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Abstract: Conservation principles originated in the mid-19th century in Europe has been acting as the core of the discourse with specific practical approaches for protecting the material remains of the past with much emphasis on their aesthetic and historical values. These principles, which originated with views expressed by individuals or smaller groups, have evolved over the last one and half centuries. This paper briefly explores the evolution of approaches looking at three interconnected but distinct periods: pre-1970 (fabric-focused period); 1960-1990 (transition period); post-1990 (people-focused period). It argues that evolution has addressed many gaps and deficiencies inherited during the early phases of the discourse. One such gap was the heavy focus on materiality by overlooking people-centric values of heritage (including potential contributions to the livelihood). The paper demonstrates that the people factor gained a more prominent role during the post-1990 phase, emphasising the development of a people-focused approach to conservation. This entails placing people at the heart of the heritage discourse, thus focusing on sustaining heritage, as well as its contributions to sustain the society at large.

Keywords: Conservation, management, heritage, people focus.

Evolution of Conservation Approaches: Embracing a People Focus Approach

Traditionally, the starting point for many conservation training courses was a lecture on ‘the history and theory of conservation’ drawing on principles that developed with the modern conservation movement in Europe in the mid-19th century. A century later, these principles representing European secular values were further consolidated (the *Venice Charter* and Cesare Brandi’s theory of restoration, etc.), and complemented by the emergence of such organisations as UNESCO (1945), ICCROM (1956) and ICOMOS (1965) and their work. These principles focused on prolonging the life of fabric (ICOMOS, 1993) of ‘monuments and sites’, described this as the conventional or the ‘fabric focused approach’ (Wijesuriya, 2010). This approach continued to underpin conservation discourse throughout the 20th century but, as the 21st century approached, a distinct shift in focus became evident: from fabric, towards people. This entails people to be an integral part of the conservation process. In this context, the 1970s and 80s can be considered a ‘transition period’ that began to shape this interest in people. The new focus was consolidated after 1990 and continues to develop – the shift that took place is illustrated in the following timeline shown in figure one, which is proposed for a new discussion on history and theory of conservation.

This shift of focus from fabric to people was manifested through a variety of transformations and outcomes as illustrated in figure two. These were:

- The broadening of the concept of *monuments and sites to heritage*;
- Expansion of *conservation to management*;
- Moving from *fabric focused* to *people focused* approaches.

Postulado: 12.03.2022
Aceptado: 21.02.2023

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Transformation of the Heritage Sector-TIME LINE

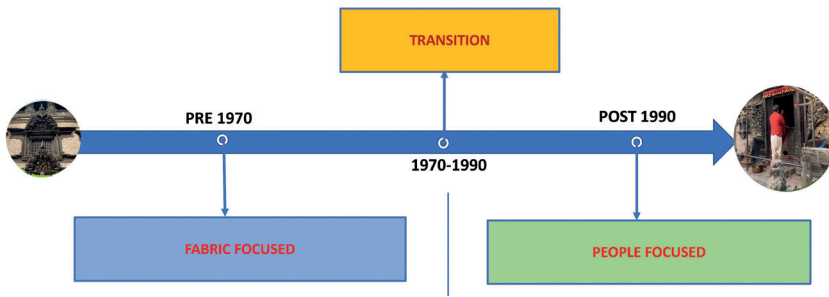


Figure 1. Timeline of transformations of the heritage sector

TRANSFORMATION OF THE HERITAGE SECTOR-KEY CHANGES

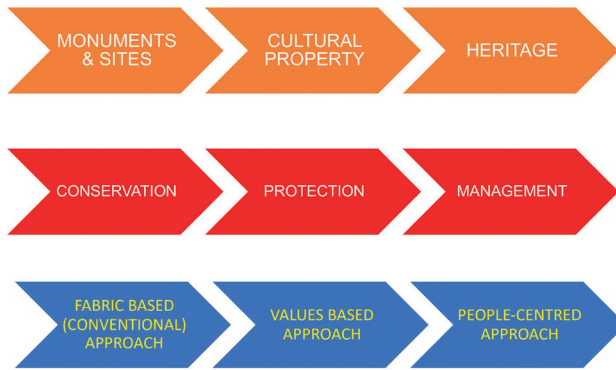


Figure 2. Key changes in the transformation of the heritage sector

While maintaining the shift from fabric focused to people focused as the central theme, the paper will explore the transformation of the conservation discourse with practical approaches and the theoretical perspectives that supported them under the following timelines:

1. Pre-1970 (fabric focused period)
2. 1970-1990 (transition period)
3. Post-1990 (people focused period)

This is not an exhaustive survey of the global situation, but it is based on the work and experience of ICCROM, mainly over the last two decades, which are discussed in several articles and more comprehensively in the article “From Sustaining heritage’ to ‘Heritage sustaining broader societal wellbeing and benefits’-an ICCROM perspective” (Thompson and Wijesuriya,

2018). The paper draws primarily from the work of international organisations, UNESCO (the *World Heritage Convention*), ICOMOS and IUCN¹ all of which have played a key role in the transformation. Nevertheless, this does not undervalue the contributions of other organisations and of the individual countries which should be explored further for a comprehensive understanding.

Pre-1970: Fabric Focused Period

In relation to history and theory of conservation, the most familiar phase which is relatively well documented is the 1970 (Feilden, 1982; Jokilehto, 1986; Stanley Price *et al.*, 1996) period. This can be attributed to the modern conservation movement which began in Europe in the mid-19th century, the work of such pioneers as John Ruskin and William Morris who resisted the destruction of religious buildings in the name of religious revivalism. Jukka Jokilehto explains that: “the penetrating mind of John Ruskin and the efforts of William Morris gave [the modern conservation movement] a clear definition, emphasizing the question of historic time and authenticity in relation to the original object, and the impossibility to reproduce an object with the same significance in another historical cultural context” (Jokilehto, 1986: 4).

Ruskin and Morris’s approach placed a heavy emphasis on the materiality of monuments and sites (which were later called heritage) and on safeguarding them for the benefit for future generations, and this

¹ The author of this article was involved in the World Heritage process since 1982 with the preparation of the Tentative List and nominations followed by various activities in Sri Lanka and with ICOMOS, ICCROM, and IUCN lately. He was able to witness the evolutions of the World heritage process and also to contribute to it. He is listed among 58 pioneers of World Heritage in the UNESCO website [www.unesco.org/worldheritage].

indeed became the foundation of the modern conservation movement and its philosophy. It subsequently established itself as an important knowledge base in addressing the destruction that was caused to historic buildings during the First World War and especially after the Second World War, with a growing interest in reconstructing war-damaged heritage around the middle of the 20th century in Europe. The same period also witnessed the creation of UNESCO (1945), which focused on the culture in general, and ICOM (1946), ICCROM (1956), and ICOMOS (1965), all of which focused on conservation. The emergence of these organisations established a global platform for propagating the modern conservation philosophy. Several international meetings – Madrid (1904), Athens (1931), and Venice (1964) – served to help to codify and consolidate conservation principles in the 20th century.

A practical approach (identified as the Fabric based approach) that is guided by this conservation philosophy has been adopted by practitioners on the ground (Wijesuriya, 2010, Ndoro *et al.*, 2015) as this is illustrated in Figure 3 (Wijesuriya, 2017). It reflects a primary focus on monuments and sites that have been defined by experts. The causes of deterioration of the physical fabric of these monuments and sites have been studied with a view to finding solutions that prolong their life. The overall goal of this (also called conventional) approach is to ensure the wellbeing of fabric (material remains), through a process led exclusively by experts emerged in the field of conservation.

