighișoara, Romania



Figure 2. Study visit and discussions of the participants of the International Conference “Past for the future and future for the past: preservation and promotion of the World Heritage Sites”, October 10th–14th, 2018 Sighișoara, Romania

ment (the UK, India), heritage and multimedia technologies (Romania) and socialist modernist heritage (Romania/Moldova).

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Sergiu Musteață,
Project Director



Figure 3. Debates at the International Conference “Past for the future and future for the past: preservation and promotion of the World Heritage Sites”, October 10th–14th, 2018 Sighișoara, Romania

and Mass Media (Romania). The fourth chapter, “Cultural Tourism, Digital Technology and Heritage – Promotion, Valorisation, Use/Reuse of the World Heritage Sites”, includes the other five papers which debate, in particular, the relation between heritage and tourism (Romania), the role of local communities in the projects concerning sustainable develop-

3. WORLD HERITAGE AND LOCAL COMMUNITIES – CONSULTING, INVOLVING, PARTICIPATION

Inclusion vs. Exclusion. Overcoming Undemocratic Contextual Issues in Integrating Local Communities into Heritage Management and Conservation

Anna GAYNUTDINOVA

Abstract

The article presents the retrospective of various initiatives of engaging local communities in heritage conservation and management taking place in Russia over the last decades. It gives the analysis of their sources, locations and developments in the light of contextual issues of the contemporary social and political circumstances and their influence to the conservation field. It also represents the summary of more than 50 years-long practice of local community engagement in the conservation of WH property “Cultural and Historic Ensemble of the Solovetsky Islands” from the period before it was designated till present.

Keywords: Community, Development, Participation, Equity.

In a time when local communities involvement is considered essential globally, in Russia we are witnessing the reverse process of reducing the legal possibilities for the expression of the citizens’ free will concerning heritage properties conservation and management, and pushing the public out of conservation field itself, on both state and local levels which appears at least counterproductive in terms of heritage conservation.

There is a general idea about local communities that exist among Russian authorities regarding their role and willingness to be engaged in cultural heritage conservation and management which, in a nutshell, comes down to the statement that locals are not interested, they should not be bothered and would not be engaged, the only way is to solve the problem for them, and let them “enjoy” the results. The objective of the article is not to go into details of the causes from where this idea emerged. We just note the fact. The important point is that this rhetoric about the fundamental difference of Russian context regarding local communities and cultural heritage conservation, which is often used to justify the process of their exclusion, is not supported by surveys and research.

However, certain Russian context certainly exists and its main aspects regarding a bunch of terms related to cultural heritage and local communities are as follows:



- residents of small provincial towns and villages show an exceptionally high level of local patriotism which is, however, almost completely deprived of cultural dimension (which practically means that they are proud of the local factories, mineral assets and battlefields at best but not of monuments, sites, traditions or historical figures);
- the cultural heritage is not considered as a public good by the majority of the public. Thus, in the context of profound problems and issues of conservation field itself (like the lack of legal mechanisms of protection of cultural landscapes and buffer zones of World Heritage properties, disruption of cultural heritage in historic cities under the pressure of building boom and rapid urbanisation process, the lack of funding and professionals in regions which lead to the demolition of both cultural heritage and infrastructure facilities and close the possibilities of turning the urbanisation process into the opposite direction, etc.), the fact that our cultural heritage is not inherited by the major part of the Russian society appears even more ominous;
- in the face of the above-mentioned issues, the exclusion of local communities and, in a broader sense, public from the decision making process concerning cultural heritage is very alarming.

To crown it all, we have to state the absence of coherent and sufficient government policy concerning the engagement of local communities in the cultural heritage conservation, which is sad but consistent in the light of contextual issues mentioned above. That is why NGOs and charity foundations play the major role in that field.

The article represents the results of the survey of local communities' engagement in the cultural heritage conservation and management. The survey took the form of a massive case study. During this study, more than 2 thousand cases from all around Russia that had been launched in the past 5 years were observed and analysed. All the cases included into the survey were either examples of grassroots movements aimed at local heritage conservation or some sort of spontaneous initiatives supported by one of the charity foundations.

The key findings of the survey confirm the results of similar studies, conducted in different parts of the globe, overall¹.

(i) the communities, located in small towns and villages, respond to the initiatives launched by their neighbours quicker and are more productive than the residents of big towns or cities.

¹ For instance, various English Heritage researches or the ones included into the CHCE Full Report. Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe Consortium. 2015. *Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe Full Report*, Krakow: the International Cultural Centre Krakow [accessed 28 December 2018]. Available at: <http://www.encatc.org/culturalheritagecountsforeurope/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/CHCE_FULL-REPORT_v2.pdf> (ISBN 978-83-63463-27-4)

(ii) the degree of responsibility for the local heritage and the level of its inheritance, so to speak, is much higher among local residents of (a) historic towns, where historic environment remains almost unspoiled by contemporary urbanisation or (b) educational and intellectual level of major part of residents is higher² or (c) cultural institutions (open air museums, for instance) play the role of the key employer or the city-forming enterprise.

During this study, certain resemblance between grassroots initiatives, undertaken in similar areas, was brought up to light. The preservation of historic environment in these areas was indicated as uniting feature for spontaneous selection of the main target of the initiatives. On the base of this point, we marked out three major groups of areas and three groups of initiatives corresponding to them. The three groups of areas are the following: (i) territories with well-preserved historic environment; (ii) territories where historic environment was demolished or abandoned by the residents, but still exists in the memories of elders if not in physical form; (iii) territories free of evident historical environment³.

Spontaneous initiatives of the local residents in the areas with well-preserved historic environment in majority of cases were targeted at the conservation and development of the local cultural heritage.

Among the grassroots movements of this group, one of the most successful examples, which was included as such in the UNESCO report for the UN conference Habitat III, is *Tom Sawyer* fest. It was established in Samara in 2015 and over the next 3 years spread to 27 historic cities and towns all over Russia. The initiative is aimed at raising awareness of heritage valuableness and its issues among locals and has a form of a festival of restoring of the historical environment by the volunteers from amongst locals at the expense of the sponsors who usually are local businesspeople. The key principle of the festival is that it should remain a grassroots initiative, and it is vital for the founders that the idea of restoring historical environment should come from local residents and not from the authority, or fit into some business scheme. During these years, several dozens of historic building have been selected by locals and restored by them under the supervision of the professionals.

The second initiative we would like to mention here is “The Image of the Old Town” from historic town of Kargopol. At the beginning, the initiative was tar-

² As an example of this kind of towns we refer to the so called “scientific towns” which were built all over the country during 1960-1970s to provide accommodation for the families of scientists employed by the scientific institutions established in the same area like Protvino, Chernogolovka, or Pushchino in the Moscow district, for instance. All of them were built near the Scientific Research Institutes of Physics, Chemistry or Biology.

³ By this kind of areas are meant mainly scientific or military towns which were built at the free undeveloped territory, with almost unchanged primordial natural structure.



geted to raise awareness of the owners of historic buildings to their valuableness. However, in the course of its unfolding, it was discovered that the owners were aware neither of their responsibility for the heritage they own nor of the way to fulfil the obligation of its maintenance. Eventually, the initiative took form of creating the “Bylaw of the Old Town” – the sort of manual of urban guidelines and restoration requirements which were based on legal requirements, but represented them in a more direct and illustrative way to be easier to use and understand. Local residents and the local authorities together participated in the development process of this manual which was very reassuring and made promises of mutually beneficial cooperation between parties in the future.

In the areas where the historic environment has been either demolished or abandoned during the past few decades, but the elder generation still holds the memories of the past, the initiatives were usually focused on how to preserve these memories and to establish the associations between them and the material objects still remaining in the area.

We would like to mention two initiatives here: “Gubakha ALIVE. Stories of miners’ town” and “The Voices of the Siberians”. The first one was rediscovering the old miners’ town The Old Gubakha which was abandoned 80 years ago and became the ghost city. In the course of the project, the participants, mainly young people who live in New Gubakha, reconstructed the story of the old town by studying archive documents and by collecting memories of their elder relatives who had lived in the old town. Their archive research and memory collection came down to several incredibly popular among locals and tourists open air exhibitions of old photos from family archives and a number of guided tours through the old town which connected its sites, objects and buildings with the memories of the former residents. “The Voices of the Siberians” was very similar to the previously described project in a way, but it was mainly focused on the intangible heritage: memories of the residents of several abandoned villages. This very valuable collection formed the basis for the web site⁴ which is being constantly filled up with new memoirs and represents an interactive map with pinned photos and marks of remaining objects.

In the areas free of evident historical environment, the focus of initiatives was on identifying the values of the place which most of the residents could share. The locals searched out and identified the specific attributes both tangible and intangible, places, natural and architectural objects and sites which could contribute to the significance of the area. At the same time, their research usually brought out one or another historical object, located distantly but obviously abandoned. The locals took responsibility for it and became involved into

⁴ <https://xn--80acdb0abod0abfwib8s.xn--p1ai/> or <https://голосасибиряков.рф>



Figure 1. Kuchepalda. A bird's eye view. Photo by Vadim Razumov. *(Two centuries old timber village in Karelia. Now abandoned by residents. Highly treasured by art historians who had been trying and restoring its houses as volunteers for several years)*



Figure 2. Kuchepalda. House. Photo by Vadim Razumov



its maintenance and conservation. It is actually impressive and also encouraging that people facing the absence of so called true historic environment under certain conditions begin to create their own heritage, cover the area free of such environment with a layer of myths, values and significance and also adopt some neglected heritage properties.

During this study, we came to the conclusion that facing artificially created negative and, we might say, heritage-unfriendly circumstances, where the opportunities to express free will were reduced, modest, though, strategically well-considered, and the constant financial and consulting support from NGOs and/or charity foundations contributed to the process, when local communities were willingly seeking the way or chance to fill the void where the heritage had to be. Their local patriotism and sense of belonging was getting cultural dimension and neglected heritage was inherited and adopted.

To summing it all up, we describe further the most profound case out of the pool of studied cases. It embraces lots of contradictory vectors of actions and contains most of contextual issues of Russian conservation field, but in a very special way. Another aspect which makes this case so special is that we can take notice of and study more than 50 years of public engagement in its conservation which is unique itself because of certain historical reasons that make it impossible for most of Russian heritage properties. We refer to the case of Cultural and Historic Ensemble of the Solovetsky Islands, the heritage property of Outstanding Universal Value, enlisted into the World Heritage List in 1992.

Firstly, we have to point out, and it plays the key role in understanding the specific of the case: there is no local community at Solovetsky Islands in its classical notion. By local community we understand the residents who have been living in the area for generations and own the heritage. Of course, there are local residents who have been living at the islands for 70 years at the longest and for quite a long time had not recognized the heritage property as a valuable one. And there is a monastic community which was actually a traditional community for the area, but it was washed away in the beginning of the 20th century and was re-established only in the 1990s. We could note that both groups have very different aims and purposes concerning heritage.

What makes this case sufficient to the study is that we make an assumption that the Solovetsky complex, being a property of Outstanding Universal Value, even before its designation, had been a very powerful attraction. As such, at some points it acted as a local heritage property but on national level by engaging and attracting a very wide community from all over the country, which is may be considered as local community at that sense. This aspect is of fundamental importance for the case.



Figure 3. Photoproject "Motherland" by Danila Tkachenko (several one and two centuries old timber houses were burnt during the implementation of the art photo project. The artist claimed he had no idea of the valuableness of the houses). Soourse: <http://fotografie-in.berlin/kehrergalerie-danila-tkacenko-motherland/>



Figure 4. Tom Sawyer Fest. Samara 2018. Restoration in progress
Source: <https://hinstein.ru/uploads/577417f0537cd.jpg>



The story begun in late 60s, when a group of physics students decided to go as volunteers to the islands and took part in the restoration work. The Islands were the restricted area at that time. So, they had to overcome several administrative barriers and obstacles to get permission to visit the area. Since that time, three generations had volunteered to work at the restoration site there. Literally, children and grandchildren of those from the first group and those who came after them also participated in the conservation. It is also significant that being a part of the restoration team, the volunteers did not only restore the heritage property but also built the infrastructure of the island and maintained it. It made them a local community that at some point belonged more to the area than its residents. Some of them moved to the islands permanently afterwards. The professional restorers who supervised the conservation works also moved to the island and established the Research and Restoration Association which took charge of the conservation. This was generally the cause of designation of the whole property after all because it was done as delicate as possible and at the highest professional level.

One of the main founders of the Association was aware that the maintenance of heritage, its conservation and well-being depend on responsible local community that would be able to conserve and maintain it permanently and continually. Local residents started to pay closest attention to the work meanwhile, and slowly but surely began engaging in the conservation process.

The restorers selected keen and gifted teenagers and started to teach them how to work with the local heritage. After they finished school, the Association covered part of their costs for the higher education and later provided employment. Altogether, the Association brought up 21 skilled professionals. It was a very good start keeping in mind that population of the island was about 800 people including kids.

After being designated, the Solovetsky archipelago became very popular among tourists and its popularity only grows. It brings thousands of tourists to the islands and causes extensive and even vast development of tourist facilities, though very primitive ones. These events had been unfolding very fast and, in due course, and in the context of excluding local community from the decision-making process, led to the circumstances we are witnessing now. Not being fully inherited by the local community, the cultural property of the Solovetsky archipelago was fully understood as a large source for making money through cultural tourism at the same time.

In spite of its apparently robust monumental buildings, the property is in many ways exceedingly fragile. Almost every resident now can present in short terms the history of the archipelago, point out its highlights and show the way



Figure 5. Tom Sawyer Fest. Kaluga. 2018. House built in 1910. Before the restoration
Source: <https://storage/strelka.com/i/b81e0380-352a-424c-987d-5aba84cdc015/w/600>



Figure 6. Tom Sawyer Fest. Kaluga. 2018. After the restoration
Source: <https://storage/strelka.com/i/b81e0380-352a-424c-987d-5aba84cdc015/w/600>



Figure 7. Tom Sawyer Fest. Kaluga. 2018. The very building demolition (After having been restored by local volunteers in summer, the building was demolished by the owner's decision in autumn. What in effect is a very vivid illustration of disregard of public opinion)
Source: <https://storage/strelka.com/i/e3cd1d9b-293b-4f49-b954-48525f507293/w/825>



Figure 8. Old Gubakha, 1940s
Source: <http://gubalib.permculture.ru>



Figure 9. Old Gubakha, 2017
Photo by Andrei Kolchin.
Source: <https://nashural.ru/assets/uploads/g2KmJ19vY7o.jpg>

Figure 10. Students of Lomonosov MSU who volunteered to restoration work at Solovetsky islands. Photo by Vsevolod Tarasevich, 1960



Figure 11. Photo by Vsevolod Tarasevich, 1960



Figure 12. Roof conservation by volunteers. Photo by Vsevolod Tarasevich, 1960

to the main sights. However, very few of them feel personal responsibility for the state of conservation and maintenance of the monuments and the historical environment. The value of historical environment of the World Heritage cultural property as well as its contribution to its OUV is not fully understood either. That is why it still suffers from inappropriate and insensitive transformations, very often held by local residents.

When the legislation of restorations was changed, the Association was no longer capable to compete with large companies and lost the opportunity to work on the islands. Skilled professionals brought up by the Association are looking for employment elsewhere.

An efficient prolonged (continued for more than 50 years) initiative of creating responsible and involved local community, capable to maintain and even take part in managing the World Heritage property, was stilled by administrative obstacles and “one size fits for all” management system.

The contextual issues described above (not inherited heritage, local community washing out from the decision-making field) will cause completely consuming attitude of local residents towards cultural heritage. Only growing awareness of heritage value, responsibility for the future changes and decision making based on good understanding of the cultural heritage property, its significance and values, its attributes and its environment can lead to more responsible attitude of the local residents.

Incluziune vs. Excludere. Depășirea problemelor contextuale nedemocratice în integrarea comunităților locale pentru gestionarea și conservarea patrimoniului

Rezumat

Articolul prezintă retrospectiva diferitor inițiative de implicare a comunităților locale în conservarea și gestionarea patrimoniului înregistrate în Rusia în ultimele decenii. Acesta oferă analiza surselor, locațiilor și dezvoltărilor lor în lumina problemelor contextuale ale circumstanțelor sociale și politice contemporane și a influenței lor asupra câmpului de conservare. De asemenea, abordarea noastră prezintă rezumatul practicii de peste 50 de ani de implicare a comunității locale în conservarea proprietății WH „Ansamblul cultural și istoric al insulelor Solovetsky” din perioada anterioară desemnării sale până în prezent.

Cuvinte cheie: comunitate, dezvoltare, participare, echitate, Rusia.

Anna Gaynutdinova, Board of Russian ICOMOS
National Committee (2016-2019), email: gauri.gan@gmail.com

Old Havana and the Impact of World Heritage in the Local Community: Gentrification, Inequality and Dissociation

Andrea MARTÍNEZ FERNÁNDEZ

Abstract

In the summer of 2016, the Havana's Historian Office and the Cultural Heritage Management research group of the Complutense University of Madrid carried out a field study and survey of the inhabitants of Old Havana. The objective was to identify the problems and necessities of the respected people, but in relation to their Cultural Heritage. Havana's heritage management plan has been a paradigm of community involvement and participation for decades. The locals living in the city are aware of the importance of their heritage, they value it and it is part of their lives. However, there is also a growing scepticism among World Heritage Status of the city, the increasing mass tourism and the priorities on the restoration of buildings. A survey was carried out among different neighbours in the city that faced different realities and paradigms when it came to the nature of their heritage and the management of it. The survey focused on the perception of the people on the situation, not only their opinion on how the heritage was being managed, but also on how it influenced their lives. The views on the World Heritage defined basically two very different realities: the proud Havana, the one where the development is bringing benefits (cultural, economic, aesthetical...) and the sceptic one, the ones that wonder how a mess such as Old Havana could be heritage of humankind, when it is not local heritage.

Keywords: Cultural Heritage, Gentrification, Tourism, Post-revolutionary Cuba.

Introduction

In the summer of 2016 I had the chance to go back to Cuba for the second internship with the "Oficina del Historiador de La Habana" (Havana's Historian office) as a result of a collaboration between the Complutense University of Madrid and the Archaeology cabinet of Havana. The aim of this collaboration was to give the scholars of Havana the resources to manage their archaeological heritage, and I participated as an undergraduate archaeology student.

The work carried out there was framed into the research/development/innovation project "The archaeological dimension in World Heritage Cities: improvements in heritage management in Alcalá de Henares (Madrid), Puebla (Mexico) and Havana (Cuba)" (Castillo Mena et al., 2016). We conducted a survey on the inhabitants of the historical centre of the city, in order to have

a better understanding of their relationship with archaeology and materiality. Based on previous experiences in Spain, archaeologists in Havana asked the people in Madrid to carry out the survey in Havana, and compare the results with Spain. We had to take into account that the city of Old Havana was declared as a World Heritage site in 1982, and it can be considered as both heaven and hell by urban archaeologists. Havana, we could say, is a very archaeological city, despite the lack of prehispanic past (Castillo Mena and Menéndez Castro, 2015).

The bottom-up approach of the project has the aim to empower the local communities of these cities to take advantage of the situation and help monitoring their relationship with their heritage. World heritage cannot be understood without them, and has to be managed in order to let them benefit directly or indirectly from the declaration of any site.

The questions included in the survey were not only related to the knowledge of the archaeology of the city, but also to the social situation, the problems these people had and their perspective on the World Heritage declaration. To do this, a significant sample was calculated with a 95% confidence interval, a variability of $p=0.5$ and a 5% preciseness. The population of Old Havana in 2014, according to ONEI, was 87772 people, and 66752 out of them lived in the historical area. Excluding the people under 15 years old (as they were at school during our working hours) and the people over 80, as most of them were in their houses or in a day-care all the time and they were difficult to find, we had to make the total of 1166 surveys, divided among the 3 biggest neighbourhoods of the old city - Catedral, Plaza Vieja and San Isidro. The reason of this division is that these neighbours are representatives of different situations and realities among the city, and the hypothesis was that the answers would be very different among the others. The necessities of the people living in these three different areas and the problems they have to deal with are very different, and that was reflected in the surveys. This difference in the answers led me to write this paper. There is a huge gap between the population of these 3 different districts due to economical, geographical, historical and social reasons that have caused a huge situation of inequality in the city. Thus, on one side, this is caused by the management of the heritage of the city, but it also affects it in a vicious circle.

There is a landmark that creates a very clear division on the situation of the city. The conservation and the structural issues of the city are also clearly related to the social problems related to cultural heritage. Obispo street is one of the busiest streets of the city, filled with cafeterias, restaurants, gift shops, etc.



Figure 1. District of Catedral, area of Santo Angel, one of the best preserved areas in Old Havana

On the North of Obispo street, there is the district of Catedral (Figure 1). It serves as an example of a very touristic district, but also as an area full of private businesses. As the name anticipates already, we can find here, among other touristic hotspots, Havana's cathedral, La Bodeguita del Medio and the Museum of the Revolution is right across the street once you leave the district to the West. On the geographical factor, the district is located in the North of Old Havana and it is surrounded by El Malecón, providing probably the best views of the bay and the ocean, which contributes to the embellishment of the area.

There are not so many hotels as, for example, in Plaza Vieja (Figure 2), but a lot of "private houses", Cuban boarding houses. The cafeterias and restaurants are also private, and the processes of neighbourhood revitalization come from private initiative too.

Traditional businesses have been substituted by privately owned and very lucrative businesses. These owners, as a consequence, have benefited from capitalism, getting away from the Cuban communist system. The inequality created by the existence of these incomes, compared to average Cuban wages, is turning into a social issue. Inhabitants of Catedral are witnessing a process of gentrification of their own neighbourhood, being the first beneficiaries and becoming owners and businesspeople. The implications of this process will be left for further investigation, but the social fabric of Old Havana is endangered.



Figure 2. Hotel Florida, Obispo Street in Plaza Vieja. Before restoration, it had been a residential building. It was turned into a hotel, and the inhabitants were displaced to other parts of the city

The district of Plaza Vieja benefited the most from tourism. It is full of hotels, restaurants, cafeterias, gift shops... and most of them belong to the government, they are public properties paid with public money, as tourism is probably the main source of income for the city nowadays, but it requires investing. People living in this area usually make a living out of tourism and they benefit from the restorations of the area. Because of that, the inhabitants are mostly proud to live in a World Heritage city, they are interested in their heritage, they like the way the heritage is being managed and they benefit from money investments.

On the other side of Obispo Street, figuratively and geographically, we have San Isidro (Figure 3). This district is one of the poorest ones in Havana, which translates to terrible structural problems, lack of purveyances and uncleanliness. These people have been abandoned by the system, nobody invest in them and they do not have enough resources to invest in themselves. The inequality that is being created here turns into a vicious cycle, the lack of investment and beautification of the area doesn't attract the tourists, there's no infrastructure to host them in hotels or restaurants, so they do not leave money there. If actions are not taken now, it will lead to an unavoidable process of gentrification carried out by entrepreneurs and investors, once they finish up gentrifying the north of Obispo street. This process will expel the inhabit-



Figure 3. Industrial cityscape of Havana's bay, view from San Isidro

ants to the area to allow pass to the same situation we have in the north of the old city. Locals should be the ones benefiting from their heritage.

San Isidro is not the only district located south to Obispo street that undergoes this situation. Districts such as Belén or Tallapiedra have similar problems and living conditions, but due to time and resource limitations, the research was not carried out there.

What led to the situation? The results of the survey

The first factor we have to take into consideration is the geography. In order to generalise the above-mentioned, Old Havana is divided in two by Obispo Street, where there is the foundational place of the city. Generally speaking, the north area is richer than the southern area. Why? Again, tourism is the leading factor for the economic development of Old Havana. In the south, there are the remains of old industries, the views of contamination of new industries and the docks, materiality that leads to a desolated industrial landscape that helps nothing to bring tourists there. The area, in general, is in such terrible conditions that people are, as I was told multiple times while surveying the inhabitants, afraid that their houses would collapse after a downpour. There are no museums or touristic attractions, the heritage in this area does not have the optimal conditions to bring attention and tourists. In Old Havana, heritage is not just a source of wealth, but it is also a source of identity.

The inequalities in this city are not just economical, they are also related to the perception of heritage itself. One of the questions we asked in the survey was “what are the advantages of living in Old Havana?” The answer, mostly, was *none*. No proud, no satisfaction, no feeling of belonging. These people do not feel attached to their city, as different factors lead them to be ignored by making efforts to make the city more suitable for the tourists, not for the locals. This area has been traditionally the poorest one due to being situated in the nearby of the industrial area; now the industry has been transferred to another areas, and nothing but ruins remained. That is why, geographically, this place was more suitable for placing the docks, and the industry came afterwards, as these activities do not differ. The workers are from the same social level, and it made sense that the ubication was close to where those people lived. In other places such as El Vedado, the industrial heritage has been transformed into cultural centres, restaurants and night clubs, accessible both for Cuban people and tourists. However, this was a private initiative, and nobody is investing in the poverty-stricken areas of Old Havana, perceived as it would be a waste of money. The contamination does not help either. It is not only one of the dirtiest parts of Havana, but it is still the closest to the industry. Even transferred, it is still not very far, and the conditions of the bay are terrible (Allemany Llovera, 2016).

On the other side of the city, there is the touristic area, benefited by a clearer atmosphere, open spaces, and a better view of the bay. In this area, the bay opens to the sea, giving the sensation of a more open space and a better view to the heritage sites on the other side of the bay, such as “El Cristo”, the “Castillo del Morro” or “San Carlos de la Cabaña”. Also, following the coast line, there is the “Malecon”, a touristic hotspot that we do not have on the other side of Old Havana, which has been rehabilitated and makes the bay looks better, even though it is not less contaminated. In addition to this, the proximity to the open sea slightly contributes to spread the contamination little by little. The industries are barely appreciable in the daylight, and the fact that the buildings are less agglomerated plus the open space help with a sensation of distress.

As a brief conclusion to this point, my opinion is that the location of the different areas has been a leading factor on the development of a duality and a paradigm of inequality. This also comes from a historical background, for which, for example, the differentiation of the district due to the different activities, and, at the same time, social class. In the North, there are the cathedral, the administrative buildings, the manors... now turned into tourist attractions, as there is a tradition of higher-class inhabitants, and it is more attractive to the rest of the world. Certainly, there is heritage on the other side of the city, but



the subsequent degradation of the area also led to a degradation of the heritage. There are still buildings from the 18th and 19th century, but they are, as I have already said, in such a bad condition that they can collapse any time.

Another key factor is the education, also related to this geographical division of the city. In the surveys, we had a clear difference among the people from wealthy areas compared to the people of the impoverished areas. On the south side, people were more likely to have higher education than people living in the North side. Education, in general, is not a big struggle in Cuba. Analphabetism is almost inexistent, with most people having completed primary school. As heritage is a complicated social construct that comes from a very different society compared to the Cuban society, educated people ought to create an understanding among the materiality and different initiatives to manage the heritage. Living in such terrible conditions does not help to make the people interested in heritage and culture, they are just interested in survival and the improvement of their own living conditions. It is difficult to be solidary when you are poor, and it gets even more difficult when it comes to heritage. Heritage is a direct way to get economic and cultural profit, but there are better and easier ways to do it. Nobody would care about the intellectual poverty when their living conditions are terrible and they never had more education than primary school, and their intellectual resources are humble as well. If the government does not give them enough resources, then they will have to do it by themselves, and that is not easy when you are uneducated.

In a country with an educational system such as Cuba, why people are not interested in culture? That is why I think Heritage is so important - because it is the materialization of the culture. If people are not interested in education, they will not probably be in heritage either, if they are not interested in heritage they will not be interested in culture, and if they are not interested in culture, they probably will not be interested in heritage. It is a vicious circle. Heritage, again, is part of the daily life, the identity, the culture and the past of the people living with it, and in the case of Old Havana, it is also a necessary source of money. With the participation of the citizens, especially helping those who are less favoured, a new strategy of heritage management, fair and inclusive one, can be built.

However, it would not be fair to say that there is not participation of the citizens in Old Havana. We have a lot of examples of this, such as ArteCorte, an initiative of the barbers of Santo Angel, to put in value their job and the neighbourhood. This has been very successful, as the neighbourhood is completely restored, full of new small businesses, initiatives for the locals and quite clean. It is in the so called "rich area", so the existence of the initiatives come from

several reasons. Even though they have the government's support, they do have to cope with problems, but this initiative is not related to their need to survive, it comes from their need of culture and identity. People interviewed in this area were, in general, more likely to have higher education and/or an intellectual job. Certainly, there are people in this area with basic problems, but they are not the main part, so this does not lead to a problem.

This process of district enrichment can help some people to have a better life, but not everybody can take advantage of that. In a city like Havana, the development comes with a price: gentrification. As the districts are not as homogeneous as I pictured in the first instance, the people that are not into these dynamics of economic and cultural development suddenly are living in a different neighbourhood. Tourists and rich people are more attracted to them, as the prices get higher and the traditional businesses have been replaced with tourism-orientated businesses. It has always been difficult to have access to the basic-needs products, and even more difficult now when the bakeries are turning into chic restaurants, butcher shops into cocktail bars and pharmacies into souvenir stores. People cannot afford to reconstruct their houses, so they have to leave Old Havana and the old buildings are "occupied" by the richer owners who reconstruct them and make profit after their investment. If Old Havana loses its traditional inhabitants, who have at least a bit of a sense of belonging, the city will lose part of its identity. The city may become richer, but it will be culturally poorer.

On the other side, government is also boosting another way of gentrification. As it has already been said, the government invest in different areas of the city, mainly to make it look better for tourists, to attract more of them and to create a bigger profit. The reconstruction of different buildings was promoted in order to create hotels, restaurants, museums and different services, despite the fact that sometimes there were people living in those buildings. Those people were relocated in the suburbs of the city. They got acceptable apartments, but in the middle of nowhere, sometimes more than an hour away by public transport from Old Havana. Some people may argue that going from living in a house on ruins to a new apartment is a big improvement, but the fact is that those people were forced to leave the place where they had the right to live in.

At the same time, the city is losing part of the identity to make way to a narrative that is not adjusted to the reality and struggles of the people that have to live in Old Havana. It is adjusted to what the tourists want and to the people that can take advantage of it. Heritage should have an actual commitment with the people from all social levels, especially with the least benefited of the heritage itself, since if the heritage ignores these people, and these people ignore the



heritage, as it is happening right now, we have a disengagement among social actors. Heritage cannot be managed without the people and the people have to take advantage of their own culture and materiality.

Moreover, this is very dangerous at the moment of political swift that Cuba is passing through now. As Cuba opens to the United States and Capitalism, it is very important that people's identities are strong enough to avoid a toxic cultural influence. The number of tourists from the United States is rising more and more, and the narrative should not change to be adapted neither to them nor to any other tourists. The narrative is already global by itself, and the people that visit Cuba must be educated to appreciate that. On the other hand, Cuban identity and the feeling of belonging have to be strong enough in order not to subverse under the sweeping influence of the culture of the United States, because that would create cultural poverty. Materiality, under my consideration, is the first way to create a deep feeling of identity, as Old Havana takes part of the daily life of the inhabitants. As it has been shown by the results of the surveys, Old Havana's inhabitants are mostly in favour and expectant to the future bilateral relationships between Cuba and the United States. Education over materiality, investments in social causes related to objects and the fomentation of the citizens' participation in heritage management are things that can empower the people to defend their own culture and think of it as it has the same value as North American culture, and also, to help these people make economical profit of this.

