New Directions in International Heritage Management Research

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Dedication

To my wife, Denise Morelock, and my parents, Roger and Suzanne Adams, for their unconditional love and encouragement. Dedicated also to my son, Hans Desmond Adams, for whom I wish a world of possibilities.

Abstract

Given the proliferation of heritage management research in recent decades and the reputedly threatened status of heritage resources, it is surprising to consider how little is known about the actual disposition of immovable heritage worldwide. Particularly with regard to the non-Western world, we lack a systematic understanding of what heritage resources exist, what is happening to them and why. An analysis of heritage management literature reveals a lack of coherence within the discipline and a lack of correspondence between it and the material realities of worldwide heritage use. This dissertation seeks to balance the qualitative, particularistic and geographically biased tendencies of much recent scholarship by making the case for a more scientific, applied and strategic study. The author argues that a broadly conceived stewardship principle, despite its Western origins, can guide this intellectual realignment by eliciting a critical reappraisal of research priorities. Fundamental to this exercise is recognition of the global dimensions of heritage consumption and the uneven international distribution of heritage management capacities. Two studies, each based on secondary research, illustrate the implementation of the proposed framework while addressing important, overlooked problem areas. The first, based on comparative international cases, seeks evidence for the attainment of equity in sustainable archaeological tourism development in less developed countries. The uniform absence of equitable outcomes is interpreted as a predictable result of preexisting, entrenched, endogenous inequalities and is represented in terms of an original, phased model. The second study, an unprecedented, exploratory analysis of government involvement in underwater treasure salvage, is intended to reconfigure the evidentiary landscape of the ongoing debate between advocates of heritage preservation and Admiralty law. Filling basic gaps in our knowledge of this shadowy practice, evidence from diverse countries is used to classify government positions and to separate stated rationales from underlying motivations. Preliminary identification of a common sequence of development fuels novel reinterpretation of the significance of public/private partnerships for the exploitation of shipwrecked heritage.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

The 1966 passage of the U.S. National Historic Preservation Act was a watershed moment in the history of heritage management. In addition to the protection it offered to historic architecture, it brought into being the field of cultural resource management in the U.S. and informed the growth of public archaeology in government bureaucracies around the world. It is not surprising, given its newness, that the study of domestic heritage management only began to coalesce in the 1980s. It is even less surprising, given the lack of intellectual and institutional attention paid to heritage management between countries, that the study of international heritage management is still in its early days.

As evolving Western preservation philosophies gain more intimate international exposure, the universality of its tenets are coming increasingly into question. The notion of heritage management, with its assumptions and methods, is drawn in part from public policy and resource management traditions ill-suited to address the concerns of developing countries and indigenous and Eastern spiritual communities. The lingering, idiosyncratic trifurcation of architectural, archaeological and ethnographic approaches to problem definition and resolution which characterizes the Western public/private heritage management framework renders it impotent when confronted with full-spectrum, cross-cultural heritage crises, as occur in times of war, displacement and oppression. The conceptual tools required for ensuring the maintenance of cultural continuity, integrity and autonomy by Others must come from a pan-disciplinary, inter-ethnic dialog that is now scarcely a whisper.

A preeminent task of heritage research, to which I hope to contribute in the future, is the development of a coherent explanation of the day-to-day salience of cultural referents – a proof, as it were, of the criticality of heritage for group identity and global

cultural diversity. If it cannot be shown that the disarticulation of people, place, practice and belief has harmful, tangible and irrevocable consequences, then preservation advocates must resign their claim to represent anything other than their own passion. If, on the other hand, the value of heritage as variously defined can be convincingly demonstrated, it will constitute a scientific justification for political action, bringing with it the daunting opportunity to inform the allocation of scarce resources to the amelioration of complex global problems. Developing the empirical and intellectual groundwork for the comprehensive understanding such an enterprise requires - the business of international heritage management research - serves simultaneously to reveal why, when, how and where heritage matters.

The rubric of "international heritage management" resists definition, being as vast as it is vague. The 'elephants in the room' of heritage management – the larger empirical contours of heritage loss and management – may only be glimpsed obliquely and in piecemeal fashion. Especially with regard to Global South there is an overwhelming lack of syntheses, an absence of evidence, a preponderance of anecdotes. National heritage management capabilities are frequently exaggerated and threats minimized. Basic documentation is not simply missing; its production is, in some cases, actively resisted as a threat to the status quo. There is therefore a pressing need in this nascent field for basic, brick-by-brick knowledge production, substantiated generalization and causal explanation. Addressing this need means broadening our preoccupation with fascinating, individual sites to include consideration of the more abstract richness of population-level studies. It requires becoming comfortable with exploratory research, grounded theory, emergent design and abductive reasoning. It means, on occasion, relaxing one's evidentiary standards to accommodate important but fragmentary information drawn from less developed countries or pertaining to underground activities. Given current rates and scales of heritage loss, such as obtain in Chinese urban areas, it may be better to circulate important yet statistically unproven arguments while they are still relevant than to await the establishment of empirical irrefutability, at which point informed decision-making will be moot.

