

**The Use of Cultural Heritage in Economic and Human Development:  
A Comparison of Built Heritage Projects  
in Morocco and British Columbia**

by

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## **Abstract**

Recent decades have found those in the development field seeking alternatives to resource-extraction based approaches to development. The use of Cultural Heritage, and specifically built heritage projects, has become one such approach that offers more sustainable and culturally-sensitive alternatives. A few Cultural Heritage projects have been ongoing for decades now, and offer insights into how these sorts of initiatives can be approached, and what can be learned from them and applied to similar situations in other parts of the world. The old medina of Fez in Morocco is one such well-established project that offers an example of some of the potential, as well as some of the pitfalls, of this endeavour. This project seeks to evaluate these lessons in the light of a few newer Cultural Heritage projects that have been established by First Nations groups in British Columbia, and by comparing them to the medina of Fez. The potential of this approach to development is evaluated in the light of the successes and challenges that these projects face.

**Keywords:** Cultural Heritage, Built Heritage, Human Development, Fez Medina, British Columbia, First Nations.

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## Acronyms

<b>BC</b>	<b>British Columbia</b>
CH	Cultural Heritage
ERR	Economic Rate of Return
FN	First Nations
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HDI	Human Development Index
HDR	Human Development Report
IFI	International Financial Institution
MENA	Middle East & North Africa
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
WB	World Bank

# Chapter 1: Introduction

## 1.1 Introduction

The use of Cultural Heritage (CH) in the development field is an important and growing strategy with a lot of potential, both positive and negative, for contributing to the development and growth of societies, cultures, and civilizations. This project seeks to explore the intersection between CH and development, and evaluate this potential. It does so by comparing and contrasting built heritage projects in two different geographical locales. It explores the lessons learned from a major, international CH project that has been ongoing for nearly four decades, the preservation and restoration of the old medina (city) of Fez in Morocco. These lessons will be looked at in the light of a few newer and smaller CH projects in British Columbia, in order to consider whether CH projects of this nature are unique, or if knowledge gained can be shared across cultures despite their differences.

It is increasingly being recognized that CH projects can be used in the development field for a number of purposes (World Bank 2001, 45 & Werna 2009, 1). CH is being championed as a strong and sustainable approach to development (Moreno, Santagata & Tabassum 2004, 4), which provides all sorts of opportunities, from adjacent business development (World Bank 2001, 14) and attracting tourism, to providing a locus for arts and craft production and the transmission of cultural information. The recognition of the economic dimension of this potential is increasingly acknowledged and measured within the field of

cultural economics (Throsby 2001), as is its ability to provide more autonomous and self-guided routes towards development (Moreno, Santagata & Tabassum 2004, 4). In short, the potential for the use of CH in development is often considered to be great.

Nonetheless, challenges exist. These challenges range from the loss of cultural authenticity, to limitations on economic gains due to the resource-intensive nature of this field, to the exploitation of CH for political purposes. For example, the potential of CH is inherently limited by its own existence, as it cannot be used indefinitely without significant continuing contributions towards its preservation. Actors must consider its long-term conservation or face losing this valuable resource. It is not a resource that is easily acquired, as it takes decades or even centuries to gain. There are thus dangers in using CH for development, especially if development is defined strictly in economic terms. If the integrity of CH is not preserved, the information that allows for its continuity may be lost under the strains of adapting it for the purposes of development, and this may hinder or even eliminate potential future CH strategies. But the fact of the current existence of CH does provide significant opportunities for both its preservation and for the development of the societies whose heritage it is. The two may in fact be able to be pursued together.

## **1.2 Research Objective**

My primary objective is to evaluate the use of Cultural Heritage projects in the context of development. I define three criteria for using CH towards

development, which are the foci for evaluating this endeavour throughout this project:

- 1) The stimulation of economic growth through employment creation, poverty reduction, and increasing revenue from tourism and from the sale of arts and crafts, as well as by attracting business and investment.**
- 2) The provision of loci and foci for developing cultural skills and educational curricula, and for transferring these to future generations.**
- 3) The provision of capital to address social and political power structure inequalities through the enhancement of political will and strength. The fostering of a clearer understanding and definition of identity, as well as opening the way for cross-cultural dialogue.**

This project seeks to evaluate the way CH projects are able to fulfill these criteria. It takes as its starting point the UNESCO World Heritage site of the old city of Fez, and looks to its successes and failures, and whether the lessons learned there can transfer across cultures. To do so, it examines a few CH projects in British Columbia, including Nan Sdins and Qay'Innagaay Village on Haida Gwaii, Xa:ytem in the Fraser Valley, and U'Mista in Alert Bay. This projects looks to whether these projects have been able to meet these goals, as well as what can be learned from older, established CH projects like the one in Fez.

The goal of this project is to evaluate current CH strategies, and it attempts to help point the way forward in using these for the purposes of development. It assesses whether CH, used constructively and effectively, and under the right circumstances, can provide alternatives to resource-extraction based development strategies, alternatives that more effectively address the whole spectrum of human development. It also evaluates some of the challenges faced by the CH industry in order to point towards ways of overcoming them. Finally, it looks to the future to evaluate whether this strategy can be a sustainable and long-term one.

### **1.3 Research Methodology**

This research project is based on a case study of the old city of Fez in Morocco, which is used as an example of a CH project that is long-established. It is compared and contrasted with four smaller-scale First Nations (FN) projects in British Columbia, in an attempt to evaluate the transferability of methods used in these types of projects, what can be learned from major, proven initiatives like Fez, and what kind of potential these initiatives have in the field of development.

This project is not based on any field research, but instead is drawn entirely from the available literature. Thus, its main emphasis is on secondary sources. A few primary sources are also used, such as World Bank reports, UNESCO documents, and government, tourism, and First Nations publications. Some of the information comes from those with a stake in these projects, such as the World Bank, as well as First Nations groups in BC, and so must be read and evaluated carefully and critically. Conclusions made about these books and

articles must consider these embedded interests. While not delving too deeply into textual analysis, I attempt to remain cognizant of the potential for bias here.

#### **1.4 Significance of the Study**

The questions I explore here touch on a still relatively new and growing realm of development. Long-established CH projects like the one in Fez are few and far between, and in fact this one has already been used as a model for various international projects (Serageldin 1999, 252). With the potential that many are now suggesting exists in this field, these are important questions to ask. The usefulness of this strategy of using CH for development purposes continues to need to be carefully assessed. While it may provide opportunities, the long-term consequences have not always been fully considered, nor has the impact on the local people, or on the CH itself. This short project can only hope to touch upon these questions, and point the way towards where further research is needed. No definitive answers will be laid out here; rather, pointers towards what kind of potential this field may contain, what the ongoing challenges are, and how to maximize the effectiveness of this approach are developed.

#### **1.5 Project Orientation**

The substance of this project is contained within four chapters, which are framed by the introductory and concluding chapters. Chapter 2 introduces the context of the study, and explores the relevant literature. It defines the key terminology and how it will be used here. It also looks to the CH industry, and explores the valuation of heritage. It then touches on the history of the two

regions this project explores, and frames them in their contemporary political realities.

Chapter 3 explores CH in Fez, and presents a case study of this major project. It looks to the history of this project, its promises and the issues it has faced, as well as the lessons that have been learned there in the last four decades. The same approach is taken in Chapter 4, but with the focus now on four CH projects in British Columbia.

Chapter 5 looks to comparisons and contrasts between the two regions, and attempts a more in depth evaluation of the appropriateness of the use of CH in development. It also briefly explores the tourism industry, which is one of the major catalysts for, and gainers from, these types of CH projects. Finally, it looks to issues like commodification and sustainability. Chapter 6 concludes the study.

## **Chapter 2: Context and Literature Review**

### **2.1 Context and Literature Review**

In this chapter I introduce the key concepts of this project, and define them in the context of how they are used here. I explore the concept of Cultural Heritage in greater detail, and look to how it can be valued in order for its worth to be recognized and therefore applied towards the different facets of development. Finally, I look to the histories of the two regions under scrutiny in this project, in order to contextualize the heritages that are being explored as routes towards development.

### **2.2 Defining Development**

Development is inherently a complex and nebulous concept. It can be defined in a multitude of ways, with a multiplicity of foci. From its origins in the late 1940s, development was associated with modernization and economic growth. Alternative types of societies to the Western and modern were considered as mired in 'poverty and backwardness' (Escobar 1995, 6), and there development was sought through industrialization, technicalization of agriculture, and 'the widespread adoption of modern education and cultural values' (Escobar 1995, 4). Development came to be more broadly defined in the following decades, especially in the 1980s and 1990s, such that by 1994 the UNDP could state that '[i]t has become necessary for economic development – together with environmental, social and cultural development – to be regarded as part of a bigger whole: sustainable human development' (cited in Loulanski 2006, 52).

Human development became a new focus for development thought in the 1990s, under the influence of thinkers like Amartya Sen.

In this project, I follow Sen's definition of development. For him, the purpose of development is 'a process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy,' rather than strictly economic growth (Sen 1999, 3), and this is the definition I use. For true, lasting development to occur, people need to have economic, political, social, spiritual and cultural freedoms, and the expansion of these are seen 'both as the primary end and as the principal means of development' (Sen 1999, xii). With the focus on culture here, it is important to note that 'culture is part of the set of capabilities that people have – the constraints, technologies, and framing devices that condition how decisions are made and coordinated across different actors' (Rao & Walton 2004, 4). It is these capabilities that define how people are able to achieve freedom, and therefore development. For Sen, '[c]ultural processes...can also be harnessed for positive social and economic transformation, through their influence on aspirations, the coordination of collective action, and the ways in which power and agency work within a society' (Rao & Walton 2004, 4). As part of our set of human capabilities, culture is a necessary and essential consideration within the framework of development, and CH is one of its key expressions.