To do so, different agents should cooperate between them to create a fair and ethical heritage management framework. The first agent involved is the government and the public organisms implied in heritage management and culture. Also, there is a wide legal framework that allows multiple institutions to work with the heritage. Nevertheless, these institutions usually focus their efforts on creating or renovating hotels, museums and touristic attractions. Well, that is somehow necessary as it is a source of wealth, but new strategies should be considered to help people directly benefit from the investments, as for example, reconstructions of inhabited buildings, and not just turning them into touristic attractions.

Heritage managers and academic professionals should also have a bigger influence over the decisions made around the heritage, as they have the sensitivity to treat heritage as a cultural entity, not as a pretty old thing that people will pay to heritage managers, and the academics should give the tools to locals to manage their own heritage the way they want. Our perspective, in the quality of privileged foreigners, may be valid in a research way, but we cannot apply our mental frameworks and previous experiences to such a different reality. Local

academics and professional are the ones that have to manage their own heritage, with the help of our previous experiences, tools and resources. It has to be a bilateral relationship, as we also have a lot to learn from them, as their frameworks and experiences can enrich occidental heritage management.

Also, non-academic foreign organisms such as Caritas have been taking an important role on the management of cultural heritage and humanitarian work. They have invested in different building conditioning, with the aim of helping people from Havana as well as their heritage. Restorations such as Aguiar 68, have given to the people a historical building to live in, but this should be accompanied with education about the cultural importance of the item, to make these people have a deeper understanding of its historical and identity values, of why it is not the same to be in a new built house and in a 19th century building. Heritage is something that happens in the present, and because of that, we need to make people aware that they are creating heritage, especially by living in a historical building. Humanitarian organizations are doing a nice humanitarian job, but sometimes they might be empty on heritage background. In the case mentioned, inhabitants were very excited and ready to participate in the improvement of their life conditions, so this kind of initiatives are a good chance to introduce the heritage points of view.

And my last point is the direct participation of the citizens. The citizens may not have the economic resources to develop complex strategies of restoration and management, but they have the culture. Organizations such as the Sisterhood of Embroiders and weavers of Belén and the Congregation of silversmiths of San Eloy are bringing back traditional occupations (Pérez Cortés and Iglesias Pérez, 2014). ArteCorte, despite that it has a strong economic base, and it also brings back the traditional occupation of the barbers. Traditionally, Old Havana has been an example of community management, as they participated in the rehabilitation of San Isidro district, but the strong inclusion of capitalism has brought a swift in the paradigm, making people and the financial organisms more focused on tourism.

Taking everything in this paper into account, I believe that a bottom-up approach is needed when it comes to heritage management, but not only in the case of Old Havana. To build up a fair narrative, we do not just need to study the history from behind, but also include the people in this situation of inequality living nowadays in this place. Heritage professionals have to act as advisors and moderators between the local communities. Havana has always been an example of community management of the heritage, but all the different factors mentioned before create a very difficult to overcome situation by the least favoured community living on the site (Pérez Cortés and Iglesias



Pérez, 2014). Without external help and support from the community, these people have very little to do. Further efforts should be directed to them in order to overcome this situation of inequality, to protect them from future developments that can lead to gentrification. The World Heritage Status lacks the meaning and credibility if it is not able to support these communities, while they should be the first beneficiaries.

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Havana veche și impactul patrimoniului mondial în comunitatea locală: înnobilare, inegalitate și disociere

Rezumat

În vara anului 2016, Biroul istoric al Havanei și grupul de cercetare pentru gestionarea patrimoniului cultural al Universității Complutense din Madrid au efectuat un studiu de teren și un sondaj al locuitorilor din vechea Havana. Obiectivul a fost identificarea problemelor și necesităților societății în raport cu patrimoniul ei cultural. Planul de gestionare a patrimoniului Havanei este o paradigmă a implicării și participării comunității de zeci de ani. Localnicii care locuiesc în oraș sunt conștienți de importanța patrimoniului lor, îl prețuiesc pentru că face parte din viața lor. Cu toate acestea, există, de asemenea, un scepticism în creștere privind statutul de patrimoniu mondial al orașului, creșterea turismului de masă și prioritățile privind restaurarea clădirilor. A fost realizat un sondaj în rândul diversilor locuitori din vecinătatea obiectivelor de patrimoniu care s-au confruntat cu realități și paradigme diferite atunci când s-a ajuns la natura patrimoniului lor și la gestionarea acestuia. Sondajul s-a concentrat asupra percepției oamenilor

asupra situației, nu numai asupra părerii lor despre modul în care a fost gestionat patrimoniul, ci și asupra modului în care acesta le-a influențat viața. Punctele de vedere asupra Patrimoniului Mondial au definit practic două realități foarte diferite: Havana simpatizată, cea în care dezvoltarea aduce beneficii (culturale, economice, estetice...) și atitudinea sceptică, cea care se întreabă cum ar putea o mizerie precum Old Havana să fie moștenire a omenirii, atunci când nu este moștenire locală.

Cuvinte cheie: moștenire culturală, înnobilare, turism, Cuba postrevoluționară.

Andrea Martínez Fernández, Complutense University of Madrid,
email: andreamf9@gmail.com

Promotion of World Heritage Values: Experiences in St. Petersburg and Other Cities of Russia

Elena BELOKUROVA, Dmitry VOROBYEV

Abstract

The paper reflects the experiences of the social movements, civic initiatives and NGOs in St. Petersburg and other cities of Russia as well as in some other post-Soviet countries, aimed at the promotion and raising awareness of local populations about the World Heritage value in their cities. These efforts are needed, because the outstanding universal values of the historic centres of St. Petersburg and other cities are threatened by illegal construction, misguided urban planning, neglect and a lack of public attention; churches and cultural landscapes suffer from poor restoration, development pressure and an unregulated tourism boom. These effects are often possible because the almost most local population has no knowledge about the UNESCO World Heritage status and its implications. As a result, they are not sufficiently able to speak out for the protection of their site, and do not know how the status of world cultural heritage can help them. Moreover, the population has little understanding of both the cultural value for their own community and what it means to be a World Heritage in general, leading to an insufficient realization of the potentials in the status of world cultural heritage. In this paper, we try both to show our previous research results and academic materials on the topic, but also reflect on our experience of participation in different activities, and especially within the recent project implemented in 2017 and aimed on an intervention into the discursive and pragmatic space in the field of promotion and protection of St. Petersburg World Heritage site. However, to understand these experiences and reflections, it is necessary to present a historical context and conditions of the development of both the St. Petersburg World Heritage status and the St. Petersburg social movement for the protection of St. Petersburg world heritage.

Keywords: World Heritage, Community Involvement, St. Petersburg, Russia.

Specifics of St. Petersburg World Heritage Site

The reasons for the weak awareness of the people of St. Petersburg about its UNESCO World Heritage Site are connected with the history of its nomination. Thus, it was conducted in 1991, based on the previous lists prepared in the late 1980s. The first lists of the protected historic building and monuments of St. Petersburg appeared already in the 19th century, which were later updated in the Soviet times after the World War II, which changed the situation very much, because many of them were destroyed or required substantial renovation. However, it was important for the nomination in 1991 that it took place as a result of the perestroika time (1987-1991), when the attention to the protection of histor-

ical memory was one of the most mobilizing topics for mass democratic movement in then Leningrad. As result of mass demonstrations protecting different monuments and historic buildings, the historic and cultural value was reflected in the public debates by becoming one of the most important requirements of a number of the democratic parties and leaders of St. Petersburg. Therefore, after their coming to power during the first free and fair elections, the protection of the historic and cultural value was strengthened in the local and national legislation. For these purposes, the new lists of protected monuments and buildings were created by the local experts and their archival studies conducted with the support of the new legislative and executive authorities of Leningrad (before 1991) – St. Petersburg (after 1991). Moreover, on the wave of opening to the world of the Soviet Union, in general, and of Russia, in particular, Leningrad was invited and had an opportunity to nominate the city as a World Heritage Site. This history is very good documented in the published memories of the nomination co-authors (see, for example, Nikolaschenko 2008).

This context of the late 1980s is very important for understanding the specifics of St. Petersburg nomination. On the one hand, it was very important for St. Petersburg experts, activists, the broader public and new democratically elected leaders to protect the historic heritage. On the other hand, the local efforts to protect the historic values were very much welcomed by the world community, that was in general very enthusiastic about the end of the Cold War and the political and social opening of the Soviet Union. As a result, the nomination was unique: the activists and experts included into the nomination as many different objects and components as possible, at the same time having no elaborated materials and argumentation about the inclusion of many of them. The WHC has supported the nomination with big enthusiasm and approved the nomination without any additional requirements.

As a consequence, Leningrad and later, St. Petersburg, is a unique case of the World Heritage Sites in comparison with the other world heritage cities, which includes not only historic centre, but also peripheral historic and natural landscapes and objects as well as some elements in the suburbs. The centre of historic St. Petersburg is only one of 36 components of the nomination “Historic Centre of Saint Petersburg and Related Groups of Monuments” (UNESCO 2018)¹. In the nomination text, the outstanding universal value of the Site includes ensembles, perspectives and views, separate historic monuments (three centuries of construction), but also history, place and nature, architecture, industry, fortification, underwater and even underground heritage.

¹ More information available in KGIOP 2018.



Figure 1. St. Petersburg Seminar with the tourist industry and guides, November 24th, 2017

The detailed research and description of all the components of the nomination was conducted only later and presented in the form of a small re-nomination in 2005 and later in 2009-2010. In that moment, there was an attempt to reformulate the components, to make them in a more logical and structural way, but it was unsuccessful and not accepted by the WHC. However, the more precise description and borders and the descriptions of the components were adopted that until now stay the essence of WHS, in spite of the further permanent work on the understanding of the values of all of them.

Therefore, the current official description of all the components contains about 1000 pages, and it is not known to the broader public and even to the most activists. At the same time, the general topic of the architectural heritage protection and the World Heritage Site is very popular among social movements and in public debates in St. Petersburg public sphere. This is another factor for understating the situation of the world heritage promotion, and this will be explained in the next chapter.

Specifics of the City Protection Movements and Activism in St. Petersburg

Although the whole responsibility for the nomination and protection of a World Heritage Site is in the hands of a Convention state party, i.e. special national authority, contacting the World Heritage Centre and receiving the inspections, questions and requirements of the UNESCO institutions, in

St. Petersburg this function is fulfilled by the Committee for the Historical and Cultural Monuments Protection.

However, in order to understand its work for the World Heritage protection and values promotion, it is necessary to take into account social movements and city protection community as well, which is very strong in St. Petersburg, both in the public debates and politics².

Thus, a very important role is still played by St. Petersburg Branch of the VOOPiK formally, All-Russian Union of the Protection of Historic and Cultural Monuments, one of the Soviet organizations, which was kept along with the VOOP (All-Russian Society of Nature Protection) and some other all-Russian huge member organizations. In spite of very significant political changes, these organizations have kept their structure and have their branches at almost all of the regional and local levels, keeping their autonomy in definition of their objectives and conducting their activities in different regions. In St. Petersburg, it is very active and includes a lot of activists engaging for the monuments protection.

Moreover, a lot of activists are not included into some NGOs, but are actively involved into the social movements and informal networks. The social movements in the late 1980s were already mentioned as having one of their focuses in St. Petersburg on the heritage protection. Some of these activists became later experts or politicians.

The second wave of the social movements for the so-called “city protection” (*gradozaschita*) was strengthened in the 2000s as a response to the intensification of the new construction instead of parks and empty places within the city centre, and since 2005 to the mass demolishing of the historic city centre as well. The movement was strengthened especially in 2007-2009, when it was culminated in the struggle against 450-meter high Gazprom Tower, which was planned to be built in the city centre. The grass-roots movements have managed to protect the city centre and to convince the city administration to replace the construction to the city edge. At the same time, during this time, a lot of other development projects were normalized. Paradoxical actions and satire together with the analytics and expert work with media and administration led to many successes of the movement in a very difficult situation of the active re-construction of St. Petersburg city administration. Here, the repertoire of the local social movements, such as the most known Living City network and other initiatives was aimed mostly on the protests against some development and new construction projects.

² See more information at Cicil and Minhenok 2013. Very detail descriptions of St. Petersburg’s WHC components presented in Gorbatenko 2011. List of threats to St. Petersburg’s WHC components presented in Gorbatenko 2018.



At the same time, during the struggle against Gazprom Tower, appeals to the UNESCO rules became very important, and the activists met some inspections and representatives sent to the city by different UNESCO institutions. Therefore, when in 2012, the annual World Heritage Committee session took place in St. Petersburg, the city activists initiated an NGO and activists Conference before the official WHC session. During this conference, St. Petersburg activists argued against this construction, and civil society representatives from different countries could also report about their problems. Due to the Conference, the World Heritage Watch (WHW) was initiated, which was registered in 2014 in Berlin and is also now very actively working as international NGOs and activists network. This allowed St. Petersburg activists and experts to make the fact about the St. Petersburg status as World Heritage Site visible in the media and public space. However, at the same time, in spite of the active involvement of many St. Petersburg people into the heritage protection, the WHC session in St. Petersburg stated for many of them quite not known and visible.

To sum up, in the field of the heritage protection in St. Petersburg, beside the city authorities, there are a lot of social movements and initiatives, that have a long history of using different methods, among them the most popular were protests, direct actions, media campaigns, legal protection, lobbying, etc. Sometimes they also organized exhibitions, public lectures, excursions and discussions in order to promote the heritage values among the broader public, but they were not the most widespread practice and were not oriented on the world heritage idea. The promotion of values was in general very weak, and only now it comes as an objective of the work. Moreover, in spite of the very intensive public debates about the heritage protection, the UNESCO World Heritage Status was not so important for them (with an exception of the Gazprom Tower case), and the understanding of its essence among activists is quite low.

This activity of the heritage values promotion is usually implemented by other different initiatives and organizations involved into the heritage protection, such as educational and cultural institutions. In their work, they prefer quite boring, old and traditional methods of work, mostly with children and young people. In their work, they pay some attention to the World Heritage Status of St. Petersburg, but it is just a fact, mentioned during the lessons and events.

Therefore, nowadays for the civil society organizations and initiatives, which deal with the protection of cultural heritage, it is very topical not only to organize pressure on the governments and businesses, but also to promote shared values of world heritage sites and to improve understanding of the UNESCO World Heritage Convention among the broader public. Moreover,



Figure 2. Pskov Seminar, December 8th, 2017

it is necessary to do it in the innovative and creative way, in order to make this topic interesting and attractive not only for children, but also for adults, not only for the activists, but also for the regular people.

Practical Experiences in World Heritage Protection

With such a task and in such a context we approached our project “Strengthening Common Engagement and Mutual Support in Raising Awareness of World Cultural Heritage Values” implemented in 2017 within the World Heritage Watch network with support of the German Foreign Ministry. Aside of us, the activists and NGOs from Germany, Ukraine, Georgia and Armenia participated in this international project, but in this paper, we mostly reflect on the implementation of the project in St. Petersburg and some other cities of Russia.

Thus, the initial idea was to reflect, understand the needs and make some intervention into the heritage protection community of St. Petersburg and other Russian cities in order to find some new ways and opportunities for the promotion of the world heritage values. To do so, we defined the following methods and ways of the value promotion as relevant:

- Collection, production and dissemination of audiovisual materials about the World Heritage sites both on-line and off-line;



- Seminars about the regime of the World Heritage Convention which governs the sites for multipliers, with such target groups as activists, tour guides, teachers, youth groups and journalists working on heritage;
- Consultation Meetings with other NGOs and experts working in other fields such as climate change, nature conservation, urban planning, sustainable development, human rights, good governance, business, construction and development etc. for understanding common interests and implementation of common actions;
- International cooperation within the World Heritage Watch, networking and exchange for the promotion of world heritage values in different countries and sites.

In the framework of the project, we applied all these methods, and the results were quite surprising and important for the reflection about the current and desirable situations in the field of the word heritage promotion.

Firstly, it became clear that the information about the World Heritage Site is really unknown not only to the broad public in St. Petersburg, but also to the activists and possible multipliers. Therefore, the search and production of materials, which would be understandable and accessible for the different audiences became one of the central tasks. Therefore, the following was done in this field:

- Preparation of the digest from the materials of Description of Outstanding Universal Values: here, more and more new materials, facts and studies were found, which are practically not known to the public.
- Analysis of the nomination and re-nomination history and materials, maps and other materials produced by the St. Petersburg city administration for the UNESCO institutions, especially from the years 2009-2010;
- Discourse analysis of the arguments pro and contra St. Petersburg as World Heritage Site, main actors and public perception, including especially the dichotomy «the city should develop vs historic city».

During this work, it became clear, how important and topical was an initiative from some local St. Petersburg restoration and development companies that wanted to demonstrate their interest in promotion of the heritage values and proposed already in 2016 to include into one of their reconstruction projects something like World Heritage Information Centre. The possible creation of such an Info Centre would provide a space for permanent exposition and temporary exhibitions, as well as opportunities for organization of different events for different target groups. Therefore, in the framework of the project we also started to collect materials for the future exposition, such as historic materials about the nomination of St. Petersburg as World Heritage Site, interviews



Figure 3. St. Petersburg Seminar on the tourist industry, November 24th, 2017

(video) and their analysis with the co-authors of the nomination and experts, in order to make them later a basis for the multi-media exposition in the future World Heritage Info Centre.

Unfortunately, the project proposed earlier was not implemented because of another decision taken by the city administration regarding the building, where it was initially planned. But the idea is still alive and hopefully will be implemented in another historic building in the centre of St. Petersburg. So, the task of collection and presentation of materials is still very important.

Seminars and Discussions with Local Multipliers of the Values Promotion

Aside the collection and production of materials, we planned to organize seminars and discussions with different multipliers and potential partners within the project in order to give them input about the World Heritage issues, and at the same time to get their feedback about their perceptions and further needs. Moreover, the seminars and consultations were organized not only in St. Petersburg, but also in nearby situated Petrozavodsk and Pskov, interested in this topic in different ways depending on their own situations. The seminars brought us a unique and interesting experience, which we also would like to share.



Figure 4. Public Discussion in St. Petersburg, December 2nd, 2017

*St. Petersburg Seminar with
the tourist industry and guides, November 24th, 2017*

It was the first seminar with a group of guides and experts in the local history and culture, which was aimed not only on the transfer of knowledge, but also on the discussion and feedback from them. Firstly, the members of our team gave three short lectures on the history of St. Petersburg nomination as a World Heritage Site, about the actual challenges and international civic and expert initiatives for protection of the World Heritage sites. Our presentations and handouts aroused a great interest among the participants of the round table. Almost all participants, regardless of their experience, found out something new about the elements and components of the nomination in St. Petersburg. For instance, it was discovered that many of them thought up until this point that only the historical centre of the city had the World Heritage status. Especially surprising for the participants was the fact that also other Site elements, such as the thoroughfares of the city, the Neva River, the fairways in the Gulf of Finland, and also historic areas in the city suburbs and even villages are also components of the World Heritage Site.

This experience confirmed that we had been using the right strategy: organize information and discussion groups and keep adapting the materials on World Heritage sites according to the working method applied by UNESCO

institutions. At the same time, we also noticed that the title of the Seminar was not so attractive and quite boring: just mentioning the topic of UNESCO is not enough and it looks quite boring, people are sure they know everything about it, even if they don't know so much. In total, not so many people came for the Seminar, and mostly those, with whom we spoke personally in advance by explaining the context and the advantages of the Seminar. Therefore, we decided to think more on the more attractive titles and provocative questions for the further discussions in St. Petersburg.

Aside of St. Petersburg, we organized two further seminars in other cities and with other target groups, which actually demonstrated their own specifics.

Petrozavodsk Seminar on Kizhi, November 29th, 2017

Petrozavodsk city is not so far away from St. Petersburg, in the Russian North, where another World Heritage Site is situated on the Kizhi Island, due to its landscape and cultural importance. Amid its natural attractions, there are masterpieces of wooden architecture, such as the museum-reserve.

The preparation of the Seminar in Petrozavodsk consisted of the search of the local partners and participants, as well as preparation of the local programme. Although it was the first Seminar with the local partner – National Park – it was very successful. Our initiative, organizational and financial resources made it possible for the participants of the seminar to meet and discuss professional issues, which is a quite rare opportunity for provincial cities. On the initiative of the same local experts, the meeting was held in the format of an intensive conference with short thematic presentations by almost every participant. It should be noted that there were more than 30 participants, as in our following events.

Pskov Seminar, December 8th, 2017

For this seminar we used the contacts that we had been making up until the moment and tried to find out, as far as possible, the needs of the local community. The community was interested in the protection and promotion of the historical heritage of the city. For twenty years, Pskov has been trying to be nominated as a World Heritage Site and at the moment it is very close to it. On the basis of the talks with the main stakeholders of the city, we realized that the principal need was for recognized experts, who could explain in a simple way the situation of the nomination of historical cities as a whole, as well as the impact of adopting this status. Our task was to find such an expert in St. Petersburg and bring him/her to Pskov, and we accomplished it successfully indeed. A great surprise was that after his remarkable and extremely informative lecture, the representative of the city administration, which is directly engaged in the nomination of Pskov as a World Heritage site, decided to come to the po-



Figure 5. Public Discussion in St. Petersburg, December 2nd, 2017

dium and make a presentation. This was almost the first time when functionaries had been able to talk to the public about the efforts they were making and answer relevant questions from the audience.

Public Discussion in St. Petersburg, December 2nd, 2017

We planned this crucial event to be as open as possible and involve into the discussion as many as possible local people in St. Petersburg. However, by having already an experience, when the local experts found the topic of St. Petersburg as World Heritage Site quite boring, we stated the question: how to invite experts and public to such a topic? Our previous experience had shown that in St. Petersburg there is a quite small and isolated community of professionals like officials, local experts and civil activists who have information about the real developing situation in St. Petersburg around its World Heritage status. In fact, it is a couple of experts in a multimillion city. An obstacle to enter this experts' community is, first of all, the extremely formalized language used in the description of the sites' relevance, its elements and components, as well as the problem of multilingualism (not all the documents are available in French, English and Russian). Furthermore, the secrecy of many documents and working meetings has led to the fact that, despite the fact that there is a detailed description of the nomination and there is a high demand on this information, it is practically not available to non-professionals.

Therefore, we decided to go for the brass ring and hold an open debate with a provocative and, in some circles, taboo-like question as "Does St. Petersburg Need to Keep the World Heritage Status?" There is no doubt that such a con-

trolled provocation worked well and the announcement of the Public Discussion was spread among city protection nets. This initiative even forced St Petersburg branch of ICOMOS to issue a press release, whose main idea was that such formulations were inadmissible and that there is no doubt that St. Petersburg must preserve its World Heritage Site status.

The contrived dramatic of the Public Discussion due both to the title and to the invitation of some representatives of the city administration and development business was perceived by the participants of the meeting as a provocation, as a show with a certain informative magic and stand up elements, but not as a classic podium discussion. We looked for this format, which enables to “de-spell” the knowingly boring, incredibly difficult and unintelligible subject of the preservation of the World Heritage, and we believe we have succeeded.

This led to a very productive discussion, through which not only the history and the specifics of St. Petersburg nomination were discussed, but also the approaches to the significance of a World Heritage status. Thus, it became obvious through the debate that there is a dichotomy in these approaches. Some people traditionally see St. Petersburg heritage as part of the Russian history and culture, which was so much accepted by the world community as unique that it was invited to be a member of the “world club” of other World Heritage Sites. The most local people are proud of it and, therefore, should protect it. However, during the discussion, another possible approach was likewise formulated, and namely that St. Petersburg is among other World Heritage sites as it presents one peach of the world history and culture, and, therefore, has, beyond Russian, the global value and significance. In the discussion it became clear that this element is missing in the regular protection: St. Petersburg’s value is presented as Russian and local value, but not as global value and as one of the many other pieces of the global value, which together constitute the World Heritage as such.

This thesis changes the concept of the city protection by bringing it from the local to the global level. This dichotomy of the Site as «part of the World Heritage to be protected for the World» vs. «our great uniqueness, which was recognized by the World» underlines the fact who possesses the Site: all the people of the world or St. Petersburg/Russian inhabitants? Who bears the responsibility over it? This discussion was extremely important (see part of the video in Doempke 2017) and should be continued, because it has very important consequences for the understanding and further promotion of the World Heritage values.

In general, the consultations and seminars with multiplayers have demonstrated the lack of knowledge and understanding of the World Heritage



regime, in general, and St. Petersburg's status and its specifics, in particular. Moreover, it became clear that different target groups have different focuses and interests. Thus, the tour business is interested in getting new ideas for more attractive presentation of the city history, sights and current city life. The school teachers are interested in more lively and children-friendly presentations of the local history and needs for the world heritage protection. The local community, business and administration are interested in more sustainable development of the city and urban structure, which requires more sustainable understanding of the world heritage values in the community in general.

For the future work on the World Heritage values promotion it means that each target group needs its own format of the information presentation, by taking into account their lack of knowledge. Moreover, the project showed that the collection and dissemination of materials are important, but they are difficult tasks, because the people are overwhelmed by the information in general, and only very interesting and up-to-dated pieces of information can be asked by the people. Moreover, it should be presented in very modern ways by using the latest technological achievements. Therefore, the search for innovative methods of presentation and promotion of values for different target groups within the local community is needed and worth for the international and interregional exchange.

Conclusions

By taking into account the specifics of St. Petersburg as World Heritage Site connected with the historical conditions of its nomination in 1991 and very important role played by the activist community and social movements in the heritage protection, the most relevant and effective practices for the further work on the world heritage values protection are the following:

- Further collection, analysis and adaptation of the nomination materials and relevant documents and narratives for the popularization among the broader public;
- Awareness-raising through well-prepared public events for different target groups of multipliers, by taking into account their needs and interests, including different (also peripheral) components of the World Heritage Site;
- Long-term informational projects would be more effective rather than separate info-events;
- Involvements of local communities into the world heritage values promotion, for example by creation of permanent working groups of tour guides, teachers, representatives of cultural institutions etc. for the exchange of in-

formation and visions on the values promotion, creation of popularization materials, discussion of new ideas, consolidation of local community;

- Creation of new presentation forms for the popular values promotion, such as, for example, playing cards, games, innovative and interactive guided tours, quests, interactive maps etc. for different target groups, wiki on the basis of these materials.

By reflecting the results of our interventions, it is also necessary to mention some problems, such as the following: lack of time and finances for the whole work on the values promotion; danger with the foreign funding, which is specifically important for Russia and maybe some other countries; difficult understanding of local needs, because it is often not public and not clear, insufficient international exchange.

Some solutions for all the above-mentioned problems can be discussed during the Conference, especially what concerns the international cooperation. Among the ideas that our groups have been trying to propose for many years, is to possibly organise the competition and exhibition of pictures in different WH sites (beauty and problems) across the world. Such an exhibition would promote not only the ideas of separate Sites, but in general would show the significance of the World Heritage values as a whole.

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Promovarea patrimoniului mondial: experiențe din Sankt Petersburg și alte orașe din Rusia

Rezumat

Articolul reflectă experiențele mișcărilor sociale, inițiativelor civice și ale ONG-urilor din Sankt Petersburg și din alte orașe din Rusia, precum și din alte țări post-sovietice, destinate promovării și sensibilizării populațiilor locale cu privire la valoarea patrimoniului mondial în orașele lor. Aceste eforturi sunt necesare deoarece valorile universale remarcabile ale centrelor istorice din Sankt Petersburg și ale altor orașe sunt amenințate de construcții ilegale, planificare urbană greșită, neglijare și lipsă de atenție publică; bisericile și peisajele culturale suferă de restaurări deficitare, presiune dictată de interese economice de moment și un boom turistic nereglementat. Efectele nocive se produc adesea și pentru că practic majoritatea populației locale nu are cunoștințe despre statutul de patrimoniu mondial UNESCO ale siturilor și implicațiile sale. Drept urmare, ea nu este suficient de capabilă să se pronunțe pentru protecția siturilor lor și nu știe în ce fel o poate ajuta statutul patrimoniului cultural mondial. Mai mult, populația nu înțelege nici valoarea culturală pentru propria comunitate, nici importanța mondială a patrimoniului, ceea ce duce la o realizare insuficientă a prevederilor din statutul patrimoniului cultural mondial. În această lucrare, încercăm să arătăm atât rezultatele cercetărilor noastre anterioare, cât și materialele academice pe această temă, dar reflectăm și asupra experienței noastre de participare la diferite activități, mai ales în cadrul recentului proiect implementat în 2017, ce reprezintă o intervenție discursivă, dar și una pragmatică în favoarea promovării și protecției sitului Patrimoniului Mondial Sankt Petersburg. Totuși, pentru o mai bună înțelegere a acestor experiențe și reflecții, este necesar să prezentăm un context istoric și condițiile dezvoltării atât a statutului de Patrimoniu Mondial din Sankt Petersburg, cât și a mișcării sociale din Sankt Petersburg pentru protecția patrimoniului mondial din Sankt Petersburg.

Cuvinte cheie: patrimoniul mondial, implicarea comunității, Sankt Petersburg, Rusia.

Elena Belokurova, Russian group within the World Heritage Watch,
St. Petersburg, Russia, E-mail: elena.v.belokurova@gmail.com

Dmitry Vorobyev, Russian group within the World Heritage Watch,
St. Petersburg, Russia, E-mail: moxabat@gmail.com

Building Futures, Saving Pasts – Sustainable Development and Heritage Preservation the SPI Way

Larry COBEN

Abstract

Archaeological sites are disappearing at a rapidly accelerating rate. While destruction by ISIS and looting get all the press, the primary causes of cultural heritage loss are economic: commercial and residential development and encroachment, mining, energy, agriculture and looting to name a few. If the source of the problem is economic, so must the solutions be. In this talk, I discuss what types of economic solutions are most likely to succeed and which are destined to fail. I will describe why smaller scale projects incorporating women's empowerment and sustainable community development actually work, and why large scale projects divorced from business reality rarely do. Successful programs allow communities to build their futures and save their pasts.

Keywords: Sustainable Development, Community, Women's Empowerment, Cultural Heritage, Preservation.

With an investment of \$40,000, twenty community members in the impoverished community of San Jose de Moro, Peru, site of an important Moche and Lambayeque cemetery have sustainable jobs as artisans and providing tourist services. At the site of Chotuna, Peru, twelve women use native cotton to weave beautiful textiles based on the iconography of the site, helping to feed their families and achieving some financial independence. At the monumental pilgrimage site of Pachacamac, 24 women, trained in business skills and design, have sold iconography-based souvenirs to over 100,000 tourists who visit the site for \$10,000 last year and for more than \$15,000 this year. One of these women expressed well the views of her fellow community members when she noted that "This project is a dream come true. We had always hoped for an economic opportunity, but never thought we would have the chance".

These and other small scale non-destructive heritage and economic development projects, undertaken by the Sustainable Preservation Initiative, have not only alleviated poverty, empowered local entrepreneurs and communities and provided opportunities to women who are often excluded from the economic sphere, but changed dramatically community attitudes toward their past together with looting and encroachment upon their sites.

While the horror of explosions leveling buildings in Palmyra and other Middle Eastern sites dominates the news, destruction of cultural heritage by Daesh and other terrorists represents only a small portion of the daily loss of our cul-



Figure 1.
SPI Logo

tural patrimony. The rest is vanishing from economic causes such as residential construction, farming, industrial agriculture, mining, energy extraction and transmission, looting, grazing and commercial development.

Many of humanity's most important heritage sites co-exist with some of the world's poorest people. Their combined futures are uncertain and often in danger. They need the economic activity described above to survive. How can we justify asking them to not destroy their heritage unless we offer them an economic alternative?

Fortunately, there's a better way—a win-win approach that preserves these sites while helping the surrounding communities. Rather than lament the loss or discuss the reconstruction of ancient buildings in unstable regions, we must collaborate with each site's community, giving the people the tools to profit from their heritage, economically and sustainably. If we make an archaeological wonder not just a thing of beauty and history but also something that provides growth and jobs, it is a win-win proposition for heritage and for households. We build futures while saving the past.

