Expanding Boundaries of Practice in (World) Heritage Management: from Conservation to Sustainable Development

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Abstract

The adoption of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development marks for the first time the inclusion of cultural heritage in the global development agenda. At the same time, it also raises a question about the readiness of existing heritage institutions to cope with this vastly expanded scope, in comparison to traditional mandates focused mainly on conservation. This paper proposes that the expanding boundaries of heritage practice has three important dimensions: changes in heritage concepts, changes in heritage management issues, as well as changes in managerial or governance frameworks. It traces key milestones in modern heritage practice since the mid-20th century, and offers policy recommendations for existing heritage institutions to deal with these new frontiers of management practice.

Key Words: World Heritage | boundaries of practice | heritage management | sustainable development

1. Expanding boundaries of heritage practice

This paper looks at World Heritage sites in the context of expanded *"boundaries of practice"* which place a strain on heritage management institutions and their capacity to address emerging challenges. Boundaries of practice are proposed to be broader than boundaries of knowledge, which may be limited to passive absorption of new knowledge, which may not be translated into behavioral change or action.

The past 40 years have seen significant shifts in the conception of heritage, and with it, attendant shifts in the way that heritage is governed. The literature identifies three major shifts: (i) in terms of evolving definitions of heritage, (ii) increasing complexity in heritage management, which has to confront challenges beyond narrow conservation concerns in order to engage with emerging threats and sustainable development issues, and (iii) the necessity for heritage institutions to adapt their management and larger governance practices accordingly.

Shifts in the heritage world in general are more acutely reflected in the context of World Heritage, given the outsize platform that the World Heritage project has come to occupy in both heritage discourse and practice, both globally and at more local levels. Within each country, they normally attract special attention and investment. As bearers of Outstanding Universal Value, World Heritage sites, and their associated processes, are often upheld as exemplars of heritage. Admittedly, given the ponderous and politicized processes and mechanisms of intergovernmental World Heritage governance (Logan 2012, Schmitt 2009), there is often a lag in the adoption of new concepts in the World Heritage framework. However, once incorporated into the World Heritage regime, such concepts are amplified, in the sense that World Heritage provides a high visibility soapbox for emerging heritage doctrine and regulations to be disseminated and reproduced. The subsequent reification of these concepts as part of international heritage discourse and practice has been called to task (Smith 2006, Winter 2014), but such pushback has not yet diminished the overall momentum of the World Heritage machine.

2. Redefining heritage: evolving concepts

The emergence of legal instruments protecting monuments from the mid-1800's onwards in Europe and North America set the tone for *"modern conservation practice"* (Jokilehto, 1999). Set in the context of the age of Enlightenment, conservation as a new discipline was part of a positivist, objectivist quest for scientific proof for knowledge production. The concomitant emergence of professionals in archaeology and architecture mutually reinforced this focus on monuments and ancient sites, who came to dominate the new field of conservation with their self-aggrandizing expertise.

The Athens Charter of 1931, with an exclusive focus on the restoration of historic fabric, presaged the emergence of the 1964 Venice Charter which became the touchstone for professional conservation practice following World War II. The Venice Charter strove to define *"the principles guiding the preservation and restoration of ancient buildings"* which are seen as part of the *"unity of human values"* and *"common heritage"* (ICOMOS, 1964).

In their thorough review, Thompson and Wijesuriya (2018) argue that the Venice Charter marks the first of three distinctive stages that can be traced in the heritage sector up to the present day: (i) from 1964-1994 seeking to *"defend monuments and sites as islands"*; (ii) from 1994 onwards with the Nara Document on Authenticity setting the scene where "*other voices, multiple horizons are recognized"*; (iii) and from 2010 onwards, where *"policy work shaped by intersectoral alignment for a more dynamic role for heritage in broader sustainable development"*.

During the first stage, subsequent heritage charters drawn up into the 1980s continued this defensive mode, although it expanded the remit of the sector beyond buildings to include gardens, towns and other urban areas. These documents included the Declaration of Amsterdam (1975), the Resolution of the International Symposium on the Conservation of Smaller Historic Towns (1975), the Florence Charter on Historic Gardens (1982), and the Washington Charter on the Conservation of Historic Towns and Areas (1987).