### **2.3 The Cultural Dimension of Development**

Culture is so important to development that UNESCO has noted that it 'is not a means to material Progress: it is the end and aim of "development" seen as the flourishing of human existence in all its forms and as a whole' (UNESCO 1995,

24). Culture is inseparable from development, and can play a 'constructive, constitutive, and creative role' (UNESCO 1995, 25) therein, rather than simply an instrumental or determinative one. In fact, escaping cultural determinism, that is, the tendency to explain political and economic arrangements with reference to culture as their determinant, has been one of the major challenges of development thought since its inception. But, as has been amply observed, development itself is a form of culture which 'is present in all development activity' (Fabrizio 1995, 5). Development strategies tend to be 'heavily impregnated with their culture of origin, what one might call the subconscious component of development ... This cultural bias is rooted in the donor agency's inability to imagine models other than those within which it is accustomed to work, to which it subscribes and whose legitimacy is, for the agency at least, indisputable' (UNESCO 2009, 192). Development expresses those values, like individualism, competition and modernity, which are peculiar to industrial societies, though these values are becoming increasingly globalized (Fabrizio 1995, 82).

This subconscious dimension of the cultural assumptions of development helps explain why development thought has tended to blame culture, that is, cultures other than its own, and to assume 'a causal relationship between 'culture' and 'underdevelopment' holding that individuals either are or remain poor because cultural beliefs and attitudes impede their development' (UNESCO 2009, 191). This type of deterministic thinking is increasingly being challenged in the development field, though, as is the dominance of economic growth as the

defining determinant of development. UNESCO notes that it is often actually 'economic growth ... that interferes with human and cultural development' (UNESCO 1995, 30). Thus, in this project I favour a definition of development that is human-centered, that considers the social and cultural dimensions of development in addition to the economic, and that privileges the enhancement of capabilities and thus freedoms over modernization and industrialization.

#### **2.4 Defining Cultural and Built Heritage**

An excellent definition of CH has been provided by Tolina Loulanski, who notes that it 'includes the material aspects of culture – sites, buildings, landscapes, monuments, and objects - as well as the non-material aspects, which are embodied in social practices, community life, values, beliefs, and expressive forms such as language, arts, handicrafts, music and dance...The concept of heritage is evolving as a result of and according to the changing attitudes, needs and demands people convey towards it' (Loulanski 2006, 54-55). This project is particularly focused on built heritage, that is, the architectural traditions, expressions, and artifacts of a culture, and it looks to the role this can play in development. Loulanski makes the important point here that heritage is not static, that it evolves and changes in response to people's attitudes towards it, and how they seek to use their heritage. This is even the case in something as seemingly stable and concrete as architecture. In this project, CH is not seen as something static, but as an evolving entity that is continuously in dialogue with its users, and thus it is defined in relation to how it is used in a given situation, and what the purpose of that usage is. Loulanski observes the multiple uses that

CH can have when she says that '[t]he roles of heritage, seen before in the narrow meaning of symbols of national unity and pride, have expanded to include much broader phenomena, contributing to political ideals, economic prosperity, social cohesion and cultural diversity' (Loulanski 2006, 55).

## **2.5 Valuing Heritage**

The recognition that the preservation and conservation (I use the terms interchangeably) of CH can be economically beneficial goes back to at least the 1970s, when 'both UNDP and the World Bank began to devote funds to the preservation of the built environment and for crafts development, both of which could be justified in purely economic terms' (UNESCO 1995, 182). It has been noted, though, that while CH has economic value, this value exists only *in potentia* until it is mobilized and actualized (Cernea 2008, 113), and how this can be done has been an ongoing exploration over the last few decades. Strong and sound management is key for CH to be used for the purpose of development, and the World Bank notes that '[g]ood heritage management can enhance these values and make them easier to harvest, while safeguarding the assets effectively. Far from being just a liability to national budgets, as some one-sidedly regard it, the patrimony is-and can increasingly become a "value-adding" industry' (World Bank 2001, 44). Thus, preservation is no longer seen as a hindrance to development, as it once commonly was, and it is increasingly recognized that it can in fact be a partner in development (Loulanski 2006, 56). CH is increasingly recognized as a global public good (Cernea 2008, 126), and its benefits seen as transnational.

CH is recognized as having both economic and non-economic value. Its benefits in the former category can include poverty reduction and employment creation through construction, tourism, arts and craft production, and various associated business and investment opportunities (Cernea 2008, 131). In the non-economic realm, gains can include increasing education and cultural awareness, identity cultivation, social cohesion and human capital development, as well as safeguarding heritage for future generations (Cernea 2008, 132). While some note the dangers of valuing heritage economically (Cernea 2008, 113), cultural economics is a growing field which increasingly is developing methods to demonstrate the potential benefits of preserving CH.

The work of David Throsby, whose book *Economics and Culture* (2001) is seminal in this field, is important to note. Throsby observes that 'we can provide a formal definition of cultural capital as an asset that embodies a store of cultural value, separable from whatever economic value it might possess; the asset gives rise to a flow of goods and services over time which may also have cultural value (i.e., which are themselves cultural goods and services). The stock of tangible cultural capital thus defined comprises cultural heritage' (Throsby 2002, 103). For him, the cultural value of an object can significantly expand its economic value (Throsby 2002, 104). This is a way of recognizing the value of heritage in order to highlight the importance of preserving it. In fact, a number of modes of valuing CH now exist, in part learned from older and more established environmental valuation techniques (World Bank 2001, 43). These types of

considerations help demonstrate the potential of the preservation of CH for economic development.

## **2.6 Colonialism and Power – the Politics of Heritage**

As already noted, CH is not a static and unchanging concept, and neither is culture. In the post-colonial era, CH has been used to define cultures as much in the present as in the past (Hammond 2009, 18). This is, in many ways, due to the legacies of colonialism, and the fact that the term ‘post-colonial’ is often inaccurate, as its legacies continue to linger (Braun 2002, 21). Because of this, CH has often been the locus for the contestation of identity, independence, and rights. The colonial histories of the two regions we are looking at play an important role in the issues of development and CH we are exploring here, and they are briefly introduced in the following two sections.

CH is inherently political, and this is important to remember. CH helps people and societies define themselves, whether as ethnic, cultural, or national unities, or as alternatives or sub-groups to these categories. It helps them create and maintain their identities and preserve their culture and traditions, as is the case in both of the regions I focus on here. David Lowenthal notes, though, that with CH the ‘potential for both good and evil is huge. On the one hand, it offers a rationale for self-respecting stewardship of all we hold dear, on the other, it signals an eclipse of reason and a regression to embattled tribalism’ (Lowenthal 1996, 3). Thus, any approach to using CH for development must consider its political implications and the way it shapes how societies define themselves. The danger of fragmentation and tribalism of identity is ever present in our

increasingly globalized world, and CH has at times provided foci for this as a reaction to the values of modernization and Westernization.

## **2.7 Brief History of the Issue in Morocco**

The city of Fez was founded by the Idrissid sultan Idrissid II in the year 808, and went on to be the 'spiritual, scientific, and cultural capital of Morocco' (Radoine 2008, 1) for centuries. Decay had already been noticed in the nineteenth century (Radoine 2003, 462), though, and under French colonial rule, which began in 1912, new capitals and urban communities were created outside of the old Moroccan medinas, and their once-strong economic, social and intellectual institutions further decayed (El-Ghazaly 2008, 9). Simply put, this 'transformed the historic *medinas* into areas of many kinds of disorder and irregularity' (Radoine 2003, 461). Poverty increased as the wealthy and educated were drawn into the new towns, and poor and uneducated rural people moved into the old towns which became overcrowded and stagnant. While some conservation was practiced in the colonial era, at that time 'the term 'conservation' [was] used in what might be called an ironic way. For the sake of mere preservation, the historic urban settlements were dealt with as if they were dead artefacts rather than living entities that require development and adaptation to contemporary needs without the loss of their authentic integrity and their historic memory' (Radoine 2003, 461). Thus, the need for development as well as dynamic preservation was not meaningfully observed until well after the end of French colonial rule in 1956.

## **2.8 Brief History of the Issue in British Columbia**

As in Morocco, the establishment of a colonial government in BC led to a shift towards new styles of living, new urban environments, and new social and political institutions for BC's First Nations, who were thus forced to interact with the new settlers. Much of their heritage was lost to the colonizers, as their artifacts were taken from them, their ceremonies banned, and many were forced from their traditional dwellings to new, modern buildings. Only recently have FN been able to reassert themselves, for example with the establishment of the British Columbia Treaty Process in 1992, allowing them to begin to redefine matters of 'identity, governance, and cultural survival' (Schaepe 2007, 234), as well as economic self-sufficiency and development.

While increasingly the potential for First Nations to shape their own future is recognized, and the role of cultural traditions in their development is seen to play an important role (McMillan 2004, 232), the relationship with colonial powers remains difficult, and still 'the post in postcolonial is at best used ironically; at worst it works insidiously to deny continuing forms of domination' (Braun 2002, 22). Within this complex relationship, CH can play an important role, as 'Indigenous heritage stewardship is an obvious way to turn over the management, or care, of important cultural places to local hands' (Hammond 2009, 8). The use of CH for development in the case of the First Nations of BC often includes an assertion of identity, and it can be a step towards their development through the use of their cultural resources in order to further their own human capabilities.

## 2.9 Significance of the Comparison

We can begin to draw out a comparison between these two situations from these brief histories. In both situations, traditional architecture, as well as cultural institutions as a whole, had fallen into disrepair under the pressure and stifling of the colonial administrations that ruled them, directly or indirectly, for decades. Both now are undergoing a resurgence of traditional culture and identity under different degrees of independence. CH has come to act in both places as loci for cultural awareness and preservation, and built heritage, as we will see, has proven to be a major site of this preservation, as well as one that can provide opportunities for the social and economic advancement of these peoples.