One of the characteristics of this approach (perhaps not deliberately so) has been the absence of the focus on people and the lack of their engagement conservation decision-making. This issue has been identified elsewhere as the secularisation (Wijesuriya, 2017). Secularisation is used to describe the heavy emphasis placed on materiality, focusing on the aesthetic and historic values of the monuments over other values, such as spirituality (i.e. the concerns of the people connected to sites). Intangible dimensions were virtually overlooked. “Restoration”, explains Cesare Brandi, “consists of the methodological moment in which the work of art is recognized in its physical being and in its dual aesthetic and histor-

ical nature, in view of its transmission to the future” (Brandi, 2005: 15). This echoes the *Venice Charter*, which identifies that the purpose of restoration is to reveal the aesthetic and historic values of a monument.² Among various implications, one of the results of this has been the absence of a focus on people, which has, in turn, caused traditional knowledge systems – long-standing practices of local communities in engaging with and caring for places of significance – to be overlooked.

The aesthetic and historical approach was propagated at an international level by the organisations mentioned above, driving such activities as UNESCO’s international campaign for safeguarding monuments, which started in the 1960s with the site of Abu Simbel in Egypt.³

Despite various gaps and assumptions (Smith, 2006; Ndoro and Wijesuriya, 2015) this approach consolidated a mainstream modern conservation movement. Yet in the 1970s, new views began to emerge that challenged existing thinking and looked towards a de-secularisation of heritage to address issues of distance between people and heritage. This perspective became a key characteristic of new conservation approaches that subsequently emerged.

1970-1990: Transition Period

The two decades from 1970 to 1990 could be described as a transition period in which a focus on people, which we have described as the de-secularisation, became increasingly central. Activities and principles that emerged in this period laid the foundation for people-focused approaches that were to become firmly established only after 1990, as discussed below.

² Paranavitana in 1945 suggested “restoration of ancient shrines [...] has to be carried out without hurting the religious susceptibilities of the people [...] that intervention by the Department does not affect their vested interests and traditional rights [...]” (Paranavitana, 1945: 31) but such principles drew very little attention from the international community.

³ The largest project within this campaign was Sri Lanka’s Cultural Triangle (1981-1997), with which the author had the opportunity to engage directly.

CONSERVATION OF MONUMENTS & SITES

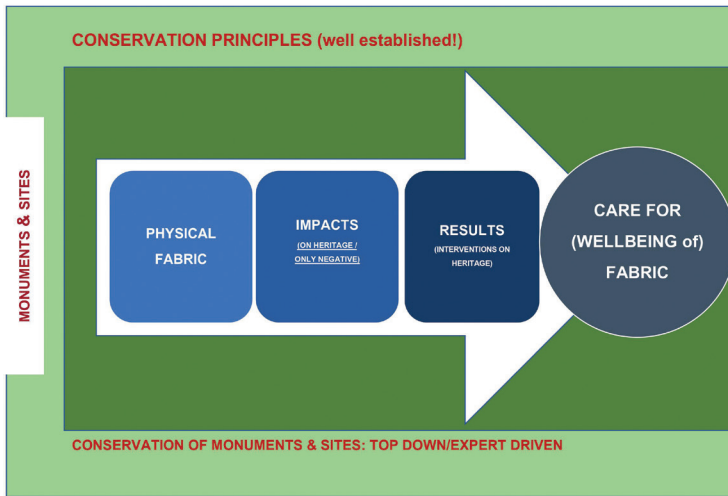


Figure 3. Fabric-focused approach

One of the major driving forces behind this transition was the World Heritage Convention that was adopted in 1972. Emphasis on the notion of heritage, notion of values, and the “aims to give the cultural and natural heritage a function in the life of the community” (World Heritage Convention) were some of the key concepts put forward by the Convention which began to evolve during the transition period. In the decades that followed, the Convention also became the primary platform for the international community to discuss and share conservation-related issues.

The Convention promoted the use of the term “heritage” over previously used terminology. As illustrated in Figure 2, the popular terms “monuments” and “sites”, which had been defined by the experts were expanded to “cultural property” in the 60s and to heritage during the transition period by promoting “World Heritage”.