Born in this era, the 1972 Convention concerning the World Cultural and Natural Heritage in its definitions foreshadowed some of the innovations which would emerge in subsequent decades. In encompassing both cultural heritage and natural heritage in a single instrument, the drafters of the Convention were prescient about framing heritage as *"part of a biocultural continuum"* (ibid) and of seeing the main thrust of the Convention as transmission of the heritage to future generations. However, professional practice associated with the conservation and management of World Heritage sites throughout the 1970s and 1980s was still bound by the doctrinaire approach inculcated by the Venice Charter.

In the second stage, the adoption of new landmark doctrinal texts in the heritage field marked the shift away from monumental and built heritage to embrace other forms of heritage as well as other forms of heritage practice. Notably, recognition increased for heritage categories such as vernacular heritage, industrial heritage, cultural landscapes (Rossler, 2000) and historic urban landscapes (Bandarin & Van Oers, 2012). Beyond heritage sites, UNESCO also pushed forward with recognition for other forms of cultural heritage, with new conventions recognizing underwater cultural heritage and intangible cultural heritage in 2001 and 2003, respectively.

Thompson and Wijesuriya argue that the turning point of the second stage was marked by the Nara Document on Authenticity (1994) emphasized the importance of cultural relativism in heritage practice and counters the Eurocentric roots of modern conservation practice which had become universalized through the suite of international charters promulgated by the (almost exclusively European) bastions of heritage expertise such as ICOMOS.

The shift that began with the Nara Document on Authenticity was further reinforced by the Burra Charter (in its fifth edition by 1999). Acknowledging the different notions of heritage between its settler and indigenous populations, the Burra Charter marked a shift from the Eurocentric concept of heritage monuments and sites to the concept of heritage places which encompass landscapes and other non-built features that resonates more strongly with its indigenous peoples. The Burra Charter introduces the notion that heritage should be understood and managed in the specific local socio-cultural contexts to which it belongs, and by engaging with a diversity of stakeholders to which the heritage is significant.

The rubric of cultural landscapes pushed the conceptual boundaries beyond cultural heritage to reflect the interaction with nature. In a sense, it provides a means to operationalize the intention of the World Heritage Convention to protect *"the combined works of nature and of man"*, per Article 1. Cultural landscapes were adopted in 1992 by the World Heritage Committee, extending protection to landscapes designed and created by humans, organically evolved landscapes, and associative cultural landscapes, where the people have *"powerful religious, artistic or cultural associations of the natural element rather than material cultural evidence, which may be insignificant or even absent"* (Rossler, 2000).

Beyond cultural heritage and natural heritage, the Historic Urban Landscape Recommendation, adopted in 2011, calls for a holistic approach to managing a city's resources which also includes the human dimension as well. The Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape defines the historic urban landscape as *"the urban area understood as the result of a historic layering of cultural and natural values and attributes, extending beyond the notion of a 'historic centre' or 'ensemble' to include the broader urban context and its geographical setting"* (UNESCO, 2011). To encompass all these different dimensions, the Recommendation advocates that the planning process should start with a participatory mapping to determine which

heritage values need to be protected for transmission to future generations. Physical elements reflecting these heritage values need to be incorporated into a wider framework of city development, so that development projects will pay attention to areas of vulnerable heritage. Appropriate partnerships and local management frameworks should be established to ensure coordination of the various activities between different actors, both public and private.

The growing recognition of living heritage sites, as reflected in the new concepts of cultural landscapes and historic urban landscapes, puts a renewed focus on the role of people and the importance of their embodied knowledge and practices. This shift in thinking was given additional impetus by the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage which puts communities at the core of its work. The 2003 Convention requires the explicit involvement and agreement of the communities in all activities of safeguarding intangible cultural heritage (ICH) in order to *"create, maintain and transmit such heritage"*. This has pushed communities to be more central to the World Heritage cognitive frame and mechanism, with communities being added as the fifth *"C"* in the World Heritage global strategy.