Sustainable development, with its focus on developing businesses and jobs whose success is tied to the ongoing preservation of a site, creates a powerful and long-term incentive and source of funding for the preservation we all want. This paradigm provides all of the benefits normally associated with economic development: employment, health, food and shelter. It is a competitive alternative to other, more destructive economic uses. People gain dignity from being able to work and "consume" their history without destroying it.

Where we have employed this paradigm, looting and encroachment on the sites have essentially ceased.

Drones are utilized to monitor and measure these successes. The local communities have taken a leading role in preserving their past in order to build their futures.

Again, all of the businesses we support are locally owned and managed, and thus the benefits accrue to the community.

Most importantly, these programs empower local people and give them the resources and capacity to control their destiny and to contribute to the



Figure 2. Excavations at San Jose de Moro, Peru (photo, L.J. Castillo)



Figure 3-4. Master craftsman Julio Ibarrola teaches young residents how to make their own Moche replicas



Figure 5. Moche spout bottle replica



Figure 6. Plate with Moche designs



Figure 7. Site of Chotuna-Chornancap

preservation of our collective past. People engaged to such an extent rarely become violent extremists who wish to destroy what remains of the ancient world or attack our modern one. The investment is usually less than \$50,000 per site—a small amount to pay for saving sites and building engaged and productive futures.

How do we implement these projects successfully? I set forth a few of the critical elements below:

Begin by asking local people what they want and need. See if the proposed project is actually of interest to them and if it matches their hopes and dreams. If it does not, STOP-your project has little or no chance of success.



Figure 8. Weavers/Members of Ceterni cooperative, Chotuna-Chornancap, Peru



Figure 9-10. Products of the Ceterni cooperative

1. We provide knowledge and resources that create economic opportunities that these communities can seize. Do it the right way, and they will seize them successfully, thrive and build themselves a better future....not just economically, but in health, education and other important areas. THIS IS WHAT WE DO IN SPI!

2. We have designed and implemented a broad capacity training program that empowers communities with the skills necessary to flourish in the modern economy. A mini business school! We do not teach local residents how to make pretty crafts...we teach them how to make products and manage businesses



Figure 11. Products of the Ceterni cooperative



Figure 12. Site of Pachacamac, Peru and the proximity of the surrounding community



Figure 13. Members of the SISAN cooperative, Pachacamac

that sustain themselves for long periods of time, rather than creating a dependency on outside organizations and funders.

3. We do not build giant visitors' centers or site museums that are not sustainable and whose maintenance budgets are greater than the local community's income. Minimal infrastructure - yes, massive and unsustainable - never. The world is filled with abandoned, run down and underutilized structures that are easy to build and do not relate in any way to community needs or desires.

4. We also invest the necessary seed capital for these new businesses to take root and grow. As the old adage tells us - teach a man to fish, and you



Figure 14. Members of the SISAN cooperative, Pachacamac



Figure 15. Members of the SISAN cooperative with the author

have fed him for a lifetime. It is necessary to make sure they have access to a rod and a boat! All the capacity training in the world will not help without the necessary capital!

5. An important aspect of our program is to address archaeological and other heritage sites as economic assets **BEST AND SUSTAINABLY EXPLOITED BY NOT DESTROYING THEM**. The greatest threat to our shared past is destructive alternative economic uses-looting, agriculture, mining, commercial and residential development. These uses are not sustainable, and leave neither economic opportunity nor any history for future generations. Saving pasts builds better futures.



Figure 16. Bicitours, Pachacamac, Peru



Figure 17. Bicitours, Pachacamac, Peru

6. Measure your results, adapt and modify your program accordingly. Everyone in our project has metrics regarding economic performance and site preservation, such as jobs created, revenues generated, looters' pits and site invasions.

We and our partner communities have learned, sometimes in a hard way, how to create thriving businesses that protect the past. I would like to share



Figure 18. Oldest member of the SISOAN cooperative (right)



Figure 19. Bictours certificate

a few out of these many lessons with you, so that they can inform your work as they do to ours. And you do not need to work on an archaeological site to use them.

a. Utilize smaller-scale, community-based and derived solutions, and let them grow entrepreneurially and virally. Imposing top-down, overly large cookie cutter paradigms do not work. If you do not believe me, check out the work of Nobel Prize winner Elinor Ostrom — she agrees with us.

b. Teach people how to run businesses, not just pretty things. Tax, accounting, inventory, marketing, production - all need to be part of the mix. So does getting people into the formal economy. None of this is glamorous, but it is critical.

c. Understand and embrace the local social structure-do not try to impose a new one or some preset collection of ideas. Take cooperatives, associations, entrepreneurs and others for the most part as you find them. EXCEPT:

d. Even in the most macho areas, support women. Over 85% of the empowered entrepreneurs and workers we work with are women. Not just because they are smarter and better business people as many studies have shown, but because they are traditionally and wrongly excluded from the economic opportunity, and when they finally get a chance, they seize it, because, sadly, they may not get another one.

Empowering women also creates new remarkable role models and potential futures. We work in many macho areas. Time and again, when we enter a women community, whether they will speak with us at all, stare at their hand, speak softly or mumble and do not make eye contact. A year or two later we find them engaged, open, outgoing conversationalists who want to make videos and take pictures for their own and their business social media pages.



Figure 20. Bicitours, Pachacamac, Peru

Follow this path, IT WORKS! We have created empowered community members, jobs and income while saving numerous sites from destruction. You can get the details on our web page, but I will humbly brag that a Reuter business/financial columnist called our job creation rate extraordinary! And empowering people to build futures has so many non-economic benefits: people eat better, go to the doctor more, stay in school longer, are less depressed, etc. When communities build futures, they do it holistically ... and they save pasts.

Best practices in archaeology have evolved to include, at least as a stated goal, economic, social and cultural benefits to the people and communities where they are located. While most archaeologists and heritage professionals pay lip service to this objective, many make little or no attempt to achieve it in practice. And even when community-based and focused projects are undertaken, few out of such benefits are actually realized, most frequently due to either poorly conceived or implemented plans, or both. By contrast, our methodology has created several long term sustainable businesses. Please, join us in building futures and saving pasts!

Construirea viitorului, salvarea trecutului – dezvoltare durabilă și conservarea patrimoniului – calea SPI

Rezumat

Siturile arheologice dispar într-un ritm accelerat. În timp ce distrugerea de către ISIS și jefuirea acaparează toată presa, principalele cauze ale pierderii patrimoniului cultural sunt cele economice: dezvoltarea comercială și rezidențială, încălcările exploatarei miniere, energetice, agricole, pentru a numi doar câteva. Dacă sursa problemei este una preponderent economică, de aceeași natură trebuie să fie și soluțiile. În abordarea noastră, aducem în discuție soluțiile economice cele mai eficiente, dar și cele sortite eșecului. Voi descrie cauzele funcționării proiectelor ce vizează abilitarea femeilor și dezvoltarea comunitară durabilă, de fapt, la scară mai mică, explicând de ce anume funcționează rareori proiectele la scară largă, detașate de realitatea afacerilor. Programele de succes permit comunităților să-și construiască viitorul și să-și salveze trecutul.

Cuvinte cheie: dezvoltare durabilă, comunitate, împuternicirea femeilor, patrimoniu cultural, conservare.

Larry Coben, Sustainable Preservation Initiative
(www.sustainablepreservation.org),
e-mail: larrycoben@sustainablepreservation.org



World Heritage Watch – Strategic Goals, Achievements and Challenges after Four Years

Stephan DÖMPKE

Abstract

The World Heritage Committee routinely receives information about the state of conservation of WH properties from State Parties or ICOMOS or IUCN mission reports. While State Party Reports are often incomplete, outdated or even incorrect, Advisory Missions suffer from being too short and understaffed in order to fully grasp the local situation. The author will show that the observations of civil society must be brought in as checks and balances to let the WH Committee have a full understanding of the dynamics that affect World Heritage Properties. For many years, UNESCO has been requiring the participation of local communities in all procedures of the World Heritage Convention - from tentative lists and nominations to management and monitoring. However, State Parties remain reluctant to implement this - both on the site level and on the Convention level. In response to this situation, World Heritage Watch has been founded as a global network of civil society actors whose goal is to contribute to the safeguarding of World Heritage Sites by bringing information to the attention of the WH Committee, and to strengthen the role of civil society in the proceedings of the World Heritage Convention. Based on practical experience from the field and four years of activity within the organization, the presentation will explain what civil society has achieved, suggest where the challenges are and how they can be met, and provide an unvarnished outlook on the future of the World Heritage Convention.

Keywords: World Heritage Watch, Civil Society, World Heritage Sites, World Heritage Convention.

What is World Heritage Watch?

In 2012, Greenpeace Russia and a coalition of activists from St. Petersburg organized the first NGO Forum on World Heritage in St. Petersburg, immediately prior to the World Heritage Committee Meeting. I gave a keynote speech there, listing the problems UNESCO was creating for itself, and the deficits in involving civil society in the processes of the World Heritage. My speech ended with a call: “We need World Heritage Watch!” The call was heeded enthusiastically, and as a result, the Forum adopted a resolution that World Heritage Watch should be founded.

After a lengthy discussion process, WHW was founded in Berlin in 2014, since the WH Committee Meeting in 2015 was to be held in Bonn and we needed a non-profit organization registered under German law in order to fun-

draise for the next NGO Forum. On that Forum, it was decided that WHW should remain the small formal NGO which it was, while the various civil society actors should form an informal global network which would meet once a year, always immediately prior to the WH Committee Meetings. This is the way it has been ever since.

Why were we founded?

During my more than 20 years of involvement with the World Heritage, I have seen a number of systemic problems in the way the WH Convention works, and all of them have to do with the fact that it is not very well connected to local communities and civil society. While it is the stated policy of the WH Committee to ensure their participation in all processes of identification, nomination, evaluation, management and reporting of the World Heritage properties, very little to this effect has actually been implemented by State Parties. The key problems that I see are as follows:

1. UNESCO does not always have full, correct or up-to-date information about the State of Conservation of the Properties. State of Conservation Reports and Periodic Reports tell about positive developments but fail to explain problems, and sometimes provide outright false information. Missions by the Advisory Bodies IUCN and ICOMOS are too short in order to understand the situation on the ground thoroughly, especially if only officials and experts are heard but not local people.



Figure 1. The 5th International NGO Forum on World Heritage at Risk, Manama, Bahrain, 22-23 June 2018



An ICOMOS Reactive Monitoring Mission Report to the WH City of Gjirokastra, Albania, stated a piece of information given by the mayor: “A substantial financing of 85.000.000 lekë has also been allocated for the reconstruction of roads in the historic centre.” In fact, this amount of money had been spent in order to cover historic cobblestone pavements with concrete. The mission, who was one person spending one day in the town without seeing it by daylight, had no chance to check whether the information given to her was correct, and it was only local civil society that was able to correct it and alert the WH Centre about it.

The Albanian government, in its 2015 Periodic Report, provided false information on the visitor facilities in Gjirokastra. While they rated most facilities as “adequate”, the actual situation (added below in *italics*) was much worse:

4.6.6 – Please rate the adequacy for education, information and awareness building of the following visitor facilities and services at the World Heritage property		
Visitor centre	Adequate	<i>does not exist</i>
Site museum	Adequate	<i>opening only upon request</i>
Information booths	Adequate	<i>very little materials available</i>
Guided tours	Adequate	<i>cannot be booked locally</i>
Trails / routes	Adequate	<i>no marked routes exist</i>
Information materials	Adequate	<i>official materials are unavailable</i>
Transportation facilities	Poor	
Poor	Not needed	<i>no evening entertainment available</i>

2. Local people do not know where the boundaries of the WH Property are.

In many cases, no maps are available to the public which would show the external boundaries of the WH property, or its internal zoning. Boundaries are either inadequate to support proper protection of the site, or drawn in a way which makes it difficult or impossible to understand whether it is inside or outside the property.

In the Tajik National Park - an area almost as big as Switzerland - neither external nor internal boundaries follow linear natural structures that would be easy to recognize, such as the course of rivers or the ridges of mountains. As a result, it is almost impossible for local people to know in which zone of the WH they are, and hence, what regulations apply to it.

The desert town of Ghadames, Libya, is recognized as a World Heritage, but in reality, only a small stretch of alleys and houses constitute the inscribed property, a fact that very few people in Libya are aware of.

In Georgia, the WH of Upper Svaneti consists of only one of three hamlets of a village, with some adjacent pastures. While the site is inscribed as a cul-

tural landscape, it is much too small to be called a landscape and to convey its values, and rather impossible to be managed within an area experiencing rapid tourism development.

At the Museum Island WH site in Berlin, Germany, the boundary of the buffer zone even runs through a historic building.

3. Local populations are neither sufficiently informed on the implications of the WH status for their lives and homes, nor involved in the management of the World Heritage property.

The Simien Mountains National Park, Ethiopia, was declared a natural World Heritage in order to protect two globally important species, while ignoring the fact that almost the entire territory of the park is a heavily degraded cultural landscape with villages, agriculture and pastures. Instead of re-conceptualizing the regime of protection, IUCN and the WH Committee demanded that the population should be removed from the park - a clear violation of human rights which UNESCO is supposed to protect. As a result, the local population, that had never been asked for consent about the World Heritage listing, is in violent resistance against the park.

In Gjirokastra, it has never been communicated to the local population how they are affected by the WH status. They do not know whether their house is part of the WH or not, or what they have to observe in case it is. There are no urban guidelines and no guidelines for the restoration or modernization of historic vernacular buildings.

4. Sites escape the attention of the WH Committee.

While the precarious condition of some WH sites are well-known to the WH Committee, others escape their attention for many years simply due to the fact that State Parties don't report about them - either by intention, neglect or lack of proper assessment.

The cultural landscape of Upper Svaneti was inscribed in 1996 when it was unknown to the rest of the world. Since then, it has experienced a sharp increase in backpacking tourism, with mushrooming construction in the buffer zone, but a desperate decline in the WH area due to the prohibition of any intervention in the buildings. This development was unreported by the State Party, and as a result has completely escaped the attention of the WH Committee.

The cultural landscape of Sukur, Northeastern Nigeria, was occupied, raided and devastated by the Boko Haram terrorist militia, but UNESCO remained unaware of this because not even the government had access to the area and hence did not report the situation. It was only when WHW received information from civil society of Nigeria that UNESCO was alerted to the situation.

The Papahānaumokuākea Marine Reserve, a vast area of ocean and islands to the northwest of Hawaii, includes places held sacred by the Kanaka Maoli, or Native Hawaiians. However, the site was inscribed in the WH List without granting them a right to visit these sites and practice their religion, in violation of US and international law.

What do we do?

1. The World Heritage Watch Report

In order to address such issues, WHW collects reports from civil society and indigenous peoples and helps them to receive the attention of the Advisory Bodies, the WH Centre and Committee with a request to take appropriate action. Every year we have about 40 such reports which we publish in our annual World Heritage Watch Report, usually in May or June. The publication includes many photos and maps which help to understand the quality and dimension of the problems reported.

2. Annual International Forum

WHW's second key activity is to organize an annual International Civil Society Forum on World Heritage at Risk where most of the cases published in the WHW Report are presented and discussed with representatives of the Advisory Bodies and WH Centre. The second day of the Forum is devoted to sharing experiences among the members of the WHW Network, and discussing issues of strategic importance. A special feature is that we try to organize a networking meeting of NGOs in the host country in order to strengthen civil society cooperation both within the country and with the WHW network.

So far, the Forum has been held immediately prior to the sessions of the WH Committee, which allowed the participants to subsequently attend these sessions and intervene on behalf of their sites. Upon request of the Advisory Bodies and the WH Centre, however, since 2019 the presentation of cases happens in January in order to allow a better consideration of the information which we provide.

3. Events and Projects

In addition to providing information to the WH Committee and Advisory Bodies, we also hold events and implement awareness-raising projects on the ground. After the destruction of Palmyra and other sites through armed forces, and after the UN Security Council decided that such atrocities could be considered war crimes, we held a public panel discussion about the question whether a decision by the UN Security Council could be expected to protect a WH site by an international peace-keeping force under the Responsibility to Protect.



In order to address the widespread lack of information about the WH Convention and its implementation procedures, we held seminars for multipliers such as teachers and journalists in Armenia, Georgia, Russia and Ukraine.

4. Practical Projects: Podesennya Project

In the future, we may also support the nomination of new WH sites, especially the full involvement of local communities which shall ensure that they will have a benefit from the inscription in the WH List. The first project of this kind may become the Podesennya Region of north-eastern Ukraine. The Desna River is the biggest completely natural river in all Europe, with huge flood plains and millions of migratory birds. At the same time, the region is the birthplace of the Slavic culture, with extremely old and highly important monasteries. Since the region has been deprived of any economic development for decades, we will put a strong emphasis on eco-friendly products and tourism while the WH nomination shall happen at the end of the process rather than at its beginning.

Our Strategic Goals

From the above it is clear that our paramount goal is to support UNESCO in its effort to have better World Heritage Sites. In order to do that, however, it will be necessary to lobby for more rights of civil society in the implementation of the Convention, and to make them an accepted and established player in the implementation of the World Heritage Convention.

Together with UNESCO, we will have to strengthen public awareness about the World Heritage both locally and globally, and make cooperative efforts for better funding of both UNESCO, civil society, and the WH Properties themselves.

Finally, in order to have sustainable protection of WH sites, we will have to integrate them with sustainable development in order to make sure that local populations support the sites because they have a fair share of the benefits. This is expressed in the Strategic Document which we adopted on our first conference in 2015: “While there can be no sustainable development without the conservation of natural and cultural heritage, there cannot be a successful conservation of natural and cultural heritage outside a general context of sustainable development either. The SDGs’ call to strengthen efforts to protect the world’s natural and cultural heritage opens a great opportunity to integrate the preservation of cultural and natural heritage in national and international sustainable development policies and programs.”

So far, World Heritage has been almost exclusively labelled as a matter of conservation. However, probably 80% of the challenges at World Heritage Sites are not related to conservation (of monuments or wildlife), but to sustainable development: information and awareness-raising, vocational education and

training, urban planning and guidelines, tourism planning and regulations, site management, infrastructure development, business development, promotion, conflict resolution, surveillance and enforcement.

Our Achievements

First and foremost, the fact that we are still here after five years, without notable financial support, is an achievement in itself. We founded WHW because we felt that the world heritage needed a public watchdog group, but we could not be sure whether this idea would be shared by the rest of the world. Today, we can say that five years have proven us right.

Our second key achievement is the establishment of a growing global network of civil society actors. After four years of activity, the network encompasses more than one hundred NGOs, local groups and indigenous peoples' organizations, and about thirty individuals from all continents. While WHW as a small German NGO may be the spider in the web, it is this network which makes us a strong and powerful player which cannot be ignored.

Thirdly, we have managed to build a partnership relation with the WH Centre and Advisory Bodies. While the WH Committee has become what some would call a political bazaar, where diplomats increasingly use the Convention to advance their geo-political interests, the WHW network members have built credibility and reputation as serious players through interventions which consistently have provided hard facts and well-founded assessments, and focusing on the safeguarding of the World Heritage alone. Increasingly, we can see that the information which we provide is not only taken into consideration, but actually makes a difference at the WH sites on the ground.

In the procedures of the Convention our continuing presence at WH Committee sessions has finally brought fruit as well. While in Bonn in 2015, civil society was given the floor only for one statement, progress has been made year by year since then: in Istanbul, in 2016, we were given the floor only in some cases, in Krakow, in 2017, we were given the floor whenever we requested it, but only after the Decisions had been taken, while in Bahrain, in 2018, we had been able to make our interventions before the Decisions were taken, which had an immediate effect in a number of cases.

Challenges

For the foreseeable future, our main challenge will remain to ensure a sustainable financial basis of the organization. We know we are inconvenient, but what is more worrying is that we have not identified one single donor in Germany or abroad whose grantmaking guidelines would allow to support our work.



Whatever all of them do is certainly well-justified, but there is a clear gap in the grantmaking world for awareness-raising on World Heritage, and it is necessary to alert the donor community to the fact that the World Heritage is too important to be overlooked.

Expanding the global network is another urgent issue. While we can be proud of what we have achieved, there are still big white spaces on the world map of WHW network members, such as in the Americas, in Africa, and even in many European countries.

While we have succeeded in making ourselves heard in the WH Committee, we have a long way to go before civil society and indigenous peoples will be fully integrated players in all procedures of the Convention. In order to do our work more efficiently, full transparency in the Convention's Proceedings is an urgent requirement, and our rights will eventually have to be enshrined in

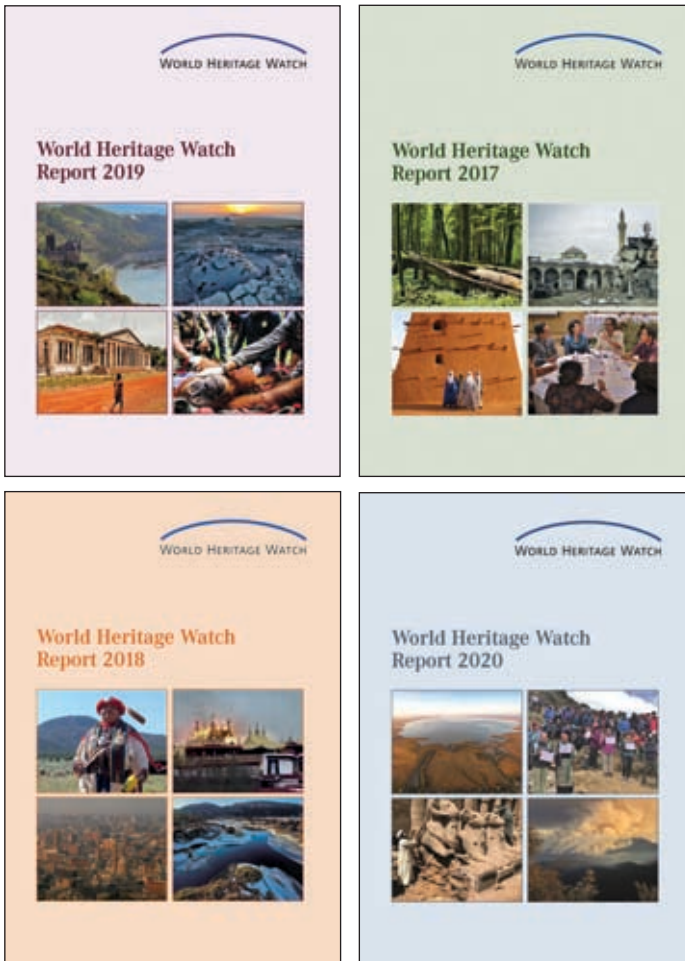


Figure 3. Covers of the Annual WHW Reports

the Statutory Documents of the Convention. This will take its time, and it will not be possible without creating more publicity and a global awareness that the World Heritage is something that we cannot leave to governments alone, but it is the heritage of all of us, and we truly have to make it ours.

World Heritage Watch – obiective strategice, realizări și provocări după patru ani

Rezumat

Comitetul Patrimoniului Mondial primește în mod obișnuit informații despre starea de conservare a proprietăților WH din partea statelor vizate sau din rapoartele misiunii ICOMOS sau IUCN. Dincolo de faptul că rapoartele statului parte sunt adesea incomplete, învechite sau chiar incorecte, misiunile consultative au dezavantajul de a fi prea scurte și nu dispun de personal suficient pentru a înțelege pe deplin situația locală. Autorul va arăta că observațiile societății civile trebuie aduse ca verificări pentru a permite Comitetului WH să înțeleagă pe deplin dinamica ce afectează proprietățile patrimoniului mondial. De mulți ani, UNESCO solicită participarea comunităților locale la toate procedurile Convenției Patrimoniului Mondial – de la liste provizorii și nominalizări până la gestionare și monitorizare. Cu toate acestea, statele părți rămân reticente să pună în aplicare acest lucru, atât în plan practic, cât și la nivel de convenție. Ca răspuns la această situație, World Heritage Watch a fost concepută drept o rețea globală de actori ai societății civile al căror scop este de a contribui la protejarea siturilor patrimoniului mondial prin aducerea informațiilor în atenția Comitetului WH și pentru a consolida rolul societății în procedurile Convenției Patrimoniului Mondial. Bazată pe experiența practică din domeniu și pe patru ani de activitate în cadrul organizației, prezentarea va explica ce a realizat societatea civilă, va sugera care sunt provocările și cum pot fi îndeplinite și va trasa o perspectivă asupra viitorului Convenției Patrimoniului Mondial.

Cuvinte cheie: World Heritage Watch, societatea civilă, siturile Patrimoniului Mondial, Convenția Patrimoniului Mondial.

Stephan Dömpke, World Heritage Watch,
e-mail: contact@world-heritage-watch.org

Media Monitoring of the World Heritage Sites in Romania

Elena COZMA

Abstract

Both the general public and the specialists (archaeologists, historians, etc.) that are concerned with the cultural heritage, are most often informed about their state or about the latest archaeological discoveries in the written or TV press. The present study focuses on articles published in the press and television during 2017 and 2018 (January - November) on the issue of the cultural and archaeological heritage of Romania included in the UNESCO World Heritage List. For a better follow-up to this study, we will provide you with a table below with each UNESCO heritage objective, along with the LMI code, UNESCO registration code, year of listing and geographic location. Also, the study will contain a brief presentation of the report drawn from the media for each monument.

Keywords: UNESCO, Romania, Mass-media, Heritage, Protection, Preservation, Promotion.

Introduction

Media analysis is a basic information mode and can be the basis for future case studies. In general, the public, regardless of age, gender, religion has the main sources of information in newspapers (on-line or paper-based), television or radio. We were interested in the way in which the main means of mass information were manifested during the period January 2017 - November 2018 on the subject of UNESCO's heritage from Romania. The data include the articles that appeared in the written press within the timeframe in question and are based on the conclusions presented below. In this article, we will present the first results of the media monitoring process on the coverage of UNESCO's cultural and archaeological heritage in Romania.

Also, we noticed that on the official sites of UNESCO Organization (en.unesco.org, whc.unesco.org) this kind of reports have not been posted, namely how the image of monuments enlisted in the World Heritage is reflected in the international press or in national press of every country that has such monuments in their custody.

In social media (e.g. Facebook, Twitter or Instagram) the problem of World Heritage is intensely debated in restricted groups of archaeologists, specialists in heritage preservation, historians etc., while in other circumstances like com-

ments, conversations, posts or likes it happens very rarely when the civil society is involved in this kind of subjects.

List of the World Heritage Sites from Romania

NAME	LMI Code	UNESCO Code	Year of admission	Geographical localisation
CHURCHES FROM MOLDOVA		598 bis	1993, 2010	
„Tăierea capului Sf. Ioan Botezătorul” Church	SV-II-m-A-05487.01			Arbore Village, Suceava County
„Adormirea Maicii Domnului and Sf. Gheorghe” Church	SV-II-m-A-05570.01			Mănăstirea Humorului Village, Suceava County
„Buna Vestire” Church of Moldovița Monastery	SV-II-m-A-05673.01			Vatra Moldoviței Parish, Suceava County
„Înălțarea Sfintei Cruci” Church	SV-II-m-A-05581.01			Pătrăuți Village, Suceava County
„Sf. Gheorghe” Church of „Sf. Ioan cel Nou” Monastery	SV-II-m-A-05469.01			City of Suceava, Suceava County
„Sf. Gheorghe” Church of Voroneț Monastery	SV-II-m-A-05675.01			Voroneț Village, City of Gura Humorului, Suceava County
„Învierea Domnului” Church of Sucevița Monastery	SV-II-m-A-05651.01			Sucevița Village, Suceava County
„Sf. Nicolae” Church of Probota Monastery	SV-II-m-A-05592.01			Probota Village, City of Dolhasca, Suceava County
HUREZI MONASTERY	VL-II-a-A-09884	597	1993	Romanii de Jos Village, City of Horezu, Vâlcea County
Villages with fortified churches from Transilvania		596,596 bis	1993, 1999	
Rural site of Călnic	AB-II-s-A-00197			Călnic Village, Alba County
Rural site of Prejmer	BV-II-s-A-11744			Prejmer Village, Brașov County
Rural site of Viscri	BV-II-s-A-11841			Viscri Village, Brașov County



Rural site of Dârjiu	HR-II-s-A-12812			Dârjiu Village, Harghita County
Rural site of Saschiz	MS-II-s-A-15781			Saschiz Village, Mureș County
Rural site of Biertan	SB-II-s-A-12327			Biertan Village, Sibiu County
Rural site of Valea Viilor	SB-II-s-A-12581			Valea Viilor Village, Sibiu County
DACIAN FORTRESSES FROM ORĂȘTIEI MOUNTAINS		906	1999	
Sarmizegetusa Regia – Grădiștea de Munte Dacian Fortress	HD-I-s-A-03190			com. Orăștioara de Sus, Hunedoara County
Dacian Fortress of Costești Cetățuia	HD-I-s-A-03178			Costești Village, com. Orăștioara de Sus, Hunedoara County
Dacian Fortress of Costești-Blidaru	HD-I-s-A-03181			Costești Village, com. Orăștioara de Sus, Hunedoara County
Dacian Fortress of Luncani-Piatra Roșie	HD-I-s-A-03200			Luncani Village, com. Boșorod, Hunedoara County
Dacian Fortress of Bănița	HD-I-s-A-03153			Bănița Village, Hunedoara County
Dacian Fortress of Căpâlna	AB-I-s-A-00020			Căpâlna Village, com. Săsciori, Alba County
HISTORICAL CENTRE OF SIGHIȘOARA	MS-II-s-A-15806	902	1999	City of Sighișoara, Mureș County
WOODEN CHURCHES FROM MARAMUREȘ		904	1999	
„Intrarea în Biserica a Maicii Domnului” Church	MM-II-m-A-04517			com. Bârsana, Maramureș County
„Sf. Nicolae” Church	MM-II-m-A-04530			com. Budești, Maramureș County
„Sf. Parascheva” Church	MM-II-m-A-04566			com. Desești, Maramureș County
„Nașterea Maicii Domnului” Church	MM-II-m-A-04587			com. Ieud, Maramureș County

„Sf. Arhanghel” Church	MM-II- m-A-04604			Plopiș Village, com. Șișești, Maramureș County
„Sf. Paraschiva” Church	MM-II- m-A-04605			Poienile Izei Village, Maramureș County
„Sf. Arhangheli” Church	MM-II- m-A-04617			Rogoz Village, oraș Târgu Lăpuș, Maramureș County
„Sf. Arhangheli” Church	MM-II- m-A-04769.01			Șurdești Village, com. Șișești, Maramureș County
THE DANUBE DELTA		588	1991	Tulcea County
PRIMARY AND OLD BEECH FORESTS IN THE CARPATHIAN AND OTHER REGIONS OF EUROPE			2017	
Izvoarele Nerei				Caraș – Severin County
Cheile Nerei - Beușnița				Caraș – Severin County
Domogled – Valea Cernei				Caraș – Severin County
The Massif of Cozia				Vâlcea County
Lotrișor				Vâlcea County
The Secular Forest Slătioara				Suceava County
Groșii Țibleșului				Maramureș County
Strâmbu Băiuț				Maramureș County
Seculat Șinca Forest				Brașov County

Thus, for the year 2017, a total of 106 articles were registered, out of which: 57 in the local press and 39 in the national press. The articles were distributed, both in the local press and in the national press, according to each UNESCO monument. For the year 2018, there were 84 articles: 49 articles in the local press and 35 articles in the national press. The search was focused on the UNESCO keyword, and we used the constructions: “painted churches”, “churches in Moldova”, “wooden churches”, “Dacian fortresses” and “virgin forests”. For a better search, the name of each monument or the name of the village in which it is located are used. Also, with regard to the selection of articles, we focused on the following topics of debate: promotion, funding/rehabilitation, political disputes/conflict situations, theft/illegal/poaching, discovery/research, destruction, crunch/negligence.