This tripartite dissertation is intended to convey my vision of what an applied, strategic study of international heritage management might look like while demonstrating the potential of research aligned with the common priorities of scholarship, stewardship and citizenship. The first article, which makes up Chapter 2, establishes my intellectual orientation and conceptual framework. The second and third, Chapters 3 and 4, are studies intended both to illustrate the principles put forth in the first and to constitute substantive contributions in their own right.

Chapter 2, The Ethical Fall Line of Heritage Research, has three parts: an assessment of our current state of knowledge, a proposal for a revised research enterprise and a discussion of the resulting implications. I contend that despite decades of academic and professional attention, there is an absence of research into the character, cause and context of heritage retention and loss at the meso- and macro-scales, especially with respect to countries of the global South. This lapse requires explanation, calling into question traditional heritage management research tendencies and their lack of correspondence to a rapidly worsening global heritage preservation climate. While this situation provides ample justification for a newly-envisioned research framework, a more pointed and productive argument may be made on the basis of the stewardship principle. A boilerplate component of the ethical codes of most professional associations of archaeologists and heritage managers, an actively interpreted stewardship principle demands a more broadly scoped, solution-oriented and global research approach. Among its many implications, it forces recognition of the complex, multi-scalar, global causal chains conditioning heritage loss and management and the uneven worldwide distribution of heritage threats and protections. Assembling evidence and explanations capable of informing policy, as is consistent with the dictates of the stewardship principle, requires development of a coherent, integrated research approach that focuses on trends among populations rather than particular sites. The second and third parts of my dissertation are intended as preliminary examples of this research approach.

Chapter 3, Interrogating the Equity Principle: The Rhetoric and Reality of Management Planning for Sustainable Archaeological Heritage Tourism, is a critical comparative analysis of archaeological tourism development in less developed countries.

Tourism development is routinely specified by international heritage management organizations as a means for ensuring sustainability in developing countries, but little attention has been paid to the degree to which such provisions actually promote equity, a central pillar of sustainability. Evaluation of academic tourism research literature shows that while equity in tourism development has been a recurrent prescriptive theme, the extent of its realization is an empirical black box. This article presents the findings of a preliminary study of tourism development outcomes drawn from a global sample of cases. Its unambiguous results prompt re-formulation of the core problem and potential remedies, supporting the creation of a generalizable model depicting the process by which inequality is reproduced through developing country tourism.

Chapter 4, Locating Government Interests in Treasure Salvage, is an international comparison of the rationales underlying treasure salvage concession-granting policies in developed and developing countries. Treasure hunting, trawling and development (dredging, pipelines etc) are the biggest anthropogenic causes of underwater heritage loss, none of which have been systematically studied. Lines have hardened in the debate over treasure hunting in recent years, with increasing international awareness and investment in submerged heritage management being matched by the international intensification of treasure hunting, which has seen the development of sophisticated technical, organizational and financial innovations. This study represents an attempt to circumvent the incendiary and anecdotal arguments characterizing the current stalemated discussions by modelling dedicated, empirical research focused on the governments who make treasure salvage possible. Through analysis of accounts drawn from every continent, the individual and institutional rationality of treasure hunting emerges, overturning the simple dualisms that have so far served to explain such practices.

It is hoped that the following papers stimulate discussion about the ethical dynamics and intellectual dimensions of cultural preservation, nurturing appreciation of the world of exciting research possibilities remaining to be explored.

Chapter 2

THE ETHICAL FALL LINE OF HERITAGE RESEARCH

Introduction

This paper is about the shape and direction of heritage management research. It is intended to raise general questions about the connections between scholarship, stewardship and citizenship while promoting a particular vision of an integrated research framework. In the first part, I build the case for an intellectual reorientation by assessing and contextualizing weaknesses in our current state of knowledge. In the second, I propose a revised research agenda and an accompanying conceptual framework. In the third part, I discuss the strategic implications of this revision for the future conduct of heritage management research, illustrating its potential with substantive examples.

According to the call for papers for the 16th General Assembly of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), UNESCO's advisory body on issues of immovable heritage, "In most countries around the world, policies and sound practices have been developed in order to protect and conserve tangible heritage, historic sites and material objects…" (Turgeon 2008 p. 4). It is the author's perception, in contrast, that in most countries, the policies designed to protect archaeological and architectural heritage are not backed up by sound practices. The reason for the discrepancy between the view expressed in the call for papers and the author's is less a matter of judgment than a lack of information by which to judge: there exists little reliable evidence with which to assess the disposition of archaeological and architectural heritage worldwide. Whether it concerns the composition, distribution and condition of heritage resources, the nature and

causes of the processes impacting them, or the performance of national and international heritage management regimes, our knowledge base is fragmentary and anecdotal.