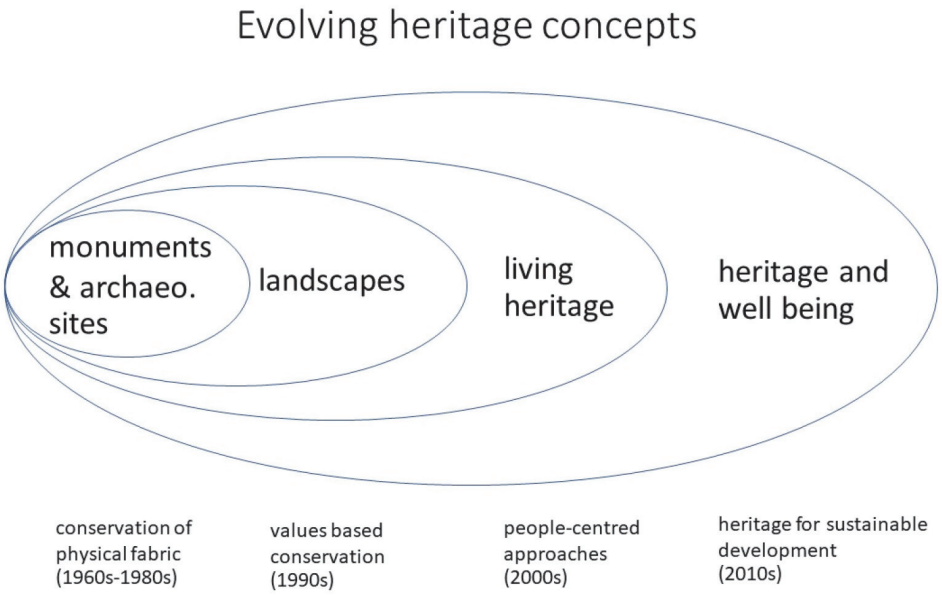

Figure 1: Evolving heritage concepts

As a means of recognizing diverse values associated with a heritage site, values-based approaches have gained credence internationally, and have been enshrined into the World Heritage convention. By adopting a participatory approach to identifying heritage and its multiple values (from historic, aesthetic, architectural, social, scientific to economic), heritage is seen as having value beyond dimensions of materiality (Mason, Maclean, & de la Torre, 2003).

Beyond forms of heritage, definitional expansion of heritage reflects power struggles in the politics of heritage and in the discourse of heritage. Ndoro (2005) makes the case in his evocatively titled Your Monument, Our Shrine how Great Zimbabwe, a site of sacred significance for generations of inhabitants, is reduced by outside experts to a fossilized archaeological artifact for consumption by tourists. As a corollary of the field of subaltern studies, heritage of various subaltern groups is also gaining greater political and social footfold: heritage associated with minority groups, dissenting heritage, dissonant heritage. The assertion of these forms of heritage narratives, often in contravention of official heritage narratives, presents a form of resistance in the politics of heritage.

3. Expanding challenges in conservation and management

Climate change, unprecedented rates of urbanization, industrialization, infrastructure development, the commodification of heritage and the explosion in global tourism are putting heritage sites around the world under greater pressure than ever. The most recent ICOMOS *"Heritage at Risk"* publication covering the period 2014-2015 notes that, *"apart from the general risks to heritage from natural disasters and physical decay of structures, there are certain patterns in human activity endangering our heritage, such as risks from war and inter-ethnic conflicts. Human-made risks from development pressures caused by population growth and progressive industrialisation are reported from all parts of the world, resulting in ever-greater consumption of land, destroying not only archaeological evidence, but entire (even protected) cultural landscapes, either by planning tourist development facilities ... or building commercial and residential tourism units.... Mining... and uncontrolled alarming contamination from mining activities and sewage pollution is reported"* (ICOMOS, 2017).

Unlike the technical issues of physical heritage conservation, such as biological or structural decay which were the earliest concerns of the conservation profession, these contemporary challenges represent an unprecedented degree of complexity. They involve a wider range of stakeholders and multiple sectors beyond the heritage sector. Beyond the

conventional focus on monuments, conservation has become a part of the larger exercise of *"the management of heritage"* (Thompson & Wijesuriya, 2018).

In the context of cultural heritage sites in Southeast Asia, the Second Periodic Report for World Heritage Sites in 2011 identified local factors (ie, microorganisms), natural disasters, climate change, pollution, and unfavorable human activities as key factors whose negative effects outweighed their positive effects (UNESCO, 2012). Interestingly, the development of infrastructure and service and tourism, which are popularly believed to have a major impact on heritage sites, were found to have both positive effects as well as negative effects. This line up of challenges in Southeast Asia is revealing as it showcases the struggles of heritage site management agencies to deal with bread and butter conservation issues. On top of that, they also have to cope with perennial struggles in balancing visitor and resident demands, as well as with larger and emerging multi-sectoral issues like urbanization, disasters and other emergencies.