Regarding the local press, the monitoring was carried out periodically (every three months), and for each district with the monuments registered in the world list, two or three newspapers were traced as following: Suceava County – *Monitorul de Suceava*, *Obiectiv* and *Suceava News*; Vâlcea County – *Ziarul de Vâlcea*, *Gazeta Vâlceană* and *Infoplus.ro*; Alba County – *Alba 24.ro*, *Ziarul Unirea* and *Ziarul Apulum*; Braşov County – *Bună Ziua Braşov*, *NewsBv.ro*, *Braşovul Tău*; Harghita County – *Ziarul Harghita* and *Informația Harghitei*; Mureş County – *Zi de Zi*, *Ziarul de Mureş*, *Cuvântul Liber*; Sibiu County – *Turnul Sfatului*, *Tribuna*; Hunedoara County – *Servus Hunedoara*, *Mesagerul Hunedoarean*, *Ziarul Hunedoareanului*; Maramureş County – *Ziar MM.ro*, *Gazeta de Maramureş*, *Graiul Maramureşului*; Tulcea County – *Obiectiv de Tulcea*, *Ziarul de Tulcea*; Caraş Severin County – *Express de Banat*, *Argument* and *Reper 24h*.

We will open the press report with local press publications on monuments from UNESCO World Heritage List. From our preliminary analyses, we have noticed that in all Counties, with exception of Hunedoara, they show almost total disinterest towards the UNESCO heritage from Romania.

We will start with the press from Suceava County. There were 14 articles in three daily newspapers in the course of the following two years: six articles aimed to promote painted churches in Moldova through events and school activities dedicated to or organized within them. Two articles present the plans of the local and district authorities to grant funds to the *Moldovița* Monastery, to *Progota* Monastery, to the Monastery of *Sf. Ioan cel Nou' Suceava*, to *Pătrăuți* Monastery to carry out repair and consolidation works for the modernization of the parishes. An article was classified into the 'Theft' category, and it was about a recidivist who had broken the box of mercy at *Sucevița* Monastery. There were five articles in the 'Political disputes' category describing the conflicts between the former director of the Stulpicani forest derelict - now deputy and former president of the Suceava County Council on the subject of the *Codrii Seculari Slătioara Natural Reservation*.

Three articles have been registered for Vâlcea County. One of them briefly describes the fact that the walls at the Hurezi Monastery had been affected due to water infiltrations, the plaster and the structure of the brick walls being partially destroyed even at the adjacent land. Another article presents the city of Horezu as the homeland of owls and the UNESCO monument and the third was about the ISU Vâlcea exercises that took place at the Hurezi Monastery. For the year 2018, there was no record, no mention of the Monastery except the occasion of church and Easter celebrations.

In the media from Alba district, we recorded a single article from 2017, which is dedicated to describing the Călnic Fortress and promoting it, present in the local daily 'Alba24.ro'. In 2018, local newspapers paid increased attention to the Roşia Montană problem, neglecting the other UNESCO sites in the district.

In the course of the analysis of the local media in the districts of Brasov, Sibiu and Tulcea, we noticed that UNESCO monuments have been completely disregarded - we have not found any articles on this subject.

Regarding the UNESCO World Heritage from Harghita District, two articles were discussed in 2017 that debate the issue of rehabilitation of the road that leads to the rural site of Dârjiu. No articles have been registered for the year 2018.

We have found only five articles regarding Mureş District. Two of them discussed the possibility of restoration of the fortified church in Saschiz through European funds. Three articles were dedicated to the Sighişoara's problems: one article is about the discovery of a middle-sized supply pits after a pedestrian alley in the Central Park, another one is about the debate on a new PUZ (Area Town Planning), and the last article, dating 2018, through which Mircea Diaconu, the MEP, makes a public call for saving the Medieval Fortress.

The Hunedoara area has a total of 43 articles in 2017 and 31 for 2018. The greatest attention was paid to the Dacian fortress from Sarmizegetusa Regia - Grădiştea (56 items). Twelve out of those articles relate to the issue of court trials in the case of the mould discovered in the fortress's site. The Hunedoara Court had settled the complaint formulated by a young woman from Arad who asked for reward for participating in the discovery of the ancient matrix of Sarmizegetusa Regia, a bronze artefact considered extremely precious, and she asked for a new expertise for it. Eleven articles discuss the destruction of the walls of the Dacian fortress caused by the collapse of trees and taking steps to cut them to prevent other incidents, the authorities' inability to resolve this issue, accusations by ecological associations that cutting of secular trees will affect or have already affected the integrity of the archaeological site, and the assurances from the site administrator and archaeologists that this has not happened. Eight articles present the new funding strategies for conservation and rescue work, two items highlight the Hunedoara District Council's plans to scan the fort of the city using state-of-the-art technologies to ease the work of researchers in future archaeological excavation campaigns, three articles outline the framework of a series of discoveries brought by archaeologists' research-



es undertaken in the sacred area (the Ninth Terrace), of a *stone-paved pathway and some limestone elements belonging to an edifice. Also, many artefacts have been found, such as fragments of ceramic pots, some painted with geometric or zoomorphic motifs, iron and glass pieces. All these archaeological discoveries could be admired by visitors at the open day at Sarmizegetusa Regia, organized on 9 September* (Bumbac 2017a). An article discusses the request of the Hunedoara Court of Accounts to the Hunedoara district Council to carry out *valuations and records in the accounting by the Public Administration of Historic Monuments Administration of Fixed Assets and other unrated valuables like buildings and lands that make up the historical site of Sarmizegetusa Direction - Grădiştea de Munte, owned or managed by District Council* (Bumbac 2017b). An article presents the year 2017's report by CJ Hunedoara with the number of visitors and the funds obtained from the sale of tickets from Sarmizegetusa Regia and Ulpia Traiana. One article highlights the latest home searches conducted by the Alba and Hunedoara police following suspicions of "archaeological poaching" and theft of property from the Dacian fortress site. Five articles from 2018 highlighted the resignation and protests of Sarmizegetusa's site administrator, Vladimir Brilinsky, directed against the Hunedoara District Council, but these resulted in the following: after seven days of protests he resumed his activity from the fortress. Also, in 2018, we found out that the National Heritage Institute had carried out a comprehensive study that would underpin the future conservation, restoration and rehabilitation works of the archaeological site Sarmizegetusa Regia, which the Hunedoara District Council intends to carry out in the following years and on which the architects from INP conducted the DALI related studies. Three articles report that severe weather events and landslides in the Sarmizegetusa Regia area have revealed a variety of comments and opinions that have inflamed public opinion in the media and social networking sites alongside well-documented opinions. In the 'Theft' category, we have two other articles: the Hunedoara Court sentenced Adrian Stoicoi to four years in prison. He is a citizen from the Orăştie Mountains area, accused of the illegal discovery and trafficking of ancient treasures from Sarmizegetusa Regia. The Prosecutor's Office attached to the High Court of Cassation and Justice sued Zeno Pop, a German citizen accused of money laundering in a sequel, in an anti-trafficking case file.

We continue to present the situation of press releases of other UNESCO-listed cities. Out of a total of five articles dedicated to the Dacian fortress from Costeşti, two describe the discovery of a bronze vessel and the investigation of the people involved in the qualified theft and abuse of service (two were accused of vandalizing the fortress), the search for the culprits, and the latter

brings to the surface the question “who will be chosen for the administration of the Dacian fortresses?”, and the debate on the problem of taking over the management of the Dacian fortresses by the Hunedoara district Council.

For the Dacian fort from Lunca, six articles were extracted from the local media in Hunedoara. Four out of them feature the recovery of ancient silver and bronze coins by the district police officers who acted under the coordination of the Criminal Investigation Division of the Romanian Police in the Czech Republic. These had been extracted from the site of the Lunca fortress. Two other articles come with the news on the Hunedoara District Council taking over all the Dacian fortresses in the district. The Dacian Fortress of Costești-Blidaru has been in the shadow of Sarmizegetusa Regia in the last years, after the road to the Dacian capital was renovated. There are only four articles on The Dacian Fortress in Bănița: three that present the issue of obtaining funds for the restoration and valorisation of the fortress, the evaluation phase of other roads that lead to the cities and the need to be restored, the greening actions that had taken place in their premises, and where one has remained the most neglected historical monument among all the Dacian fortresses of UNESCO heritage in our opinion.

In the three newspapers studied in Maramureș District, five articles have been recorded. Three showed the history of the UNESCO-listed wood churches and the rehabilitation works they have undergone over time, but also the degree of degradation and the fact that they are exposed to the risk of fire due to non-modernized electrical installations. Two articles are dedicated to Codrii Seculari’s site in Strâmbu-Băiut, which in May 2018 received the first official visit since its designation as a UNESCO monument and will be subjected to an ample conservation process in the near future.

In Caraș Severin County two items were debated for the year 2018 regarding the introducing of the forests of the district into the world heritage list and later, the elaboration of the Catalogue of the Virgin Forests, which must be protected. The press has found out that this catalogue lacks an area of nearly 1500 hectares of potentially virgin forests, out of a total of 1727 hectares on the Higege Valley, in the Teregova Forest District, these being authorities-owned.

In the following we will refer to the national press. The daily newspapers were: *Adevărul* (31), *News.ro* (12), National Agency of Press *Agerpres* (9), *Gândul* (3), *Mediafax* (4), *Știrile ProTV* (7), *Știrile TVR* (1) and *România Liberă* (7). In the national press, the same topics were reported and debated as in the local press, which is why we will present briefly the appearances. For Sarmizegetu-



sa Regia Site, we have identified 27 articles that raise the issues of destruction, theft and trial, new investment for research, site rehabilitation and conservation, site protector protests, etc. The rest of the Dacian fortresses (Bănița, Piatra Roșie, Costești) sum up a total of nine articles about the promotion, the disputes regarding the taking over of their administration by the Hunedoara District Council and the thefts that took place within the sites and the state of their presence, both authorities and tourists concentrating, in large part, on Sarmizegetusa. Six articles debated future rehabilitation actions and their funding for Saschiz (2017), people from Saschiz, were fined by authorities for changes not in keeping with the status of heritage sites, and the fact that the Saschiz fortress is undergoing renovation. Local authorities took steps in this direction and managed to get about 8.5 million lei from the European Union to restore the fortress. An article is dedicated to promoting the rural site of Biertan, one article presents the Viscri Village and its stories, and one item announces the collapse of the Siemioara medieval fortress wall on a 4.6 m section in the 11th Section area. The wooden churches in Maramureș draw attention to the destructions by a storm with two articles, in one of them they being presented as *Churches UNESCO Monument from Maramureș, at the mercy of times: attacked by dampness, with non-insulated electrical installations and strange buildings around* (Sabău 2018), and the 'Adevărul' newspaper has an article about them with the purpose of promoting their history. Three other articles present the entire UNESCO heritage from Romania, one article discusses the elaboration of the new UNESCO strategies, one item presents the list of the following investments of the Ministry of Culture and one of them is for the promotion of all monuments included in the list.

The Danube Delta has seven articles on the problem of poaching and on the police work to confiscate hundreds of kilograms of fish resulting from this activity, namely of extinct species, such as *zander*), legislative changes that have taken place, anthropogenic activities that lead to the destruction of certain areas of the delta and two articles were for promotion purposes.

Ten articles are subject to the entry of virgin beech forests into the UNESCO heritage list and a conflict between environmental associations (Agent Green and EuroNatur) and ROMSILVA on the cutting of trees inside the forests of Caraș-Severin. Environmental organizations have published an investigation showing that several secular forests in the Nerei-Beușnița National Park were destroyed almost entirely following the approval of the intensive use of the wood.

Conclusions

No reports could have been traced in Hungarian newspapers in Harghita District. Also, in the counties of Sibiu, Braşov and Tulcea there were no articles on the UNESCO local heritage, but this does not prove the total lack of objectives that require the attention of authorities, specialists and the media.

As we can see, the area of Hunedoara represented the greatest interest for the Romanian press, in the other districts, where UNESCO heritage is located, the local and the national press presenting either very short news or no interest to the public. Many of the newspapers analysed are mostly interested in promoting other types of subjects than cultural heritage, such as gossip, politics, etc.

The national press is only interested in controversial issues such as the theft of stolen robberies to those who have sold the Dacian bracelets on the black market.

As it has been noticed, most of the local press do not show much interest either in UNESCO heritage issues or in cultural and archaeological heritage in general. Also, most of them present subjects related to the subject matter in a politicized, subjective manner, some denouncing in an accusatory, slanderous manner abuses that do not exist, and others glorify the authorities, praising their initiatives or writing a large number of articles on the same subject to cover the negative items in other daily newspapers.

The lack of interest in the subject was also noticeable in the year 2018. From January until the end of November, we could identify fewer items than the previous year on the UNESCO World Heritage from Romania. As a result, we could notice that Rosia Montana, the political problems and the protests took a large part of the editorial space both in the local press and in the national press, and the news from the local press is repeated in the national press. This fluctuation is partly due to the fact that the journalists from local newspapers are correspondents in the territory of national newspapers, and the same content was published on both sides of the paper.

All this analysis of the Romanian press has led us to conclude that there is not only a low interest in the media, social media, television or radio, but also in the political discourse of the authorities in custody of these monuments, in the indifference manifested by the political class in the alarm signals drawn by the specialists in the field, which are often just echoes that just get whispered to the ears of those concerned.

This article is only a small part of our work, and for more information on various topics, we recommend visiting the site www.archaeoheritage.ro



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Monitorizarea de către mass-media a siturilor patrimoniului mondial din România

Rezumat

Atât publicul larg, cât și specialiștii (arheologi, istorici ș.a.) patrimoniului cultural sunt informați cel mai adesea despre starea acestuia sau despre ultimele descoperiri arheologice din presa scrisă sau TV. Prezentul studiu se concentrează pe articole privind problema patrimoniului cultural și arheologic al României inclus pe Lista Patrimoniului Mondial UNESCO, difuzate de către presă și televiziune în perioada 2017 și 2018 (ianuarie-noiembrie). Pentru o mai bună expunere a acestui studiu, schițăm un tabel cu fiecare obiectiv al patrimoniului UNESCO, împreună cu codul LMI, codul de înregistrare UNESCO, anul listării și situarea geografică. De asemenea, studiul conține o scurtă prezentare a raportului extras din mass-media pentru fiecare monument.

Cuvinte-cheie: UNESCO, România, mass-media, patrimoniu, protecție, conservare, promovare.

Elena Cozma, Iași Institute of Archaeology, Romanian Academy,
e-mail: elenacozma26@gmail.com

4. CULTURAL TOURISM, DIGITAL TECHNOLOGY, AND HERITAGE – PROMOTION, VALORISATION, USE/REUSE OF WORLD HERITAGE SITES

World Heritage Sites, Local Communities and Tourists

Alexandra ZBUCHEA

Abstract

World Heritage Sites are justifiably considered as valuable cultural and economic resources of a place. Previous research was dedicated to identifying the impact of world heritage sites on local development, as well as their ability to interact with local communities and to attract tourists. The present analysis describes the social fabric around the World Heritage Sites, aiming to understand better how these sites connect with various actors for identifying lines of sustainable management for these heritage sites. The study pinpoints that social interactions are very important in this context and that there is a shift towards two-way relationships between heritage and local communities, public administration, resident businesses, and tourists as well. Heritage site management should consider increasingly more its social value, the local social fabric, communities' ideals, and subjective well-being, locals' and tourists' stories, the voices, characteristics, and interests of multiple stakeholders.

Keywords: World Heritage Sites Management, Heritage Social Value, Heritage Tourism, Place Branding.

Introduction

The importance of World Heritage Sites is not to be contested. The *Convention concerning the protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* (UNESCO 1972) adopted by UNESCO in 1972 recognizes as main characteristics of the world heritage sites (WHS) their “outstanding universal value” from the point of view of history, ethnology, anthropology, arts, aesthetics, science, and nature. Taking this into account, Article 5 of the convention urges states “to adopt a general policy which aims to give the cultural and natural heritage a function in the life of the community and to integrate the protection of that heritage into comprehensive planning programmes”. Therefore, the value and the reason for being of WHS are tightly related to local communities.

The existence of a WHS in a community increases the pressure on that community from at least a certain perspective – it makes the community responsible not only in relationship with itself but also with the national and glo-



bal societies. A WHS comes with great responsibility, but also with advantages. The existence of a WHS makes a community outstanding, not only from a cultural point of view but also from a business perspective, it gives the local communities a competitive advantage. To fully benefit from such status, the WHS has to be strategically managed and promoted by the community as well as by its various stakeholders.

The present paper maps the impact that a world heritage site has on a community by investigating two main aspects. On one hand, the social value of heritage could be placed at the core of local development. This study presents the impact that WHS status has on it, as well as on the local dynamics. On the other hand, heritage influences tourism (Jimura 2011) – which influences the local communities and development in several ways. This paper focuses on the support of WHS not only for tourism development and its impact on local communities but also for a consistent place brand.

The social value of heritage

Cultural heritage is tightly related to a certain place, a specific cultural aspect, a particular community. It exists in connection to the historical, social, and cultural evolution of a place. Generally, it is considered a manifestation of the past. Nevertheless, it is an active ingredient of the present-day life of a community, it is directly influenced by this community and it could impact the development of this community in different ways. Probably the first consequence of the existence of a WHS that people are thinking of is the increased awareness of the place and the development of tourism. Besides this quite obvious evolution, we stress that also the prestige of the place and the local community increases. One would note an upgrade of the status. A WHS adds to the assets of a community, both social and cultural, it generates national and international prestige (Smith 2002). This influences the local planning processes, both at public, as well as at private levels.

Heritage sites are increasingly more connected to intangible heritage (Richards 2018). This association of tangible and intangible heritage enhances the value of heritage sites, as well as their appeal, making them increasingly more popular with tourists and scales up the multiplying effects.

The increased prestige and visitation put, on the other hand, stress both on cultural heritage and on local communities. Overcrowding might lead to negative effects, even if those directly benefiting from the tourism flows are positively evaluating the tourism encounters (Jimura 2011). Nevertheless, in some situation tourist overcrowding determined high commercialization and degradation of local culture, which was replaced by kitsch, fake products, and a staged culture personalized with regard to the needs, desires, and expectations

of tourists rather than having in mind the cultural DNA of the local community (Jimura 2011).

A positive outcome related to the inclusion of a site in the WHS list would be an increased awareness of the local community in connection to its own heritage and culture. In some cases, local communities understand neither the importance of their heritage nor the relevance of proper conservation and valorisation (Jimura 2011). In this context, the management of a WHS and other stakeholders should develop special educational programs to make locals aware of the importance not only of the heritage itself but also related to its proper conservation and authenticity.

Successful promotional programs within local communities would positively influence the cooperation of local stakeholders and would allow the empowerment of local communities. People with a strong attachment to a WHS would also feel responsible and be empowered in connection to it (Strzelecka, Boley and Woosnam 2017). Generally, the public support for a heritage site is, maybe paradoxically, directly linked to its state of preservation and perceived importance (Zbucnea and Anghel 2016, 605-606).

Cultural heritage, in general, is associated with its social value. The social value of a WHS resides in several aspects (Dans and González 2019): prestige, aesthetics, economic impact, and legacy. The first aspect, the prestige of a WHS, is connected not only with its existence but also its recognition. The status of WHS upscales all the previously mentioned dimensions. Putting all these aspects together, we find the necessary conditions for sustainable development.

To ensure sustainable development of the heritage, an ecosystem approach is recommended (Grefe 2004). This has in mind both the heritage (and its management body) and its “clients”/ stakeholders. Since among the most important stakeholders for any WHS are the local communities, the management of a site should pay special attention to them and their well-being and openness towards the site.

The locals’ well-being is a subjective evaluation of “feeling well”, from both emotional and physical perspectives, being related to the perception of the overall quality of life (Western and Tomaszewski 2016). A positive sense of well-being makes the residents open towards the tourism associated with a WHS (Chi, Cai and Li 2017). Among the factors positively affecting the subjective well-being are the perception of the economic status of the residents, developed social relations, and overall social environment, as well as the sense of community. Therefore, social fabric and dynamic might directly influence the effectiveness of the management strategy for a WHS and the sustainable development of the place in connection with its cultural heritage.



Heritage and tourism

Cultural tourism, in general, is developing around the world (Zbucnea 2012). Therefore, the existence of a world heritage site would be related not only to increased cultural tourism in an area but overall with developed tourism flows, since most tourists would positively evaluate the existence of cultural venues at the destination and they would also check the most relevant cultural attractions at the destination. The WHS status is also relevant for international tourism. A global investigation shows that a WHS status would generate an increase in tourism flows, nevertheless, the impact is nonlinear (Lin et al., 2020). Regarding this reaction, we pinpoint that the natural WHSs seem to attract more tourists than the newly accepted cultural WHSs (Su and Lin 2014). The inscription of new heritage sites in the case of countries with a small number of such sites is generating a more relevant impact on tourism flows compared to countries with a large number of sites already included in the list.

Heritage is increasingly more attractive to tourists, nevertheless not always the inclusion of a heritage site in the list brings, in the short and medium terms, additional visitors¹. This apparently counterintuitive evolution might be explained by several factors. The site might be too remote and lack accessibility. The inclusion of the site in the WHS list might not be known and in general, the site is not promoted outside the local community/ region after the inclusion. The general and tourism infrastructures might be too poor to facilitate the presence of tourists.

In principle, the “universal value” would make a WHS attractive to everybody by default. Nevertheless, the first aspect to be considered when managing and promoting a WHS is its local specificity. In some situations, it could even enter into conflict with the values of certain segments of tourists, and even with parts of the local communities (Tucker and Carnegie 2014). Presenting the heritage both to locals and tourists should have in mind a dialogic approach, a multifaceted discourse. Alternative narratives are to be considered in all aspects related to managing WHSs. A dynamic approach is also a concern since the mentalities and exigencies both of locals and tourists are in a continuous change (Park and Santos 2017). Meaning-making is a negotiation process that involves many stakeholders. Heritage could be made relevant for tourists in this way not only from an external perspective but also from an inner one, having a personal insight relevant for various segments of tourists.

Tourists come to visit a heritage site for its social value. Nevertheless, the decision-making process and the behaviour at the location are influenced by

¹ See an evaluation of the studies on this topic in Jimura, 2011.

many other factors, such as tourists' values and services provided (Santa-Cruz and López-Guzmán 2017). As specified before, the local communities also are a relevant stakeholder. Resident's attitude, involvement, and, ultimately, empowerment, are part of the puzzle of successful tourism management at a WHS. Besides the perceived well-being associated with tourism at a WHS (Chi, Cai, and Li 2017), knowledge, and opportunity (Rasoolimanesh et al. 2017) are factors influencing community participation.

The participation of resident businesses is also a relevant aspect of sustainable development and tourism at a WHS. Besides their direct economic gains related to tourism, some other general factors are determining their attitudes towards the WHS (Olya, Shahmirzdi and Alipour 2019). We mention the perceived high levels of cultural impact and quality of life, as well as low levels of environmental and social impact which are predictors of the support for sustainable tourism development. The businesses which have been operating for a longer time at the location, and observed that the economic, social, and cultural benefits generated by the WHS are low, are unlikely to support the tourism and management of the site. Generally, for all types of businesses, the positive economic impact of tourism associated with a WHS is not enough to generate the support of the local business.

Other relevant stakeholders have to be considered when designing the management strategies related to tourists, even if they are not directly connected to these visitors. For instance, scholars and archaeologists are not only providers of cultural content. They could also be mediators for the discussions and dialogues around the heritage, involving both local communities and tourists (Pacífico and Vogel 2012).

The creative experience associated with a WHS increases not only the level of the satisfaction of the tourists and other beneficiaries, but also the brand image (Huang and Liu 2018) — both considering the level of the heritage site, and the wider place level. The quality of learning processes increases the travel benefits and could lead to multiplying effects.

Increasingly more, the research draws the attention to changing patterns of place consumption, where both tourists and locals have a role (Rakić and Chambers 2012; Ponting and McDonald 2013; Thurnell-Read 2017; Cohen and Cohen 2019). There is a shift from passive exposure to material aspects and multisensory elements to active knowledge absorption and affective involvement. Within this new framework, local communities are not only visible but also are active agents for fulfilling place experience and sustainable place development.

Sustainability of the management of a WHS is also connected to sustainable tourism. An advantage associated with heritage sites is that their seasonality



is low (Aznar and Hoefnagels 2019). Therefore, they offer a valuable constant cultural tourism resource. The economic long-term value of heritage sites for local communities is not very straightforward. The increase of tourists' number might not generate consistent and increased revenues for local communities; over-tourism might generate some negative side-effects and burdens on local communities (Aznar and Hoefnagels 2019; Melubo and Lovelock 2019). Social and culture are other dimensions of sustainability, that influence in various ways cultural tourism. These dimensions contribute to attracting tourists sensitive to social and cultural value and heritage preservation. However, tourists are divided into several segments and only parts of them are oriented towards and active in the field of heritage preservation (Alazaizeh et al. 2016). In terms of behaviour, several dimensions of general, as well as site-specific approaches have been identified (Buonincontri, Marasco and Ramkissoon 2017). The first category includes several dimensions: civil actions, educational activities, financial actions, persuasive actions, and legal ones. The second category involved active contribution towards better preservation of the site and responsibility towards local heritage, culture, and communities. They could be relevant not only in terms of the historical and cultural dimension of heritage but also related to tourism development.

Heritage and place branding

Place branding is tightly connected with being an attractive location. By such endeavours, a place raises its profile and reputation, by developing a place identity, focusing on local assets, values, and symbols². Effective place branding is based on a kaleidoscopic approach, a symbiosis between functional and representational dimensions of the place (Giovanardi, Lucarelli and Pasquinelli 2013). Other fundamental elements of place branding that should be considered are rights, roles, relationships, and responsibilities (Aitken and Campelo 2011). Therefore, creating a place brand is a continuous process of negotiation and co-creation involving many stakeholders. The local administration has a leading role in planning a sound sustainable development, but successful place branding depends on negotiations and harmonizing the interests of all stakeholders (Porter 2020). Another aspect to consider is that the international brand associated with a WHS might not resonate with the local brand of the same WHS, therefore additional harmonization being necessary (Shabani, Tucker and Nazifi 2020).

All these processes are connected to the way culture is assimilated and valorised, to its reinforcement and incorporation in the place brand. Through par-

² We recommend to start the documentation with the seminal works of Anholt 2005; Govers and Go 2009; 2016; Kavaratzis and Hatch 2013.

ticipation, mental associations between a place and local aspects such as material and immaterial features, institutions, and representations are developed as features of a place brand (Kavaratzis and Kalandides 2015). Within this framework, both material and immaterial cultural heritage becomes an important ingredient of the place branding process. Nevertheless, generally, places are complex entities and culture is only one ingredient in the branding process, which is associated with other aspects even in the case of significant cultural heritage (Zbucnea 2014). The argument is two-folded. On one hand, culture is not the only relevant feature of a place; it is only a part of the place identity. On the other hand, culture does not have (yet?) a strong universal power of attraction, while the interests and points of references of stakeholders are very diverse.

Place branding is dependent on place identity. As Kavaratzis and Hatch (2013) point out, the identity is not a fixed, given item. It evolves in relation to the dialogue between various internal and external stakeholders. This identity is also shaped by the material and cultural assets of the place. Although heritage is a production of the past, its actual value is connected to its present valorisation. Only part of the heritage is selected to be part of the place identity. Considering its prominent position, as well as its political and cultural influence, a WHS site is inevitably an important component of the local identity. Nevertheless, its actual position depends on the relationships between various stakeholders.

The existence of a WHS ensures more visibility for a place, therefore contributes to a sharper and more convincing place identity. This process is supported by social cooperation among stakeholders and could ensure a more sustainable cultural development and general sustainable development. Arguments rely on several lines, such as increasingly more culture generates economic benefits to diverse segments of the public, culture is ever tighter related to local communities, while also being included in dialogue with other segments of the public (such as tourists, for instance, accountability has become a norm in heritage management, culture and heritage are an increasingly more present part of the modern society, heritage supports social reflection and dialogue (Zbucnea 2014). To actually have such processes, the management strategies of heritage should be aligned with place branding processes.

Sustainable development and planning of a place brand depend on the cooperation of various stakeholders. Nevertheless, the way they cooperate is a complex of approaches (Beritelli 2011). Personal factors are very relevant in this context. Therefore, the management of local development, as well as of the WHS should consider these aspects, design a proper PR strategy with a relevant human perspective to develop/activate local social networks. Consequently, both locals and tourists should not be ignored in setting sustainable



managerial strategies to stimulate responsible behaviour and active word-of-mouth advocacy. The tourist behaviour might be general, or more specific – involving them responsibly in site preservation and management-related processes (Buonincontri, Marasco and Ramkissoon 2017). This sustainable behaviour is connected to an existing social bond between heritage and tourists, but also with their connection with the place. Place identity, place attachment, and tourist experience are positively influencing the responsible and active behaviour of visitors.

Sustainable and credible place branding is also related to the attitude and involvement of local communities. Even if the existence of a WHS impacts them directly and indirectly, the locals are not always willing to be involved in management processes, in tourism activities, or other approaches connected to the heritage site. More active communities are the ones already attached to the place and adopting community ideals (trust inside the community, cohesiveness, etc.) rather than values related to the heritage itself (Dragouni and Fouseki 2018). To be noted that the expectations related to tourism development are not necessary a drive for community participation.

Heritage, including WHSs, contributes to this stakeholders' participation if it provides a sound narrative, relevant for the involved stakeholders. The discourse depends on material aspects, such as infrastructure and physical evidence, but also the constructed immaterial elements and its image. Its authenticity and power of connection contribute to offering a competitive advantage of the place brand that incorporates it (Rius Ulldemolins 2014). Over time, WHS became a brand in itself, and it endorses effectively the development of place brands where the included sites are located (Ryan and Silvanto 2009).

Local culture is part of a place branding effort, but its inclusion might be considered in several ways. One such approach would be to re-design the image by re-positioning based on cultural heritage (Fan 2014). In this case, heritage is used both in the process of image development, and its communication.

Another model of place branding is the development of cultural districts as centres of local identity and development (Evans 2015; Fanzini and Rotaru 2012; Le Blanc 2010; Nuccio and Ponzini 2017; Ponzini, Gugu and Oppio 2014; Zbucea 2014). In terms of spatial form, four models of cultural districts have been identified, among which heritage and cultural quarters, where heritage is at the centre of the processes and image development (Evans 2015). The existence of a WHS could support increased visibility of such districts, but it is neither a must nor a sufficient pre-requisite. It might also support the sustainability of such endeavours, which are sensitive structures, with relatively low rates of long-term consistent success (Nuccio and Ponzini 2017).

Similarly, the inclusion of a place in a cultural route might strengthen the place branding efforts (Puczko and Ratz 2007; Zbucnea 2014). The endorsement offered by such cultural routes is beneficial to the local communities and its WHSs, by offering several advantages, such as increased visibility, or larger tourist flows. Nevertheless, the focus does not rely on local place brands, rather on the thematic route though.

When considering the relationships between culture and its inclusion in place branding processes, aspects of authenticity have to be considered. Apparently, paradoxically, the two opposite approaches proved to be effective – the appeal to cultural authenticity, as well as the imposing of a brand to local stakeholders (Hornskov 2007). Therefore, a flexible and yet consistent discourse has to be adopted. The success of such endeavours might be connected with a cultural dynamism covering the proposed narratives. These processes are easier to design and implement in the case of the existence of a WHS, which already benefits from a strong capital of authenticity, generally accepted by local stakeholders.