The similarities between these situations are noted in the following statement: '[i]n many ways, the circumstances faced by First Nations struggling to achieve economic development are similar to those faced by Third World nations. For both, the objective is to improve the socio-economic conditions of their people' (Anderson & Bone 1995, 123). It is this objective that I explore in the following chapters, as well as the specifics of using CH projects towards it. Michael Cernea notes that what has been learned in major World Bank projects such as Fez 'form a "menu of possibilities" that will enable future operations to build on approaches that have undergone the exacting test of implementation. The requirement will be not to copy them mechanically but to select from the available options the one that fits best and tailor to the given country and sector' (Cernea 2001, 69). If these types of lessons are truly transferable between different situations, this opens the way for new, intriguing, and perhaps more sustainable approaches to development than many that are currently put forth.

## **Chapter 3: Cultural Heritage in Morocco**

### **3.1 Cultural Heritage in Morocco: The Case of Fez**

The cultural heritage of Fez is mainly Islamic in nature, and is thus the heritage of the vast majority of the populace, as well as of most of those who hold power in the Kingdom of Morocco. This is a sharp contrast to the situation of the First Nations of BC who have little political power, and whose CH is thus that of a small but important minority. In Fez, heritage has become a tool for the attempts of the populace to redefine their cultural and political identity since independence, in addition to holding potential for the human and economic dimensions of development.

### **3.2 The History of Cultural Heritage in the Fez Medina**

The case of the preservation of Fez's CH offers us a robust example of the use of CH for the goals of development. As early as 1975 a plan was laid out, funded by the UNDP, for the preservation of Fez's medina and to help address the needs of the growing and impoverished population (Radoine 2003, 467). This plan 'was unprecedented in terms of its scope and ambitions' (Radoine 2003, 467). Challenges were faced from the beginning, as the World Bank (WB), which also sought the development of Fez through the modernization of its medina, proposed a major new transportation crossroads through the historic town. UNESCO, which had placed Fez on the World Heritage List in 1976, opposed this due to the destruction it would cause to Fez's cultural capital (Cernea 2001, 70). This organization managed to convince the WB to alter its

course and help preserve the city instead, as well as advance the goals of balancing urban improvement with the preservation and enhancement of its historic assets (Cernea 2001, 71). With the limited success of this plan, Fez was made a World Heritage site in 1981, and since then has become a major site for the study of conservation, an international tourism destination, as well as a fully functioning city which preserves its medieval features while incorporating some of the advances of modern infrastructure (Radoine 2003, 458).

This plan only addressed a small part of the complex and multi-faceted CH of Fez, though. UNESCO launched a new campaign to save the city from further decay in 1985, but was unable to raise the necessary funds, so together with the government of Morocco, it asked the WB to step in 'to provide loans and coordinate further financing' (Samuels 2009, 74). The need for funding to stimulate the potential of CH to generate revenue and development is an ongoing issue, and is one of the major challenges faced in this field. It is dealt with more comprehensively in the next section.

### **3.3 Sources of Funding**

With the use of CH still being a relatively unproven approach to development, the challenge remains how to convince financial institutions and private businesses to invest, as well as 'how to engage heritage in economic development without endangering its non-economic value' (Radoine 2008, 4). UNESCO, which is not a financial institution, nor does it provide financial support (Radoine 2008, 4), has been active since the 1970s in helping raise funds for the Fez Medina. The Moroccan government has been a major financial supporter of

the rehabilitation of Fez, and its use of CH here has had a positive return to its investment (Radoine 2008, 4). In addition, the Fez project has been quite successful in attracting support for CH preservation, having received help from NGOs, other governments, as well as national and international financial organizations and donors (Radoine 2008, 4).

One challenge faced here has been how to get the private sector to 'respond to the opportunities and to the incentives created by supportive public policies by investing again in the medina's real estate market and economic activities' (Bigio & Licciardi 2010, 11). Significant investments have been made, though, in the form of the preservation of historic buildings as hotels and guesthouses (Radoine 2008, 2), as we will see. Radoine notes that the amount of private investment has been growing quickly in Fez (Radoine 2008, 9), though there is still ample room for more investment here (World Bank 2001, 20). In 1993, Fez hosted a major international colloquium on the financing of historic cities, and especially since then the WB has come to play a major role there (Radoine 2008, 5).

### **3.4 Role of the World Bank**

With the appointment of James Wolfensohn as president of the World Bank in 1995, CH promotion became a major goal, creating a shift towards policies of cultural inclusion and participatory development (Hackenberg 2008, 289). Fez has received US \$27.6 million towards its preservation from the WB (Hackenberg 2008, 291). The bottom-up approach that the WB has taken there features 'local-level links to construction, employment, and commerce' (Hackenberg 2008, 291), and the whole MENA region has for the WB become the 'flagship, and

proving ground, for developmental projects in cultural heritage' (Samuels 2009, 72-73). The WB has also emphasized the rehabilitation of infrastructure for the residents of Fez, such as making the medina accessible to small emergency vehicles, improving the waste gathering process, and improving living conditions (Serageldin 1997, 14).

The WB now states that its 'development assistance is not a narrow pursuit of economic growth alone but aims at broad social development. Culture and cultural heritage cannot be left out of development assistance programs' (World Bank 2001, 3-4), showing its recognition of the potential of this field. The Bank continues to provide 'both investment lending and nonlending assistance for improving heritage management in ways congruent with each country's priorities in development' (World Bank 2001, 31). Finally, it has come to see this type of assistance as 'intrinsic to affirmation of the region's identity, development orientation, and philosophy, to be pursued in unity with the countries' and the Bank's basic objectives of poverty reduction, economic reform, and political participation' (World Bank 2001, 4). All of this shows the major turn the WB has taken in recent years towards the recognition of the potential, and even the necessity, of using CH for the pursuit of development, at least in its rhetoric. This type of support from the world's largest development organization should go a long way towards making CH a viable development path.

### **3.5 Fez as an international model**

The argument that Fez can be a model for the use of CH in development is supported by a number of experts who have seen its potential in action. For

example, Hassan Radoine has noted that '[t]he Fez conservation program, in developing such dimensions, is internationally considered a model in undertaking the challenge of not only restoring its monuments but also of crafting its future' (Radoine 2003, 466). Fez has proven to be a model for similar projects across MENA, and has inspired further medina rehabilitation projects in Morocco itself (Cernea 2001, 75). Fez has been studied extensively, and 'the project has already yielded an enormous amount of sophisticated analysis that should be a benchmark for future projects of this kind' (Serageldin 1999, 252). Despite the major differences between various historical and cultural situations, this type of project may be broad enough that the lessons learned in situations like this one can provide at least a starting point for CH projects not only in MENA, but around the world.

### **3.6 The Promise and Challenge for Economic and Human Development**

It has been observed of the Fez medina project that '[t]he economic growth generated by the project of Fez is remarkable. Visitors who came to Fez in the 1970s and return to it today will easily notice great changes in the built environment. The medina is today a major economic center for the whole urban agglomerate of Fez. The number of rehabilitation programs and the continuous concern for the improvement of the infrastructure has created an ideal milieu for growing businesses' (Radoine 2008, 9). We can evaluate this lofty assessment and the success of this project according to the three criteria put forth in Chapter 1.

**1) The stimulation of economic growth through employment creation, poverty reduction, and increasing revenue from tourism and from the sale of arts and crafts, as well as by attracting business and investment.**

The WB project in Fez, implemented in 1995, was expected to add 10,000 jobs over 15 years (Hackenberg 2002, 291), and in this period US \$42.9 million was invested by private donors, which 'had a cumulative value three times larger than the project itself' (Bigio & Licciardi 2010, 26). A significant portion of this total, as noted above, has been on the rehabilitation of the medina through investment in houses and buildings, 'since their financial value is mounting exponentially' (Radoine 2008, 10), with US \$29.7 million having been invested in hotels and historic buildings (Bigio & Licciardi 2010, 26). The major economic challenge has been how to garner revenue from tourism through taxes, which is a route that the government has thus far been fairly ineffective in following. One study notes that a total annual amount of some US \$11 million could be made through proper taxation of visitors to Fez (Dixon, Pagioli & Agostini 1998, 4). In addition, a major cultural valuation study measuring present value (NPV) and economic rate of return (ERR), as well as employment generation, in the Fez medina has found, through surveys of visitors, a rate of return of 13.62%, as well as the continuing creation of thousands of jobs (World Bank 1998, 13; see Tables 1 and 2). This rate of return measures the net benefits, as a percentage of money spent on the project, to the society, and thus demonstrates the financial gains from the project itself.

**Table 1 (Source: World Bank 1998, 8)**

Table 1 - Fez Rehabilitation Economic Assessment, Year 15	
<b>ECONOMIC RETURN</b>	
□ NPV (million Dh)	155
□ EIRR	13.62%
<b>GROSS EMPLOYMENT</b>	
□ Direct	
• Public Works	1,500
• Building Construction	
▪ Private Developers/Contractors	3,600
▪ Informal Builders	
□ Indirect	
• Micro-enterprises	3,100
• Construction related	740
□ Induced	1,090
<b>LEVERAGE</b>	
□ Public Investment (million Dh)	170
□ Private Investment (million Dh)	520
□ Ratio	3.06
Floor Area Developed (m <sup>2</sup> )	200,000

**Table 2 (Source: World Bank 2001, 55)**

**Economic Analyses in the Fès-Medina Project**

The number of economic analytical tests to which the investments in the Fès-Medina project were subjected significantly exceeded the usual level of project economic analysis.

- First, an initial cost-benefit analysis was done on investments for improved medina access, resulting in an economic rate of return (ERR) of 17 percent. A related economic analysis was done on congestion costs and proposed solutions.
- The increased land values attributable to new tourist itineraries were found to be sufficient to fully recover costs within a 10-year period with a 10 percent discount rate, even assuming a cost increase of 20 percent.
- In addition, a specific cost-benefit analysis was conducted, in two stages, for the proposed tourism development program. The result was an ERR of 17.3 percent. An overall economic assessment of the project was also made to estimate the mobilization of private resources as a result of investments by the public sector. The result was a robust leverage ratio of 1:3 after 15 years from project start, increasing to 1:5 in subsequent years.
- Finally, a contingent value study was undertaken among tourists visiting Fès; another contingent value study was carried out among tourists visiting Morocco but not Fès; and a Delphi exercise was conducted in Europe among potential tourists. All of the resulting estimates, described in the project as "extremely conservative," showed very high economic benefits.