In introducing the concept of Outstanding Universal Value (OUV), the Convention focused on values which in turn helped to enrich the concept of heritage. In this same period there was a widening of discussion around values (following the 1979 *Burra Charter*)⁴ and its application for the conservation and

⁴ Values were discussed in the modern conservation movement by people like Riegl (Jokilehto, 2015) but its wider appli-

management of heritage. To consider values in the heritage context is to question *why* something is important, *what* conveys them (attributes: tangible, intangible or processes) and *to whom*. The process recognizes the principle that the values are attributed by *people*.⁵ This led to a more participatory process respecting the voice of the people rather than totally relying on expert views or legal definitions to describe what heritage is. This fundamental shift in thinking later became the basis for a ‘values-led approach’ to conservation and management of heritage, which gained popularity after 1990 and became an essential tool for World Heritage (Wijesuriya *et al.*, 2013).

Another significant occurrence during this period which reached to its height around 1990^a was the questioning the philosophy behind the fabric-based (or conventional) approach by the international community, including by some of its pioneers themselves (Wijesuriya, 2017). Roland Silva who was the President of ICOMOS (1990-99), in critiquing the *Venice Charter* stated in 1983 that “the Venice Charter itself is not necessarily the end of the road. We have shown the scope [...] and limitation which we have either to correct or to combat” (Silva, 1983: 44).

In 1990, all members of ICOMOS were invited to comment on the content of the *Venice Charter*, to determine whether revisions were necessary. Although subsequently ICOMOS decided not to make any adjustments to the Charter, many questions had been raised about the document’s validity and applicability. Among these was a comment from US/ICOMOS that “the Charter’s text, although concise and clear, is insufficient due to scientific progress having broadened the field of work in preservation and restoration, making it, thereby, necessary to revise concepts and demand effective and not just formal participation of

cation in all levels of conservation decision making starting with definitions began to develop during this transition period.

⁵ There are differences of opinion about intrinsic values. Author strongly believes that values are attributed as well as intrinsic. There are many in the southern world who are sympathetic to this view whereas very little in the northern world.

specialists in areas of modern development” (ICOMOS, 1990: 91). Another observation came from Raymond Lemaire, one of the Charter’s authors:

Charters are fashionable. They are considered to contribute to directing action. However, they never contain more than the minimum on which the majority has agreed. Only exceptionally do they cover the whole of the issue which concerns them. This is the case with the Venice Charter. It was drafted by a few specialists all sharing the same doctrinal views (ICOMOS, 1990: 231).

Gertrude Tripp, another author of the *Venice Charter*, observed that “we imagined that our *Carta del Restauro* of 1964 would have universal significance [...]. However, today I can confess there was much that we simply did not know. You know, we were convinced that we were sufficiently clever. But we did not understand where the difficulties were” (ICOMOS, 1990: 82).

At the pre-Nara meeting held in Norway in 1993, Lemaire, admitted and commented that “the congress participants in 1964 did not realise the complexity of international preservation, mainly because 95 per cent of the participants were Europeans” (Larsen and Marstein, 1994: 23). The 1994 meeting to discuss authenticity was therefore considered an opportunity to “challenge conventional thinking in the conservation field, and debate ways and means of broadening our horizons to bring greater respect for cultural and heritage diversity to conservation practice” (ICOMOS, 1994: art. 1). Indeed, the former president of ICOMOS, Gustavo Araoz, has seen this happened. According to him, “the Eurocentric doctrinal foundation that had been developed for over two centuries to sustain its focus on materiality was effectively challenged in the Nara Document, which recognized for the first time that authenticity is a relative concept that depends on its socioeconomic context” (Araoz, 2011: 57).

These criticisms of the fabric focused approach, plus the discussions on expanded definitions of heritage and recognition of values as the basis for conservation decision-making, all oriented a focus towards

people focused approach during the two decades. The transition period established the foundation for the many changes that were to occur in conservation thinking over the next thirty years since 1990.