Conclusions and implications

To synthesize, WHSs are in tight relationships with local communities, public administration and place representatives, resident businesses, and other stakeholders, as well as tourists visiting them. Sometimes, we observe one-way relationships, while in other cases the links are double-ways. The presence of a WHS impacts local communities by contributing to their prestige, education, and economic development. In their turn, local communities are influencing WHSs in the context of responsible action towards them, positive community ideals, and subjective well-being. Two-ways relationships are manifest in the field of empowerment and participation. These aspects are two folded: knowledge-driven and opportunity-driven. Also, two-way connections are manifest in connection to the narratives of a WHS. The voices of local communities impact the discourse associated with a WHS, while the narratives of the place shape the local stories. These perspectives are mediated by scholars, archaeologists, architects, but also by public bodies.

Considering the above framework, one observes that social aspects are vital to be considered for proper management of a WHS. The social value of heritage, in addition to the local social networks and dynamics, contributes not only to the management of the site but ensures its contribution to the local sustainable development.

The influence of a WHS on local actors, such as public administration and businesses, is mainly considered on the economic dimension – presented as di-



rect and multiplier effects generated by the operation of the site. According to the observed long-term economic, social, and cultural impact of a WHS, the resident businesses have a positive and cooperative attitude towards the site. When considering local development planning, two-way relationships between the public administration and the management of a WHS should be considered for sustainable development.

As expected, WHSs attract tourists and they contribute to the education and personal development of their visitors. For their part, tourists also influence WHSs. The increased tourists' flows put important pressure on the site and its infrastructure. Also, tourists' attitudes and behaviours towards the site and heritage preservation have a strong impact on heritage. The WHS also influences tourists considering the experience associated with the visit at the site and in the surrounding area. Lately, there has been a shift towards a co-created experience and two-way relationships when considering site experience. Also, in a sustainable management approach, tourists have become co-authors and part of the heritage narratives; there is a "restitution" of heritage towards communities (Zbucea et al. 2016).

WHSs are also tightly related to the place and the landscape which houses them. Their features and socio-cultural value depend on these elements. The place should have a voice in the co-creation of a WHS narrative, while the site should co-contribute to the place brand development. A place brand is tightly related to place identity and awareness. Therefore, heritage is a part of this process, is an active actor in the negotiation processes and the creative endeavour associated with sustainable place brand development. A strong place brand contributes to the development of tourism and sustainable local development.

Another aspect investigated by the paper was the relationships between heritage and tourism. The actual impact of a WHS on tourism depends not only on the characteristics of the site, which are unique and valuable since the respective heritage is included in the WHS list. The influence depends on the scarcity of the WHSs in a region, on the public's awareness, the local infrastructure, the social cooperation among stakeholders, the local community involvement, as well as the existence of inclusive narratives.

We observe an increasingly more dynamic perspective on world heritage site management. The associated strategies should not be fixed in time. Sustainable management implies continuous negotiation and co-creation with external actors. The multi-stakeholder approach should be the norm. Sustainable site management finds the balance between local and universal values, between various types of stakeholders who appreciate the cultural and social impact associated with a WHS.

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Situri ale patrimoniului mondial, comunități locale și turiști

Rezumat

Siturile Patrimoniului Mondial sunt considerate în mod justificat drept resurse culturale și economice valoroase ale unui loc. Cercetările anterioare au fost dedicate identificării impactului siturilor de patrimoniu mondial asupra dezvoltării locale, precum și capacității lor de a interacționa cu comunitățile locale și de a atrage turiști. Prezenta analiză descrie țesătura socială din jurul siturilor Patrimoniului Mondial, urmărind să înțeleagă mai bine modul în care aceste site-uri se conectează cu diverși actori pentru identificarea liniilor de gestionare durabilă pentru aceste situri de patrimoniu. Studiul arată că interacțiunile sociale sunt foarte importante în acest context și că există o schimbare către relații bidirecționale între patrimoniu și comunitățile locale, administrația publică, întreprinderile rezidente și turiști. Managementul sitului patrimonial ar trebui să ia în considerare din ce în ce mai mult valoarea sa socială, țesutul social local, idealurile comunităților și bunăstarea subiectivă, poveștile localnicilor și turiștilor, vocile, caracteristicile și interesele mai multor părți interesate.

Cuvinte-cheie: gestionarea siturilor de patrimoniu mondial, valoarea socială a patrimoniului, turismul de patrimoniu, marcarea locului.

Alexandra Zbucnea, National University of Studies
and Public Administrations, Bucharest, Romania,
e-mail: alexandra.zbucnea@facultateademangement.ro

Immersing into the Past: An Augmented Reality Method to Link Tangible and Intangible Heritage

Dragoş GHEORGHIU, Livia ŞTEFAN

Abstract

The current IT and digital technologies such as Mobile Augmented Reality (MAR) enable the overlap of digital and real world information in relation with a topic, in an engaging and efficient manner, and therefore can be used to store intangible heritage and to study it in the context as well. The current paper refers to such an augmentation of cultural information, performed at the Kallatis site, whose ruins, at present mostly covered by the modern town, do not offer sufficient information on the complexity of the Greek civilization. The implementation of a MAR application consisted in defining several points of interest of the important local archaeological discoveries, which can trigger, for the visitors using our application, an augmentation of the historical site with images and videos. With the current research work, the authors propose and demonstrate that a mobile MAR application can constitute a modern method for providing visitors with an immersive and holistic experience for understanding the local material and intangible heritage.

Keywords: Intangible Heritage, Mobile Augmented Reality, Immersion, Points of Interest, Re-enactment.

1. Introduction

Currently, the heritage is not addressed as an undivided whole, but rather segregated into two categories: material heritage and intangible heritage. A holistic approach to heritage should address both aspects, i.e. the material and the immaterial, whenever the available data allow for it. From an educational perspective, both heritage categories should be presented in their original, organic connection, in order to deliver as explicit as possible image of the culture of past societies to the public.

This endeavour is possible with current IT and digital technologies such as Mobile Augmented Reality (MAR), which make possible the overlap of digital and real world information, by taking advantage of the technical capabilities of smartphones and tablets (e.g. mobile communication, GPS receiver, gyroscope or front camera).

The use of MAR allows for the display of information in relation with a topic in an engaging and efficient manner. During the last few years, the authors have experimented with the MAR method in order to augment the archaeological information of some heritage sites (Gheorghiu and Ştefan 2014a; 2014b;



2019) and have documented their experience with both material and intangible heritage in the present paper.

In the case of heritage sites, the MAR technology can enhance the information corresponding to a defined Point of Interest (POI) by superposing the intangible heritage (e.g. the specific technologies of a site) on the architectural remains of that site.

This palimpsest of information representing an augmentation of existing data produces an immersive mood similar to the one experienced when exploring art works or virtual worlds. The immersion is generated by the rich information placing the user at the centre of a new reality. In the case of MAR, the newly created reality is a combination of real and digital content.

In the current paper the authors provide details on the design and implementation of a MAR application and discuss how this can constitute a modern method for providing visitors with an immersive and holistic experience for understanding the local heritage, and thus for preserving it. How such MAR applications can be rendered more accessible to broader public is also discussed.

2. Augmenting reality

The attempt to recover the Past as truthfully as possible is enabled by current IT and digital technologies such as mobile devices and Augmented Reality technology (AR).

The AR technology, systems and applications were first explained by Azuma (1997), Azuma *et al.* (2001), and recently surveyed by Carmigniani and Furht (2010) or Carmigniani *et al.* (2011), among others. Alkhamisi and Monowar (2013: 25) citing Yang (2011) mention other similar technologies among the benefits of AR, such as Virtual Reality, as “having a better sense and interaction of reality whereas it lays emphasis on the organic integration of virtual environment and the real world”.

The mobility of smartphones and tablets allows their utilization in a context, while AR allows the overlay of digital content over the visible real information to be accomplished in situ, which makes the user undergo an important emotional and cognitive experience.

Chi-Yin Yuen *et al.* (2011: 135) analyses several milestones and innovations in including AR in the educational projects and offers an optimistic perspective on the evolution of the AR when he states “through the continuing research in AR technologies, it is possible that AR will eventually lead to a complete and immersive VR (Virtual Reality), allowing humans to surround themselves with a convincing virtual environment in which they can interact with other humans, with computers, and with programs.”

2.1. MAR, a special case of AR

Mobile Augmented Reality (MAR) makes available the AR technology for the mobile devices (smartphones and tablets), making it a technology publicly available to any user. MAR makes the overlap of digital content on the real world view possible, even on smaller screens, by using key mobile affordances: data communication (mobile and wireless networks), location sensing (GPS), user direction (gyroscope), front video camera, and performant displays.

A category of MAR is based on the location sensing technologies, by defining location-aware augmentations.

By making advanced use of mobile technologies, it is possible to create so-called “pervasive applications” or “ubiquitous applications”, i.e. applications which can be used in any place, can interact with objects and places, and are usually employed in outdoor environments. Moreover, by defining characteristics of the pervasive applications in the context of more complex usage such as location-based games, Thomas (2006) asserts that these can also be used at any time, the content or actions being activated by the user’s location.

2.2. MAR and intangible heritage

The potential of digital information recommends the use of MAR in the case of intangible heritage, to highlight, discover and educate. The augmentation of material data such as architectural structures, with immaterial data, such as technologies, provides a comprehensive image of the daily life in the Past. We believe that ancient technologies are an important aspect of the intangible heritage, and that they should be reproduced by experiment and transferred into the AR technology, thus being secured and transformed into didactic material.

From this perspective, the MAR application is also an educational affordance, with important benefits in the case of intangible heritage, as “pervasive learning is not a form of delivered instruction, it is a social process that happens at a time and place of the learners’ choosing instead [...], supports spontaneous, unscripted learning.” (Heljakka and Ihamäki 2018: 81).

In the case of heritage sites, MAR technologies provide the user with a different kind of information related to the site, overlapped on Points of Interest (POI). This palimpsest of information, which represents an augmentation of existing data, produces an immersive mood similar to the one experienced when exploring art works, or virtual worlds.

Similar to a book reader, who identifies himself with a character, the user of the MAR application will psychologically immerse in the presented digital content. The immersion is generated by the rich information which places the user at the centre of a new reality. In the case of MAR, the newly created reality is a combination of real and digital content.



3. Similar research

MAR applications for heritage, cultural tourism and education benefit from a significant amount of research work, essentially for bringing virtual reconstruction of historical sites to the public.

Abowd *et al.* (1997) were the first to research and develop an experimental context-aware mobile Cyberguide to provide user services.

The first relevant MAR application in archaeology was “Archeoguide”, an AR guide for archaeological sites (Vlahakis *et al.*, 2002: 52) which offered, on custom manufactured mobile devices, personalized visitor tours of Greek archaeological sites. The augmentations were presented as historical information, reconstructed sites and simulations of ancient life.

Noh *et al.* (2009: 50) also explores the educational potential of both Virtual Heritage and digital culture heritage “to preserve, protect and interpret [...] culture and history.”

In Gheorghiu and Ștefan (2014b) the topics of immaterial heritage and digital memory are discussed, while in Ștefan and Gheorghiu (2015) and Gheorghiu and Ștefan (2019) MAR usage for revealing “invisible” communities is explored.

Norsyafawati *et al.* (2016: 491) performs an exploratory literature review of MAR applications dealing with cultural heritage content. The authors extrapolate the MAR augmentations as “any graphic visual representations of information, data or knowledge intended to present complex information quickly and clearly” that is also able to improve user understanding of visual patterns. Similarly, in Gheorghiu and Ștefan (2014a; 2018), MAR augmentations of the archaeological record are developed as a sequence of different types of media and information, in a structure that mimics the fractals.

Tenedório and Marques (2017) address the built heritage and discuss how can 3D models and augmented reality visualization, based on mobile platforms, enhance the value of urban heritage. The authors are considering the built heritage not only part of the urban public space, but also “a space of memory” (Tenedório and Marques 2017: 4). MAR applications “can be understood as the dematerialized extension of the public space with patrimonial value.” (Tenedório and Marques 2017: 5).

Zaibon *et al.* (2015: 235) investigate the applicability of Mobile Augmented Reality in Malaysian cultural heritage sites, by means of a user study that revealed that 90% of the respondents consider that mobile AR has a potential to be used at the cultural heritage sites.

4. Augmenting the archaeological reality. A case study

The benefits of using AR technology as part of the process of heritage preservation are vast, as it allows for the display of information in relation with an object or place, in an engaging and efficient manner.

As a case study, the authors selected an archaeological site, iconic for the Hellenistic period, i.e. the Greek city of Kallatis. Currently, the remains of the city are mostly covered by the modern town, i.e. Mangalia (Figure 1).

The implementation of the MAR application consists in defining several POIs of the important local archaeological discoveries, which can trigger the visitors using our application, an augmentation of the historical site with images and videos of re-enactments (Figure 2).

The augmentation of the tangible heritage with the intangible one is achieved with video films representing re-enactments of daily life scenes. With these kind of augmentations, i.e. videos, the newly created reality is a combination of real information and immersive digital content. The visitor can switch from real to virtual, and vice versa. This user experience will create an augmented and immersive illusion of being in this “new reality”.



Figure 1. Excavations showing the ancient Greek town Kallatis overlapped by the modern town of Mangalia, 2016 (photo D. Gheorghiu)

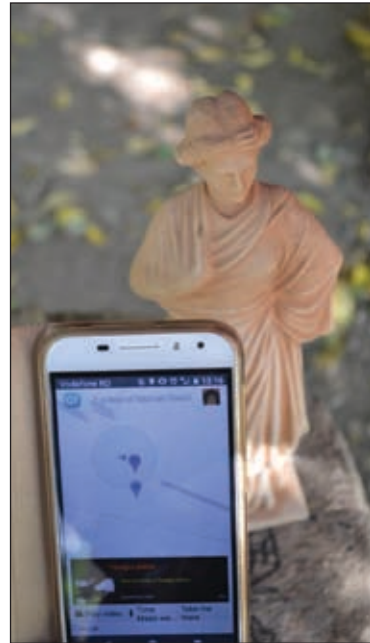


Figure 2. POIs of the important local archaeological discoveries (photo D. Gheorghiu)



Figure 3. A theatrical scene with characters dressed in Greek costumes, reproduced after the Tanagra costumes (photo D. Gheorghiu)



In one example, represented by the Kallatis site where Tanagra figurines have been discovered, the visitors can watch both theatrical scenes with characters dressed in ancient costumes, reproduced after the figurines' costumes, and the modelling of such statuettes (Figure 3).

5. The *kallatisAR* application

kallatisAR is a MAR application developed on the Layar commercial AR platform (Layar 2018).



Figure 4. POIs on the map view of *kallatisAR* application

The application covers a geographical area by means of defined POIs, augmented with texts and videos representing re-enactments.

The augmentations are triggered by the user's location, i.e. when approaching within a 5m radius around each POI (Figure 4).

In order to access the application, users need to install the Layar AR platform on their mobile phones or tablets and to

search for the *kallatisAR* layer in the Geo category. (Figure 5)

5.1. The User's experience with the *kallatisAR* application

The user interaction with the POIs was employed to deliver the content and also to provide an immersive experience on the material heritage linked to the immaterial heritage.

The POIs are defined within the archaeological site, in the real landscape.

The Layar platform offers pre-defined interface graphic elements (POI icons, billboards, message boards) which can be customized in terms of colours or fonts.

When the *kallatisAR* is launched, the user can “activate” a POI by either selecting it from the map view or by entering into the POI’s range, in the AR view.

This action could be followed by the display of a 3D architectural reconstruction overlapped on the present architectural ruins, i.e. the material heritage.

By clicking the reconstruction in a defined

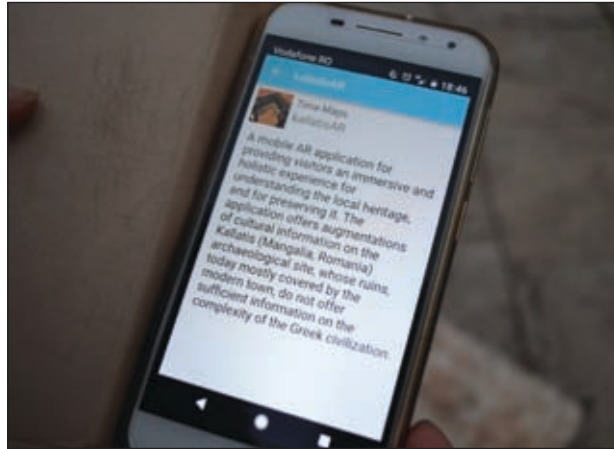


Figure 5. The Layar AR platform on a mobile phone with the *kallatisAR* layer in the Geo category (Photo D. Gheorghiu)



Figure 6. Video showing the modelling techniques of the Tanagra figurines (Photo D. Gheorghiu)

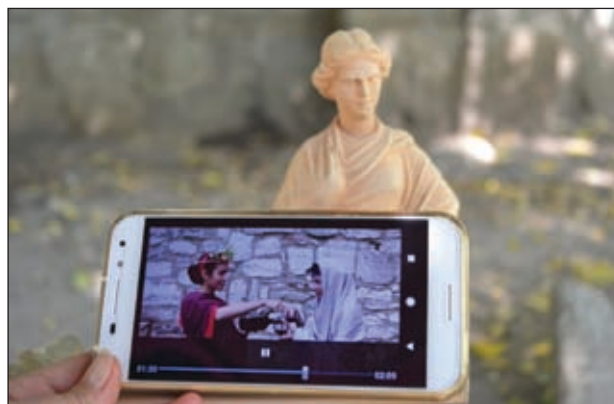


Figure 7. A re-enactment with characters dressed in Greek costumes (Photo D. Gheorghiu)



sensitive area comprising a representative object, in the current case a Tanagra figurine, the re-enactment videos i.e. the *intangible-immaterial heritage* will be displayed, showing the modelling techniques of the figurines (Figure 6) and also a re-enactment with characters dressed in ancient costumes similar to those of the figurines (Figure 7).

6. Visibility to the broader public

To improve the visibility of the MAR applications to the broader public different media and methods were used by the authors:

- Time Maps website (www.timemaps.net);
- Social media, e.g. Facebook and Twitter;

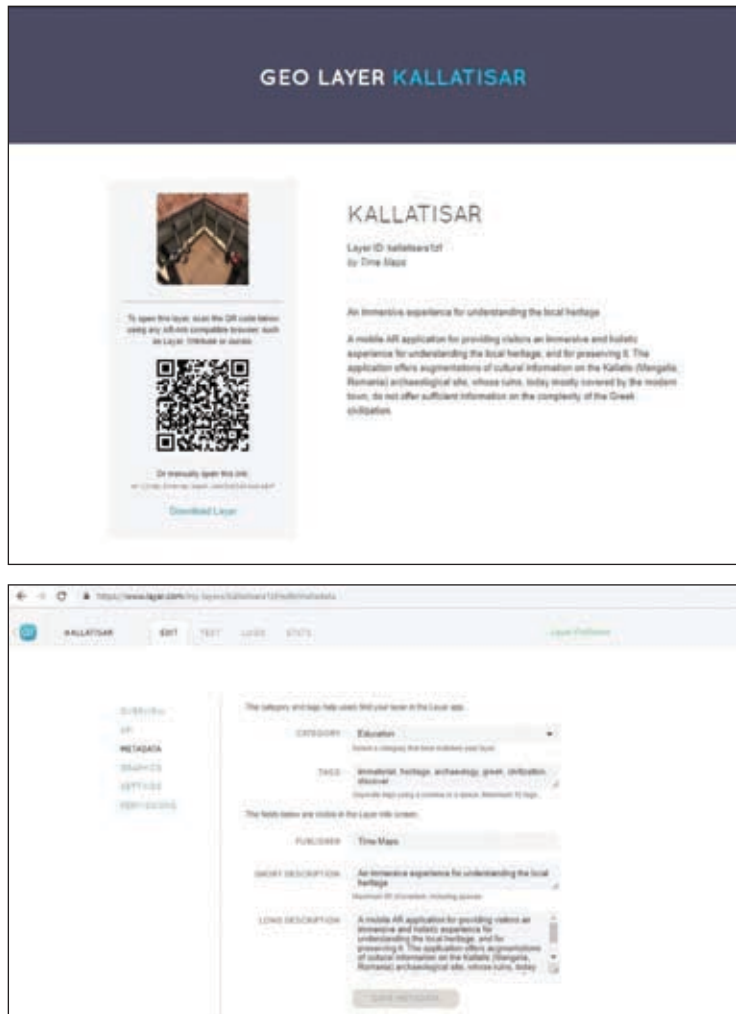


Figure 8. *kallatisAR* web page on the Layar site (top); *kallatisAR* tags and category on the Layar site (bottom)

- *in-situ* posters, on the availability of the MAR application and how it can be accessed on mobile devices;
- QR codes for rapid access to the application.

Currently, from the *kallatisAR* application the users can access the Time Maps project, take a photo of the AR representation of the place, or share the information on social media sites.

On the Layar platform, finding the *kallatisAR* application by users and developers is facilitated by the Layar public application catalogue website (Figure 8).

Furthermore, to distinguish it and help users in selecting the *kallatisAR* from among other Layar applications, “immaterial, heritage, archaeology, Greek, civilization, discover” tags and “Education” category were defined.

7. Conclusion

The authors consider that a mobile MAR application represents a modern method for providing visitors an immersive and holistic experience for understanding the local heritage, and for preserving it.

MAR could offer the visitor an augmented immersion, and an experience of the Past much deeper than the one offered by conventional museums.

In concluding this paper, one can assume that ancient technologies are an important cultural feature that can assemble the material and the intangible heritage by the use of MAR. The Time Maps project where the authors experimented this synthesis, demonstrates the importance of the recovery of the ancient technologies for the revitalization of the contemporary folk traditions in different European locations. MAR can present technologies as augmentations of the current reality, like the re-enactments with characters dressed in ancient costumes who construct objects and display their daily use. In this case, an augmentation of the information of the historical context could have a strong immersive character, and can act as an efficient didactic method of understanding, teaching and transferring the past into the future.

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Imersarea în trecut: o metodă de Realitate Augmentată pentru a integra patrimoniul material cu cel imaterial

Rezumat

Actualele tehnologii informatice și digitale, cum ar fi realitatea augmentată mobilă (MAR), permit suprapunerea informațiilor digitale și reale în relație cu un subiect, într-un mod captivant și eficient și, prin urmare, pot fi utilizate pentru a stoca patrimoniul intangibil și pentru a-l studia, de asemenea, în context. Lucrarea actuală se referă la o astfel de extindere a informațiilor culturale, efectuată la situl Kallatis, ale cărui ruine, astăzi acoperite în cea mai mare parte de orașul modern, nu oferă suficiente informații despre complexitatea civilizației grecești. Implementarea aplicației MAR constă în definirea mai multor puncte de interes ale descoperirilor arheologice locale importante, care pot declanșa, pentru vizitatorii care folosesc aplicația noastră, o augmentare a sitului istoric cu imagini și videoclipuri. Prin cercetarea întreprinsă, autorii propun și demonstrează că o aplicație MAR mobilă poate constitui o metodă modernă de a oferi vizitatorilor o experiență imersivă și holistică pentru înțelegerea patrimoniului material și imaterial local.

Cuvinte-cheie: patrimoniu imaterial, realitate augmentată mobilă, imersare, puncte de interes, reconstituire.

Dragoș Gheorghiu, National University of Arts, Bucharest; Instituto Terra e Memória - Mação, Centro de Geociências da Universidade de Coimbra.

email: gheorghiu_dragos@yahoo.com

Livia Ștefan, Independent Researcher,

email: livia.stefan@yahoo.com

Woodland Values in Zagori, NW Greece (19th–21st Century): Between Heritage and History

Faidon MOUDOPOULOS ATHANASIOU

Abstract

The present article exposes a conflict regarding the management of natural and cultural values through time, using the example of woodland management in Zagori (NW Greece) from the late 19th century to the present day (2018). The central question is how a cultural landscape now interpreted as significant enough for potential World Heritage nomination (2014 tentative list), was managed through time by the Greek State in a top down approach that led to a polarization between natural and cultural values. First, issues of commune woodland management and emic perceptions of values will be addressed, followed by an outline of state economic factors that shaped the national policies that replaced them. The local communities' reactions during this transformation will be addressed. Finally, it is suggested that such case studies are valuable educational material for heritage professionals, since they offer insights into the processes of site valorization, revealing historical factors, economic stakes, and legislative biases, while also touching upon stakeholder issues.

Keywords: Cultural Heritage Management, Heritage Transformation, Environment, Policy, Woodlands, Greece, Zagori, Vikos–Aos UNESCO Global Geopark.

Historical background

The mountainous region of Zagori is situated in Epirus, Northwest Greece, close to the Greek–Albanian border (Figure 1). The municipality of Zagori contains 46 mountainous villages, spread over an area of more than 1000 square kilometers. The boundaries of the area are conventionally defined by the peaks of the Pindhos mountain-range (to the North–Northeast), the rivers Voidomatis (North) and Zagoritikos (East–Southeast), as well as by the Mount Mitsikeli and the Kalpaki plain (West). Based on the criteria that will be addressed below, Zagori is inscribed in the tentative list for World Heritage Nomination (Permanent Delegation of Greece to UNESCO 2014), but no management plan has been put forward yet, four years after the proposal.¹ Due

¹ Two years after the conference in Sighișoara—where this article was presented (2018)—the first steps towards the creation of the management plan are emerging. Therefore, Part Four of this article refers to the early steps of this effort (2014–2018). At the time, Zagori was destined to become a Mixed Site, but since 2019 the Ministry of Culture opted for the better suited framework of Cultural Landscape.

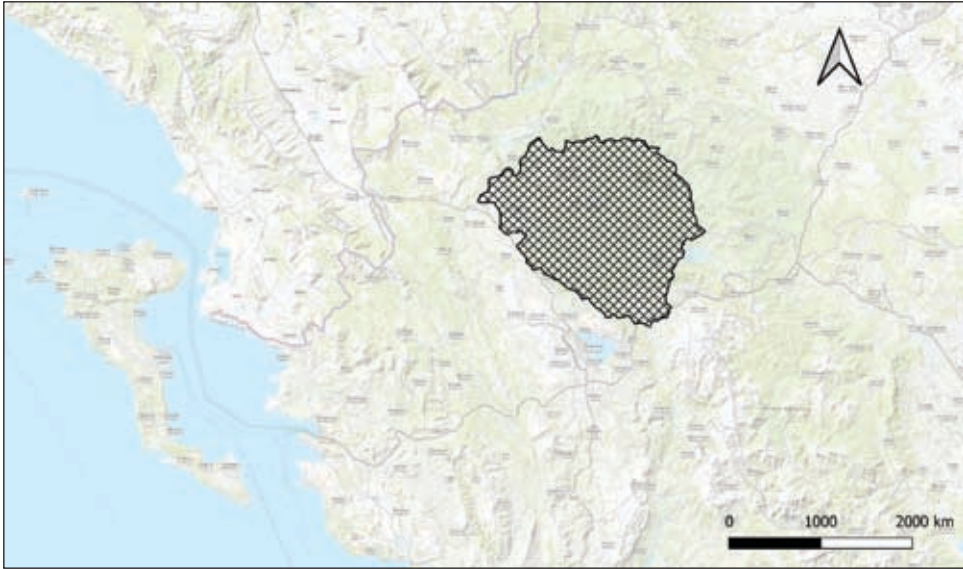


Figure 1. The region of Zagori, a few kilometers south of the Greek-Albanian border. Basemap: ESRI topographic, QGIS 3.10

to its remarkable geology, flora, and fauna, it was recognized as a National Park in 1974 and many segments of this landscape are protected under the Natura 2000 European legislation. It is also part of the Vikos-Aoos UNESCO Global Geopark, because of its extraordinary geological features that are observable on its massive limestone blocks and their interplay with Upper Paleolithic populations in the Voidomatis basin (Theodosiou et al. 2009). This fusion of different levels in legislation (National), protection (National and European) and directives (Natura 2000; UNESCO Geoparks) presents a rich framework that can be used to understand the ways institutional policy has affected the landscape—and, in the case of this article, especially the woodlands.

Zagori was incorporated into the Greek Nation–State in 1913, together with the rest of Epirus. Up to that point, local communities had been coping with the demanding montane landscape and the socio-economic environment of the Late Ottoman Empire. Belonging to the district (*qaza*) of Janina, the region (*nahiye*) of Zagori had adapted collectively to the demands of the administration. Every village handed over taxes collectively to tax farmers. The lump sum of taxation was collected by the head of every commune (*kotjabashi*) and each household had to provide a given amount based on production (Papageorgiou 1995). Taxes mostly consisted of tithes on products, extraordinary levies and the head tax, paid per capita by every Christian male. However, the montane environment did not allow substantial production and, although most of the

niches available for cultivation were deforested and converted into fields (Saratsi 2009: 59), households barely achieved subsistence. Therefore, paying taxes based solely on local yields would have been impossible. For this reason, already from the early 18th century (Dalkavoukis 1999), a percentage of the male population moved (seasonally and permanently) to the wider Balkans, mostly Wallachia, to work in various professions, specialized in arts and crafts and to send the surplus from their activities to Zagori, so that their families could cope with harsh winters, taxation and insufficient production. This form of movement, seasonal or permanent, is called “traveling” in the language of ethnography and forms the basis of the cultural values of Zagori. As émigré males accumulated substantial wealth, they also started to leave endowments for commonwealth constructions (bridges, churches, schools, etc.). This took the form of social competition and resulted in the creation of many of the extraordinary early modern architectural structures (Dalkavoukis 2015) that are the main cultural attractions of Zagori in the 21st century (Figure 2).



Figure 2. The three-arched stone-bridge of Plakidas (1866), one of the main touristic attractions of Zagori, a product of these historical processes. However, intense reforestation obscures the connecting pathways and these cultural landscape highlights frequently appear to connect two patches of forest. Only recently the District of Epirus began a massive effort to render the ancient paths accessible to visitors (see Gartzonikas 2020: 30-33). © Costas Zissis



1. “Traditional”² woodland management

Besides these elite monuments, Zagorians (people from Zagori) dwelled in a landscape shaped for the needs of upland cultivation, intermingled with communal woodland management and herding. In the Late Ottoman context, woodlands were divided into three categories: public woodlands (*miri koru*), groves belonging to pious foundations (*waqf*), communal woods (*baltalik*) and private coppices (*koru*) (Grispos 1973: 251; Seirinidou 2014: 69–87). Until the late 19th century, woodlands in Greece were on the margins of imperial interests (Seirinidou 2014), that focused on the resources needed for shipbuilding from the large forests of Syro–Palestine, Western Anatolia and the Black Sea (Mikhail 2017: 157–58). In contrast with these woodlands, which were assigned *miri* status together with the introduction of legislation prohibiting tree-cutting, hunting and herding (Mikhail 2017: 158), the *miri* woodlands of Greece were free to use, under *cibal-i mübaha* status (Seirinidou 2014: 79). Furthermore, numerous small-scale private coppices and commune woodlands were substantial enough to provide the necessary wood and leafy hay needed for household subsistence.