Cost-effectiveness analysis can be applied when benefits are deemed difficult to measure. As research in the economics of culture advances, new analytical procedures are being developed to put investments in CH on a sound economic and financial basis.

The preservation of the Fez medina has actually proven to be so valuable that it is estimated at some US \$310 million for European households alone (World Bank 1998, 17; see Table 3), meaning that Europeans who were surveyed were willing to pay approximately this amount to help preserve the Fez medina, due to their tendency to 'place a relatively high value on preservation of the cultural heritage of mankind' (World Bank 1998, 17). While headway has thus been made, the economic potential of the Fez medina has the potential to be further stimulated, and doing so is an important step in the growth of CH initiatives in Fez.

<b>Table 3 (Source: World Bank 1998, 17)</b>	
<b>Table 6 – Conservative Estimates of Valuation</b>	
Value for foreign visitors:	\$11,233,148
Value for non-Fez foreign visitors:	\$46,879,945
Value for Europeans:	\$310,335,300

Tourism plays a significant role in the Moroccan economy, accounting for about 7 percent of its GDP, and is second only to remittances as a source of foreign currency (World Bank 2001, 48). Evidence suggests that 'employment in the [CH] sector and in related cultural tourism services is an impactful major avenue for absorbing a significant segment of the unemployed' (World Bank 2001, 48). In addition, the labour-intensive craft industry must also be noted, which accounts for 19 percent of the Moroccan GDP, and is also a significant

employer in Fez (UNESCO 2009, 167). Of over 5,000 artisanal units in the Fez medina, 60 percent are relatively new, demonstrating the increasing vibrancy and potential of this sector (World Bank 2001, 15). This potential also helps explain the construction of the Institution of Traditional Building, which trains craftsmen in the building and restoration industries, as well as the Institute for Crafts and Arts, which has trained artisans since the 1980s. These continue to play significant roles in addressing some of the economic and demographic challenges in the Fez medina (El-Ghazaly 2008, 24).

The challenges faced by this type of project must also be considered, as it is evident that not everyone has gained. Many of the poorest residents of the Fez medina cannot afford the rising prices and rents created by its growing wealth and desirability (Bigio & Licciardi 2010, 10). In 2001, 36% of Fez medina's population of some 150,000 inhabitants still lived below the poverty threshold (Cernea 2001, 71). In addition, the historic fabric has been heavily disturbed in exchange for some of the benefits of modernization. Many buildings have been significantly modified, some have been bought by foreigners, and tourists have had a heavy impact due to their high numbers (Bigio & Licciardi 2010, 9-10). Also, the commodification of culture is always a danger in this sort of endeavour, and the craft industries are particularly at risk of being exploited and debased, and of crafts therefore being regarded 'as no more than "worthless" souvenirs, or exotic, ethnic or religious icons that have no real artistic value' (Hassan 2008, 42-43).

## **2) The provision of loci and foci for developing cultural skills and educational curricula, and for transferring these to future generations.**

The World Bank notes that '[c]ultural patrimony assets are not just "commodities." Their educational capability is unsubstitutable. The patrimony is essential for human capital formation and for inculcating national identity' (World Bank 2001, 33). CH has the potential to help create bonds between people, and thus social capital as well. These are important aspects of development, and should be pursued as central elements of a holistic approach to this endeavour. In the setting of the Fez medina, institutes like the two mentioned above, one for traditional building techniques, and one for arts and crafts, are key for preserving cultural identity and stimulating education about traditional arts (Radoine 2008, 13). These types of initiatives have aided in the quest to preserve the integrity of the CH of the Fez medina, as well as helped create the capital necessary to do so.

It should be noted that this criteria that considers the development of traditional cultural skills and education does not contradict the desire and potential for modern education to be used concurrently. Rather, these cultural skills can enhance and diversify the approaches used, both modern and traditional, for the development of societies, by recognizing the culture and CH that has been handed down to them, and providing opportunities to use these as alternatives to modern training and education, even while enhancing these and making them unique to the developing society. Just as these CH projects meld traditional knowledge with modern advancements and infrastructure, so can

traditional education complement modern learning by broadening its scope. The focus here, though, is on the cultural education that makes the continuity and resilience of CH possible.

The challenges faced in this realm are also noteworthy, such as the sense of loss and alienation that has been felt by many Moroccans in the face of the changes that are occurring due to these preservation projects (El-Ghazaly 2005, 48). While organizations like the WB recognize that the participatory approach to development is essential for the 'continuity of conservation as a shared practice' (Radoine 2008, 7), this policy is often more difficult to implement on the ground than is acknowledged. Due to the power structures necessary to implement a project of this scope, and the specialized knowledge needed by those who hold these positions of power, the potential for the misuse of the very education that keeps the possibility of using CH in this way alive is created. Due to this danger of corruption by those who hold this specialized knowledge and have therefore been granted power, strong management is key, as without actors with a dynamic and unifying vision in places of power, such a large project risks fragmenting and dispersing, as was in fact the case after the end of the first phase of the project in the late 1970s.

**3) The provision of capital to address social and political power structure inequalities through the enhancement of political will and strength. The fostering of a clearer understanding and definition of identity, as well as opening the way for cross-cultural dialogue.**

The potential of CH in the political realm is great, and it can provide forums for people to address perceived deficiencies in how they and their cultures are defined. CH has been called ‘the collective memory of nations’ (World Bank 2001, 34), and it can play a role in defining identity, as ‘patrimony is essential for human capital formation and for inculcating national identity. Material cultural objects help “objectify” and assert identity. The patrimony contributes to fostering human bonds inside and across borders and to forming social capital’ (World Bank 2001, 33). Thus, CH can be a tool for enhancing the awareness and identities of people, though this can be a difficult and even dangerous path, especially in the case of a vast project like Fez with so many foreign interests involved.

It has been noted that, for this to occur effectively in places like Fez, ‘a concept of heritage is needed that exposes the political narratives in which conceptions of heritage were situated, and that demonstrates how living communities in the Arab World are the inheritors of rich, diverse, and long cultural developments that have managed to accommodate different religious faiths, people from different ethnic origins, and communities from all parts of the world’ (Hassan 2008, 24). Sadly, much of the potential for cross-cultural dialogue and understanding has been wasted, though, as ‘many of the development projects, especially those related to tourism, project and represent the past in Arab countries in Western terms ... [and not as] a source of understanding of the complexity of heritage and its social meanings’ (Hassan 2001, 24). This has been the case in Fez, and thus, the role of CH in this

endeavour of identity defining has at times been subservient to its role in attracting tourists and economic inflow.

In Fez, opportunities for the gaining of political leverage through the promotion of CH projects are present, both for those in power, and for the people of the medina itself. Unfortunately, many have been unable to capitalize on this potential (Porter 2003, 125-26), and it has usually been the former who have been successful in doing so. These power dynamics have in part resulted from the lingering colonial legacy, which has even been institutionalized in many of the preservation policies for the medina, especially through a reliance, by UNESCO and the Moroccan Ministry of Interior, on the literature of the French colonizers to define the Medina itself (El-Ghazaly 2008, 38-39). As those in power over the preservation of heritage have often relied on these colonial writings with their 'static and essentialist concepts' (Porter 2003, 143), the colonial legacy continues to be felt, and 'colonial definitions of Morocco are reemerging as authentic and legitimate definitions of the postcolonial Moroccan nation' (Porter 2003, 126). It has thus been difficult for the inhabitants of Fez to harness the type of political strength that exists *in potentia*, but is hard to access when those who hold power continue to be those with control over heritage and how it is defined, and when they do so in a way that is more suited to their immediate needs rather than those of the majority of its inhabitants.

Additionally, heritage projects are subject to various forms of manipulation. For example, '[t]he development of cultural heritage projects in MENA ... must be understood as political projects, with poverty and expertise acting as the specific

techniques of intervention' (Samuels 2009, 73), and they can thus be used as 'a latter-day form of structural adjustment' (Samuels 2009, 74). Perhaps this is what the WB means when it says that, as noted above, one of its basic objectives is 'economic reform' (World Bank 2001, 4). The funding of CH projects by international organizations like the WB certainly provides the opportunity for them to make demands of the Moroccan government and populace, the type of conditionalities that are all-too familiar in the history of development lending in the last three decades. It is likely in part because of these demands upon those who hold power in Morocco that colonial patterns are still often entrenched in that nation's attempts to define itself through its CH.

### **3.7 Political Issues and Potential Pitfalls**

Probably the greatest challenge that the use of CH faces in Fez is weak governance, institutions and cultural organizations, as well as generally poor management (Bigio & Licciardi 2010, 1). Proper management of CH is essential, as these projects face a variety of challenges, and the World Bank notes the dangers here in saying that: '[n]atural, economic, and social factors coalesce in their corrosive action and amplify each other. The combined effects are highly detrimental to the built patrimony' (World Bank 2001, 25). Good governance is necessary to ensure strong linkages to fight these effects, and governments can be useful here to 'support and promote such cross-sectoral and interministerial linkages as an impact-multiplying mechanism that is indispensable for capturing the currently forgone synergies between culture and other sectors' (World Bank 2001, 75). The World Bank approach is to triangulate coordination between the

state, civil society, and the private business sector in CH management (World Bank 2001, 75), and this has at times proven to be effective in Fez through its incorporation of the most important actors. In fact, despite the challenges we have seen, much has been learned from Fez, and it is seen as 'a rich best practice in the way conflicts were managed in order to keep the conservation program dynamic by integrating different views without shifting from the primary vision or tampering with the substance of conservation' (Radoine 2008, 9). Thus, much can and has been learnt from this large-scale CH project that can be applied to different situations for the goals of both preservation and development.