Post 1990-People focused period

The transition from a fabric to a people focused approaches initiated a process of new thinking that grew in 1990s and continues to date. There were many contributors to this process. In contrast to the fabric focused phase which consolidated views expressed by individuals and smaller groups, the perspectives were now primarily expressed by the collective and corporate views of organisations. What follows are some of the key contributions by UNESCO, ICOMOS and ICCROM among others.

UNESCO contributions mainly came through the World Heritage process. Although the World Heritage (WH) Convention was adopted in 1972, it took a while to evolve⁶ all its procedures –for instance, a clear definition of OUV was added to the *Operational Guidelines* only in 2005. By 1990, the World Heritage Convention had gained a wider international popularity with many countries around the world that wished to have sites inscribed on the World Heritage List. From this point occurred a significant number of key steps or events that we can attribute to the emerging people-focused approach within the context of World heritage. Credits for all these contributions should go to the World heritage Committee represented by individual states parties with their own specialists, staff of its secretariat and the contributions from the three Advisory Bodies (ICCROM, ICOMOS and IUCN).

The introduction of the cultural landscape paradigm in 1992 expanded the horizons for heritage definitions in which people were the central focus. This evolved from the reference to ‘interaction between man and nature’ included in the category of sites, as defined in the Convention. The inscription of many properties under this category, such as ag-

⁶ Still evolving. The author was involved in preparing the first Tentative List for Sri Lanka less than 5 minutes period in 1982, but currently it takes years.

ricultural landscapes, compelled the heritage sector to engage in broader issues that were concerned with people beyond the conventional, and familiar, technical aspects. The livelihoods of people who were an integral part of landscapes now became a key issue to consider.

Authenticity was already an inscription requirement for the World Heritage List but the lack of clarity in the *Operational Guidelines* around what this meant was a concern for some countries (Ngoro, 2018). These concerns led to the Nara Meeting in Japan in 1994, and the adoption of the *Nara Document on Authenticity* (1994). Although some have questioned the usefulness of the meeting (Wijesuriya and Sweet, 2019) in bringing clarity to the notion of authenticity, it did, however, foreground several people-focused concerns through the recognition of: values; the importance of cultural context; diversity; and the responsibility of the community that created the heritage in safeguarding it. With integration of the *Nara Document* into the *Operational Guidelines*, individual countries are now compelled to follow its guidance within the World Heritage context.

The World Heritage process introduced a requirement for a Statement of Significance in 2001, which is the key tool of the values-led approach (Wijesuriya *et al.*, 2013). In 2005 this was amended to call the Statement of Outstanding Universal Value (*Operational guidelines* of 2005 version), which is now a mandatory requirement. The values-led approach that began to shape itself during the transition period now became a formal means of managing World Heritage extending beyond mere conservation with a view to address complexities surrounding heritage (Wijesuriya *et al.*, 2013). Long awaited recognition of the Traditional Knowledge Systems for managing World Heritage sites was introduced in the operational guidelines of 2005. By this time, professional community in Africa had begun to recognize and appreciate the TKS (Joffroy, 2005; Wijesuriya and Court, 2020).

Although the text of the World Heritage Convention itself had stated the need to give cultural and natural heritage a function in the life of the communi-

ty, it took a while for the Committee to pay sufficient regard to this aspect. In 2007, however, the Committee adopted ‘communities’ as one of its five strategic objectives. As a result of this, the practice of engaging communities in the World Heritage process was heavily promoted. The 40th anniversary of the Convention in 2012,⁷ a yearlong programme of activities, was fully devoted to communities. The conclusions of the final meeting held in Kyoto recommended that “we reiterate the important role of communities, including local communities and indigenous peoples, in the implementation of the World Heritage Convention, in accordance with one of its five strategic objectives, the fifth “C” adopted in 2007”.

The World Heritage Capacity Building Strategy adopted in 2011 by the World Heritage Committee specifically endorsed communities and networks as one of the groups in which capacities reside for conservation and management of heritage.