The year 1869 marks a definite historical break in the history of woodland management in the Ottoman Empire one which affected Zagori as well. As part of the *tanzimat* reforms, concise legislation on forests had been issued for the first time (Grispos 1973: 251–53). This legislation was ideologically aligned with the spirit of the reforms, representing an effort to synchronize the Empire with its Western counterparts. Forests and foresters played an important role in adjusting local communities and traditional small-scale and commune-based management practices to the logic of the capitalist mode of production. It is not a coincidence that in the same year as the introduction of forest legislation (1869) the Sublime Porte imposed a forester (*orman memur*) to Tsepelovo (Grispos 1973: 92), the appointed capital village of Zagori—as selected by the *tanzimat* reforms. According to this legislation, all woodlands, except the private ones, were subject to restricted access, for purposes of conservation. The legislation, together with the new, state-controlled management, introduced a tax, in the form of a tithe, on all products emerging from the woods, a new economic blow for the communities of Zagori that were accustomed to collecting wood, leafy hay and other products from communal woods without charge. Communal herding was subject to the approval of the forester, no longer regulated internally by the communes. The head of the village was obliged to create

² The term “traditional” is used to create a contrast with the “modern” management on behalf of the Nation–State, analysed in the following section. A more historically accurate framework would have been “communal woodland management”.

a census of the total number of animals and the forester would define the periods of the year when herding was allowed (Grispos 1973: 251-53).

However, even under the new legislation, the communes of Zagori, situated on the margins of the Empire, succeeded in obtaining the right to self-manage their woodlands to an extent. A large number of small-scale private woodlands (*koru* in Ottoman, *kouri* in the local dialect) and the communal forests were enough to provide the necessary wood and leafy hay for household subsistence. As in the earlier centuries, communal laws defined the logging period, the quantity of wood per family and the individual trees to be cut (Seirinidou 2014: 82). Likewise, communes defined restricted areas where intra-communal laws prohibited wood-cutting, coppicing and pollarding with penalties as strict as excommunication (Stara et al. 2016: 283-302; Saratsi 2009). In the same way, many wooded areas were protected by communities because they were situated in key locations to prevent soil erosion, that would threaten the existence of villages (Stara et al. 2016; Stara et al. 2015a; Stara et al. 2015b). In short, local communities managed their resources collectively, attaching cultural values to “sacred” groves (*vakoufika*), dedicated to saints, or “protective” groves acting against erosion. The perception of wood as an asset for monetary income, in modern economic terms, was rare and sporadic and communities did not possess a single word to describe forests, while woodlands were named according to the purpose they served (Nitsiakos 2015).³

2. “Modern”⁴ woodland management

Being marginal to the empire, the Zagori communes were able to manage their woods and other properties communally until their incorporation into the Greek Nation–State in 1913. That moment is the turning point in the history of woodlands for all of Epirus and Zagori, in particular. During King Otto’s reign, the new regime, issued legislation placing all woodlands belonging to communities and individuals under the supervision, management and protection of foresters on behalf of the state (law of 17.11.1836. Cited in Grispos 1973: 205). This piece of legislation affected all lands incorporated into the Greek Nation–State after the treaty of London, February 3rd, 1830, which therefore also affected Epirus.

³ From the second half of the 19th century, intensive logging became a common activity in the wider Pindus mountain range, and in the Eastern part of Zagori. Water sawmills operated especially in the village of Vovoussa until recently, and that particular Vlach commune adapted to profit financially from these specialized activities (see Dasoulas 2019).

⁴ Like the use of “traditional” above, the term “modern” could be replaced by the more accurate term “state”. The division between “traditional” and “modern” is maintained for reasons addressed below.



2a. Landscape change in Zagori and the Vikos-Aoos National Park: a history of abandonment

The decline in the use of hand-chopped wood for domestic fires and the abandonment of hillside agriculture, coupled with the decline of animal herding, the abandonment of nomadic pastoralism, and the sharp decrease in transhumant pastoralism, were the products of historical processes before the establishment of the National Park in Zagori (1974). The war against the Italians, on the eve of World War II, the burning of 29 villages by the Wehrmacht,⁵ followed by population extermination by the Edelweiss Alpinist Division in the village of Lyngiades (Meyer 2008), were the prelude to the depopulation of Zagori. The 1946–1949 Civil War that followed intensified the population decrease: villages were deserted, the mountains of Epirus became a central theater of the killings, and some of the harshest battles were fought in the vicinity of Zagori and the neighbouring Grammos mountain. Furthermore, the defeated members of the Democratic Army were driven out of the mountains, either migrating to the other side of the Iron Curtain, afraid of post-war reprisals or exiled to remote islands of the Aegean, if they remained. Out of those who returned in the 1980's, only a fraction resettled in the mountains and most of them found new homes in the fertile plains (Greene et al. 1998). By the end of the Civil War, the region obtained a new, modern, road system. Traditional economic practices gradually eroded, watermills closed, and hillside cultivation abandoned. The last critical population decrease took place in the 1960's when people from Zagori followed the general trend of *Gastarbeiter* and migrated to Northern and Western Europe, North America and Australia. The supposed effort of the Junta (1967–1974) to repopulate the Greek periphery failed to incorporate the mountainous areas in its planning and mountain herders were given interest-free loans to resettle in the lowlands. Zagori became part of the Vikos-Aoos National Park in 1974, a legislative action already put in motion by the Junta, the year before.

Legislation forbidding any economic activity in the forests, unless authorized by public agents, accelerated the process of reforestation. From the restriction of goat grazing, implemented by the Metaxas' dictatorship (Kyriakos 1940), to the centralized management of woodlands that replaced the communal system, coupled with the National Park framework, state measures facilitated the shift of cultural values to what is now branded as a "virgin forest".

In the economic planning of Modern Greece, areas such as Zagori, were never central to the debate. The income they were meant to generate was

⁵ The complete list can be found at the Municipal website: <https://cutt.ly/ldixbqJ> (Accessed 01.08.2020).

through the tertiary sector of the economy, namely through the development of tourism. Already in 1973, in a report of the Ministry of Agriculture, the forester highlighted the touristic potential of areas in Epirus such as Zagori, due to their geological formations, natural wealth and folkloric culture. For this potential, as he stressed, the importance of forests is obvious (Grispos 1973: 98).

3. Between “Traditional” and “Modern”: local communities in transition

State policies led to the transformation of a centuries-old viable small-scale economic model to a region of immense touristic attraction. This led to the transformation of the cultural landscape’s footprint, but the local communities never abandoned the region and witnessed this transformation first hand. A folklorist had been arrested twice by a forester while pollarding one of his privately-owned trees (Lazaridis 1972), an action prohibited as his trees were now subject to state monitoring. Some expressed complaints to the Greek Government or published books and pamphlets about the issue (e.g. Fanitsios 1968; Lazaridis 1972). It was even argued that the Ottoman Administration, those “infidel Turks”, were better suited for the job than the Greek Nation–State (Fanitsios 1968: 190). Although touristification, coupled with restrictions regarding woodland management, was gradually altering the landscape of Zagori, locals never went against the prospect of tourism. They even produced guides for visitors to follow and access the most beautiful parts, encouraging them to visit, as they believed this would render prosperity to the region once more (e.g. Saralis 1957). However, they resisted being deprived of their rights to the economic exploitation of their land for subsistence purposes, a process that was evolving hand in hand with touristification. They considered the public management of forests a “cunning plan to separate the human factor from the vital resource called woodland” (Fanitsios 1966: 169). They demanded the return of an agropastoral economic activity in the mountains of Zagori relying on the primary sector. Fanitsios, a folklorist, went as far as to suggest 12 points for sustainable montane development. Amongst other issues, he demanded (already in the 1960s!) the transformation of old watermills into small scale electricity-producing units, for the subsistence of some villages (Fanitsios 1966, an argument also raised in Dalkavoukis 2015). In today’s terms, it is hard to imagine a better practice for heritage management than having active communities suggesting solutions for sustainable development, asking in exchange only the right to live their ordinary lives.

Despite communities raising their voice, they were not heard. Since the late 1960s, the region has gradually been valued by tourists and promoted



by agencies as a hideout area, full of “virgin forests” untouched by humanity. However, even this touristy narrative is subject to periodic alterations. In the 1970’s, Zagori was considered the perfect place for the adventurous tourist (Greene et al. 1998: 353). They had the opportunity to roam in a beautiful cultural landscape with astonishing geological formations and enjoy the “primitiveness” of communities that had yet to develop an appropriate modern infrastructure. During the 1980s, this view was altered and the cultural landscape was no longer emphasized. The message promoted was based on two pillars: the “unspoiled” natural beauty and the traditional settlements, the authenticity of which was protected by building restrictions (for these restrictions, see Harisis 1979). Simultaneously, locals in Zagori could not afford the building costs required to maintain their houses in a traditional manner and complained to the authorities with fervour, but were considered as “backward” peasants who resisted the modernization that tourism brought about: to be modern in Zagori was to advocate one’s own traditionalism (Greene et al. 1998: 353).

However, even this traditionalism did not reflect the actual values of the Early Modern Zagori cultural landscape. This would imply an appreciation of centuries–old hillside agriculture, pre– and early–modern watermills and the rest of the archaeological remains of a highly efficient economic mechanism of coping with, and adapting to, the mountainous environment together with the cultural values assigned to woodlands. Traditionalism in Zagori took the shape dictated by the visitor’s experience, balancing “unspoiled” nature (which largely consists of abandoned agricultural land), and traditional nucleated settlements, which are reduced in size and deprived of their culturally significant and economically vital spatial surroundings. Capitalize E research, conducted in the 1990s, revealed that the concepts of environmental protection and cultural heritage were perceived as having been imported from elsewhere, by local communities (Greene et al. 1998: 353).

As shown earlier, they possessed their own, centuries–old communal regulations for the sustainable management of their environment and especially the woodlands. However, their practices managed and sustained a different cultural landscape. Today, kinship–based and reciprocal relationships between households and localities are broken and replaced by function–based ones, reliant upon tourism (Greene et al. 1998: 343).

The values of the cultural landscape have changed drastically, and at present, we witness this process in full scale. Dense vegetation has covered most of the landscape, replacing what could be regarded as a cultural landscape with young forests of prickly oak. Local knowledge of the cultural

significance of trees in the subsistence economy is, consequently, fading (Stara et al. 2015b). On the contrary, personal values attached to tree species by younger generations are rising (Stara et al. 2015b), as youngsters cannot identify themselves with woodlands in cultural terms, and connect with trees only as individuals. This shift of woodland perception from cultural to personal values highlights the transformation from an economic model of communal agropastoral labour to the tertiary sector of the capitalist economy and the different ways in which woodlands are experienced and appreciated. The cultural values, assigned to trees, are relevant to the concept of dwelling in a landscape (after Ingold 1993) that was regulated by communal laws. Personal values, conversely, are the result of seasonal or single-visit interaction, a product of tourism, hence culturally defined knowledge is replaced by individual experience. Over-forestation, being a result of preventive legislation and specific touristic branding, also threatens the nature of the Sacred Forests of Zagori⁶ and, in some cases, touristification has transformed centuries-old sacred trees into much-needed parking spaces (Stara, al. 2015a). It is gradually rendering the cultural values of the area invisible. As traditional tree-cutting management practices are discontinued, the composition of woodlands change and with it, the traditional cultural landscape will be lost, even when ancient sacred or managed trees continue to exist.

4. The Zagorochoria 2014 World Heritage Tentative List and Vikos-Aoos UNESCO Global Geopark

Greece announced the World Heritage List (hereafter WHL) candidacy of Zagori in 2014 (Permanent Delegation of Greece to UNESCO 2014). However, discussions on how to bring balance to the management of the cultural and natural assets of the region remain rare. Given the situation outlined above, it could be argued that the intended listing of the region as a Mixed Site would be difficult to pursue, due to the long-lasting erosion of cultural values and given the complexity of the intertwining of cultural and natural values, as in the case of woodlands. The following sections present a commentary based on the initial declaration (2014). However, since September 2019, and as this article is *in press*, the Ministry of Culture changed direction and decided to pursue the nomination of Zagori as a Cultural Landscape, instead of a Mixed Site. Therefore, the discussion below takes the form of an exercise, based on the Mixed Site (2014), hopefully revealing issues in need of reassessment.

⁶ The Sacred Forests of Zagori are inscribed on the National Inventory of Intangible Cultural Heritage since 2014 (AYLA 2019).



4a. Cultural (III and V) and natural (IX and X) criteria

According to the 2014 draft, Criterion III stated that cultural tradition in Zagori is interwoven with the particularity of the mountain landscape, being a prime example of a culture of self-sufficiency. Criterion V stated that the exceptional architectural tradition of Zagorochoria is organically linked to living traditions of social organization, worldviews and cultural practices. This statement overlooked the cultural aspects of the off-site (beyond village) landscape, such as the significant montane early modern archaeological landscape, the abundance of watermills, agricultural terraces, sacred and managed trees, etc. Furthermore, it addressed forms of organization that belong to the past, since, already in 2014, examples of the early modern cultural practices or social organization and material traces were very hard to identify in the seas of young evergreens that had covered most off-site agropastoral archaeological remains. Although the Sacred Forests of Zagori were addressed in the description as an example of sustainable development, the cultural values of woodlands were not addressed under the relevant criterion section (e.g. Saratsi 2005).

The draft recognized the native primary ecosystems, ancient beech forests, and information on the history and evolution of the *Fagus sylvatica* species (criterion IX) and sub-alpine biotopes that constitute habitats of rare and endemic plant species of particular ecological value as natural values, requiring protection and appropriate management (criterion X). Criterion VII was not addressed, although Zagori at present is part of the Vikos–Aoos UNESCO Global Geopark exactly because of the significant geomorphic and physiographic features it possesses.⁷

4b. Integrity and authenticity

According to the preliminary (and now outdated) document supporting its 2014 WHL candidacy as a Mixed Site, Zagori met the required authenticity and integrity criteria for both its natural and cultural heritage. Many Zagori villages, including individual buildings, have been designated by the Ministry of Culture and Sports as monuments, due to their historical and architectural value; thus authenticity and integrity in what concerns the cultural aspect of the mixed heritage site were addressed (Permanent Delegation of Greece to UNESCO 2014). Furthermore, “*the protection and management framework of the North Pindos National Park ensures the integrity of the natural monument (...) the definition of the protection zones and the determination of uses and building terms and restrictions (...) the Park is also subject to the regulations of Forestry Law and*

⁷ Criterion VII is addressed when the area contains superlative natural phenomena or areas of exceptional natural beauty and aesthetic importance.

European Legislation (...) since it includes 11 Natura 2000 sites” (Permanent Delegation of Greece to UNESCO 2014), thus meeting authenticity and integrity requirements, via restrictive legislation, such as that related to National Parks and Natura 2000 areas.

As outlined earlier, the designation of the protected areas in 1974 deprived local communities of their vital economic catchment, prohibiting communal grazing and woodland management. The formation of a landscape is a dialectic process bound to specific historical, social, economic and political parameters. Therefore, a natural landscape cannot remain stable, and integrity must be achieved through a constant reevaluation of values and application of relevant measures. The initial 2014 Zagori WHL document failed to acknowledge that prohibition is not synonymous with preservation and that such restrictions historically resulted in changes to precisely the natural values that they aimed to preserve.

Furthermore, preventive legislation leads to a devaluation of the cultural values that sacred forests possess. This draft did not reflect upon the groundbreaking Nara guidelines (ICOMOS 1994), and especially paragraph 11 thereof which acknowledges that values may differ even within the same culture. The prolonged intertwining of natural and cultural values in the landscape of Zagori was not addressed because the analysis of the values was undertaken from a “modernist” perspective, as the term is used in Part Two of this article. The interpretation was limited to the short-sighted valorization that the area received due to its touristic development after the 1980s. This narrative did not acknowledge the wider cultural landscape, focusing instead on the bipolar division between village (culture) and landscape (nature). Therefore, the statement that the management framework of the National Park ensures the integrity of the natural monument was problematic.

4c. Different management practices, conflicting values

Since the time of Alois Riegl (1982 [1903]), heritage professionals have been aware that different values of a site may be in conflict with one another and that subsequently, their management, to an extent, is an art and not a science. In the case of Zagori, the analysis of the woodland values incomplete because a culture of “traditional”, therefore communal, woodland management has been interpreted through a “modern”, therefore scientific perspective that sharply divides cultural and natural values. This interpretation led to the loss of the cultural value of trees, ranging from sacred to private or commune-owned, and from managed for leafy-hay or fire-wood to *klapsodendra*, or mourning trees; liminal points in the landscape relevant to the culture of mobility in Pindos, deeply interrelated with the traditions of Zagori.

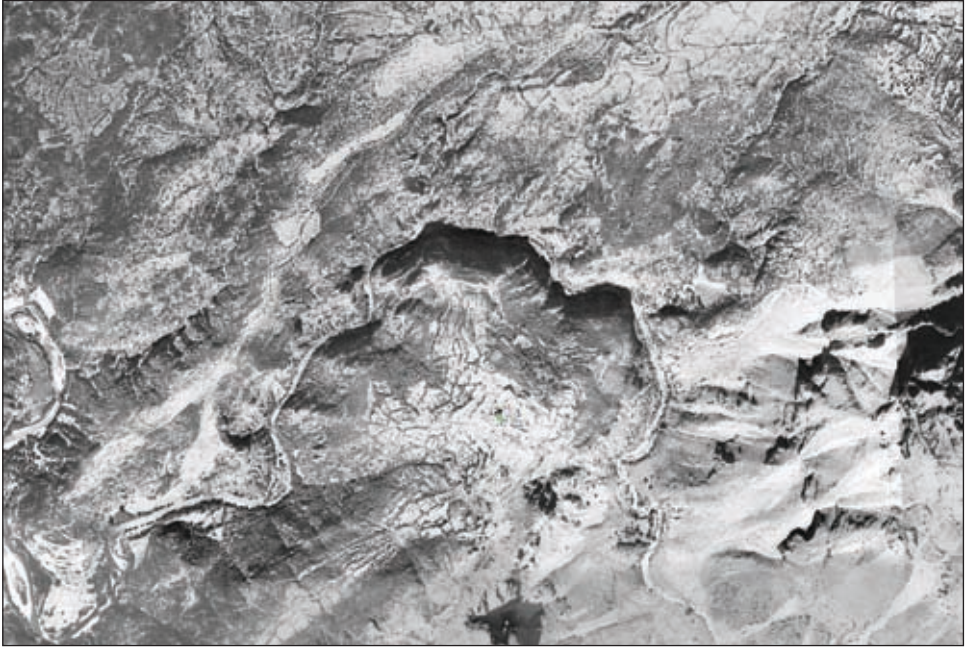


Figure 3. Aerial image of Vikos village in 1945. The bright reflections evoke a landscape of fragmented agricultural possessions and extended grazing areas. © National Forestry Agency



Figure 4. Satellite image of Vikos village in 2018. Fields and goat-grazing areas have become young forests. © Google

The two following aerial images show the village of Vikos in 1945 and 2018, assisting in visualizing the argument. The gradual abandonment of traditional agropastoral practices led to the sharp alteration of a cultural landscape that nowadays is largely perceived as forest. This alteration has harmed mostly the cultural values of the “natural monument”, using the wording of the above statement, since arguably native primary ecosystems and ancient beech forests existed during the Ottoman period as well, and were not affected negatively by the agropastoral practices in the pre-, and early–modern *longue durée*. Likewise, the many endemic species of flora were not extinct due to any productive agropastoral activity (Saratsi 2009), contradicting the vague assumption that goat grazing destroyed the ecosystem.⁸

4d. The case of the Geopark

Based on the above analysis, the choice to register Zagori as part of the Vikos–Aos UNESCO Global Geopark already in 2010 seems best-suited. Geopark conservation verification criteria focus solely on the geological aspect of heritage, leaving other heritages to be analyzed briefly, mostly regarding how they interact with geology. In contrast to a synthetic values analysis required for a WHL nomination, geology is timeless, and hazards may be monitored easier than with a Mixed Site (or a Cultural Landscape), as they are less dynamic and more predictable. Nevertheless, researchers have recently delved into the ways cultural and natural values become intertwined, in a way that could lead to more holistic approaches. For example, educational projects on the sacred forests (Stara and Vokou 2015) within the borders of the Geopark facilitated a move toward a synthetic understanding aiming to bridge cultural and natural woodland values. Approaches of this sort might point in the right direction while aiming for a WHL nomination.

Concluding remarks

Looking diachronically at the evolution of vegetation in Zagori from the 19th century to the present, we can understand the transformative nature of ecosystems and how they change from a period when communes were involved in the daily process of preservation to a top–down implementation of legislation altering the values of the place. From the historical perspective (20th century), Zagori can be used as a paradigm of deficient practices in heritage management, judging from the way local stakeholders were not heard when they demanded

⁸ Contrastingly, we possess indications that intensive reforestation caused by the abandonment of “traditional” agropastoral activities have affected negatively wild fauna habitats (Tsiakiris 2000) and the flow of water–currents (Green and King 1996).



sustainable cultural development. As outlined earlier, the designation of the protected areas deprived local communities of their vital economic catchment, prohibiting communal grazing and woodland management. The formation of a landscape is a dialectic process bound to specific historical, social, economic, and political parameters. Therefore, a so-called natural landscape cannot remain stable and integrity must be achieved through a constant reevaluation of values and application of relevant measures. The 2014 Zagori statement was the necessary first step but did not acknowledge that prohibition is not synonymous with preservation and that restrictions have consequences, many times transforming what they are supposed to preserve. Furthermore, preventive legislation led to the devaluation of the cultural values that sacred forests possess. Observing such processes historically, distanced from the empathy that temporality brings, leads to a better understanding of the processes of values creation that may assist to a holistic analysis and empower heritage managers with tools to interpret sites differently.

Finally, it encourages heritage professionals to realize that even natural values may be shaped by human (economic and cultural) agency. As this paper was being written (2018), although Zagori is part of a UNESCO Global Geopark, the area was allotted, together with the rest of Epirus, to the Energean Oil & Gas company,⁹ to start testing for potential fracking drills for shale gas extraction. Local communities opposed again to this change,¹⁰ as they did in the past when restrictive legislation was passed incorporating their woodlands in state forests, intending to enhance Zagori as a tourist destination. This time, the success story of tourism in the area was at stake, threatened by economic forces similar to those that converted a highly sophisticated agropastoral cultural landscape into an example of touristic excellence. The same economic forces that modernized the area, assigning to Zagori and other similar regions a prominent role in the tertiary economic sector in the strategic economic planning of the Greek Nation-State, are the ones pushing again to a transition that is more threatening to the environment and the heritage values than the previous alteration. During the 20th century transformation, local communities were not heard, as the national economic stake was high and had other targets. Today, the stake is similarly high, but this time the profit will mostly go to in-

⁹ Since 2017, Repsol farmed-in the entrepreneurial endeavour <https://tinyurl.com/ySz7x2kk> (Accessed 06.04.2019).

¹⁰ The Municipality council, despite the formal agreement on behalf of the state, denied access to the public lands of Zagori to the agents of the multinational companies, after a bottom-up movement against this prospect emerged in the region www.zagori.gov.gr/?p=17905 (Accessed 01.08.2020).

ternational corporate hands, benefiting the Greek GDP less than the previous transformation. Will locals be heard this time? And what is the role of heritage managers in this situation?

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Păduri din Zagori, nord-vestul Greciei (secolele XIX-XXI): între patrimoniu și istorie

Rezumat

Prezentul articol expune un conflict în ceea ce privește gestionarea valorilor naturale și culturale de-a lungul timpului, folosind exemplul gestionării pădurilor din Zagori (NW Grecia) de la sfârșitul secolului al XIX-lea până în prezent (2018). Întrebarea centrală este cum un peisaj cultural, interpretat acum ca fiind suficient de semnificativ pentru o nominalizare potențială a Patrimoniului Mondial (lista provizorie 2014), a fost gestionat de-a lungul timpului de către statul grec într-o abordare de sus în jos care a dus la o polarizare între valorile naturale și culturale. În primul rând, vor fi abordate problemele gestionării pădurilor comune și percepțiile de valori, urmate de o schiță a factorilor economici de stat care au modelat politicile naționale. Reacțiile comunităților locale în timpul acestei transformări vor fi, de asemenea, abordate. În cele din urmă, se accentuează că astfel de studii de caz constituie materiale educaționale valoroase pentru profesioniștii din domeniul patrimoniului, deoarece oferă informații despre procesele de valorificare a sitului, dezvăluind aspecte istorice, necesități economice și prejudecăți legislative, abordând în același timp problemele părților interesate.

Cuvinte-cheie: managementul patrimoniului cultural, transformarea patrimoniului, mediu înconjurător, politică, păduri, Grecia, Zagori, Geoparcul mondial UNESCO Vikos-Aoos.

Faidon Moudopoulos Athanasiou, University of Sheffield, UK,
email: fmoudopoulos1@sheffield.ac.uk

Contexts and Concerns for Sustainability of Cultural Heritage Sites of Bishnupur

Asmita BASU

Abstract

Conservation of heritage sites is considered to be a vital component of their management since they are irreplaceable resources for the tourism industry. The present generation of human beings needs to be aware of the benefits and challenges of preservation and management of the cultural resources and the heritages. The process of managing the heritages of local or national significance has gained importance over the years to an extent that it has attained the status of an individual academic discipline. In an attempt to address this issue related to Sustainability, some appropriate measures should be taken. In order to obtain sustainable development, different Strategic management principles can be used. Strategic Management relates to identification of the purpose as well as the plans and actions to achieve the purpose. This paper focuses on the benefits of application of the principles of Strategic Management for the sustainable development of heritage sites of the Bishnupur district in West Bengal, India. From this study it may be concluded that multi-disciplinary approach is the need of the hour. By the way of integrating the two varied disciplines of heritage management and strategic management, it will be possible to achieve sustainable development of the heritage sites.

Keywords: Strategic Management, Cultural Heritage, Sustainability.

Introduction

Heritage can be referred to as anything which a person wants to conserve or to collect and in due course of time pass onto the future generations (Howard 2003: 12). The process of managing the heritages of local or national significance has gained importance over the years to an extent that it has attained the status of an individual academic discipline. The study of heritage management primarily encompasses scientific and in depth learning of the various tangible and intangible heritages including ancient monuments, buildings, cultures, traditions, etc., which identifies the different elements needed to reconstruct the human past. It is a multi-disciplinary study and in recent times an integrated and holistic management approach is being considered as a vital method of pursuing this subject. Usually the core concept of management is regarded as the domain of trained professionals formally dealing with conservation management or related fields. The term heritage management has wider purview and can include the skills and expertise of the formally trained management

professionals as well as the informal and traditional ways of managing such resources (Silva and Chapagain 2013: 10-11). With modern lifestyles ushering in an era of industrial growth and economic development, manifestations of heritage sites expressed in cultural forms are losing their traditional essence in a rapidly transforming world. At this crucial point, two very important aspects of the management principles, and namely - *Sustainable development* and *Strategic management*, having broader implications, can be coagulated with the traditional approaches of heritage management in order to build a strategic and sustainable framework.

While defining the factors behind the success of economic activity, we should be considering the economic and managerial point of view which sets the prime focus on the continuous supply of resources (Müller-Christ 2011: 8-9). The typical scheme of resource use that has an objective to meet the human necessities simultaneously preserving the environment in order to protect the needs of future generations leads towards the concept of *Sustainable development*. Sustainability may be defined as the capacity to tolerate and the capability to keep in existence.

It has become a topic of global concern for the present generation in order to preserve and manage the natural resources and the heritages. The term '*sustainable management*' has been used to encompass the concept of sustainability or the responsibility to maintain the existence and continued development for the natural and physical environment. In the business and corporate scenarios much has been learned over the years about how firms develop, acquire, and utilize resources to create sustainable competitive advantage. Thus, *Sustainability* has been a central concept of strategic management for a long time. Apart from the competitive business advantages, there are certain fundamental issues in competitive environments and in social concerns which raise a relatively new and unaddressed set of events in strategic management research and practice that leads to an opportunity to revisit our existing notions of sustainability.

Historic heritages need to be managed in a sustainable manner to meet the requirements of present and future generations and to avoid the adverse effects on the environment and cultural resources of different regions. Sustainable management may include promoting adaptive uses of heritage places. This paper aims to conduct a multi-faceted study to highlight the benefits of application of the principles of strategic management for the sustainability of heritage sites through a case study of the Bishnupur temple sites in West Bengal which come under the purview of the tentative list of World Heritage site (cf. ASI 2018).



Promotion and Sustainability of World Heritage site

World Heritage symbolizes a strong sense of Brand in respect to tourism and heritage conservation, which is developed from the extraordinary values of heritage sites as well as their fascinating potentials to attract visitors. As far as the concept of brand goes, it represents a combination of product attributes with additional functional and non-functional values linked with the brand. Following this line of thought, World Heritage clearly manifests brand characteristics. Thus, the brand World Heritage can easily attract tourists and can create a brand image itself which will help its promotion.

The present generation of human beings needs to be aware of the benefits and challenges of preservation and management of the cultural resources and the heritages. With time we have come across fresh new evidences which indicate that the current ecological, economic and social trends are not sustainable. In the attempt to solve this issue the concept of Sustainable development has emerged in recent times. Sustainable development relates to a pattern of resource use that aims to meet human needs while preserving the environment so that these needs can be met not only in the present, but also for future generations. The term was first used by the Brundtland Commission in its report presented to the United Nations in 1987. The United Nations has defined sustainable development as meeting “the needs of the present without compromising the ability of the future generations to meet their own needs.” According to this concept, a nation or a society should be able to satisfy its need--- social, economic and others without jeopardizing the interest of the future generations. Sustainability requires that human activity only uses nature’s resources at a rate at which they can be replenished naturally. According to social scientists, “sustainable development requires an economy directed at improving the quality of life, decoupled from the consumed resources” (Schmuck and Schultz 2002: 6).

Usually, when we speak of Sustainability, environmental and ecological issues are highlighted. Some of the other important issues such as sustainable development in the economy, in society, and the ones regarding resources are often ignored. This generally results in an overall unsustainable development. The modern concept of sustainable development involves the three major points of view - economic, social and ecological ones (Munasinghe 1993: 2-3). These three dimensions are regarded as the triple bottom line which is generally used in evaluating the success of a development program or project. In order to have a sustainable result, we need to critically analyse each of these elements (Rogers, Jalal and Boyd 2008: 42).

However, in the 21st century, the global challenges are required to be dealt with at the macro- and strategic-management levels. One of the foremost of those challenges is how to strategically manage sustainable development. Strategy is implemented in order to ensure that long-term strategic goals are met which, in its turn, conforms to the designated path of sustainable development. Strategic management has gained tremendous importance at the enterprise level. As suggested by A. Kazmi, “An effective organizational strategy, therefore, is one that capitalizes on the opportunities through the use of strengths and neutralizes the threats by minimizing the impact of weaknesses, to achieve pre-determined objective” (Kazmi 2011: 72-73).

In recent times, an integrated and holistic management approach is considered to be a significant method of conservation and sustainable use of cultural resources. While trying to blend the two disciplines—Heritage management and Strategic management, we need to answer the big question—*How can we balance the contemporary needs of the local community and the wider society connected to the recent global concepts with the help of management principles and cultural resources?* To find an answer to this question, we need to analyse the cultural resources in the light of strategic management principles in order to obtain overall sustainable development.

The temples of Bishnupur are part of tentative list of the World Heritage Sites. The historic background and features of the temples of Bishnupur make them worthy of becoming a World Heritage Site. It is of utmost importance that we consider the issues related to sustainability of such great historic and cultural assets.

Bishnupur Temple sites

The region and its historical background

Bishnupur is a city of temples located in the district of Bankura, West Bengal. Bishnupur was once the ancient capital of Malla Dynasty (the 16th century AD). The name derived from the name of Lord Vishnu, since a large section of people belongs to the ‘Vaishnava’ sect. Modern town of Bishnupur has new faces representing urbanization, but its temples and religious fervour still dominate the town’s psyche and recall its former status of a royal city. Historians say that 1000 places of worship existed throughout the entire town in the nineteenth century and even today we can see hundreds of them spread across in the different parts of the town, some beautifully preserved while the others in a dilapidated state (Figure 1). Additionally, the historians have specified that about nothing less than thirty of such shrines and temples belong to the seventeenth-eighteenth



Figure 1. Map showing the temple sites in Bishnupur

hut with one or more *chalas* (roof) which resemble a typical Bengal folk hut (Nanda 2005: 64).