As the definition of cultural heritage becomes broader, as reflected in the types of sites that are recognized on the World Heritage List, the types of challenges encountered become more complex. In comparison to conserving a single temple, dealing with a cultural landscape or a historic urban landscape has to take into account a wide range of issues related to economic, social and environmental dimensions, as well as a larger network of stakeholders at all levels.

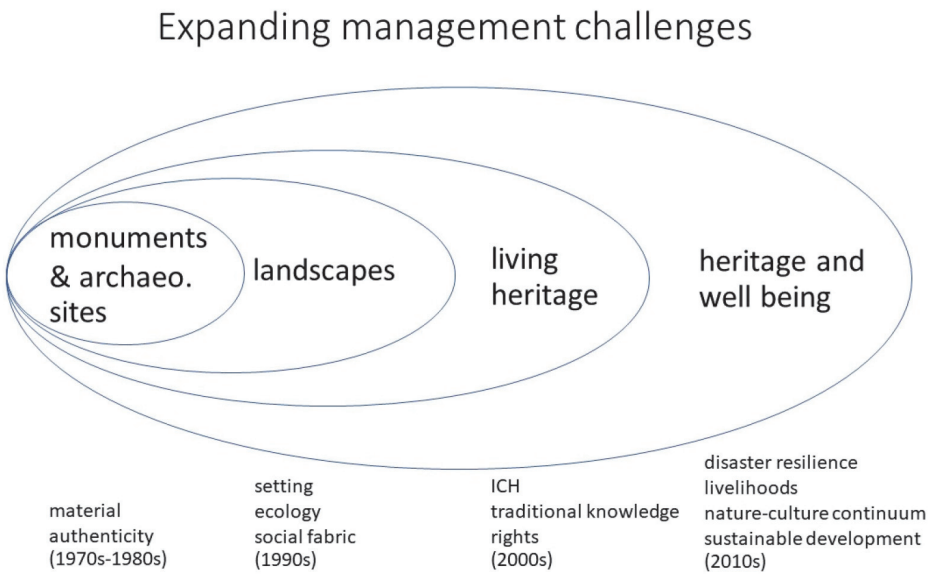

Figure 2: Expanding management challenges

To illustrate the complexity of these challenges, the interlinked issues of climate change and natural disasters, will be looked at in more detail below as an example. Climate change is a growing concern for the historic environment, with coastal and riverside flooding, subsidence, wind and storm damages as well as changes in rainfall patterns and temperatures all posing a threat to heritage sites (Cassar 2007, Sabbioni et al 2006). The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) have provided evidence that *"warming of the climate system is unequivocal, as is now evident from observations of increases in global average air and ocean temperatures, widespread melting of snow and ice, and rising global average sea level"* (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, 2007).

Climate change can exacerbate existing risks facing heritage sites, or they could introduce new mechanisms of damage, decay or even destruction. Well-intentioned efforts to protect or strengthen heritage properties from climate change may in fact lead to inadvertent damage. A study undertaken in the United Kingdom by Cassar et al (2005) mapped the impacts that could result from various forms of climate change. Flooding can lead to major problems, especially along coastal areas where salinity of the water poses a risk. Rising temperatures can accelerate the deterioration of materials. High winds can cause structural damage to building and could dislodge trees. Historic buildings often cannot cope with the increased volume of rainfall, leading to both decorative and structural damage, and encourages growth of mold and insects.

Climate change is increasing the frequency and intensity of climate-related hazards. As heritage is frequently in a state of vulnerability (due to poor condition, low maintenance, damage from visitors and lack of hazard proofing), it may be not well-equipped to withstand the range of external hazards (Cannon, 2015). Beyond impacts to built heritage, disasters wreak havoc on human lives, livelihoods and well-being. Disaster management agencies, however, are not often well-prepared to deal with disasters affecting heritage. In part, they may have different perspectives from local populations about which risks need to be treated. *"Unless the culture of the people and organizations that connect with heritage is understood, it is less likely that [heritage] can be protected in advance of a hazard or valued afterwards for recovery"* (ibid).

4. Heritage and sustainable development

There has been a shift within the conservation profession from total conservation to change management approaches that open up the possibility for sustainable development. Even so, embedded within this rhetoric about sustainable development is the core kernel of

conservation. Hence, Gustavo Araoz, during his tenure as President of ICOMOS, ostensibly calls for a paradigm shift, but this still revolves around preservation in his call for *"Preserving heritage places under a new paradigm"* (Araoz, 2011).