The publication of the *Managing Cultural World Heritage Manual* in 2013 (Wijesuriya *et al.*, 2013), providing guidance for the effective management of WH sites, promoted the values-led approach and highlighted the importance of focusing on delivering benefits to people.

The *Operational Guidelines* are full of people-focused guidance. For example, since 2015, pre, prior and informed consent from Indigenous communities involved in any property proposed for nomination to the World Heritage List is a compulsory requirement.

A result of the above initiatives has been the development of the policy on integrating Sustainable Development aspects into the World Heritage process. It must be noted, however, that navigating these aspects is not easy as there are those who always argue that conservation as an inclusive domain can be weakened through concepts such as development. However, the adoption of the policy marks a turning point since it makes it mandatory for State Parties to

⁷ We are convinced that a people-centred conservation of the world’s cultural and natural heritage is an opportunity to provide critical learning models for the pursuit of sustainable development and for ensuring a harmonious relationship between communities and their environment.

adhere to some of the principles outlined (Wijesuriya, 2020).

The programme initiated to link nature and culture under the World Heritage Convention in 2013 has provided an opening for the entire heritage sector to work collectively for the benefit of people and society (Larsen and Wijesuriya, 2015).

There were other UNESCO activities contributed to people focused approach to conservation. For instance, in 2003 UNESCO adopted the Convention on Intangible Heritage, under which communities are central to defining and decision-making.

During the fabric focused period, historic city centres were treated in the same manner as monuments and sites: “museum-like freezing of historic centres, a common practice at the time in Italy and other countries, consisting of isolation of historic fabric from contemporary life, and the creation of a specialized district used for tourism purpose” (Bandarin and Van Oers, 2012: 15). The UNESCO *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* (UNESCO, 2011) brought people-focused concerns to urban conservation through historic urban landscapes approach: The historic urban landscape approach aims at preserving the quality of the human environment, enhancing the productive and sustainable use of urban spaces while recognizing their dynamic character, and promoting social and functional diversity. It integrates the goals of urban heritage conservation and those of social and economic development (UNESCO, 2011).

ICOMOS, created in 1965, adopted the *Venice Charter* as its founding document and from the outset promoted a fabric-focused approach to conservation. However, post-1990 we have seen a gradual development of a people focus through ICOMOS’ activities and documents.

The scientific symposium of the General Assembly of ICOMOS held in Africa in 2004 was fully dedicated to intangible heritage. ICOMOS currently has an International Scientific Committee (ISC) on this theme. The theme of the ICOMOS 2011 General Assembly was heritage as a driver for development, which addressed community concerns.

ICOMOS initiated preparations for the Nara+20 meeting, which was held in 2014, with a view to celebrating and discussing the future of the Nara Document adopted in 1994. The *Nara+20 Document* (2014) resulted directly from these discussions. While maintaining the spirit, and to some extent strengthening the conclusions of the *Nara Document on Authenticity*, the new version highlighted five themes that required greater attention, all of which are people-focused: (1) diversity of heritage processes; (2) implications of evolution of cultural values; (3) involvement of multiple stakeholders; (4) conflicting claims and interpretation; and (5) the role of cultural heritage in sustainable development. The key message conveyed was that conservation theory and practice are still evolving.

ICCROM has played a key role in promoting a people-focused approach to conservation through its activities particularly post 1990. The programme on Integrated Territorial and Urban Conservation (ITUC), which started in 1997, began to view heritage in a more holistic manner, focusing on landscapes or larger territories and recognizing the dynamic relationship that exists between people and heritage.

The Africa 2009 programme of ICCROM, launched in 1998 and delivered through a partnership that included UNESCO and professionals in Africa, was a major regional initiative focusing on people. It concentrated on engaging communities in conservation activities and in doing so addressed issues of poverty, including HIV and Aids, and revisited the importance of traditional knowledge systems and associated crafts and craftspeople.