What We Don't Know

A fundamental requirement of heritage management is knowledge of the formal qualities and spatial extent of resources to be managed. In many countries of Africa, Asia, South America, the Caribbean and the Pacific, however, archaeological and architectural inventories are inexistent or incomplete and outdated, while surveys to meet regulatory compliance are observed in the breach (Breen 2007, Folorunso 2000, ICOMOS 2002, World Heritage Centre 2003, 2004, 2005). As of 1993, one archaeologist claimed that several West African nations could claim not more than 50 identified archaeological sites (McIntosh 1993). Even in the extensively surveyed countries of North America data is partial, disparate and dispersed. A 2003 Canadian government report noted the absence of an inventory of archaeological resources located on federal lands (Office of the Auditor General of Canada 2003). In the United States, less than 12% of the 454 million acres of land under management by the National Forest Service and Bureau of Land Management, representing about 20% of the total land area of the U.S., has been surveyed for cultural resources (Jarvis 2006, 2008). At the state level, survey coverage is sporadic, varies widely in quality, employs differing methodologies and typological categories, and exists mainly in paper form. It appears inventories are further along countries such as England, Denmark, Sweden, and the Netherlands, but that for most of Europe, the process of completing, updating, normalizing, digitizing, and integrating survey data is still years in the making.

A systematic science of the creation, persistence and attenuation of heritage, for which surveys and inventories would logically form the basis, has yet to be developed. Outside of Western Europe, we are unable, except in the most general or tactical terms, to describe long-term physical and perceptual change in the heritage stock or to causally

link these to environmental and anthropogenic processes. While the impacts of looting and international archaeological tourism have often been noted, if not quantified, the profound and ongoing effects of infrastructure development, resource extraction, agricultural intensification, urbanization, modernization, industrialization and other activities remain largely unexamined. In the cities of East, South and Southeast Asia, South America and Eastern Europe, the pace and scale of urban (re)development has far outstripped the ability of researchers to document their effects. The status of submerged cultural resources, including the likely cumulative effects of dredging, bottom trawling and treasure salvage, is unknown in all but a handful of coastal areas. We know, in short, that countless sites have been eroded, demolished, plowed out, disarticulated and dug up, but almost nowhere can this loss be quantified or, crucially, placed in the context of larger social, economic, political and cultural processes. Consequently, there exist no objective measures with which to prioritize heritage threats by severity or heritage types by vulnerability. Notable exceptions include the English Heritage Monuments at Risk Survey, which used statistical sampling, field reconnaissance and historical documentation to examine causes and rates of loss of heritage resources by type (Darvill & Fulton 1998); and collaborative Pan-European research initiatives aimed at developing a synthetic understanding the impacts of agriculture (Europae Archaeologiae Consilium 2009) and climate change (Noah's Ark Project 2009) on archaeological resources.

Heritage management capacity has grown tremendously over the last half-century, with many countries having seen great bureaucratic and methodological improvements (Wily 2008, Chapman 2003). Yet even in the wealthiest nations, the efficacy of individual preservation programs and policies is rarely subject to reliable determination, due to an absence of established performance standards and longitudinal, outcomes-oriented research. We lack the ability, moreover, to comprehensively describe, taxonomize and critically evaluate alternative national preservation regimes in more than normative terms. Progress has been made in this regard within the European Union, but elsewhere, particularly in non-Western countries, systems remain sparsely documented at best. As Hilary duCros puts it: "When reviewing the professional literature and related internet

sites, it is evident that there are many practitioners who concentrate on regional or local-level disciplinary and thematic issues. However, this level of work rarely addresses CHM (cultural heritage management) as a multidisciplinary, multicultural activity that transcends borders." (duCros 2007). John Stubbs makes a similar observation concerning built heritage: "While many studies of cultural heritage conservation efforts in specific places – even entire countries – exist, this information has not been synthesized to show how accomplishments in architectural conservation in subregions of the world fit together to form a whole." (Stubbs 2009).

This information deficit is a colossal impediment to the disciplinary maturation of heritage management studies. More importantly, it obscures an ongoing crisis in the global stewardship of archaeological, architectural and other forms of cultural heritage, both tangible and intangible (ICOMOS 2005). That worldwide measures for heritage protection are more than counterbalanced by a wide and growing array of threats may be inferred inductively from the many site and state-level cases outlined in Heritage @ Risk, World Heritage Program documents and other governmental and quasi-governmental reports, as well as scholarly publications, conference papers, personal observation and news articles. This conclusion may also be corroborated through deductive inference based on extrapolation from the known worldwide incidence and typical effects of human activities such as dam-building, land-clearing, mining and unregulated development, and of environmental changes such as desertification, flooding and coastal erosion. The recent growth of domestic and international heritage management regimes masks the unprecedented cumulative cultural and natural toll of post-World War II economic and technological advancement - an epoch-making moment in modern heritage management history that is passing us by.

Under the status quo, public indifference, scholarly disregard and general ignorance of worldwide heritage loss are locked in a mutually reinforcing relationship. Clearly, responsibility for gaps in national archaeological inventories cannot be laid at the feet of what is a predominantly Western heritage management research community. It is equally

clear, however, that the current interrogatory modes of heritage management research are not capturing the full sweep of important problem areas. The second portion of this assessment of our current state of knowledge explores the intellectual tendencies underlying this state of affairs, framing the case for a revised research agenda.