## **Chapter 4: Cultural Heritage in British Columbia**

### **4.1 First Nations Cultural Heritage in BC**

The cultural heritage of British Columbia's First Nations peoples goes back millennia and is deeply intertwined, even to the point of being inextricable from, the natural landscape of the province (Anderson, Dana, & Dana 2006, 45; Schaepe 2007, 253). This heritage is increasingly recognized for its beauty and its value (McMillan 2004, 228), though it has been observed that attempting to value it by modern economic standards can be difficult for FN peoples, for many of whom the traditional approach to 'community-level resource management...is the antithesis of how the commercial world was developed and is currently organized' (Bodley 2008, 7). Still, the First Nations of BC have been actively engaging opportunities created by the dominant society, and this is seen in the plans that are being created across the province to manage both their natural and cultural resources effectively and efficiently (Schaepe 2007, 255), with the goal of economic gain and self-sufficiency.

### **4.2 Function of Longhouses & Villages in the Modern Context**

As in the example of Fez, for the First Nations of BC, built heritage has become a major focus for projects that seek the development of not only the cultural capital of the local people, but also their social and economic capital. These sites are used especially in this context as loci for attracting tourists, in addition to being centres for the preservation and transmission of culture and identity (Chisholm & Associates 2002, 4). Due to the relatively quickly

deteriorating nature of BC First Nations built heritage, many of these centres are reconstructions of traditional-style buildings, such as U'mista big house in Alert Bay, and Qay'llnagaay Village on Haida Gwaii. Some are built on, or are preservations of, previous built heritage structures, such as the village of Nan Sdins, also on Haida Gwaii, and Xa:ytem longhouse in Mission.

The situation of many of these centres is nicely summarized in the following statement: *'[t]he key purpose of cultural interpretive centres is to provide a means of telling a story, and transmitting history and culture. They are seldom, if ever, financially self-supporting, and generally rely on subsidies and donations to operate. They do play an important role in the tourism industry as a means of informing visitors about an area, and augmenting other, regional tourism attractions. They may also be instrumental in enticing visitors to extend their stay'* (Chisholm & Associates 2002, 1).

To get a sense of the types of project that exist in BC, we will explore four examples here, and look to their potential, as well as the challenges they face, especially in how to fund these projects and make them sustainable. In comparison to the medina of Fez, these examples operate on a smaller scale, though much of the intention behind their preservation, restoration and use for development is comparable. A more in depth comparison is the subject of Chapter 5.

### **4.3 Xa:ytem longhouse**

Xa:ytem is a 3,600 square foot traditional-style longhouse in Mission BC (Chisholm & Associates 2002, 6). Originally built in 1995, it has been added to

over the years, and the site also now includes two traditional pit-houses (Littlejohn 2008, 91). This project was established on 'an ancient sacred site, over 9000 years old' (Turtle Island Tourism 2006, 35), and is one of the oldest known FN living sites in North America (Littlejohn 2008, 94). Remains of 6000 year old traditional dwellings were found here (Lepofsky et al. 2000, 394), and thus the site incorporates archaeological work and information with CH management. The use of Xa:ytem is outlined in the Sto:lo Nation's Heritage management policy, which is one of the most advanced plans of this sort in BC due to the proximity of traditional Sto:lo lands to Metro Vancouver, and the city's encroachment on their traditional territory (Schaepe 2007, 248). In 2006, 'the provincial government transferred the ownership of Xa:ytem to the Sto:lo Heritage Trust Society' (Littlejohn 2008, 98), whose objective is the preservation of Sto:lo history, culture, spirituality and archaeology (Littlejohn 2008, 38).

Xa:ytem is a fairly small-scale operation that employs 6 permanent staff, and 14 seasonal staff in the summer. While it generates nearly \$500,000 a year from revenue, workshop and tour fees, and gift shop sales, the project still runs at a deficit (Littlejohn 2008, 104). Grants make up the money required to overcome this deficit, but these continue to be difficult to get (Littlejohn 2008, 104). Some 14,000 visitors per year attend its various programs, the bulk of which are students from the Chilliwack School District (Chisholm & Associates 2002, 8). Thus, the focus of Xa:ytem is as much about creating social and cultural capital as it is about generating economic inflow.

#### 4.4 U'mista

The U'mista cultural centre was built in Alert Bay as an adaptation of a traditional Kwakwaka'wakw Big House. It opened in 1980 and is 'one of the longest-operating and most successful First Nations cultural facilities in BC' (Mauzé 2003, 507). This building has a somewhat political nature, which is the result of it having been built to house the returned ceremonial artifacts of the important Cranmer lineage, which had been taken in 1921 by the Canadian government as an enforcement of its 1884 ban of the FN potlatch ceremony (Webster 1990, 135). While the original intention behind this centre was thus more about cultural preservation, identity consolidation, and making a political statement, due to increasing funding cutbacks by the provincial government, admissions fees and gift-shop sales have come to play an increasing role in helping it meet its goals (Mauzé 2003, 514-15). As with Xa:ytem, funding continues to be a challenge for U'mista (Webster 1990, 140).

Politically, since its opening, the purpose of U'mista has at times been 'conflated with the legitimization of Cranmer inheritance' (Saunders 1995, 48). This has been critiqued by other Kwakwaka'wakw people who feel that Cranmer power over U'mista gives them too much say over how the CH is interpreted (Saunders 1995, 43), even though it is mostly the ceremonial regalia of the Cranmer lineage that is on display there. The centre also plays a role in providing space for all sorts of cultural and educational training and teaching, as well as for the sale of FN carvings that sell for thousands of dollars, providing an additional source of wealth for local communities (Mauzé 2003, 514-15), and demonstrating the type of opportunities that these centres, though often not

lucrative themselves, create for artisans and local businesses. Approximately \$200,000 in goods were sold through the gift shop in 1996 alone (Nielsen 2001, 397), and this continues to be a major focus of the centre.

#### **4.5 Nan Sdins and Qay'Innagaay Village**

One of the largest First Nations CH projects in BC is the new Qay'Innagaay Village in Skidegate on Haida Gwaii, which is connected peripherally to the remains of the pre-colonial village of Nan Sdins, a UNESCO World Heritage site since 1981 (Hayward 2008, 169). Like the Sto:lo, the Haida people have developed a comprehensive CH policy which demonstrates the connection of biological and cultural diversity preservation goals (Gwaii Haanas National Marine Conservation Area Reserve and Haida Heritage Site 2010, 9). The World Heritage site of Nan Sdins 'commemorates the living culture of the Haida people and their relationship to the land and the sea' (Gwaii Haanas National Marine Conservation Area Reserve and Haida Heritage Site 2010, 18), and it is now part of a large national park, Gwaii Haanas, that is co-managed between the Canadian government and the Haida Nation (Gwaii Haanas National Marine Conservation Area Reserve and Haida Heritage Site 2010, 7). Entry into this park is limited to those who purchase a permit and undergo an orientation from the "Haida Watchmen" (Hendry 2005, 160), and this can be done at the Qay'Innagaay Village. The remains of the pre-colonial village of Nan Sdins is in an important area of the Gwaii Haanas park, and its status as a UNESCO site helps draw visitors to the whole of Haida Gwaii, and thus promote economic inflow as well as interest in Haida culture and heritage.

The shared management approach between the Haida and the Canadian government focuses on both ecological and cultural conservation for the purpose of development of the abundant resources of Haida Gwaii (Gwaii Haanas National Marine Conservation Area Reserve and Haida Heritage Site 2010, 19). It offers a good example of the type of management that is necessary for the effective implementation of this type of project and its use for the development of First Nations cultural resources. This approach seeks to acknowledge the living and dynamic quality of First Nations heritage, rather than “museumifying” it as if it only existed in the past (Hayward 2008, 171). An approach like this is important for the conservation of CH, and to maintain it in a way that ensures it can adapt to future possibilities (Hendry 2005, 100). It also emphasizes the sustainability of the Haida culture, and promotes business and development while respecting traditional Haida knowledge (Gwaii Haanas National Marine Conservation Area Reserve and Haida Heritage Site 2010, 19).

The Qay’lnagaay Village in Skidegate was fully opened in 2007, and is now visited by some 12,000 people annually (Gwaii Haanas National Marine Conservation Area Reserve and Haida Heritage Site 2010, 6). It acts as an introduction to the islands of Haida Gwaii, and the First Nations CH that exists there. The project was estimated to cost \$26 million to build, and includes five contemporary longhouses that feature ‘a Haida Language Centre, Teaching Center, Performing Arts Theatre, and Information Centre’ (Hendry 2005, 100). It has become a major tourism destination for Haida Gwaii and acts to channel tourists and money in and through the islands as a whole, allowing many

economic opportunities, as well as being a major cultural centre for the Haida people. In its earlier stages, while still only partially open, it earned money between 2003 and 2007, with the exception of one of those years. In the last three years, however, its expenditures have exceeded its revenue (Qay'llnagaay Heritage Centre Society 2010). Still, a site like this one, in such an important tourism destination in BC, has the potential to help bring in significant earnings to the adjacent community.

#### **4.6 The Promise and Challenge for Economic and Human Development**

These cultural centres act to provide a number of opportunities for development through the preservation and use of CH. This type of approach can help ensure that development is more robust than any strictly economic approach. This is important, as for First Nations the cultural and economic must go hand in hand for development to happen, and in fact the economic is not generally the major goal of these centres. They are cultural centres, and their focus for development is more oriented towards its social, cultural, and human dimensions. Their ability to earn money is secondary to their role as catalysts for these other dimensions of development. But, it should also be noted that these two sides of development are fundamentally intertwined, and thus any plans for development should attempt to encompass all of its dimensions. This is certainly one of the benefits of using CH for this purpose, as it can provide opportunities for all of these dimensions to grow.

Here, I evaluate these First Nations CH projects, and how they are able to meet the three development criteria outlined in the introduction, as well as the challenges they face in doing so.