Out of the several architectural gems, some of the very popular temples are the Jor Bangla temple, Madan Mohan temple, the Shyam Rai temple, the Jor mandir group of temples, and Rasa-mancha.

Jor Bangla Temple

The twin hut shaped temple structure built of carved bricks represents typical Bengal type of folk architecture, joined together by a small tower on the top (Figure 2). This terracotta temple is intensely carved with terracotta plaques depicting



Figure 2. Jor Bangla Temple

various scenes from the Puranas, epics, Krishna-tila, etc. It also consists of different scenes and episodes from contemporary life. It is considered as one of the best carved temple highlighting the historic heritage of Bishnupur. It may be dated back to AD 1734-35 (Biswas 1992: 15).

The basic structure is similar to that of a village

hut with one or more *chalas* (roof) which resemble a typical Bengal folk hut

(Nanda 2005: 64).

Out of the several architectural gems, some of the very popular temples are the Jor Bangla temple, Madan Mohan temple, the Shyam Rai temple, the Jor mandir group of temples, and Rasa-mancha.

It is considered as one of the best carved temple highlighting the historic heritage of Bishnupur. It may be dated back to AD 1734-35 (Biswas 1992: 15).

Madan Mohan temple

It is a brick built temple with *eka-ratna* (single



Figure 3. Madan Mohan Temple



Figure 4. Shyamrai Temple

tower) shrine (Figure 3). According to inscriptional records, the Malla ruler, King Durjana Singha built this temple in 1694 AD. It has been constructed on a large plinth of laterite. The temple is much known for the exquisitely adorned walls and ornamental bricks. This temple consists of a single tower on a square sloping roof evidently symbolising the Bengal style of architecture. The facade contains magnificent carvings on terracotta plaques which depict epic stories and Puranic tales episodes from Krishnalila as main theme (Biswas 1992: 17)

Shyam Rai temple

This brick-built demonstrates the accomplishments of higher order. It is a Pancha-ratna temple being situated within the fort and consisting Pancha ratnas, i.e., five towers (Figure 4). The central tower itself is octagonal, surrounded by an octagonal corridor. The main facade of the temple comprises a narrative panel drawn after Ramayana and Krishnalila stories. It is thus most celebrated for its intricate terracotta ornamentations and the structural marvel. It is evident from the inscriptional records that King Raghunatha Singha constructed this temple in 1643 AD (Biswas 1992: 22-24).

Jor mandir group of temples

Three laterite temples, two big and one small are located near Lal –Bandh (water reservoir) constituting an entire temple complex which is known as Jor-Mandir. The architectural pattern represents a combination of the prevalent local thatched hut-type and sikhara of North India. It is known from the foundation stone tablet on the northern-most temple that the temples were built in 1726 AD by the Malla King Gopal Singha. Out of the three temples belonging to Jor-Mandir group, two of the temples situated on the north and on the south are comparatively larger than the middle one (Biswas 1992: 18).



Figure 5. Rasmancha



Figure 6. Jormandir Temple

Rasa-mancha

Built on a laterite plinth, it is one of the earliest structures at Bishnupur. Rasa mancha is an impressive square building formation with a small shrine in the centre. There are three-corridor galleries and vaulted roofs enclosing the central shrine. During Rasa festival, this structure is used for putting up idols from the nearby temples to carry out the rituals and festivities. It was built by Bir Hambir in 1600 AD (Biswas 1992: 9).

SWOT Analysis of the region

SWOT analysis refers to a structured planning tool used to evaluate the Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats usually involved in a project or in a business venture. This analysis can be carried out for a business, product, place or even a person. The analysis specifies the goal or objective of the business venture or project first, and then identifies the internal and external factors that are favourable and unfavourable to achieving it. To understand the potentialities of the region, at first we need to develop the basic framework. In order to do so, we take the help of the SWOT analysis technique as it is used by the business organizations. The SWOT analysis of Bishnupur temple sites is as follows:

From the analysis of the SWOT matrix we can easily identify the strengths and the weaknesses of the area of study. This will help us to make effective strategies and policies that are to be adopted in order to maximize the strengths and minimize the weaknesses. The other two segments of the matrix indicate the growing opportunities and the possible threats lying in the path of sustainable development. We need to take initiatives to develop the opportunities into strengths of the region and restrict the possible threats causing hindrance in the course of action. The SWOT analysis leads to the following points: ecological condition, economic condition and social condition.

Ecological condition

The natural environment and ecology of the surrounding areas of the town of Bishnupur haven't been much favourable but the region has made sustainable and environmental use of natural resources such as land, climate and produce. It is a laterite belt belonging to Bankura district which forms a link between the plains of Bengal and the Chota Nagpur plateau. If we refer to history, we will find that the town planning of Bishnupur had been under a great influence of the traditional Vedic town planning system. It was a fortified city surrounded by a water filled moat. Apart from the other uses, this moat was used for collection of rain water. Due to the south to north sloping of the land, a number of Bandhs (reservoirs) were built to capture the flowing ground water during the rainy season (Sinha 2000: 376-381). Even in the present day we can find quite a few water tanks & reservoirs in this area. The region has developed into an important centre for heritage tourism and the tourists are also attracted by the very essence of the natural environment (Dasgupta, Biswas and Mallik 2009).

Economic Condition

The economy is mainly based on agriculture and tourism. It lacks in the growth of industries. Although a small number of Textile industries and handicrafts are present, the economic development has not been too good. Bishnupur, which had a sustainable infrastructure, did not succeed in maintaining it at the time of conversion to the industrial mode (Sinha 2000: 376-381). Therefore, there is ample scope for development in this area, as identified in the 'opportunities' section of the SWOT matrix (Chart 1).

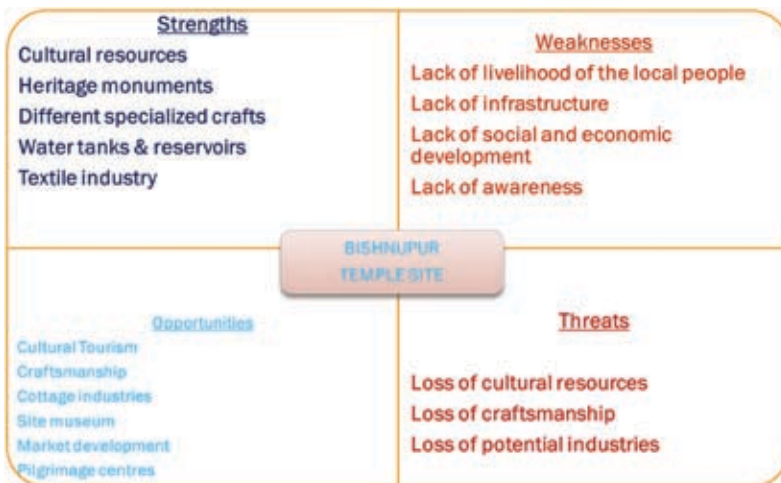


Chart 1: SWOT matrix for the Bishnupur temple site



Social condition

Since this town boasts the royal legacy through the remaining architectural gems, it can be transformed into a greater cultural tourism centre. The local people need to be aware of their heritages and protect them especially those temples and monuments which have been abandoned and are in worn out condition.

Need for strategic analysis

Usually, organizations engage in strategic management in order to outperform those that do not use this principle. In the present scenario, strategic management principles help to attain an appropriate match between the internal and external environment which leads to a positive effect on the growth and development of the region. Strategic planning allows for: (1) development of long-term solutions that are based on an informed context and well developed management strategy; (2) reducing the risk arising from the unforeseen negative implications; (3) providing useful guidelines for focusing in detail on complex situations creating obstruction in the path of sustainable development.

A strategy is formulated with an intention to achieve a position in the market which will not only help the company to earn more profit as compared to its competitors but also help to sustain that position for a significant period of time (Sadler 2003: 13). This concept can be referred to as the sustainable competitive advantage.

Strategic management process can be viewed as a roadmap — a way of drawing the road within a specified time frame and space, with a view to determine and evaluate the viability of different routes to reach the ultimate destination (Varbanova 2013: 29). The strategic analysis of the region will help us in critically analysing the key factors to be considered for attaining sustainable competitive advantage. In order to design appropriate strategy, we need to understand the core areas which require attention. The strengths and opportunities which have been identified in Chart 1 indicate the competitive advantage of this region. On the other hand, the weaknesses and threats will help to identify the challenges in the pathway of achieving sustainability. This preliminary analysis will focus on the future strategic plans and course of action.

Conclusion

Thus, we may conclude from the analysis above that cohesion between the two disciplines, and namely *Heritage management* and *Strategic management* will lead to the sustainable development of the heritage sites. In addition to the tradition-

al methods for preserving the heritage sites, this multi-disciplinary approach will not only help to sustain the cultural heritage but also generate revenues by providing a platform for the indigenous skill and handicrafts. This will also help to achieve economic growth and development of the region. Unprotected monuments and heritages in danger can be revived with the help of building a bridge with the corporates. Financial support and infrastructure development could be the key support obtained from the corporates for the sustainability of the heritage sites.

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Contextele și preocupările pentru sustenabilitatea siturilor patrimonului cultural din Bishnupur

Rezumat

Conservarea siturilor de patrimoniu este considerată o componentă vitală a gestionării lor, deoarece acestea sunt resurse de neînlocuit pentru industria turistică. E nevoie ca generațiile actuale să fie conștiente de beneficiile și provocările de conservare și gestionare a resurselor culturale și a patrimonului. Procesul de gestionare a patrimonului cu semnificație locală sau națională a căpătat importanță de-a lungul anilor într-o măsură în care a atins statutul unei discipline academice autonome. În încercarea de a aborda această problemă legată de durabilitate, ar trebui luate unele măsuri adecvate. Pentru a obține o dezvoltare durabilă, pot fi utilizate diferite principii de management strategic. Managementul strategic se referă la identificarea scopului, precum și la planurile și acțiunile de realizare a scopului. Această lucrare se concentrează pe beneficiile aplicării principiilor managementului strategic pentru dezvoltarea durabilă a siturilor de patrimoniu din districtul Bishnupur din Bengalul de Vest, India. Din acest studiu se poate concluziona că abordarea multidisciplinară este o necesitate actuală. Prin integrarea celor două discipline variate de gestionare a patrimonului și gestionare strategică va fi posibilă realizarea dezvoltării durabile a siturilor de patrimoniu.

Cuvinte-cheie: management strategic, patrimoniu cultural, durabilitate.

Asmita Basu, Army Institute of Management, Kolkata, India,
e-mail: asmita.basu2011@gmail.com

An Analysis of Socialist Modernist Heritage in Romania and the Republic of Moldova through Case Studies: Utilitarian Buildings and Industrial Facilities

Dumitru RUSU

Abstract

The “Socialist Modernism” Project is part of an initiative by B.A.C.U. Association focused on protecting built heritage in the former socialist bloc. In that respect, we have launched a campaign for the preservation of buildings that are specific to the socialist modernist period (1955–1991). The architecture of the socialist period, more precisely the modernist tendencies in 1955–1991, is a specific trend in the evolution of architecture in the former socialist bloc. There is increasing international awareness for this trend, as indicated by the creation of scientific communities (the SocHeritage Platform, part of the ICOMOS International Scientific Committee for the 20th century). The chosen period in our study was set by historic events that led to this new architectural tendency. At the time, the approach was inspired by modernist architecture, which came to the capitalist states in Western Europe with a set of principles. In socialist countries, modernist trends first influenced the professional sphere, and through that influence, they were able to penetrate borders and the limits imposed by ideology. The current orientations regarding built heritage in Romania and the Republic of Moldova are the preservation of local cultural identity and the coherent management of the existing built patrimony. The listed heritage of Romania and the Republic of Moldova includes a variety of objectives, from prehistoric settlements to 20th-century buildings, but those from the socialist period are systematically ignored. One of the actions initiated as part of our program was to launch procedures in order for buildings from representative industrial ensembles in Romania and the Republic of Moldova to be classified as Historical Monuments. They are the ones presented in these case studies, among others: Buzau – the Sugar Factory (1965); Bucharest – the Worsted Mill (1965); and Chişinău – the Fashion House (the ‘70s). Although the age of the buildings is an important criterion in establishing historic value today, the architectural features of these buildings, their planimetric and structural coherence are enough to qualify them as highly valuable. Also, they point out the socialist constructive doctrine, being representative for the way that the light and the heavy industry buildings of the time were built and standardized.

Keywords: Socialist Architecture, Urban Heritage, Architectural Heritage, Utilitarian Buildings, Industrial Buildings.



Context

Socialist architecture (1933–1991) and the trends of those decades of socialist realism and modernism are becoming more and more popular in specialists' circles. One of the reasons may be that, until recently, they have been insufficiently explored in the broader context of global architecture, and therefore are considered a mere curiosity by many experts.

The two trends (socialist realist and socialist modernist architecture) were ignored both locally and globally, and not just by experts, but also by the public authorities. We refer to authorities in the former Eastern bloc (Romania, the Republic of Moldova, Poland, Hungary, Ukraine, etc.).

Socialist Modernism is a specific approach to architecture in former socialist countries, between 1955 and 1991, insufficiently covered by architecture history treaties. The Modernist trend was officially adopted after a historical event: in 1955, a decision of the Central Committee of the USSR Communist Party announced that “useless stylistical elements” in architecture will be abandoned. The decision followed Nikita Khrushchev's appeal, made one year before at the Union Conference of Builders, Architects and Workers in Construction Materials Industry, Construction Machines Industry, Planning and Research”. From there on, Stalinist (or realist-socialist) architecture was replaced throughout the socialist bloc. In socialist countries, modernist trends first influenced the professional sphere, and through that influence, they were able to penetrate borders and the limits imposed by ideology.



Figure 1. An illustrative image for the situation of the built environment in Chișinău, the Republic of Moldova (BACU Association Photo department, ca. 2014)

The “Socialist Modernism” Project is part of an initiative by B.A.C.U. Association (Birou pentru Artă și Cercetare Urbană). Our approach is focused on protecting built heritage in the former socialist bloc. In that respect, we have launched a campaign for the preservation of buildings that are specific to the socialist modernist period (1955–1991), by protecting, monitoring, researching and preserving the most valuable architecture of the time, including monuments, buildings, parks, squares, whole neighbourhoods, laid-out green areas, etc.

Our purpose is to rehabilitate this heritage, not only for symbolic reasons but because we have faith in these elements, which were able to overcome ideological pressure and managed to give urban space a certain, very specific savour in socialist cities. Unfortunately, this type of architecture is associated with totalitarianism. This is exactly what we are trying to clarify: we want to prove that the architecture of that time is valuable, and we can do that by analysing the significance of the socialist period in a wider historical context, without partisanship for the political system.

Between 1955 and 1970, the Republic of Moldova and Romania experienced a strong urban development, as a result of industrialization, visible in all cities and districts. In large and medium cities (Chișinău, Bucharest, Bacău, Pitești, and others), collective living neighbourhoods (micro districts) built during that period covered large areas and included all complementary functions (health, education, culture, shopping, sports, utilitarian buildings, industrial ensembles, etc.).

The current state of socialist modernist heritage

Unfortunately, today in towns and cities of Moldova and Romania, many socialist modernist objects (culture houses, shops, medical facilities, buildings transport, stadiums, utilitarian buildings, factories, etc.) are abandoned or are in an advanced state of decay, some of them even close to ruin.

The current orientations regarding built heritage in Romania and the Republic of Moldova are the preservation of local cultural identity and the coherent management of the existing built patrimony. The listed heritage of Romania and the Republic of Moldova includes a variety of objectives, from prehistoric settlements to 20th-century buildings, but those from the socialist period are systematically ignored. One of the actions initiated as part of our program was to launch procedures to let the buildings from representative industrial ensembles in Romania and the Republic of Moldova be classified as Historical Monuments. They are the ones presented in the following case studies: Buzau – the Sugar Factory (1965); Bucharest – the Worsted Mill (1965-2020); Cluj-Napoca – the Telephone Palace (1969-75); and Chișinău – the Fashion House (the ‘70s).



Sugar Factory, 7 Industriei Boulevard, Buzau, Romania

The factory was designed to produce sugar from sugar beetroot and raw sugar from sugar cane. Today, the production unit in Buzau, where the sugar cane is processed, has a capacity of 1,000 tons per day. The administrative building is shaped like a perfect cube, reminding of a sugar crystal. The constructive structure is entirely precast, made of thick slab floors, from pre-slabs with an additional thin pour of concrete over the top. In 1998, the Buzau sugar factory was taken over by a foreign company and technologically modified to process only raw sugar. The building is in an acceptable state of conservation; only the façades of the administrative building require urgent cleaning.

*“Alexandru Sahia” Woolen Mill,
59 Vergului Road, Bucharest, Romania*

The former woollen mill in Bucharest, (today, Filan S.A.) was initially a small factory. It was modernized by reorganizing the spaces of the mill and connecting them to those of the new factory (the fibre blending and fibre dyeing section, with a capacity to dye about 10 tons of fibres per day), on a total surface of about 14,000 sq.m. Unifying the constructive system had the benefit of bringing all the specific functions of each workshop into a single volume building (that lines our different streets). The use of simple architecture, outlining the constructive elements and technological functions, is noticeable. The current owners rent out the spaces of the complex, now in a serious state of degradation, to various businesses: two laundries, a restaurant and two preschools. Recently the complex was demolished to make room to a new development.

*Danubiana Industrial Complex,
181 Oltenitei Road, Popești-Leordeni, Romania*

Danubiana Tyre Plant in Popești-Leordeni was notable for its simple, typically socialist modernist architecture. The travertine-plated façade of the production halls displayed a monumental composition with an ideological theme signed by painters Gheorghe Labin, Horea Maxy and Stefan Szanyi. Today, only the administrative building and a few other spaces, now for rent, have survived. The Danubiana complex, producing tyres and other rubber materials, was built in the '60s. In 1995 it was privatized alongside 100 hectares of land. The new owners promised to make substantial investments but failed to do so and the company was reorganized in 2006 – a good way to sell away the land. The complex was dismantled and the production units demolished.



Figure 2. Sugar Factory in Buzau, Romania (BACU Association Photo department, ca. 2015)



Figure 3. "Alexandru Sahia" Woollen Mill in Bucharest, Romania (BACU Association Photo department. circa 2017)



Figure 4. Danubiana Industrial Complex in Popești-Leordeni, Romania (BACU Association Photo department. circa 2015)

*The Postal Palace, 2 Octavian Petrovici Street,
Cluj-Napoca, Romania*

In 1969, after a technological study by the Telecommunications Design Institute, a plan was drafted for a G+5, building, and a G+3 was constructed in the first stage. Public and administrative spaces were grouped on the ground floor, while the upper floors hosted the telecommunication equipment. Today, the building is covered in graffiti and visibly decayed. The first register of the façade is strewn with air-conditioning units and unsightly cables that seriously alter its aspect. A stylized map of Cluj-Napoca, created after drawings by the architect and installed on the façade, near the main entrance, was removed in 2010 and probably sold as scrap iron, despite its value, with no reaction from the authorities. In 2018, BACU proposed the building, now owned by Telekom, for listing by the Romanian Ministry of Culture.

*Fashion House, 182 Stefan cel Mare și Sfânt Boulevard,
Chișinău, Republic of Moldova*

The Chișinău Fashion House, located downtown, a symbol of Moldovan fashion design in the '70s, was planned as a tall rectangular volume pierced by a cube elevated on reinforced concrete columns. The ground floor and first floor hosted the presentation store, while the other levels were reserved for produc-



Figure 5. The Postal Palace in Cluj-Napoca, Romania (BACU Association Photo department, circa 2017)

tion workshops. Currently, the building is in an advanced state of degradation, although the structure is still in good shape. The exterior finishings show mechanical wear, with several places where the plaster is completely or partially peeled off. The parasite buildings that surround the Fashion House, such as Felicia Pharmacy or La Plăcinte Restaurant, alter its original architectural aspect.

And the list is very long with many other modernist examples in similar situations in both countries.



Proposed solutions

It was a time when the built environment knew a sharp increase, explaining why these buildings form the large majority in many socialist cities. If these urban areas are not protected as a whole, the general image of the city will suffer.

Hence the idea to advocate for their protection, restoration, and rehabilitation. We want to preserve the historical value of socialist modernist buildings while improving the overall urban aspect. Looking at the current economic and political situation, we may foresee a dark future for socialist buildings, many of them in the process of demolition or inadequate repairs. Many are surrounded by parasitic structures or rehabilitated with low-quality materials, threatening not just the safety of the future tenant, but also the image of the city.

At the same time, society holds resentments against this type of architecture, because of the policies enforced by socialist authorities. Often, this heritage is not seen for what it is, a complex of architecture objects or urban ensembles, but as a result of bad policies.

I will briefly introduce two initiatives that follow a series of actions to preserve the heritage of the socialist period.



Figure 6. The Fashion House in Chişinău, Moldova (BACU Association Photo department. circa 2017)

SocHeritage platform is a BACU Association project supported by ICOMOS ISC20C. It advocates for socialist architecture and artworks to be recognized and protected as cultural landmarks and historic monuments. We focus on buildings in the former socialist bloc, built between 1933-1991 in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE), as well as in Central Asia and other regions. The platform intends to collect and provide information on location and site, the current condition of conservation, the authors and the planning and building history of socialist legacy.

An important part in safeguarding socialist heritage is played by the “Socialist Modernism” initiative. Its actions are directed at rehabilitating and conservation of buildings in Central and Eastern Europe. The project is taking into account the uncertain legal situation of most of these modernist buildings/complexes, but even though it hinders our efforts, this challenge does not discourage us because most of these objectives are alarming.

Our initiatives seek stylistic discipline and the involvement of both local authorities and the civil society in this process, to raise awareness to the architectural value of the buildings, urban planning and the social and cultural urban tissue still existing. We are currently working on revitalization proposals for several socialist modernist objectives built in cities/municipalities of Romania and the Republic of Moldova. The proposals suggest the demolition of parasitic structures; prohibiting the closing of balconies and any type of DIY abusive rehabilitation; removing excessive advertising from the facades and, finally, making these neighbourhoods, buildings, leisure facilities, parks etc. part of the historical heritage.

Conclusions

The Bureau for Urban Art and Research (B.A.C.U.) is an organization focused on urban and cultural conservation and rehabilitation activities. Its main directions are to protect, preserve and rehabilitate built heritage and art from the socialist period, as well as to monitor how architectural heritage in Central and Eastern Europe is maintained, protected and preserved. Apart from preserving the historical value of the buildings, the Association is also interested in improving the overall urban landscape. B.A.C.U. is also striving to make it possible for certain architectural ensembles, buildings and other valuable objects to be classified as heritage and legally protected, both locally and internationally. In 2016, the Association initiated the classification process for four socialist modernist buildings in Chişinău, the Republic of Moldova. On August 8, 2019, the State Circus in Chisinau became a protected monument after a decision of the National Historical Monument Committee of the Moldovan Ministry of Culture.



Figure 6. The former factory “L. I. Lenin”, the 1960s. Bălți, Moldova (BACU Association Photo department. circa 2017)

Under such circumstances, the legislation on socialist heritage protection needs to be reviewed, because, at least in Romania and the Republic of Moldova, it is not serving its purpose. We are interested in preparing a draft bill that would help preserve these architectural objects and the specific atmosphere it created. The bill will have the object of preserving built architectural heritage, setting directions for its revitalization and supporting projects for the classification and conservation of buildings in a bad state of decay.

Although the age of the buildings is an important criterion in establishing their historic value today, the architectural features of these buildings, their planimetric and structural coherence are enough to qualify them as highly valuable. Also, they point out the socialist constructive doctrine, being representative for the way that the light and the heavy industry buildings of the time were built and standardized.

Another argument for listing these buildings as historic monuments is the observation that liberal policies promoted by both countries over the last decades have badly neglected the socialist architectural and urban heritage of the cities. A whole series of very valuable buildings are not on the Historic Monuments Register/List and are in a menacing state of decay. In such a context, listing socialist modernist buildings and starting restoration programs for them (first of all for those most decayed, which need urgent protection) must be the next step in saving the built heritage of Romania and the Republic of Moldova.

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O analiză a patrimoniului socialist modernist din România și Republica Moldova prin studii de caz: clădiri utilitare și facilități industriale

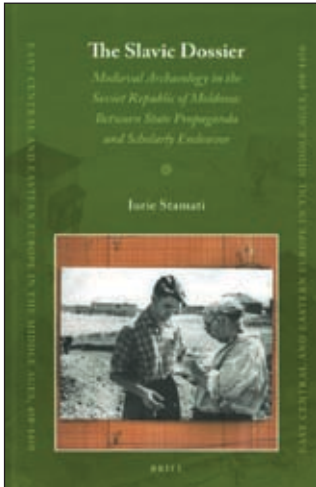
Rezumat

Proiectul „Modernismul socialist” face parte dintr-o inițiativă a B.A.C.U., asociație axată pe protejarea patrimoniului construit în fostul bloc socialist. În acest sens, am lansat o campanie pentru conservarea clădirilor specifice perioadei socialiste moderniste (1955-1991). Arhitectura perioadei socialiste, mai precis elementele moderniste din 1955-1991, reprezintă o tendință specifică în evoluția arhitecturii din fostele state socialiste. Există o conștientizare internațională crescândă pentru această tendință, după cum se indică prin crearea comunităților științifice (Platforma SocHeritage, parte a Comitetului științific internațional ICOMOS pentru secolul al XX-lea). Perioada de timp vizată în studiul nostru, a doua jumătate a sec. XX, a fost stabilită de evenimente istorice care au condus la această nouă tendință arhitecturală. La acea vreme, abordarea era inspirată de arhitectura modernistă, care a ajuns în statele capitaliste din Europa de Vest cu un set de principii. În țările socialiste, tendințele moderniste au influențat mai întâi sfera profesională și prin această influență au reușit să pătrundă granițele și limitele impuse de ideologie, condiționând decizii politice importante. Patrimoniul listat al României și Republicii Moldova include o varietate de obiective, de la așezările preistorice până la clădirile din secolul XX, dar cele din perioada socialistă sunt ignorate sistematic. Acțiunile inițiate ca parte a programului nostru au fost lansarea procedurilor pentru ca clădirile din ansamblurile industriale reprezentative din România și Republica Moldova să fie clasificate ca Monumente Istorice. Obiectivele abordate în studiul nostru sunt: Buzău - Fabrica de zahăr (1965); București – Filatura și finisajul de lână „Alexandru Sahia” (1965-2020) și Chișinău – Casa de modă (anii '70), a căror valoare este determinată de criteriul vechimii, dar mai ales de cel al coerenței și specificității planimetrice și structurale. Un alt argument pentru enumerarea acestor clădiri ca monumente istorice este observația că politicile liberale promovate de ambele țări în ultimele decenii au neglijat grav patrimoniul arhitectural și urbanist socialist al orașelor. O serie întreagă de clădiri foarte valoroase nu se regăsesc pe Registrul/Lista monumentelor istorice și se află într-o stare amenințătoare de degradare.

Cuvinte cheie: arhitectură socialistă, patrimoniu urban, patrimoniu arhitectural, clădiri utilitare, clădiri industriale.

Dumitru Rusu, Bureau for Art and Urban Research (BACU),
Bucharest, email: office@bacu.ro

BOOK REVIEWS / RECENZII



IURIE STAMATI, *The Slavic Dossier. Medieval Archaeology in the Soviet Republic of Moldova: Between State Propaganda and Scholarly Endeavor*, BRILL: Leiden/Boston, 2019, 310 pages, ISBN 978-90-04-34258-3

Volumul *The Slavic Dossier. Medieval Archaeology in the Soviet Republic of Moldova: Between State Propaganda and Scholarly Endeavor*, semnat de Iurie Stamati¹, apare la Editura BRILL, cu numărul 53 în cadrul seriei „East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450-1450”, coordonată de Florin Curta și Dušan Zupka. La baza acestei monografii a stat lucrarea de doctorat a autorului, *L'archéologie soviétique moldave entre propagande étatique et savoir scientifique, le «dossier» des Slaves*, scrisă sub îndrumarea prof. dr. Laurier Turgeon de la Département des sciences historiques, Université Laval, Canada. Teza de doctor a fost susținută în anul 2015, fiind apreciată cu calificativul „Mention d'exception, avec félicitations du jury à l'unanimité”. Traducerea din limba franceză în limba engleză îi aparține Ruxandei Iuliana Petrinca. Autorul dedică această carte părinților săi, Maria și Nicolae Stamati, dar nu uită să mulțumească soției Daniela, fratelui Ghenadie și mai multor colegi care l-au ajutat pe parcursul cercetării, cum ar fi profesorii Florin Curta, Laurier Turgeon, Allison Bain, Gheorghe Postică etc.

Deși există deja câteva recenzii ale acestei monografii², voi încerca în cele ce urmează să-i fac o scurtă analiză. Volumul conține trei capitole, însoțite de o

¹ Dr. Iurie Stamati este astăzi profesor asociat la *Université Laurentienne / Laurentian University*, Greater Sudbury, Canada.

² Roman Rabinovich în *Stratum plus*, 5, 2019, 401-408, Ludmila Bacumenco-Pîrnău în *Arheologia Moldovei*, XLII, 2019, 339-341; Andrei Cusco în *Slavic Review*, 79 (1), Spring 2020, 211-213.

introducere, concluzii, bibliografie, indice, mulțumiri, listele ilustrațiilor (12), a hărților (3) și a abrevierilor, reguli de adnotare și transliterare. Chiar de la începutul Introducerii (p.1-20), autorul menționează faptul că va analiza două concepte opuse privind locul slavilor în istoria spațiului pruto-nistean și rolul lor în etnogeneza moldovenilor. Primul discurs a fost promovat de arheologul sovietic Gh. Fedorov (1917-1992), iar al doilea – de arheologul moldovean Ion. Hâncu (1931-2003). Totuși, înainte de a trece la dezbateră și examinarea acestor discursuri istoriografice, autorul cărții consideră necesar să facă o succintă trecere în revistă a istoriei Republicii Moldova: de la principatul Moldovei la România Mare, de la Republica Autonomă Sovietică Socialistă Moldovenească la Republica Moldova. Totodată, autorul atrage atenția cititorului asupra configurației etnice în evoluție și asupra controverselor legate de identitatea moldovenească, aspecte care sunt foarte importante pentru înțelegerea realităților locale, mai ales de către publicul din afara republicii. În partea a doua a introducerii autorul discută aspectele teoretice, sursele și metodologia pe care și-a bazat cercetarea. În final, autorul prezintă succint structura lucrării. Remarc, în acest sens, calitatea conceptuală excelentă a hărților care însoțesc introducerea și care facilitează o mai bună înțelegere a tabloului evoluției istorice a regiunilor discutate.