The Eccentricities of Heritage Management Research

Heritage management literature exhibits the same philosphical bifurcation seen across the social sciences (Bishop 2007, Moses & Knutsen 2007). One approach, the interpretivist, is critical and theoretical. The other, objectivist, approach is positivist and practical. The latter takes institutionalized heritage management as a given and as something ontologically distinct from the many other possible uses of the past. It seeks to refine preservation methods within existing legal and bureaucratic frameworks. The former tends to problematize heritage as a social phenomenon, treating institutionalized heritage management as one among many more or less value-neutral forms of manipulating the past.

Objectivist, or naturalist, heritage management research includes the applied work of government and professional heritage managers, consultants and a modest but growing number of academics. It encompasses the products of heritage management – data, documentation, reports and plans – and prescriptions for how to do heritage management. Prescriptive literature is unself-consciously rational and empirical, tending to address legal, regulatory, procedural, methodological and technical issues. It deals with a broad spectrum of disparate topics including international law, economic valuation, site management, tourism development, museum design, community outreach, computer imaging, antiquities trafficking and materials conservation. From the objectivist perspective, the heritage appellation adheres innately to all surviving cultural traces, a small subset of which is prone to formal recognition. The value of the past is thus intrinsic as well as socially determined; preservation is an end unto itself, the value of

which is manifest. Notable examples of objectivist heritage management research include the work of Tom King, Henry Cleere, Willem Willems, Neil Brodie and Hilary du Cros.

Interpretivist, also known as subjectivist, constructivist or postpositivist, heritage literature consists of the work of academic archaeologists, anthropologists, cultural geographers, sociologists and others performing qualitative research on the social use and meaning of heritage. Informed by diverse perspectives, including post-structuralism (Carman 2002), post-processualism (Hodder 1991), symmetry (Schofield 2009), critical realism (Smith 2006), actor-network theory (McLean 2008), postcolonial theory (Liebmann 2008) and critical/social theory (Meskell 1998), this body of scholarship is distinguished by a shared appreciation for the perceptually conditioned and thus subjective nature of reality. Interpretivist researchers examine the power relations implicit in the creation and manipulation of heritage in terms of themes such as memory, identity, agency, materiality, performance and place. Prominent among those works pertaining most directly to heritage management are site- or national-level case studies highlighting the competing agendas in or against whose service heritage is mobilized (Breglia 2006, Castaneda 1996, Cheung 2003, Hamilakis 2007, Hancock 2008, Joyce 2003, Loukaki 2008, Mizoguchi 2000, Mortenson 2006, Munasinghe 2005, Peil 2005, Weiss 2007). From a subjectivist perspective, the value of the past derives from its contemporary social meaning. Heritage is thus designated or ascribed and preservation is a means, the value of which is conditional.

The tendencies toward practical prescription and critical description shown by objectivist and interpretivist researchers, respectively, have not brought about the comprehensive accretion of scientific knowledge concerning the changing disposition of heritage worldwide. The interpretivist research approach is critical and reflexive, addressing larger social, economic and political contexts, but tends toward qualitative particularization and theoretical abstraction. Objectivist research is more concrete and actionable, yet is restricted in scope and is exemplified by synchronic, methodological analyses. Both retain a Western geographic, cultural and intellectual bias and an almost

exclusive reliance on micro- and meso- spatiotemporal scales of analysis. Overall, they place much more emphasis on heritage use than disuse, on intervention than causation. There are exceptions, of course, in terms of scale, scope and/or orientation (Brandt & Hassan 2000, Breen 2007, Brodie 2002, Darvill & Fulton 1998, du Cros 2007, ICOMOS 2005, King 2009, Lambourne 2001, Murimbika & Moyo 2008, Schmidt 1996, Shepherd 2002, Simpson 1997, Stubbs 2009, Willems 2007, Winter 2007, World Heritage Center 2004), and the growing currency of blended approaches such as contextualism and scientific realism portends an eventual rapprochement between intellectual camps. It is true, moreover, that the discipline of heritage management studies is still young and developing. The fact remains, however, that important realms of inquiry continue to fall outside the eclectic institutional agendas, professional norms, and personal proclivities that define the field of heritage management studies – a field lacking a coherent disciplinary identity or unified sense of purpose.