This enduring focus on sustaining the heritage place itself versus the contributions of heritage towards larger goals of sustainable development have led to a bifurcation in the debate about heritage and sustainable development (Logan & Larsen, 2018). On the one hand, ensuring the sustainability of heritage places has led to more reflexive considerations of how heritage practices need to be rethought, such as the recognition of the role of local stewards as custodians of their heritage sites. On the other hand, *"heritage principles and practice could and should contribute to wider social, cultural and environmental sustainability"* (ibid). Beyond this binary framework, Logan and Larsen offer a more fine-grained differentiation illustrates the linkages between heritage conservation and sustainable development: (i) *"sustainable heritage"* which reflects *"an inward looking perspective concerned with whether...heritage itself is being sustained for new generations"*, (ii) *"heritage vs. sustainable development"* which sees one *"as a threat to the other"*, (iii) *"sustainable development for heritage"* which is *"about adapting development paths to the needs and requirements of heritage conservation"* and (iv) *"heritage for sustainable development"* which sees the potential of heritage to contribute to *"solving wider sustainability challenges"*.

Within the development profession, the latter framing has gained currency, with heritage increasingly being viewed as integral to sustainable development (Hosagrahar, Soule, Girard, & Potts, 2016). Soini and Birkeland (2014) propose that culture can be included in three ways in the sustainable development discourse. First, as a fourth pillar of sustainable development, on par with the three existing pillars of social, economic and environmental. Secondly, with culture acting as a driver for development, thus acting in a transversal manner across the three existing pillars. Thirdly, as being fundamental for development, thus creating a new paradigm for sustainable development thinking itself.

This seemingly new-found ubiquity of sustainable development can actually be traced back to the landmark World Conference on Cultural Policies held in Mexico City in 1982 which already tabled the links between culture and development. Despite high-level conferences in the following World Decade for Cultural Development from 1988-1997, culture was explicitly absent from the Millennium Development Goals adopted in 2000.

Unlike its predecessor, the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development adopted in 2015 explicitly refers to culture and heritage. *"It is the first international agenda to acknowledge the power of culture for creating decent work and economic growth, reducing inequalities,*

protecting the environment, promoting gender equality and building peaceful and inclusive societies" (UNESCO, 2018). Within the 17 Sustainable Development Goals and their 169 targets, cultural heritage is considered to contribute to the SDG 4 (quality education), SDG 5 (gender equality), SDG 6 (clean water), SDG 8 (decent work and economic growth), SDG 11 (sustainable cities and communities), SDG 13 (climate action), SDG 14 (life below water), SDG 15 (life on land), SDG 16 (peace, justice and strong institutions) and SDG 17 (partnerships). Target 11.4 specifically calls for safeguarding cultural and natural heritage.

Culture and heritage are being mainstreamed into other sectors and even enshrined in seminal official texts like UN Habitat's New Urban Agenda which call for *"including culture as a priority component of urban plans and strategies"* (Art. 124). The sustainable turn in heritage is reflected in recent conceptualizations of heritage, such as Historic Urban Landscapes. By providing this new holistic framework for dealing with the multiple components within an urban setting that encompasses buildings, other urban features, the environment, a*nd underlying geography, the Historic Urban Landscape concept offers a model for reconciling "not only the urban multi-layered function, but also development agendas"* (Reed et al 2016, Van Oers & Pereira Roders 2014).

Driven by the United Nations-wide mission towards sustainable development, in 2015, the World Heritage Committee adopted the *"Policy Document for the integration of a sustainable development perspective into the processes of the World Heritage Convention"*. The policy reflects the earlier Budapest Declaration on World Heritage that was adopted in 2002 by the World Heritage Committee calling for appropriate and equitable balance between conservation, sustainability and development. The policy responds to:

"the need to achieve appropriate balance and integration between the protection of the Outstanding Universal Value of World Heritage properties and the pursuit of sustainable development objectives and called upon States Parties to ensure that sustainable development principles are mainstreamed into their national processes related to World Heritage, in full respect of the Outstanding Universal Value of World Heritage properties"