The Sustainable Development paradigm (WH) was introduced to the ITUC programme in 1997 and the Living Heritage Sites programme in 2003 (Wijesuriya, 2018). In 2007 Sustainable Development theme became integrated into the curriculum of the newly established course on Conservation of Built Heritage as a successor to ARC course and has proved a popular and highly rated theme.

An offspring of ITUC, the Living Heritage Sites (LHS) programme (2003-2008) of ICCROM took a completely novel approach to conservation by focusing

on living dimensions of heritage. The programme shaped a living heritage approach for conservation, which promoted community-based interventions. This embraced “people past and present and their cultural products and practices, both tangible and intangible, so that values and relationships could be considered and maintained through the process of sustainable development, management, and regeneration of heritage sites. This additionally highlights the importance of both the living aspects of heritage (continuity), as well as the heritage components in a living environment” (ICROM, 2003).

The forum on Living Religious Heritage held in 2003 was a unique international event organised as part of the Living Heritage Sites programme (Stovel *et al.*, 2005). It explored the complexities and challenges of handling religious heritage using the conventional fabric-based approach, which had emerged as a reaction against restoration as part of religious revivalism in Europe in the mid-19th century. Case studies from across the world demonstrated how practices based on a people focused approach already transforming and (Magar, 2005; Wijesuriya, 2005) its importance.

The results of the Living Heritage Sites programme led to the development of another ICROM programme (2008-2015), People Centred Approaches to Conservation (ICROM, 2015) which focused on collective wellbeing of heritage and people, with a

[...] view to overcoming the deficiencies of the past where overly expert-led heritage activities unfolded in isolation from the wider concerns of society. In this context, the promotion of people-centred approaches for the conservation and management of heritage is considered a way of providing a theoretical basis to underpin future practices (Court and Wijesuriya, 2015: 7).

The World Heritage Leadership programme, collectively administered with the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) and implemented in partnership with ICOMOS and the World Heritage Centre, promotes a people-centred approach as a key tool in successfully conserving and managing heritage.

There were other initiatives in the direction of people focused approaches. For instance, in 2005, the Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (known as the Faro Convention) recognized

[...] the need to put people and human values at the centre of an enlarged and cross disciplinary concept of cultural heritage” and emphasized “the value and potential of cultural heritage wisely used as a resource for sustainable development and quality of life in a constantly evolving society (Council of Europe, 2005).

Interestingly, after the 1990s, the natural heritage sector also directed its focus toward people (Thompson and Wijesuriya, 2018).

The decades post 1990 also demonstrated increased popularity of the values-led approach to conservation and management; it became embraced by such countries as Australia, Canada and the United Kingdom, while organisations such as the Getty Conservation Institute have actively promoted it. It is now being promoted in many countries.

Initiatives and activities described above demonstrate that the focus on people in conservation activities underpinned by diverse principles or theories increased since 1990. Moving from narrow definitions of monuments and sites to heritage began to capture the aspirations of people and their engagement in decision making. The concept of conservation became only one component of broader concept of management of heritage to care for the heritage as well society. With a view to addressing the complexities of managing heritage the evolution of the people-centred approach and the theory that surrounds it are visible and necessary components of contemporary conservation. The intention of this approach is to place people at the heart of the heritage discourse. In terms of practical approaches, this amounted to a paradigm shift, from a fabric-focused to a people focused approach which further developed after 1990 (Thompson and Wijesuriya, 2018). The characteristics of new approach can be summarised in figure 4.