In his 2002 book, *Archaeology and Heritage*, Carman warns the reader against accepting at face value prescriptive heritage discourse expressed in descriptive terms (Carman 2002). His point references what is one outward indication of the existence of deep, underlying ambiguities in heritage management research, the persistence of which inhibits recognition of its informational shortcomings. As the reactive, programmatic and resource-centric heir of Western compliance archaeology, objectivist research is predisposed to treat heritage management as the application of technical and regulatory responses to discrete, self-evident problems, rather than the open-ended investigation of the character, cause and context of heritage loss. Interpretivist researchers, in contrast, hold heritage management orthodoxy at a critical remove. They tend to emphasize its ideological baggage and eschew advocacy of particular institutions or regimes. The role of the interpretive social scientist is to describe "how heritage is done and the effects of doing it." (Carman 2002 p. 5). Their interest in heritage as a locus of power and identity predisposes subjectivist researchers toward consideration of socially visible sites of controversy and against vestiges whose vulnerability resides in their anonymity. The two intellectual camps' nominally shared 'heritage' purview obscures what are divergent,

although not mutually exclusive, aims: preservation for its own sake and preservation as a vector of social justice. Their apparent epistemological incompatibility masks what is, in reality, alternately constructive and deconstructive expressions of a shared empiricism (Bunzl 2008). It is rather the countervailing tendencies of interpretivism toward relativism and of objectivism toward universalism that most closely explains their latent tension. Like the progress of two people in a horse suit, then, these fundamental, largely unacknowledged propensities result in an idiosyncratic and ad hoc process of disciplinary structuration.

Re-envisioning the Research Enterprise

With its heightened appreciation of the social role of the past and the ethical implications of knowledge production, even the formerly 'pure' realms of archaeological research have assumed an applied dimension. The province of heritage – the contemporary use of past remains – and thus of heritage or heritage management research is situated even more squarely in the domain of social responsibility. The aspect of archaeological ethics that has garnered the most attention, at least within academia, is public engagement. In light of the worldwide loss of heritage, however, it is important to remember that all archaeologists belonging to professional associations are explicitly bound by ethical code to promote the cause of stewardship. While it has been overlooked, dismissed as a bromide or interpreted as a smoke screen (Smith 2008), the stewardship principle directly challenges the ambivalence of interpretivism and the circumscription of objectivism as they have been manifested to date, demanding confrontation with the voids in our knowledge described earlier.

The author contends that the vigorous enactment of a robustly re-interpreted stewardship principle can have resounding implications for the orientation and conceptual structure of heritage research. Taken as more than a platitude, the stewardship principle provides common ground for the conscientious contextualism and proactive pragmatism of

subjectivist and objectivist approaches, necessitating innovative, coordinated research into promising, previously neglected areas. Far from an ideological albatross, it has the potential to drive scientific advancement in the same way that other ethical precepts guide intellectual progress in fields such as conservation biology and public health. The promise of the stewardship principle thus lies not in its moral authority as an ethical principle but in its practical utility as an organizing principle.

If an imaginary stream of water were released from the top of a mountain face, it would follow the most nearly vertical course afforded by the contours of the slope, tracing out what in mountaineering parlance is known as the fall line. This concept describes the most direct line of ascent and is therefore referenced by climbers when choosing their route. With apologies to George Mallory, adherence to the stewardship principle suggests that we engage the mountain of heritage research not "because it's there", but because we care. Amid a vast and complex ideational landscape, commitment to the pragmatic realization of an ethical ideal offers clarity and alignment by permitting selective evaluation of alternate research paths based on their relative expeditive potential.

Key to unlocking the dynamism of the stewardship principle is recognition that it is injunctive and open-ended. According to the ethical code of the Society for American Archaeology, for example, "It is the responsibility of all archaeologists to work for the long-term conservation and protection of the archaeological record by practicing and promoting stewardship..." (SAA 2009). Individual formulations differ, but the ethical codes of most professional associations call not merely for the avoidance of harm to archaeological remains, but for proactive efforts to ensure their preservation. These efforts, moreover, are not restricted by institution, agenda or jurisdiction, but are unbounded in their cultural, geographic and definitional purview. This is emphatically not to suggest that Western notions of heritage management are or should be universally accepted, but to reaffirm the idea that access to one's past is a basic human right transcending boundaries and ideologies.

Understood as a trans-jurisdictional call to action rather than a mere point of professional etiquette, the stewardship principle forces recognition of the profound worldwide incommensurability between those forces inimical to and favoring heritage. This opens the door to a radical re-envisioning of the purposive summit of heritage management research: not to effect methodological refinement or to expose injustice and alterity but to understand the causes of and develop remedies for heritage deprivation as a global social pathology. The meaning of heritage deprivation will vary according to social and cultural norms, but in general, embraces wanton destruction, unilateral disposal, unjust exploitation, arbitrary reconstruction and involuntary neglect. A corollary of the aforementioned incommensurability is the need for the judicious allocation of scarce material and intellectual resources. The real-world mission implied by this lofty purpose – the ideal course against which our actual research path may be judged – then, is to proactively inform the *most expedient* resolution of the *most urgent* global problems. That the definitions of 'expedient' and 'urgent' will necessarily defy consensus is no obstacle but rather presents alchemical opportunities grounded in "the creative role of misinterpretations and misunderstandings in generating new meanings and practices in cross-cultural and cross-political contexts" (Rubertone 2008 p.28). The multi-faceted nature of heritage loss requires the pursuit of diverse and conflicting, yet broadly convergent, lines of inquiry; it is in jointly overcoming the practical, conceptual and informational obstacles met along the way that we encounter fresh opportunities for disciplinary growth.