În Capitolul 1, *The Birth of A Paradigm: Moldovan Archaeology and the Slavic Problem / Nașterea paradigmei: arheologia moldovenească și problema slavă* (p.21-59), autorul analizează foarte succint primele cercetări arheologice efectuate în Basarabia țaristă (sec. XIX – începutul sec. XX) și interbelică (1918-1940), atât din punct de vedere instituțional, cât și sub aspectul protagoniștilor care au realizat aceste sondaje arheologice. Totodată, sunt abordate aspecte ale etapei inițiale a dezvoltării arheologiei sovietice în RASS Moldovenească și în RSS Moldovenească și, respectiv, problematica arheologiei slave în perioada RSSM. Autorul recunoaște că informațiile privind începuturile arheologiei în RASSM sunt foarte puține și deseori contradictorii. Dar atestăm aceeași situație și în privința intervențiilor arheologice din Basarabia în perioada interbelică. De aceea, este dificil de reconstituit etapa de început a „arheologiei moldovenești”. Instituționalizarea arheologiei se produce după cel de-al Doilea Război Mondial, când în RSS Moldovenească ajung primii arheologi de la Moscova și de la Kiev. Tot în acea epocă sunt create primele instituții cu profil arheologic și sunt inițiate cercetările arheologice sistematice. De aceea, Iurie Stamati atribuie, pe bună dreptate, „nașterea arheologiei moldovenești” anume acestei perioade (p.30-31). Arheologia sovietică a fost în mare parte etnocentrică, axându-se pe interpretarea etnică a descoperirilor arheologice. Astfel, arheologii sovietici au atribuit, mai întâi, așezările medievale timpurii atestate în spațiul pruto-nistean în totalitate slavilor, ca mai apoi să sublinieze rolul



acestora în formarea poporului moldovenesc. Deși o bună parte a arheologilor din RSS Moldovenească făceau referință la ideologia comunistă, Iurie Stamatî consideră că „Arheologia sovietică moldovenească nu a fost niciodată o știință marxistă” (p. 46). În acest context, consider că ar fi fost oportună o mai profundă analiză critică a modului în care arheologia reprezenta o parte componentă a propagandei și ideologiei sovietice. O asemenea analiză ar fi putut porni de la deciziile CC al PCUS și ale Academiei de Științe a URSS. Totodată, ar fi fost binevenită și o analiză comparativă a cazului RSSM în raport cu alte cazuri de promovare a politicii naționale sovietice și a poziției regimului sovietic față de naționalismul local.

Capitolul 2, *Georgii Fedorov and the Building of Slavic Archaeology in the MSSR / Gheorghii Fedorov și construirea arheologiei slave în RSSM* (p. 60-147), este dedicat arheologului sovietic Gh. Fedorov, una dintre principalele personalități din domeniul arheologiei slave din URSS. Pentru a contextualiza mai bine conceptul promovat de către Gh. Fedorov, autorul cărții analizează mai întâi profilul său academic și formarea lui ca arheolog slavist. Apoi, este discutat modul în care Gh. Fedorov a ajuns să se preocupe, timp de mai bine de două decenii, de arheologia medievală timpurie a spațiului pruto-nistrean. Este salutară analiza succintă a unor aspecte mai puțin cunoscute din istoria vieții lui Gh. Fedorov, care privesc nonconformismul lui și susținerea mișcării disidente din URSS, fapte pentru care a fost marginalizat din punct de vedere profesional. Această marginalizare s-a manifestat inclusiv prin întreruperea investigațiilor sale arheologice din RSS Moldovenească (1975). Un alt aspect structural foarte reușit, de altfel, caracteristic pentru toată lucrarea, este formularea inspirată a subpunctelor din fiecare capitol, prin care se evidențiază problema ce urmează a fi analizată și se face referință directă la părerea arheologului vizat. La fel de reușit este și stilul concis și sintetic, care este aplicat în mod extrem de fericit de către autorul cărții. Unele dintre aceste subtitluri apar sub formă de întrebări, cum ar fi, spre exemplu, *Când au ajuns slavii pe teritoriul RSSM?* (p. 105-113). În acest context, autorul prezintă părerea lui Gh. Fedorov, care susținea apartenența slavă a purtătorilor culturilor Chernjakhov și Lipețk (p. 109). Iurie Stamatî urmărește foarte atent modificarea discursului lui Gh. Fedorov, sub probabila influență a modificărilor politice din URSS. Astfel, Fedorov susținea în anul 1954 că în unele părți ale RSSM slavii nu erau nativi (p. 110). Totodată, Iurie Stamatî discută și despre includerea tinerilor moldoveni în procesul cercetării, traiectoria formării lor profesionale și relația lor ulterioară cu arheologul moscovit. Autorul se referă la câteva exemple elocvente, cum ar fi P.P. Bârnea, I.G. Hâncu, I.A. Rafalovici, L.L. Polevoi și Gh. Cebotarenko. La finalul capitolului, autorul evidențiază opiniile lui

Gh. Fedorov privind prezența slavilor pe teritoriul RSS Moldovenești. Iu. Stamati amintește în demersul său și despre regiunea Bucovinei, mai ales în contextul extinderii puterii Rusiei Kievene și a cnezatului Halici-Volânia, dar fără o analiză critică a lucrărilor arheologice privind această regiune și fără o discuție comparativă a poziției lui Gh. Fedorov în raport cu cea a lui B. Timoșciuk.

Capitolul 3, *The Indigenous Character of the Moldovans, a Singular View / Caracterul indigen al moldovenilor, un punct de vedere singular* (p.148-241), este dedicat celui de-al doilea discurs istoriografic și promotorului acestuia – Ion Hâncu. Ținând cont de faptul că opinia lui Ion Hâncu privind realitățile medievale timpurii din spațiul pruto-nistean a fost influențată de istoriografia română, Iurie Stamati începe acest capitol cu o analiză generală a arheologiei românești postbelice. Totodată, autorul pune în lumină și relațiile dintre arheologii români și colegii lor sovietici, subliniind modul în care erau abordate subiectele privind prezența slavilor în regiunile de la nordul Dunării de Jos. Pentru a oferi contextul necesar unei înțelegeri mai adecvate a conceptului promovat de Ion Hâncu, autorul lucrării discută mai întâi poziția oponentilor săi (E. Rikman, P.P. Bârnea, I. Rafalovici, L. Polevoi, Gh. Cebotarenko), după care analizează publicațiile lui Hâncu și motivele pentru persecuțiile și restricțiile suferite de acesta din urmă. Deși Ion Hâncu era susținut de către Artem Lazarev, vicepreședintele Academiei de Științe a RSSM, și de Boris Vizer, directorul Institutului de Istorie al AȘ a RSSM, în anul 1977 acesta a fost exclus din componența sectorului arheologic și transferat în cel etnografic. Teza „autohtonismului moldovenilor,” susținută de Ion Hâncu, care „minimaliza rolul slavilor” în spațiul pruto-nistean, a fost interpretată ca o abordare naționalistă, fapt pentru care arheologul moldovean a și fost taxat. Astfel, episodul legat de cazul lui Ion Hâncu din 1977 se încadrează în „atacul asupra naționaliștilor moldoveni” inițiat de către organele KGB în perioada respectivă. Deși soarta carierei profesionale a lui Ion Hâncu s-a datorat unui cumul de factori, inclusiv de ordin personal, marginalizarea lui și interdicția de a practica arheologia este un caz revelator, care merită atenția cercetătorilor de astăzi. În acest context, Iurie Stamati analizează un șir de aspecte esențiale, inclusiv rolul lui Gh. Fedorov, care scot la lumină anumite date cruciale în acest sens. Mi se pare deosebit de salutară și importantă interviuarea de către Iurie Stamati a unor arheologi și istorici din Republica Moldova (Gh. Cebotarenko, N. Chetranu, D. Dragnev, B. Vizer). Aceste interviuri i-au facilitat cercetătorului accesul la opinia participanților direcți și a martorilor oculari ai situației din jurul lui Ion Hâncu. Totuși, cred că cercul acestor persoane și, prin urmare, numărul interviurilor ar fi putut fi extins.



Conclusions / *Concluziile* (p. 242-252) reprezintă o recapitulare a concluziilor deja enunțate la finele fiecărui capitol. Totuși, acestea atrag atenția, încă o dată, asupra problemelor de bază tratate în fiecare compartiment al lucrării.

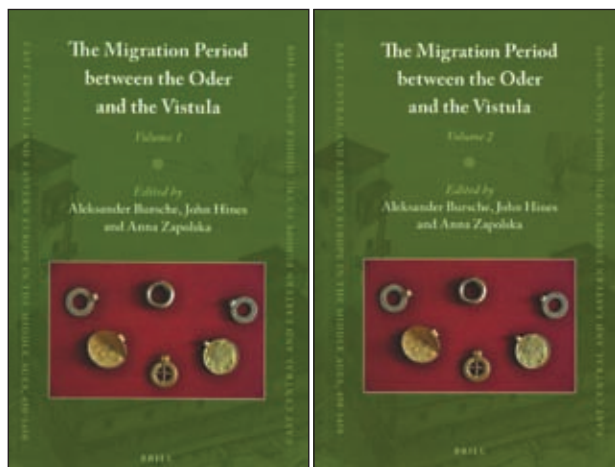
Bibliografia include o listă impresionantă de literatură secundară, surse orale și documente de arhivă folosite la elaborarea acestei monografii. Plasarea aceleiași fotografii pe coperta 1 și 4 nu este inspirată, cu atât mai mult cu cât sub imagine apare textul privind datele personale ale autorului cărții, fapt care poate induce în eroare cititorul, dacă acesta din urmă nu observă pe pagina tehnică datele acestei fotografii. Lasă de dorit și calitatea pozelor folosite în monografie.

Chiar dacă lucrările lui Iurie Stamati și Sergiu Matveev³ abordează multi-lateral istoriografia sovietică a chestiunii, dosarul slav și arheologia medievală timpurie din spațiul pruto-nistean rămân subiecte de cercetare foarte actuale, cu atât mai mult, cu cât arheologii și istoricii din Republica Moldova continuă să fie divizați și dominați de polemica dintre aceste două discursuri. Demersul lui Iurie Stamati poate servi drept un exemplu de abordare echilibrată și echidistantă a celor două concepte istoriografice aflate în antagonism.

Trecând peste observațiile și criticile minore menționate mai sus, care sunt firești unui demers academic, lucrarea lui Iurie Stamati, fătă îndoială, este un studiu foarte bine documentat, care ne permite o mai bună înțelegere atât a discursurilor istoriografice privind arheologia slavă în spațiul pruto-nistean din perioada sovietică, cât și a profilului academic al celor angajați în aceste discuții. Prin urmare, recomand această carte tuturor celor interesați de istoria arheologiei și de istoriografia sovietică. Volumul lui Iurie Stamati este un exemplu excelent de analiză critică a discursurilor academice postbelice din Estul Europei.

Sergiu MUSTEAȚĂ

³ Sergiu Matveev, *Procesele etno-culturale din spațiul carpato-nistean în secolele II-XIV*, Chișinău, Editura Pontos, 2009.



ALEKSANDER BURSCHE, JOHN HINES AND ANNA ZAPOLSKA (EDS), *The Migration Period between the Oder and the Vistula*, BRILL: Leiden/Boston, 2020, 1052 pages, ISBN 978-90-04-42272-8 (volume 1), ISBN 978-90-04-42273-5 (volume 2)

Volumul cu numărul 59/1 și 59/2 *The Migration Period between the Oder and the Vistula*, coordonat de către Aleksander Bursche, John Hines și Anna Zapolska apare la Editura BRILL, în seria „East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450-1450”, coordonată de Florin Curta și Dušan Zupka.

Lucrarea cuprinde 26 de articole, distribuite în patru capitole, câte două capitole în fiecare volum. Astfel, volumul 1 include 12 articole și volumul 2 – celalte 14 articole. Studiile au fost realizate de cunoscuți specialiști în domeniile arheologiei, istoriei, numismaticii și paleobotanicii, care, în mare parte, au participat timp de șase ani la proiectul pluridisciplinar *Maestro* (2012-2018), coordonat de prof. Alexander Bursche de la Universitatea din Varșovia, Polonia. Culegerea de studii este însoțită de instrumentele bibliografice necesare, care facilitează accesul la informațiile din conținutul articolelor: listele figurilor, diagramelor, tabelor, abrevierilor, bibliografia comună și indicele geografic. Bineînțeles că ar fi fost bine venit și un indice de nume, dar probabil că acest lucru a fost dificil de realizat.

În *Introducerea* (p. 1-12) semnată de prof. Alexander Bursche sunt prezentate câteva aspecte privind proiectul *Maestro*, implementat de o echipă de cercetători polonezi coordonată de experți din diferite state europene. Proiectul a avut drept scop cercetarea pluridisciplinară a așezărilor populațiilor migratoare dintre râurile Oder și Vistula din sec. IV-VI, care au fost insuficient analizate și prezentate în trecut. Pe parcursul implementării proiectului, membrii echipei au prezentat peste 60 de comunicări la diverse conferințe internaționale, au dezvoltat o pagină web dedicată proiectului – www.mpov.uw.edu.pl, au realizat două expoziții susținute de cataloage în poloneză și engleză, au publicat peste 30 de articole în diverse reviste și culegeri de studii și au desfășurat o conferință internațională.



Autorii proiectului au stabilit din start o serie de întrebări generale, care au facilitat cercetarea lor, precum *Care au fost cauzele schimbării locului așezărilor în perioada migrațiilor și care a fost caracterul lor? Care au fost cauzele depopulării rapide a regiunii? A fost această depopulare cauzată de factori politici externi (invazia hunilor, migrația slavilor) care ulterior au provocat schimbări demografice majore? Sau un rol mai important l-au jucat schimbările climatice, epuizarea fertilității solului ce a provocat o criză economică și în consecință depopularea parțială? Cum a evoluat acest fenomen de-a lungul spațiului și al timpului?* etc. Fiecare contribuție răspunde la una sau mai multe întrebări, care sunt rezumate la finalul volumului 2 de către A. Bursche și M. Maćzynska (p. 877-879).

Partea 1. *History, Theory and Environment* (Istorie, teorie și mediu) cuprinde 4 studii, dintre care două în domeniul istoriei, unul teoretic și altul în domeniul științelor naturii. Marzena J. Przybyła analizează problema migrației în arheologie acordând o atenție specială conceptelor teoretice privind mecanismele și factorii migrației. Autoarea concluzionează că, migrația este un fenomen extrem de complex care are efecte de lungă durată din punct de vedere demografic, social, politic și economic. De aceea, ținând cont de specificul datelor arheologice, acestea trebuie coroborate cu metodele de analiză teoretică. Deoarece cadrul teoretic ne permite să înțelegem mai bine datele arheologice în contextul fenomenelor migrației. P. Heather discută, în continuare, despre migrație și identitate în perioada antică târzie, concepte care, deși sunt discutate și analizate în literatura de specialitate de mai multe decenii, rămân a fi actuale până astăzi. Marcin Wołoszyn face o analiză critică a izvoarelor scrise privind perioada migrației în Polonia, care se înscrie perfect în conceptul volumului și care facilitează analiza proceselor migraționiste pe baza datelor autorilor antici de la finele sec. IV până la sfârșitul sec. VI. Cel de-al patrulea articol este total deosebit de primele trei, deoarece o echipă de paleobotaniști discută pe baza analizelor de polen din 52 de situri din nordul Poloniei despre schimbările de mediu în mileniul I. Pe baza acestor date, autorii încearcă să reconstituie dinamica așezărilor, folosirea vegetației și soluțiilor de către comunitățile care au locuit siturile studiate în perioadele romană (200-400), a migrației (400-600) și în Evul Mediu timpuriu (600-800, 800-1000 și 1000-1200). Autorii arag atenția asupra mai multor contradicții între datele arheologice și cele de polen, semnalând faptul că e nevoie de o aprofundare a studiilor în acest domeniu și coroborarea acestora cu descoperirile arheologice pe areale extinse. Totodată, rezultatele analizelor arată că în perioada migrației s-au produs defrișări masive în zonele studiate, iar cea mai mare creștere a fenomenului depopulării în regiunile cercetate se atribuie sec. V-VI.

Partea 2. *Between the Oder and the Vistula* (Între Oder și Vistula) cuprinde 8 studii dedicate în totalitate aspectelor arheologice. M. Maćzyńska abordează

aspecte ale cronologiei descoperirilor, evidențiind principalele repere arheologice care disting trecerea de la perioada antică târzie la perioada migrațiilor pe teritoriul Poloniei. A. Bitner-Wróblewska, M. Przybyła și A. Pesh tratează despre modificările stilistice din cultura populațiilor Europei centrale și de nord în perioada migrațiilor. Ambele articole sunt extrem de importante în determinarea particularităților culturale și cronologice ale populațiilor care au locuit regiunile Poloniei. Următoarele două studii sunt dedicate arheologiei așezărilor, cimitirelor și mormintelor din epoca migrației. Astfel, pe baza descoperirile arheologice, H. Machajewski și J. Schuster definesc trăsăturile caracteristice așezărilor și cimitirelor și modificările structurale provocate de procesele migraționiste de pe teritoriul Poloniei, uneori comparându-le cu alte regiuni ale Europei centrale. J. Rodzińska-Nowak analizează în studiul său descoperirile de factură nomadă din perioada migrației timpurii, reușind astfel să sistematizeze descoperirile de acest gen și să evidențieze apariția populațiilor nomade pe teritoriul Poloniei. A. Pesch analizează 15 pandantive circulare decorate cu motive zoomorfe stilizate, o categorie specială de piese de aur din sec. V-VI atestate pe teritoriul Poloniei și care au o legătură directă cu descoperirile similare din sudul Scandinaviei. Partea a doua se încheie cu două studii semnate de M. Mączyńska, care discută, pe baza unor categorii de piese arheologice, despre schimbările produse în regiunile baltice de sud, sudul și centrul Poloniei în contextul trecerii de la perioada Antică târzie la Evul Mediu timpuriu.

Partea 3. Case Studies (Studii de caz) cuprinde 6 studii care analizează un șir de descoperiri arheologice din sec. V-VII din siturile del a Kujawy, Łubiana, Karsibór și Suchań. Marcin Rudnicki și Mirosław Rudnicki analizează descoperirile de la Kujawy din regiunea centrală a Poloniei, reperate în sec. V-VII. B. Kontny și Marcin Rudnicki analizează piesele din aceeași așezare, dar care au o legătură cu echipamentul militar – armament, fittinguri pentru centuri militare, echipamente ecvestre etc. și care explică relațiile acestei comunități cu populațiile din jur și trăsăturile echipamentelor militare de la finele antichității și începutul Evului Mediu timpuriu. M. Mączyńska vine cu încă o contribuție, de această cu o scurtă descriere a tezaurului de la Łubiana din Pomerania, compus din cca. 2000 de piese de bornz și fier, caracteristice unei perioade destul de largi, între finele sec. I și începutul sec. V. Consider că, odată ce s-a hotărât introducerea datelor despre acest tezaur, ar fi fost necesară o analiză mult mai dezvoltată și contextualizată istoric, așa cum au făcut A. Zapolska în studiile ce urmează privind tezaurul de *solidi* de la Karsibór din Pomerania de vest sau A. Bursche și B. Rogalski despre tezaurul de aur de la Suchań. S. Miłek abordează în studiul său perioada migrației în valea mijlocie a râului Prosna unde s-au descoperit tezaurul de monede și bijuterii la Wtórek și depozitele de la Kalisz.



Partea 4. *Beyond the Oder and the Vistula* (Dincolo de Oder și Vistula) cuprinde alte 8 studii care analizează situația așezărilor din perioada migrației din regiunile imediat apropiate de interfluviul Oder și Vistula. A. Rau face o sinteză privind sudul Scandinaviei în perioada migrației, evidențiind câteva aspecte caracteristice: așezări, cimitire și tezaure, transport și comunicare, război și arme, meșteșuguri și artă, Scandinavia și continentul. B. Kontny tratează, pe baza descoperirilor arheologice, despre interculturalizarea de la finele sec. V dintre germanici și baltici, iar A. Bitner-Wróblewska analizează, în alt studiu, particularitățile grupului Olsztyn, vecini ai populațiilor baltice. M. Lubichev și K. Myzgin analizează schimbările culturale din perioada migrației în regiunile Europei de Est, pornind de la particularitățile purtătorilor Culturii Sânta de Mureș – Černjachov și până la cele mai reprezentative descoperiri din sec. V-VI, un loc aparte fiind acordat descoperirilor monetare romane. Z. Rácz scoate în evidență, pe baza datelor arheologice din regiunile Dunării de mijloc, trăsăturile comunităților gepide și ostrogotice. J. Schuster și M. Schmauder fac o sinteză a istoriei regiunilor cuprinse între râurile Rin, Dunăre și Oder în sec. V-VII. M. Kazanski analizează descoperirile est germanice și alano-sarmatice din perioada migrației timpurii în regiunile de vest ale Imperiului Roman. Partea a patra se încheie cu studiul semnat de A. Bursche, M. Latałowa și M. Maćzyńska care, de fapt, sumarizează problemele discutate în această lucrare, evidențiind particularitățile regiunilor dintre Oder și Vistula în perioada migrației. Pe lângă multitudinea de constatări și concluzii, autorii atrag atenția și asupra faptului că cercetările recente indică asupra exagerării anterioare a poziției cronologice timpurii a așezărilor slavilor din Polonia. Ceea ce înseamnă că astfel de proiecte sunt extrem de necesare, iar cercetările pluridisciplinare trebuie în continuare dezvoltate și încurajate abordările comparative, atât la nivel micro, cât și macroregional.

În final, recomand aceste volume tuturor celor interesați de arheologia și istoria perioadei migrației în Europa și a tranziției de la antichitatea târzie la Evul Mediu timpuriu. Lucrarea este valoroasă atât prin actualitatea, noutatea și originalitatea fiecărui studiu în parte, cât și prin exemplul de finalitate a unui proiect de amploare realizat de colegii polonezi.

Sergiu MUSTEAȚĂ

AUTHORS' SHORT BIOGRAPHIES / DATE DESPRE AUTORI

BASU, Asmita is a PhD research scholar at the NIT, Durgapur and Assistant Professor at Army Institute of Management, Kolkata. One of her important publications is: "Sustainable Development - a challenge for archaeological site management in the coastal areas of West Bengal in Eastern India," in "Current Trends in Archaeological Heritage Preservation National and International Perspectives," ed. Musteata, Sergiu, and Stefan Caliniuc. BAR International Series 274, no. 2: 5. 2015. She has presented several research papers at different international conferences held in Jordan (WAC, 2013), Siem Reap (IPPA, 2014), Stockholm (EASAA, 2014), Paris (EurASEAA, 2015), Cardiff (EASAA, 2016), Bern (EAA, 2019). She has been awarded the ' Best Young Faculty of the Year' in Integrated Chamber of Commerce & Industries, India, in 2019.

E-mail: asmita.basu2011@gmail.com

BELOKUROVA, Elena is a member of the Russian group within the World Heritage Watch, St. Petersburg, Russia. She has graduated from Department of Sociology, St. Petersburg State University, and then studied at the European University at St. Petersburg and defended her candidate dissertation in political science in 2000. She has worked in 2000-2014 as a co-founder and researcher at the Centre for European Studies – EU Centre at the European University at St. Petersburg. In 2008-2013, she was working also as a Russian Deputy Director, Scientific Manager of the Center for German and European Studies, St. Petersburg State University. As a result of her academic activities, she has a list of published with more than 40 academic articles and books.

E-mail: elena.v.belokurova@gmail.com

COBEN, Larry is the founder and Executive Director of the Sustainable Preservation Initiative (www.sustainablepreservation.org), which creates local economic opportunities by giving communities the tools to be self-reliant, leveraging their historic sites responsibly and freeing them to thrive while preserving their past. He is also an archaeologist and Consulting Scholar at the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Chairman of the Board of the Fortune 200 company NRG Energy.

E-mail: larrycoben@sustainablepreservation.org

COZMA, Elena-Loredana is an archaeologist from Romania. She is a PhD student at the 'Alexandru Ioan Cuza' University from Iasi, Faculty of History and she studies the domain of forensic archaeology. She worked at the City Hall of Iasi as a speciality inspector in 'Relations with Civil Society' Office. As a result of that, she is involved in organizing different cultural events like National Symposium 'Cultural Heritage of Iasi District: evidence,



preservation and revaluation` and till 2018 she was responsible for organizing the theme of Municipal Museum of Iasi. She has been involved in numerous projects on heritage protection since 2011 and her dissertation was on historical monuments dedicated to heroes of WWI from Vrancea County.

E-mail: elenacozma26@gmail.com

STEPHAN Dömpke is chairman of World Heritage Watch. He studied psychology, cultural anthropology and science of religions in Münster, Wichita/Kansas and Berlin. Throughout his life, he has committed himself to the preservation of natural and cultural heritage, first for indigenous peoples of North America and the Pacific. In 1989 he joined the founding team at the House of World Cultures in Berlin, and from 1993-1998 coordinated projects in Russia and Central Asia for the German Nature Conservation Union NABU. He supported the revitalization of felt-making in Kyrgyzstan and was a free-lance consultant before he became UN Programme Coordinator for Culture and Heritage in Albania in 2008, and from 2010-2014 worked as a World Heritage expert in Gjirokastra, Albania. He is the founding chairman of World Heritage Watch, a Berlin-based global network of NGOs monitoring World Heritage.

E-mail: contact@world-heritage-watch.org

GAYNUTDINOVA, Anna has two degrees: the Bachelor of Justice in civil law and the Master of Art in History of Art and Architecture, and finished postgraduate studies of Department of History and Theory of Art, Lomonosov MSU. She is a former adviser of Moscow City Heritage Department, art curator and at present works as an expert in heritage preservation. She has been the member of the Board of Russia NC ICOMOS till 2019 and is Russia Rep. in ICOMOS EPWG.

E-mail: gauri.gan@gmail.com

GHEORGHIU, Dragoş is a cultural anthropologist and experimental archaeologist whose studies focus on the process of cognition, material culture and art. His recent publications deal with the problem of immersion in reconstructed contexts in Augmented and Mixed Reality. Professor Gheorghiu is secretary of the UISPP Neolithic Commission, member of EAA, and Paul Mellon Fellow at CASVA, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

E-mail: gheorghiu_dragos@yahoo.com

MARTÍNEZ FERNÁNDEZ, Andrea is currently finishing a Master's in World Heritage Studies in BTU Cottbus-Senftenberg. Originally from Spain, she completed her Bachelor's in Archaeology at Complutense University in Madrid in 2017 but has also a background in Cultural Anthropology. During her last year of her Bachelor's, she was granted with an ERASMUS scholarship to attend the Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg, where she focused her studies in material culture, cinema and communication. She has followed the path of heritage and community engagement not only in the university but also

with the undertaking of several internships, not only in her home country but also in France, Mexico and Cuba. During the summer of 2018, she was granted with a DAAD scholarship to attend Helwan University in Cairo, helping her on specialization on heritage and conflict, which she hopes can help her resolve community conflicts in the future. In 2019, she was selected to participate on the US/ICOMOS IEP in San Antonio, Texas and also completed an exchange semester in Tunis with a focus on cultural and sustainable tourism.

Email: andreamf9@gmail.com

MOUDOPOULOS ATHANASIOU, Faidon is a PhD student at the Department of Archaeology, University of Sheffield. His research focuses on the early modern (Ottoman) Zagori, NW Greece, funded by the White Rose College for the Arts and Humanities (AHRC) and the A.G. Leventis Foundation. He holds a BA in history and archaeology from the University of Crete and MAs in Aegean Archaeology and Heritage Management from the Universities of Sheffield and Kent, respectively. His research interests range from post-medieval and early-modern archaeology to archaeological theory, the history of archaeology and cultural heritage management.

E-mail: fmoudopoulos1@sheffield.ac.uk

RUSU, Dumitru is an architect based in Bucharest and co-founder of the Bureau for Art and Urban Research (B.A.C.U.). He studied at the Faculty of Architecture and Urban Planning of the Polytechnic Institute in Chisinau, Republic of Moldova. In 1995, he relocated to Romania and graduated from "Ion Mincu" Institute of Architecture in Bucharest in 2003. In 2014 he completed a post-graduate degree in the conservation of built heritage at the Faculty of History and Philosophy of the Babes-Bolyai University in Cluj. Since 2014, he has been a member of B.A.C.U. Association, ICOMOS Romania Member, ICOMOS-ISC20C Associate Member, ICOMOS-ICOFORT Associate Member. His efforts, directed through B.A.C.U. Association and projects like "Socialist Modernism", "Social Heritage", "SocMonumental Art", "Socialist Mosaics" and "Defense Architecture", focus on the listing and protection of buildings, ensembles, and other 20th-century architecture objects both locally and internationally. Besides conservation initiatives, he also works in architecture design and planning.

E-mail: office@bacu.ro

ȘTEFAN, Livia currently works as an independent researcher and senior software architect. Her current publications include e-learning and developing virtual and augmented reality environments, including educational games, and human-computer interactions for optimizing the learning. She is a professional member of IEEE Computer Society and Association for Computing Machinery (ACM).

E-mail: livia.stefan@yahoo.com



VOROBYEV, Dmitry is a member Russian group within the World Heritage Watch, St. Petersburg, Russia. In 1997, he graduated from the Department of Mineralogy at St. Petersburg State University, after which he worked as a maritime geologist in the Institute of Oceanology until 2002. In 1997-1998, he studied in Smolny College of Liberal Arts and Science, in 2003-2004 he worked as a sociologist in an international research project in Technical University in Berlin. He defended MA Dissertation in Sociology at the Faculty of Political Science and Sociology in European University at St. Petersburg. Later, he worked as a sociologist in the Centre for Independent Social Research (St. Petersburg) and Institute of Regional Development (Pskov). In 2015-2016, he also taught a course in the visualization of spatial data to the students of State University for Architecture and Construction. Scientific interests: political sociology, urban studies.

E-mail: moxabat@gmail.com

ZBUCHEA, Alexandra is Vice-Dean of the Faculty of Management at the National University of Studies and Public Administrations, Bucharest, Romania. Alexandra is the Executive Manager of the Center for the Study of Responsible Organizations from the same faculty. She is a member of several scientific boards of conferences and academic events. She is also a member of professional associations such as the Academy of Marketing Science or the International Association of Knowledge Management. Also, she is active in an NGO promoting education for children through access to heritage and culture – Da’DeCe. Until 2018 she was a member of the Board of the National Network of Museums in Romania. She is a board member for several academic journals. Since 2006, she is a consultant in cultural management and marketing. She is a trainer in cultural marketing and management. She published several books and many studies in marketing for museums, promotion, marketing of cultural organizations, cultural tourism and such. She was twice Fulbright Scholar, at Columbia University and New York University.

E-mail: alexandra.zbucnea@facultateadmanagement.ro

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The submitted texts shall include a short English abstract (300-350 words) and the main keywords (5-8 words) in English.

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Mailing address:

The Department of History and Geography, „Ion Creangă” State Pedagogical University, Chişinău, Republic of Moldova
Ion Creangă Str., 1, Central Building, of. 509
Chişinău, MD-2069, Republic of Moldova
Phone: 373 22 358305; Fax: 373 22 358169
e-mail: plural.journal@upsc.md

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Numărul planșelor care însoțesc textul nu trebuie să depășească 5 pagini. Titlurile din limbile slave vor fi transliterate.

Lucrările care au ilustrații trebuie să fie însoțite de lista ilustrațiilor, cu indicarea sursei sau autorului. Lista ilustrațiilor trebuie să fie tradusă în limba străină în care este tradus și rezumatul.

Ilustrațiile vor fi trimise în format electronic (jpg. 300 dpi resolution pentru imagini și 1200 dpi pentru desene).

Date despre autor:

Lucrarea trebuie să includă numele complet al autorului, instituția unde activează, adresa de contact, inclusiv e-mail, și o scurtă prezentare a preocupărilor științifice și publicațiilor recente.

Termen: Nr. 1 – 30 mai al fiecărui an. Nr. 2 – 30 octombrie al fiecărui an.

Adresa de contact:

Catedra de Istorie și Geografie, UPS „Ion Creangă” din Chișinău
str. Ion Creangă nr. 1, bloc central, of. 509, Chișinău, MD-2069, Republica Moldova
Telefon: 373 22 358305; Fax 373 22 358169; e-mail: plural.journal@upsc.md