**1) The stimulation of economic growth through employment creation, poverty reduction, and increasing revenue from tourism and from the sale of arts and crafts, as well as by attracting business and investment.**

The types of cultural centres looked at here, which are becoming increasingly common in British Columbia, stimulate some employment, and this increases in the summer months (Chisholm & Associates 2002, 13). They are generally small-scale projects in relatively small communities, and while the potential for employment should not be overlooked, a more major source of revenue that these projects bring in is through attracting attention, as well as tourism, to the areas in which they exist (Chisholm & Associates 2002, 13). In Canada as a whole, nearly one billion dollars of GDP is generated each year through aboriginal tourism (Littlejohn 2008, xiv). Tourists who are attracted for this purpose have been shown to be more likely to spend longer periods of time in and around these communities, and so these centres provide an economic boon to local businesses (Archimedes 2006, 2). In addition, the role of admittance fees plays a notable role, as do the sales of gift shops, which provide opportunities for local crafts-people to have forums to distribute their work (Clavir 2002, 191), as we saw was the case at U'Mista (Mauzé 2003, 514-15), and Xa:ytem (Littlejohn 2008, 128).

The opportunities presented through these CH projects have the potential to attract outside investment as well, and stimulate corporate interest. Robert Anderson notes that this 'strategy of development based on capacity building through education, institution building and control of resources is working. More and more corporations are seeing aboriginal people as an attractive market and/or source of critical resources' (Anderson 1997, 1499). For example, BC's Northern Development Initiative Trust invested over five million dollars in various FN projects in the year 2008, including \$2 million in Qay'lnagaay Village, as well as various other CH projects (Northern Development Initiative Trust 2008, 13). Thus, these CH-oriented cultural centres can provide the space and framework for outside investment to take advantage of the opportunities and resources available through First Nations peoples (Anderson 1997, 1499). This is one area, though, where the projects we are looking at here have ample room for growth. Through providing more investment opportunities in order to create a greater diversity of economic development, these projects could come to rely less on government funding and grants.

There are other challenges in this field as well, in part because it is still a fairly new industry that is learning as it moves forward. Tourism is now the third largest industry in BC and 'is on its way to becoming the leading industry' (Turtle Island Tourism 2006, 26) with the gradual decline of logging and fishing. FN tourism accounts for less than one percent of Canada's tourism industry, though, while First Nations represent 4 percent of the population (Notzke 2004, 32). In BC, subsidies for heritage sites are gradually being eliminated as the government

'is now devolving management of heritage sites out of provincial government jurisdiction' (Chisholm & Associates 2002, 7), though many FN still receive significant funding. Due to this, in 2002, only 35% of aboriginal tourism businesses were earning a profit, while 32% were still operating at a loss (Kutzner 2009, 100). Even major centres like Xa:ytem and U'mista still have trouble coming up with enough funding on their own (Littlejohn 2008, 104 & Webster 1990, 140). Additionally, it takes time for these projects to establish a reputation as a destination, and they rely on a variety of factors such as whether or not they are on major tourist routes. Thus, in many ways, their success, at least economically, is as much about taking advantage of opportunities that already exist as it is about attempting to create new ones, which is difficult in places that don't have natural geographic advantages in addition to cultural ones.

## **2) The provision of loci and foci for developing cultural skills and educational curricula, and for transferring these to future generations.**

As we have seen, these FN projects use CH for a variety of development purposes, and one of the most important ones is as places for cultivating and conserving cultural traditions, as well as providing the education necessary to do so. These projects usually act as cultural centres in addition to being tourist destinations, and they offer a number of types of FN education. For example, U'mista offers music, carving and dance programs, as well ones that teach the Kwak'wala language, culture and history (Mauzé 2003, 514). Language teachers are trained here as well, and even modern arts like film have been taught

(Webster 1990, 137). The varieties of cultural programs present at Qay'llnagaay Village were mentioned above, and this site also includes classrooms for educational programs and various crafts and traditional arts training. These work in conjunction with universities and schools 'from around British Columbia, including the one specializing in art and design named for local artist, Emily Carr, and the on-site Bill Reid School of Art' (Hendry 2005, 101). Xa:ytem, as noted, also acts as a major destination for school programs for local children, most of whom are not FN, to learn about FN culture and history, and it provides cultural and language training, crafts workshops and 'cross-cultural awareness seminars' (Littlejohn 2008, 91).

To achieve a truly sustainable approach to development, these types of holistic initiatives are necessary (Turtle Island Tourism Company 2006, 23). Without a focus on the maintenance and preservation of culture, the type of knowledge needed for CH to live on, continue to bring in economic inflow, and be experienced by future generations, may be lost. If CH only becomes a loci for tourism, the historic fabric that provides FN with a sense of continuity with the past, as well as for cultural praxis, is in danger. This needs to be carefully considered in order for cultural traditions as expressed through CH to be kept alive.

The potential for the use of CH for tourism is great, though. Already, over 400,000 Canadians experience this type of aboriginal cultural tourism each year, and this number only measures those surveyed at 60 sites (Turtle Island Tourism Company 2006, 29). Other studies confirm that Canadians and other

international tourists are very interested in experiencing Aboriginal culture (Zeppel 2002, 98 & Notzke 2004, 41; see Tables 4 and 5), and, if anything, demand for aboriginal tourism is so high that there are not enough options to respond to it (Littlejohn 2008, xiv-xv). The main challenge with the sites we are looking at here remains their accessibility, and they can be contrasted with a place like the new Klahowya Village in Vancouver's Stanley Park, which received some 162,000 visitors in its first three months of operation in 2010 (Aboriginal Tourism Association of BC 2011, 4). Sites like U'mista and Qay'lnagaay Village, on relatively remote islands, are likely to never be able to compete with numbers like this.

**Table 4 (Source: Notzke 2001, 41)**

**Table 1** Focus of travellers' interest in aboriginal tourism experience (respondents were encouraged to name multiple items)

History	68%
Arts and crafts	40%
Observing native culture	38%
People's everyday life	37%
Learning about current issues	28%
Festivals	23%
Learning from native people about the environment	22%
Experiencing and participating in native culture	20%
Personal contact with native people	16%
Native cuisine	9%

**Table 5 (Source: Notzke 2004, 44)**

**Table 2** Most important characteristics of an Aboriginal Tourism Experience  
(Respondents named multiple characteristics)

Authenticity	64%
Learning something about people's current lifestyle	45%
Native owned and operated	38%
Price	17%
Entertainment	12%

**3) The provision of capital to address social and political power structure inequalities through the enhancement of political will and strength. The fostering of a clearer understanding and definition of identity, as well as opening the way for cross-cultural dialogue.**

One of the uses of CH for development is its ability to act as a focal point around which the political will to counter hegemonic discourse is formulated, especially in the case of people with little political power, such as the First Nations of BC. A potent example of this is the U'mista center, which has had a political orientation since its inception, and has continued to attempt 'to make the public aware of the effects of the colonial encounter' (Mauzé 2003, 512). As Harkin notes of this type of approach, 'it is clear that this shaping of the message is strategic and involves the alteration of cultural meanings' (Harkin 2003, 579). Thus, CH projects of this nature can be used in establishing political identity and making statements about how the past should be understood.

The potency of this approach, and the interpretation of history and politics through CH, is also noted in the case of the Nan Sdins site which 'has been

implicated into deeper heritage, land ownership and political debates which grant it a new potency, a new significance that transcends its demise as a lived settlement' (Hayward 2008, 169-70). This long-standing site has been particularly useful in helping the Haida regain control of their land through its role in the bargaining with the Canadian government that led to the establishment of Gwaii Haanas national park (Martineau 2002, 237). It has been observed in support of this that '[t]hrough thoughtful planning, tourism can be a means for Indigenous communities to take back the power from dominant societies to define themselves' (Bunten 2010, 306). These sites also provide ample space for the advancement of cross-cultural understanding (Littlejohn 2008, 91), and this is a focus of the orientations that visitors must go through before they can visit the Gwaii Haanas park.

Care is obviously needed in using CH to make political statements, and it should be noted that the statements made are at times not those of the entire community, but rather issue from a local elite who use cultural symbols for their own agendas (Harkin 2003, 579). As we saw has been the case with Fez, those in power have at times taken advantage of their positions to define these CH sites in alignment with their own goals, as some have accused the Cranmer family of doing with U'Mista, even 'presenting it as a family shrine' of sorts (Saunders 1995, 50). On the whole, though, because FN are themselves presenting their CH to the public, they are more able to maintain power over its interpretation than in a place like Fez where the government and various international organizations continue to hold the majority of control. There

remains the danger of romanticizing and essentializing Aboriginal culture, though, and care needs to be taken as 'to what extent, if any, processes and mechanisms, e.g. elder's circles, traditional knowledge, were utilized to ensure that the interpretation of the culture was being conveyed in a sensitive manner that would recognize the values of education to connect various cultures and create cross-cultural understanding' (Turtle Island Tourism Company 2006, 8-9). Without these processes, the essentialization of culture and CH is certainly a danger, and the implications of this will be further explored in the next chapter.

#### **4.7 Political Issues and Potential Pitfalls**

Living conditions amongst First Nations in Canada continue to be among the worst of any Canadians (Anderson 1997, 1484). First Nations still seek control over many of their traditional lands, and recognize that such control can enable socioeconomic development, and that the relationship between this control and development is reciprocal (Anderson 1997, 1484). Regaining control can be facilitated by CH, as has happened for the Haida people (Martineau 2002, 237). Challenges remain though, in achieving funding for CH initiatives, in how to impart community ownership over these initiatives, and in how information related to them is controlled and shared. Much more study needs to be done to understand how CH can be used in this sphere, what kind of preferences travelers have and how to respond to them (Kutzner, Pamela & Stark 2009, 101), and how these projects can be made to be successful, long-lasting, and sustainable (Kutzner, Pamela & Stark 2009, 112). What lessons can be learned

from other international initiatives of this nature, and how they are applicable to the situation of First Nations in BC, is the subject of the next chapter.