An Integrated Applied Conceptual Framework

The scale, scope and complexity of the re-defined heritage management research challenge outlined above calls for the development of a coherent, collaborative study combining theoretical understanding of the long-term dynamics of heritage use with strategic, tactical, personal and practical lessons drawn from real-world preservation

challenges and outcomes. It must be flexible, emergent, pluralist and dialogical, encouraging criticism and encompassing dissent. It must be dedicated to the devolution of power and strengthening of formal and informal local preservation capacities, yet be able to articulate these with reference to larger-scale trends and opportunities. As an exploratory research enterprise, it should neither rule out nor presume the need for international preservation assistance in specific cases, nor should it presuppose certain sources, kinds and character of aid, which could include money, education and healthcare as readily as conservation expertise or information. As a guiding principle, it must encourage the participation and respect the ultimate authority of descendant peoples and local stewards in determining whether and how international support is afforded.

At its most basic level, addressing the worldwide loss of heritage requires hard-won knowledge of what is happening to heritage resources and why. It demands research that addresses root cause and informs policy, transcending the local and anecdotal and incorporating empirical evidence. It also necessitates qualitative research that provides balance and context, anchoring the production of knowledge in the shifting mosaic of individual experience. Finally, it calls for the intelligent prioritization of research aims based on the results of ongoing investigation into the relative vulnerability of heritage resources, severity of threats and efficacy of heritage management methods. All of these research streams could be productively united in an integrated, iterative conceptual framework successively linking the realms of space, time, meaning, intention and action across spatiotemporal scales.
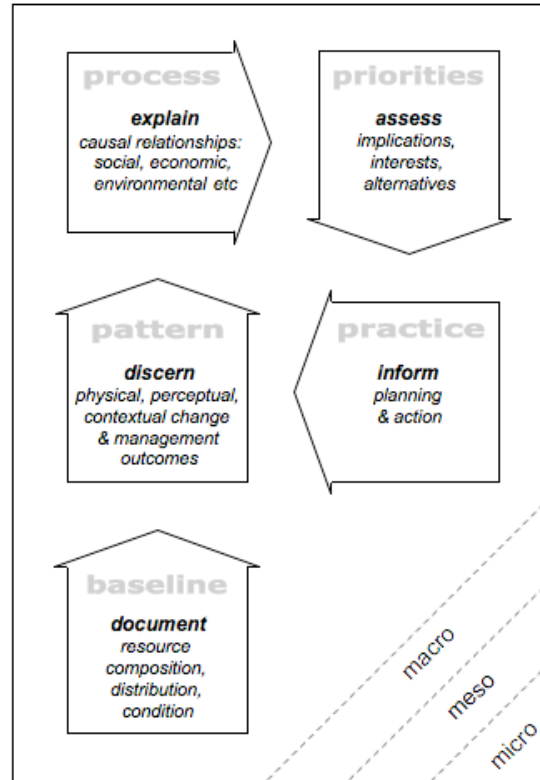
Figure 2.1 An integrated conceptual framework for applied heritage research.

Although the study of heritage management is rife with self-critique, the issue of its larger purpose and character - its conceptual framework, defined by Shields & Tajali (2006) as "a systematic way to organize inquiry" - has received little critical attention. In 1989, Mayer-Oakes called for a stewardship-oriented archaeological study based on three areas of responsibility: the resource, the research effort and the public (Mayer-Oakes 1989). In a 2000 article, Carman, in conjunction with Smith and others, proposed a new field of heritage research, conceptualized as a critical study of archaeological and heritage management practice (Carman 2000). Informed by Smith's earlier work (Smith 1993), this was a reaction against prescriptive/methodological approaches, emphasizing instead historical, contextual and comparative research into the implications of heritage management as a Western bureaucratic phenomenon. More recently, Darvill outlined an "archaeological scientia" comprised of narrative, strategic, indigenous and contemplative knowledges as a means of conceptually organizing World Heritage research (Darvill

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2007). In a 2007 book, duCros highlights the need for a multi-disciplinary, international study of cultural heritage management, dedicated, among other things, to elucidating the current and historical relationships between alternative regimes.

With its stewardship aim, the framework presented here superficially resembles that of Mayer-Oakes and is compatible with, but places more emphasis on the strategic component of, Darvill's conception. In scope, it subsumes both Carman's interpretive study of heritage management and the more objectivist and methodological approaches of duCros' and others within a larger field of inquiry that includes research into long-term processes of heritage creation and loss. What is key about the framework presented here, other than its applied focus, is that it is iterative and processual. It thus closely resembles the applied conceptual framework put forward by Salafsky et al to guide wildlife conservation science (Salafsky et al 2002). Developed independently, these two formulations are strikingly similar. For example, Salafsky et al see the question "How can we most effectively take action to achieve conservation?" as in part defining the purpose of research, a notion identical in spirit to the research mission proposed above. The other two research questions guiding conservation science, "What should our goals be and how do we measure progress?" and "How can we learn to do conservation better?" correspond to the iterative connection between pattern, process, priorities and practice that feature prominently in the author's schema. The existence of other similarities between what Salafsky et al term an "adaptive management" approach and the one being advocated here - including the identified need for multiscalarity, deep causal analysis and taxonomic identification of threats and solutions – validates the logic of the latter and demonstrates the underlying affinity between natural and cultural conservation research.