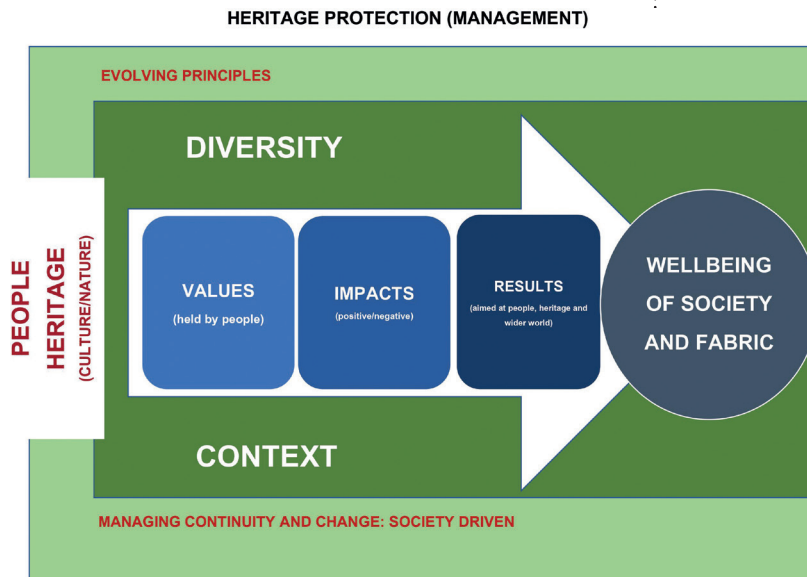


Figure 4. People-focused approach

Evolution of different APPROACHES

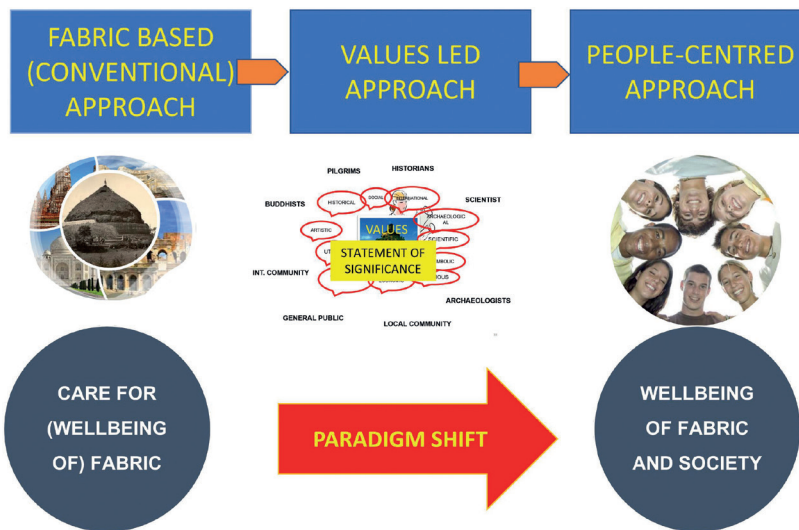


Figure 5. Evolution of different approaches (modified from an original diagram by Montira Horayangura)

Conclusions

The historical approach to safeguarding the material remains of the past by focusing on their aesthetic and historic aspects laid the foundations for the modern conservation discourse, establishing what has been described above as the fabric-focused approach. This

kept people, connected with the heritage and some of the values integral to them, at a distance from decisions made regarding its conservation. The ‘people factor’ was introduced through broadening the definition of heritage and the discussion around values, which had started to happen between the 1970s and 1990s. This greater visibility given to values, combined with the growth of World Heritage processes, initiated changes that eventually resulted in a values-led approach becoming a key requirement in heritage management. This also put the spotlight on the contribution that people could make to conservation and the need of reciprocal benefits. This focus was further highlighted and enhanced through the introduction of new paradigms at an international level after 1990, as described above, and has resulted in a people-centred approach to heritage which aims to safeguard fabric and contribute to societal development. This can be considered a paradigm shift in conservation theory and practice is illustrated in Figure 5.

What must not be overlooked, however, is the fact that when people are placed at the centre, conservators and heritage managers will encounter new issues and opportunities, such as: the need to understand the evolving nature of the discourse; that no divisions in heritage (people decide); recognition of the political context of heritage and the social role of heritage, including livelihoods and opportunities for sustainable development; the need to construct inclusive and widely consulted heritage narratives; emphasis on rights and knowledge issues; building community resilience through heritage; recovery from conflict situations. The principles that underpin the people-centred approach usefully support all such aspects and should therefore be the focus of new curriculum on teaching the history and theory of conservation.

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