## **Chapter 5: Comparisons and Applications**

### **5.1 Comparisons and Applications**

We have seen that the use of CH in development is a growing field, though its application is dependent on local social, economic, and political realities. Large, established projects like the Fez medina express some of the potential as well as some of the difficulties of using CH in this way, and hint at how it may be applied to different situations. There are important similarities even with projects that operate on a much smaller scale, and in very different geographic locales, like the ones we've looked at in BC. These projects face a number of the same challenges, and offer some of the same opportunities, and these are the subject of this chapter.

### **5.2 Appropriateness & Potential of Heritage for the Purpose of Development**

The desire to use CH for development purposes reflects shifting paradigms in the ideology of development. While some remain skeptical of this approach, or are concerned that traditional culture will be lost as societies forcefully adapt to the demands of modern capitalist culture, and in particular to its sometimes all too prevalent desire to reduce everything to its economic dimension, the potential for this type of approach should not be overlooked. In fact, by using CH for these purposes we can move away from seeing culture as a hindrance to development, as has too often been the case.

Despite the differences between the Fez medina and the First Nations CH projects of BC that we have looked at here, there is enough of a similarity of approach and potential that we can draw comparisons across the distances between them. In many ways, the situations they face are similar, and thus we can compare and contrast them in order to see what kind of light they shed on one another. I do so here in the context of my three criteria for the evaluation of CH in development.

### **5.3 Evaluation of the Potential for the use of CH in Development**

#### **1) The stimulation of economic growth through employment creation, poverty reduction, and increasing revenue from tourism and from the sale of arts and crafts, as well as by attracting business and investment.**

In both Morocco and BC, employment is generated through CH projects, though this is dependent on the size of the projects (Hackenberg 2002, 291, & Chisholm & Associates 2002, 13). Additional employment is generated through the construction and artisan work necessary for the revitalization and preservation of CH (Werna 2009, 2). Furthermore, these projects generate opportunities for investment by both the public and private spheres (Anderson 1997, 1499), though these could be more effectively activated in virtually all of the projects we have looked at here. Finally, the ability to attract tourism and the inputs it brings is the major source of revenue for CH projects of this nature. Tourism is covered more extensively in section 5.4.

Some of the challenges faced here include how to use entry fees to effectively increase revenue (Mauzé 2003, 514-15), as well as how taxes can be used for the same purpose (Dixon, Pagiola & Agostini 1998, 2). New cultural economics techniques are being developed that more effectively value CH in order to gauge its value, and thus charge for it (Throsby 2002, 105), and this is helping address these challenges. The type of taxation that has been explored in Morocco for the benefit of CH may also be applied in a place like BC, for example as a general tourism tax or something similar, helping further channel resources back into the development and maintenance of CH. This can help address the challenges faced in both of these regions regarding how to ensure sufficient funding in order to make these projects sustainable. Related to this is the continuing challenge of making these projects accessible and attractive to visitors so that the projects themselves, and related businesses, can further benefit from the inflow created through tourism.

By drawing tourists into these types of sites, the potential for growth of the crafts industries also increases, though it also increases opportunities for its exploitation (Hassan & Youssef 2008, 1). In addition, the historic fabric of the locales may be negatively affected, and these projects may also have adverse effects on the poor, through the use of CH for purposes it was not originally designed for. These challenges are faced in both of the areas we have looked at, and probably wherever CH is used for these purposes.

## **2) The provision of loci and foci for developing cultural skills and educational curricula, and for transferring these to future generations.**

The ability to use CH for both cultural preservation and educational purposes is undeniable (World Bank 2001, 33 & Turtle Island Tourism Company 2006, 29). Though the settings of the medina of Fez and the tourism and cultural centres of the BC First Nations we have looked at are quite different, both house extensive educational programs that mix the goals of preserving CH and passing on cultural information to future generations. Both strive to apply this heritage and knowledge to the contemporary situation, and use it for economic and social purposes, such as the transmission of knowledge about arts and crafts production, as well as the cultural knowledge that is necessary to keep CH alive and functional (Radoine 2008, 13 & Hendry 2005, 101). Thus, both use CH as a foci for the development of human capital, and seek to apply it to the exigencies of the modern situation. These educational benefits, and the extent to which they can diversify and broaden concurrent modern educational curricula, are some of the strongest arguments for using CH towards development.

Challenges are faced in the two regions as well, and these include the loss, appropriation, and essentialization of culture, as will be elaborated on in section 5.7 (Turtle Island Tourism Company 2006, 8-9 & El-Ghazaly 2008, 39), as well as the difficulty in maintaining the continuity of CH in a way that will keep it alive for future generations and future development initiatives. When CH is used for the goals of economic development, and becomes subject to the tourist gaze,

one can question whether it is possible for it to maintain its authenticity at all (Bunten 2010, 293).

**3) The provision of capital to address social and political power structure inequalities through the enhancement of political will and strength. The fostering of a clearer understanding and definition of identity, as well as opening the way for cross-cultural dialogue.**

In both Morocco and in BC, CH sites create the space for the advancement of cross-cultural understanding (Turtle Island Tourism Company 2006, 7 & Hassan 2008, 24). In addition, they act as focal points around which structures and understanding of politics and identity are formed (Samuels 2009, 73 & Harkin 2003, 579). However, due to the power relations at play, these sites are subject to being taken advantage of by those who hold power over the heritage, as has been the case with Morocco's post-colonial government (Porter 2003, 126).

Thus, while these projects can allow for the countering of, or providing alternatives to, the hegemonic discourses of those in power by those whose CH is represented by these sites, it is not always easy to use them in such a way. Those who hold power, either over the sites themselves, or over those whose heritage they represent, tend to hold onto their power over interpretation, and not relinquish it easily (Harkin 2003, 579 & El-Ghazaly 2008, 39). This has led to inclusion being an issue in both areas, such as inclusion of the poor who feel dispossessed by the adaptation of their heritage for new purposes, and the

powerless who feel that their CH is understood and used in ways they do not necessarily agree with (El-Ghazaly 2005, 48).

#### **5.4 Cultural Tourism and the Appropriateness of Heritage for Tourism**

Tourism provides the major economic stimulus for using CH in the ways that have been explored in this project. Because of this, tourism also provides a major impetus to preserve this heritage for future generations, as well as to create opportunities for cross-cultural dialogue through these initiatives. How CH is approached, and how it is used for tourism, will determine in a major way the long-term sustainability of these initiatives, which are reliant upon the maintenance and upkeep of the built heritage that is their very foundation.

Tourism generates over 10 percent of the world's economic activity (Bigio & Licciardi 2010, 27), and 40 percent of tourism is now cultural tourism, 'making it one of the highest growth sectors in the world' (UNESCO 2009, 170). Studies have shown that '[h]eritage visitors stay longer, visit twice as many places, and so spend 2 1/2 times more than other visitors' (Archimedes 2006, 2), and they thus have significantly more economic impact than other tourists. Studies also show that traveller preferences are changing as they become more sophisticated and seek more authentic and interactive experiences, as well as opportunities to learn (Chisholm & Associates 2002, 8). Much still needs to be done to explore and understand the potential of this area, though, and to maximize it without harming the cultural resources upon which it is dependent (Timothy & Nyaupane 2009, 3-4).

In addition, tourism allows economies of both Indigenous peoples and developing countries ways of moving away 'from extraction-based industries and toward economic development that is compatible with conservation' (Bunten 2010, 298). How these projects are managed is fundamental if they are to be sustainable, as they need to remain cognizant of the importance of conservation in order that unacceptable risks are not created and a significant portion of profits can be re-invested in CH maintenance (Cernea 2008, 131). Organizations like UNESCO and the World Bank recognize that heritage sites are likely to continue to provide contributions to development for years to come through their tourism potential (Hackenberg 2002, 291), but the issue of how to preserve them from its significant impacts is an ongoing one (UNESCO 1995, 184).

Cultural tourism faces many other challenges as well, not the least of which is a perceived essentialization of culture by certain CH initiatives that present something of a "cultural portrait," that is, a representation of a culture in a certain time or space that is separate from the present (Hassan 2008, 43). In addition, external political realities can affect the ability of CH to attract tourism, as has happened in Morocco, for example, due to a 'contemporary context of Islamic society that is increasingly hostile, in some segments of society, to western influences and interventions' (Samuels 2009, 73). Also, CH of the nature that is being explored in this paper has its natural limits, and can be adversely affected by vast numbers of tourists, as well as uncontrolled traffic and air pollution (UNESCO 1995, 184). As Ismail Serageldin points out, if approaches to CH management focus only on tourism revenues, they not only miss the intrinsic

value of heritage, but can lead to policies that will be damaging to the CH itself, and thus the long-term viability of these strategies (Serageldin 1997, 15).

Another important consideration here has to do with dependency. The type of outside support that is necessary to get these CH projects going, such as from the Canadian and BC governments in the case of BC First Nations, and the Moroccan government and international institutions like the World Bank in the case of Fez, can have mixed results, as they can either 'facilitate real change in the host society, or...merely prolong the existence of a rentier class' (Hampton 2005, 754). Ultimately, the question is whether, due to the impact of tourism, 'low income countries have merely exchanged one form of dependency for another' (Hampton 2005, 754), as those who seek to use tourism in this way 'must play by the rules of the Western political economy' (Bunten 2010, 304). These projects are often reliant on tourists from Western countries, making continuing cultural preservation increasingly difficult as the focus shifts from preserving CH for everyday use to marketing it towards tourism. This is a problem faced by FN too in their use of CH for the goals of attracting non-FN visitors.