Reflecting the different dimensions threatening harmonious co-existence and sustainability in its broadest sense, the policy is framed by four dimensions: environmental sustainability, inclusive social development, inclusive economic development and fostering peace and security. With the threat of planetary collapse, environmental sustainability responds to *"ensuring a stable climate, stopping ocean acidification, preventing land degradation and unsustainable water use, sustainably managing natural resources and protecting the natural resources base, including biodiversity"* (UN Task Team on the post-2015 UN Development

Agenda, 2012). The need for greater social inclusion reflects critiques of World Heritage regimes as failing to consider communities, indigenous peoples and other key stakeholders. As World Heritage sites have seen the gap between have and have-nots grow larger, inclusive economic development has become more pressing, raising questions *"whether, in economic terms, [a given World Heritage space] promotes locally driven businesses, livelihoods and economies"* (Logan & Larsen, 2018). Finally, as war, civil conflict and violence are on the uptick, the need for peace and security becomes more fundamental, and also more elusive.

Thompson and Wijesuriya (2018) flags this broader perspective for World Heritage that is finally infusing into both heritage and development discourse and, to a certain extent, practice, as the third stage in the evolution of heritage conceptualization since the 1960s. From originally being confined in its own disciplinary silo with a bunker mentality in trying to defend monuments and silos, the future of heritage is now seen as being inextricably linked with larger realms of sustainability. As articulated by the Kyoto Vision drafted on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the World Heritage Convention in 2012: *"only through strengthened relationships between people and heritage, based on respect for cultural and biological diversity as a whole, integrating and intangible aspects and geared toward sustainable development will the 'future we want' become attainable."*

5. Reframing heritage management and governance

This transformative new perspective on heritage in its broader context throws light on the *"inadequacy of current approaches"* to heritage practice and of existing international heritage guidance (ibid). Despite the conceptual evolution which accelerated since the 1990s, heritage practice and heritage institutions are still deeply rooted in its earlier bedrock dating back to the Venice Charter.

The reorientation towards development goals unsettles heritage policies and practice from an association with aesthetic discourse. Similar to what Roy (2005) terms *"the aestheticization of poverty"* in the context of dealing with urban informality, heritage has been largely concerned with *"aesthetic upgrading rather than the upgrading of livelihoods, wages, political capacities"*. Within this emerging conceptual framework, the literature identifies the need for further development of both theory and methodology to actualize the integration of cultural resources as a fundamental tenet for sustainability (Pereira Roders, 2013). In addition, institutional capacities and mandates also need to evolve as well.

Boccardi (2018) singles out one key challenge as *"the mandate of heritage agencies and practitioners in this new approach since responsibilities are no longer limited to certain*

designated spots but extend in a capillary fashion over entire territories...'all deeply interconnected within the bio-cultural continuum'". In the face of increasingly complex issues and the shift from a purely heritage agenda to a larger development agenda, how are these literally antiquated institutions, comprising both organizations and their associated legal and technical armatures, able to govern World Heritage sites? How do specialized technical organizations, some with a century's worth of history in archaeological excavations or brick monument restorations, deal with issues outside their traditional comfort zone, including development issues? How do heritage practitioners, particularly those currently in senior leadership positions who came of age at the height of the Venice Charter, adjust to these evolving ideas? What kinds of disruptions are being seen in World Heritage governance systems, and do such disruptions affect the management authorities' ability to cope with the changing nature of conservation and management challenges, in response to the larger development agenda?

There is a profound implication for the practice of heritage management in terms of both institutional competency as well as individual competency. In defining a professional competency framework for World Heritage Sites in Southeast Asia, the experts convened by UNESCO Bangkok defined the bounds of what are deemed *"core competencies"* as being separate from the usual technical competencies associated with each professional stream (museum curatorship, archaeology and so forth). Instead, the core competencies take into account the ability to uphold laws and regulations; apply heritage policy, principles, process and ethics; deal with community, rights and knowledge; undertake heritage education and interpretation; and orient practice towards sustainable development. In addition to the core competencies, a set of managerial competencies were also defined, related to various aspects of organizational management such as financial and human resource management. Subsequent surveys of professional heritage management bodies and educational institutions producing heritage professionals revealed that most heritage organizations either at the level of entire organizations or at the level of individual practitioners were lacking mastery if not familiarity with a number of these core or managerial competences. Likewise, educational institutions were also doing a patchy job of exposing students to the entire range of these competencies as well. Confronted with these gaps, the majority of educational institutions contacted were still not convinced about the need to expand their offerings to align with these broader scope of competencies. Similarly, the heritage organizations indicated that they faced constraints in reconfiguring their staffing profiles and in acquiring additional competencies.