Universalism, Relativism, Risk and Responsibility

From a radical postmodern perspective, it might be argued that an applied, international study of heritage use, loss and management is inherently unjust because disproportionate Western influence will inevitably serve to reinforce the same hegemonic practices it is designed to remediate. At the crux of the universalist/relativist debate, the issue is less whether cross-cultural preservation is defensible but whether a Western-originating heritage management paradigm is suitable for all peoples, given cultural differences and historical North-South power dynamics. Among the basic assumptions of Western heritage management of which the universality has come into question are the materiality and monumentality of heritage, the value of heritage as a 'good thing', the need for its protection and the impartiality of core heritage management concepts, aims and methods. Byrne, for example, has described the international encroachment of a conceptually closed, hegemonic Western heritage management ethos (Byrne 1991). Smith has criticized a dominant Western "authorized heritage discourse" as a tool of sociopolitical control (Smith 2006). Atalay has observed that the imposition of Western cultural resource management strategies alienates descendant communities from their pasts all over the world (Atalay 2006, Rubertone 2008). Sofield sees residual cultural imperialism in the tacit transposition of Western heritage management ideals, most notably via the World Heritage program, to countries and cultures having different views on authenticity, culture, nature and aesthetics (Sofield 2009). The geographically unbalanced composition of the World Heritage List has been held up against the program's doctrine of "outstanding universal value" to argue that it serves to naturalize a an exclusively Western conception of heritage (Cleere 2001).

It is widely recognized in academic and international professional literature that the idea of heritage is culturally and historically contingent. Despite well-documented inter-cultural variation in attitudes toward the meaning and value, and therefore the proper treatment, of past remains, professionals from across the theoretical and international spectra have nevertheless adopted the word 'heritage' as a convenient term of art. The

degree to which it has universal applicability depends on its definition: understood as denoting exclusively classical and ecclesiastical architecture, for example, 'heritage' cannot claim universal relevance. Construed as referring more broadly to cultural expressions and their traces, however, it is less controversial – if relativist heritage research has shown anything, it is the universal importance of cultural referents in the formation and negotiation of identity. The pressing issue in international research and practice is therefore not whether what we refer to as heritage has value and warrants protection but rather how to reconcile conflicting preservation interests and approaches.

A full consideration of the tradeoffs of international heritage management as they pertain to various national- and local-level problems and practices is outside the scope of this discussion and must in any case await further research of the sort being advocated in this paper. Ultimately, the universalist/relativist debate comes down to a choice between flawed action and high-minded rhetoric. International heritage management institutions can be criticized as weak, elitist, Eurocentric, uncoordinated, and focused more on planning than on outcomes, among other things. Depictions of them as constituting a myopic global behemoth bent on a 'universalizing mission', carelessly eliding identities here and appropriating pasts there, however, are misplaced. 'International heritage management' is neither static nor monolithic, nor is it synonymous with 'Western' heritage management as seen in individual European and North American countries. Its flexibility and openness to change is amply demonstrated by its normative and operational track record. What influence UNESCO and its partners wield, furthermore, is predominantly one of moral suasion rather than political or economic coercion and is in any case only made available upon request.

To suggest that the international diffusion of Western heritage management norms and practices is chiefly a matter of hegemonic imposition is to paternalistically assume its uncritical or obeisant acceptance on the part of fully sovereign nations, many of which have their own longstanding preservation traditions. The tendency to mirror or maintain inherited Western legal and institutional heritage management structures by governments

in places such as Sub-Saharan Africa, South and Southeast Asia reflects ongoing, autonomous calculations of social, political, economic, administrative and logistical realities, such as centralized power structures, internal heterogeneity and competing socioeconomic priorities. While, as Byrne has pointed out, the conservation ethic does not have deep cultural roots in some non-Western countries, neither do the ruptures and reorganizations resulting from colonial occupation, exploitation and disengagement, which fundamentally altered inter- and intra-group cultural politics.

Postcolonial national regimes struggle to accommodate the diversity of heritage meanings and identities, ethnicities and agendas found among their constituents, a challenge that World Heritage listing and other forms of international intervention may serve to exacerbate. The primary problems faced by heritage stewards in most of the world, however, are public indifference and lack of resources, not the imposition of alien protection schemes. The wide adoption of Western heritage management tenets may be seen as a deliberate compromise on a developmental path toward more individually tailored approaches, an unfolding process observable in the promulgation of the Burra, Aoteroa and Xian Charters and the growth of alternative national, regional (Agbaje-Williams 2008) and indigenous forms of heritage management.