The importance of preserving CH is manifold, as we have seen, ranging from its long-term economic and educational potential, to its role in helping nations, peoples, and societies define themselves (Al Sabah 2008, 283). But in the use of CH for these purposes, there is a danger that so much change will happen, and so much will be lost, that what is left is but a husk of its former self and a trinket for tourism. In using CH for tourism and development purposes, it is

inevitable that one is interpreting the past through the lens of the present, usually in a way that favours one's immediate interests (Hammond 2009, 18). Thus, heritage becomes a consideration of the present, and risks becoming commodified for its distinctive needs, and the demands of the market to which it is being oriented. The danger here is that the past is presented in a way that only considers the present, and that the agenda of tourism, which is so different to the context in which this CH originally took shape, renders the CH unrecognizable, or at best a fading portrait of what once was. What is needed is a harmonious balance between CH as it existed in the past, even while adapting it to the unique demands of the present without losing its integrity and continuity with what came before.

### **5.5 Issues of Sustainability**

The issue of sustainability is a complex one, and has been touched on so far only in passing. While it is not the focus of this project to explore the issue in depth, it is important to make note of it, as it is a key feature for the long-term results of any attempt to use CH for development purposes. Without a holistic approach that works from the ground up, there is little chance for these types of projects to have success over the long term (Radoine 2008, 1). This has been one of the major lessons of the Fez project, and is certainly something that can be transferred to other cases as well. CH can play an important role in moving towards more sustainable approaches to development, and Loulanski notes that 'heritage can be recognized as an essential cultural, social, economic and environmental asset contributing to the sustainable functioning of the three

interrelated systems: nature, society and economy' (Loulanski 2006, 57). For sustainability to be achieved, balance certainly needs to be found between the three systems she mentions here, and CH provides an important link through which this balance can be sought. Culture is an important link between these three dimensions of human existence, and a focus on CH can ensure that we are aware of this link, and remain focused on these connections in our aspirations towards development and the goal of melding economic and cultural sustainability into a harmonious whole.

## **Chapter 6: Conclusions**

### **6.1 Conclusions and Evaluations**

We have now substantially delved into the question of the use of Cultural Heritage for the purpose of development, and I have attempted to show that some of the lessons learned from a project as major as Fez are transferable to other situations, even if they operate on a different scale. But while these lessons are transferable on a high level, there is also much uniqueness within each situation, and this uniqueness needs to be carefully considered. The situation of each CH project is different and thus each must be carefully adapted to its local context. This is a lesson that development practitioners have been learning again and again for the last few decades, and it is one that equally applies to development through the use of CH.

We can draw out a number of broad-level conclusions from the evidence we have looked at, that is, from the case of Fez, and the similarities observed within the First Nations CH projects that we have seen in British Columbia. The conclusions that I find evaluate what is needed for CH to be an effective tool in the development field, and they are fairly lofty in their demands. The chance of CH being used in a way that addresses and meets all of these needs may be fairly unlikely, as the inability of any of the projects we have looked at to effectively meet all three of our original criteria shows. These conclusions are grouped here into six categories:

### **1. A favorable situation is necessary, that is, a good geographical locale.**

The value of using CH projects towards the economic dimension of development is in many ways their complementarity to other initiatives, such as the various tourism and business opportunities which can be enhanced by their proximity to these projects. These CH projects can act synergistically with existing businesses to attract the type of energy and interest necessary to broaden the inflow of resources, and these in turn act to further enhance the potential of these projects. Key for success in this is being on or near major tourist routes, and to thus make it easier for people passing by to stop and spend time in these locales. CH projects that are destinations unto themselves are quite rare, though the medina of Fez is of this type. Nan Sdins in Haida Gwaii is situated within a national park that is a major destination, and Qay'lnagaay, Xa:ytem, and U'mista are all on travel routes in the province of BC, and this helps explain some of their success, as well as some of the challenges faced by the latter two, which are accessible, but not on major tourist routes. Locations can of course not usually be chosen in the case of built heritage CH projects, but they should still be carefully considered in attempting to stimulate development through CH.

### **2. Funding needs to be found to stimulate these projects and ensure that**

**they will last.** The potential of CH is nascent, and in some cases it has existed for centuries in an untapped form. A stimulus is necessary to begin to realize their potential in the field of development, and this stimulus comes in two parts: through management (the subject of the next section), and through financial

backing. This backing can come from a number of different sources, from the government (as is the case of all of the projects we have looked at in this study, to varying degrees), organizations like the World Bank (as in the case of Fez), NGOs, various development institutions, or from private sources. Private funding is likely the hardest to get from the start, but may have the most potential to stimulate lasting and sustainable development, and this should be considered from the beginning and be integrated into the planning of how to find continuing funding for these projects. This is something that hasn't been done very effectively thus far in the cases we have looked at in BC, mainly due to the funding FN get from the government, and thus the lack of impetus for them to seek corporate support.

**3. For these projects to be effective, good planning and management are essential.** Ideally, this planning will integrate the voices of all those with interests in the project, as planning that recognizes that the voices of the local people should be heard, because it is their very livelihood that is at stake, is more likely to be effective. For example, the success of the creation of the Gwaii Haanas Park, with Nan Sdins as one of its major sites of interest, was attained through its integration of the vision of both the Haida people and the Canadian government. It has allowed a good deal of synergy, and helped create an effective partnership between them (Gwaii Haanas National Marine Conservation Area Reserve and Haida Heritage Site 2010, 7). The success of the Fez medina project, as well as the source of some of its failures, has been its ability, and

sometimes its inability, to engage local people in planning, in the work itself, and thus in the implementation of the vision (Radoine 2003, 458). Good management is essential for the success of any of these projects, and successful management cannot simply take a top-down approach. It needs to effectively consult and work with those who are most affected by the use of CH for these goals.

**4. In the use of CH for development, it must be remembered that if the CH itself is not prioritized, it will be lost.** A long-term vision is necessary, one that recognizes that CH does not last forever, nor does the knowledge that is required for its upkeep and maintenance. Without considering these factors, and taking steps to account for the preservation of both the material expressions of CH, and the knowledge and understanding that make it possible, the potential that CH holds may be lost. Thus, the cultural and educational potential of CH must be emphasized and remembered. If only the economic side is the focus, the very source of this resource will vanish over time. This explains the fundamental importance of using these CH projects as cultural centres, as in the case of BC, or ensuring that they contain or are affiliated with institutions for the preservation of arts, crafts, and culture, as is the case with Fez. Without this, the potential for the future of CH could be lost.

**5. The political dimension of CH must be considered, and it should be approached in a way that transcends tribalism, and that focuses instead on**

**cross-cultural dialogue, and inclusion of all strata of society.** While the potential for cross-cultural communication through CH exists and is important to recognize, it should not be at the expense of difference and uniqueness, or of the poor and powerless. Recognition and respect for cultural difference is essential for the maintenance of authenticity and the preservation of CH. CH should be used in a way that promotes uniqueness in the context of cross-cultural dialogue and understanding, rather than in a way that enhances political difference and antagonistic tendencies and uses them for the propagation of ideology. The case of U'mista shows some of the dangers in this realm, though it manages to not have an expressly ideological agenda. The case of Fez is also notable here, in that it does a good job in representing traditional Islamic culture and CH to its mostly European visitors, but it often does so according to a post-colonial narrative, and it must be careful that its agenda is not hijacked by those with a more anti-colonial and anti-Western stance.

Additionally, CH is subject to exploitation, and it should be carefully used so as to remain inclusive of all levels of society, including the poorest and least visible (UNESCO 1995, 185 & El-Ghazaly 2008, 47). This will help ensure a recognition of the plurality of the societies in which this CH exists, as well as of the fact that there are always multiple versions of history and different understandings and interpretations of heritage. If CH is only interpreted according to any single narrative, it risks becoming a tool to enhance the power of a single group, rather than one that has the potential to overcome boundaries and unify.

**6. We must carefully consider how we define development if we are to judge its success.** In the realm of CH, the economic prospects are but one dimension of a vaster potential, and if we limit our definition of success to its ability to generate financial revenue, our argument for the use of CH is weakened, especially in the case of smaller-scale projects like those in BC, many of which still do not sustain themselves. But if we consider the potential that CH holds towards human development, we can see that, as I have attempted to show, there is much room for growth. For example, not only does CH offer various possibilities through business opportunities, arts and crafts production and sales, and tourism generation, but it can also help preserve and transmit cultural traditions, play an important role in post-colonial identity reconstruction, as well as provide opportunities for education and cross-cultural dialogue. The potential for the enhancement of human capabilities through doing all of these things is one of the most fruitful benefits of the use of CH for development, though there is ample room for growth here in the realization of ways to accomplish these goals. All of these benefits are necessary for the long-term success and sustainability of any development goals, and thus should be considered fundamental to the development agenda from the start.

## **6.2 Looking Ahead**

There is much potential in the strategy of using CH for development, though it remains to be seen whether this approach can be an effective one over the long term, and whether it can be approached in such a way that truly melds the needs

for sustainability for both the cultural heritage itself, and the development strategies that seek to use it. There is little doubt that this is a complex balancing act. Many factors need to be considered, and these are dependent on the subtleties and intricacies of each specific situation, and as we have seen, there are many challenges that exist. Thus, each project needs to be evaluated according to its own merits, as well as the unique qualities of the local situation. This is no easy task, but it is surely necessary to make this effort in any attempt to preserve CH for the future and use it for the purpose of development, as the World Bank notes when it says that '[t]he past is prologue. The patrimony is both foundation for the present and a building block for developments in the future. Forthcoming generations are entitled to receive their ancestors' cultural heritage well safeguarded and to fully enjoy it' (World Bank 2001, 86).

In addition, I have attempted to show here that CH can play a role in multi-faceted approaches to development when it is used in a way that effectively considers all of these dimensions, and learns from the lessons that have been listed above. Simply put, heritage is not only about the past, nor even about the present, but also shapes how a society and its people move into the future. Indeed, heritage is a living and dynamic entity, in constant dialogue with the present and its needs, and if this is not recognized, its potential, as well as its continuity and value, may be lost. These are the lessons that must be learned in moving forward with these types of goals. Cultural heritage can be used effectively in the development enterprise, but the challenges remain great, and the perils manifold. As with any other approach to development, what we find

here is no panacea, but something that needs to be approached sustainably,  
intelligently and sympathetically for it to be effective and ultimately successful.

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