The management of disaster risks is a revealing example of the mismatch between the demands of the field and the existing capacity and orientation of heritage institutions. Within the World Heritage official discourse and procedures, disaster risks are still considered a relatively new emerging problem that site management agencies have been attempting to formulate responses to. It was only in 2007 that an official strategy was issued by the Committee, enjoining States Parties to enhance their readiness in dealing with disasters at World Heritage sites. In comparison, for more technical issues like stone conservation or wood conservation, modern conservation professional guidelines, standards and trainings have been developed over the past century. Despite an upswing in disaster events in the past decade, within the Southeast Asian region, to date, not all countries have taken up this issue. At most, site management authorities in countries with active UNESCO support have been able to produce a disaster risk management plan for a couple of World Heritage sites. The actual implementation of the plans, or other forms of policy-making or capacity building for either preparedness or response is even less. Moreover, there have not been specific legislation or regulations developed to support such engagement between heritage and disaster sectors. As a result, most World Heritage sites in the sub-region continue to be unprepared to deal with disaster risks as a result of this lack of institutional investment.

The combination of evolving heritage concepts, expanding management challenges and the increasingly high-profile issue of sustainable development leads to reframing heritage management and governance. From the original focus on technical conservation issues in the 1960s, the profession has moved into more multidisciplinary approaches, particularly touching upon environmental issues and adopting a more holistic systems approach to heritage management. With the growing recognition of living heritage, the importance of participation has been underscored, not only as a secondary thought but as a core process in all heritage governance dimensions. Finally, the broader perspective of sustainable development sees heritage as both a resource to be mobilized, as well as an enabler of sustainable development in various sectors. To put it another way, sustainable development of the heritage resource itself requires adding value to heritage, while ensuring that heritage contributes to the larger sustainable development of the local society and environment calls for heritage adding value to larger development processes.

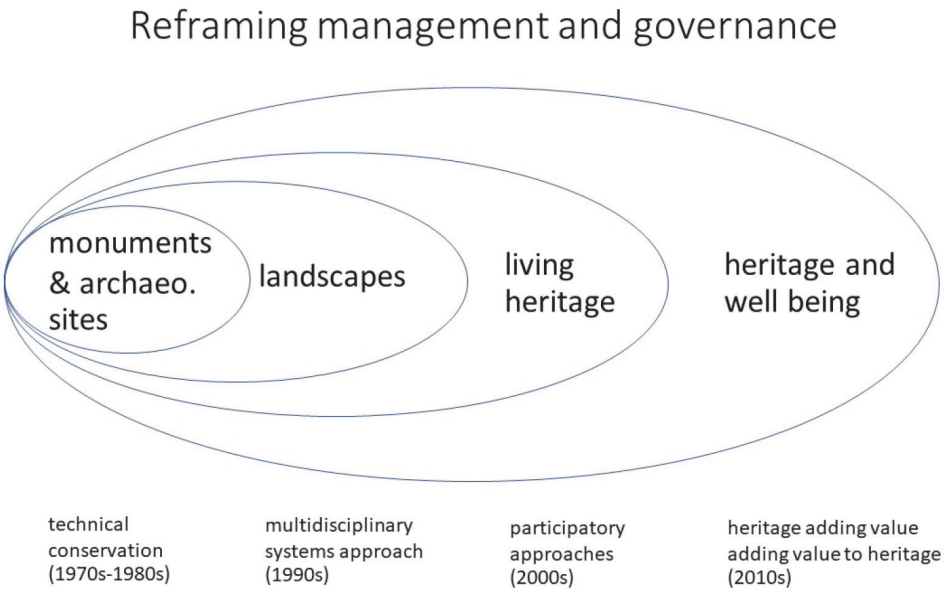

Figure 3: Reframing management and governance

The evolution in heritage concepts and practice away from purely technical concerns to embrace more complex issues with social and environmental dimensions and the sustainable development agenda implies that World Heritage management organizations should have a wider mandate than heritage. This applies both at the level of World Heritage sites as well as the international processes and organizations that govern World Heritage.

6. Policy implications for expanded boundaries of (World) heritage practice

As many World Heritage governance institutions have traditional mandates in conservation rooted in the Venice Charter era, they are stretched in dealing with expanding boundaries of practice brought about by new manifestations of heritage and emerging management issues. The sluggishness of change at many sites suggests that the current World Heritage arrangements for management and governance may not be effective in addressing root causes necessary to bring about systemic transformation. This paper re-examines the work of scholar-practitioners such as Jokilehto (1999) and Thompson and Wijesuriya (2018) to break down their conceptual and historical narratives of the modern heritage profession into three areas of expan-

sion in the boundaries of heritage practice: changes in heritage concepts, changes in heritage management issues, as well as changes in managerial or governance frameworks. In light of significant changes over the past fifty years both in terms of concept as well as practice outlined above, the following recommendations are identified:

• Organizations should be supported to move beyond conventional heritage conservation to deal with the greater complexity associated with expanding boundaries of heritage practice, particularly the multi-faceted and multi-sectoral nature of sustainable development issues. Fundamental shifts in cognitive frameworks need to be triggered, either by the international World Heritage processes or other mechanisms with sufficient visibility, impact and credibility. Such cognitive shifts must be coupled with learning, especially in the acquisition of new knowledge and skills pertaining to other issues. Current investments in institutional capacity building are still too narrowly focused on technical conservation issues or stand-alone management issues, and are not well-matched to the challenges of social, economic and environmental sustainability.

• As an alternative to creating heavy organizational structures which are slow to change and burdensome to maintain, new alliances could be encouraged as a way of addressing a growing range of issues in a more agile manner, bringing together actors from different backgrounds and specializations. Within these alliances, there should be a role for *"bridging organizations or individuals, who can link both formal and informal processes"* (Pahl-Wostl, Becker, Knieper, & Sendzimir, 2013). This will help ensure that gains from informal processes can feed into formal policy making and other procedures.

• Encouraging multiple actors to be involved in various aspects of heritage could create a healthy sense of competition, put in place necessary checks and balances, distribute risks and pool resources to address the widening dimensions of heritage practice. This includes organizations that may not have a statutory mandate or a pure heritage mandate, as well as civil society organizations. This includes widening the net to include organizations dealing with livelihoods, environment, youth, women and education, for instance, mirroring the various Sustainable Development Goals.

• Governments need to invest in overhauling heritage legislation and regulatory frameworks to be able to cope with new concepts and new management pressures. These have proven to be a significant stumbling block in transforming existing institutions to respond to new demands. New plans which do not have the supporting legislative weight and teeth cannot be implemented effectively otherwise.

• Ministries of Culture with their conventional heritage remits may not be the best home for World Heritage site management agencies, as they tend to treat problems as heritage problems requiring heritage solutions, which may not always be suitable anymore under current circumstances. Local governments with their more broad-based view of development issues may provide an alternative institutional base for dealing with heritage in a more holistic way, provided they are inculcated with commitment and capacity related to heritage.

• Official World Heritage processes such as Reactive Monitoring can be largely effective in initiating changes. But their narrow focus on technical matters does not provide the support needed to sites in terms of transforming their formal and informal governance structures to translate new learning and new plans into action. Official World Heritage processes need to look into the underlying political economy and institutional structures as well, which are needed to enable transformative change. Beyond the policy related to World Heritage and sustainable development, the dimensions of sustainable development need to be embedded in a statutory manner at all steps of the World Heritage process, from inventories, to identification of significance, to development of management plans, to monitoring. Issues related to local livelihoods, access to social services, environmental integrity need to be considered and explicitly addressed, not just in terms of mitigating negative impacts but in terms of creating pro-active change.

These recommendations are aimed at moving World Heritage institutions beyond their current techno-bureaucratic limitations to embrace larger concerns, particularly related to sustainable development. Beyond World Heritage sites, there is an implicit intention that these policy implications could be applicable to heritage studies more broadly. This is certainly the intention of the whole World Heritage project, which holds that *"World Heritage is exemplary and has implications for managing other less-known properties worldwide"* (Boccardi & Scott, 2018). That said, a caveat should be borne in mind as World Heritage sites are subject to specialized processes and higher stakes among related stakeholders and authorities. Other heritage sites may not be subject to similar scrutiny, and thus the way that change is initiated or the pathways that change occurs may be quite different for heritage sites that may have only national or sub-national recognition or none at all. This would be another avenue of research to be pursued in the future to establish more widely the way that heritage institutions in general are able to transform in relation to expanding boundaries of practice.

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