The argument for a more synthetic, international, solution-oriented research orientation could be based on general appeals to the reader's sense of social responsibility, as we have seen. Basing it instead on a standing, stated, disciplinary ethical commitment – the stewardship principle – makes for a more direct and compelling argument. It also provides an opportunity to underscore not only the progressive plasticity of the heritage concept, which characterizes the historical evolution of Western and international heritage management, but of the stewardship principle as well. The author's didactic choice in this article is to demonstrate how, within an applied, iterative research framework, even a monumentalist stewardship principle carries with it the seeds of its own refinement via the broadened awareness resulting from cross-cultural engagement. Along the way, it sets in train a journey of inquiry opening up new conceptual vistas,

engendering broader practical and intellectual engagement with ideas formerly at the fringe of cross-cultural research. In the third part of this essay, we explore a few of the most elementary consequences of this logical cascade.

Toward a Global Etiology of Heritage Use

Mountaineering competence entails not just technique but judgment based on dynamic understanding of larger meteorological, hydrochemical and topographical inter-relationships. Similarly, regarding the problem of heritage loss from a clinical and expressly international perspective, as is consonant with the spirit of the stewardship principle, permits recognition that far-flung episodes of heritage degradation conform to globally recurring causal patterns. Factors such as poverty, political corruption, organized crime, financial speculation, art collecting and technological diffusion, for example, are implicated in the despoliation of shipwrecks from the South China Sea to the Gulf of Mexico. Other causal relationships link food consumption habits in one place with irrigation-induced structural subsidence in another, industrialization in one place with pollution-induced delamination in another. These patterns are often not randomly occurring, but may be shared manifestations of larger social, political and economic processes. Potentially harmful infrastructural improvements such as roads, railways, canals, pipelines and power lines, for example, originate in relation to shifting global webs of lending, trade and investment. These, in turn, are conditioned by world historical trends toward political liberalization and economic integration.

The attainment of the heritage research mission means not just seeking to reactively minimize the negative consequences of human activities, but anticipating future threats and devising preemptive countermeasures. Despite the well-established need for locally embedded, bottom-up solutions, the incontrovertible existence of structured global interdependencies shaping heritage consumption belies the wisdom of solely and retroactively treating what may be the symptoms of larger maladies. It is simply not

possible to understand, let alone meaningfully counteract, heritage loss without the incorporation of a macro-scale perspective, something heretofore neglected in heritage research. This elementary observation spotlights the need for development of a multiscalar and trans-disciplinary causal science of heritage use capable of providing a deeper theoretical and potentially predictive understanding of the long-term fate of archaeological and historic resources.

By way of illustration, consider the implications of China's recent economic transformation - itself the byproduct of long-term cultural and historical processes - which has been accompanied by massive changes in the consumption and protection of tangible heritage. These include increased government-sponsored investment in domestic cultural resources management, the reconstruction of Buddhist temples destroyed in the invasion and occupation of Tibet and the touristic rehabilitation of historic villages such as Pinyao, Lijiang and Zhu Jia Jiao (Huang et al 2007, Kolas 2008, Wang 2007). They also include the destruction of large swathes of submerged heritage, due to coastal dredging associated with port expansion, the intensified looting of terrestrial and submerged sites to satisfy the tastes of a burgeoning Chinese elite and the wholesale demolition of historic urban neighborhoods in Shanghai, Beijing and elsewhere to make way for new residential and commercial development (Chao 2008, Qu 2008, Yardley, 2007). Further analysis of such interdependencies could shed light on the probable impacts of China's recently enacted rural land reform policy, which paves the way for large-scale agricultural intensification (Yardley 2008). At an international scale, insights drawn from the Chinese case and the collapse of the Soviet Union, which likewise occasioned tectonic shifts in heritage consumption, could adumbrate the likely consequences of regime change and market liberalization in countries such as Cuba, Myanmar and North Korea. Despite its almost unlimited practical and theoretical potential, such synthetic, multiscalar, inter-disciplinary research into the causal dynamics of heritage use has found few exponents.

Closing the Global Preservation Gap

A critical, geographically unbiased survey of the heritage landscape, as is consonant with an activist heritage research mission, reveals that national heritage management regimes vary greatly in robustness and that this variance is directly correlated with differing levels of wealth. Were one to compare national heritage management capacities using a proxy such as annual heritage management expenditures as a proportion of population or GDP, for example, one would find wealthy, mostly Western states at one end of a spectrum. At the other end would lay countries such as Cambodia, Colombia, Papua, New Guinea and much of Sub-Saharan Africa, whose heritage management capabilities are largely notional. For example, there are 10,000 archaeological sites listed for protection in India compared to Britain's 500,000, despite India's long occupation history and far greater size (ICOMOS 2005). While in 2004 more than $1 million was allocated for salary and operating expenses at Cahokia Mounds World Heritage Site in the U.S.A. (Esarey 2004), only 2 of 18 World Heritage states parties from sub-Saharan Africa reported having regular heritage budgets as of 2002 (World Heritage Center 2003). Only half the World Heritage sites in the region had functioning management plans; a third had computers and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Guinea, Eritrea and the Central African Republic had no heritage legislation whatsoever.
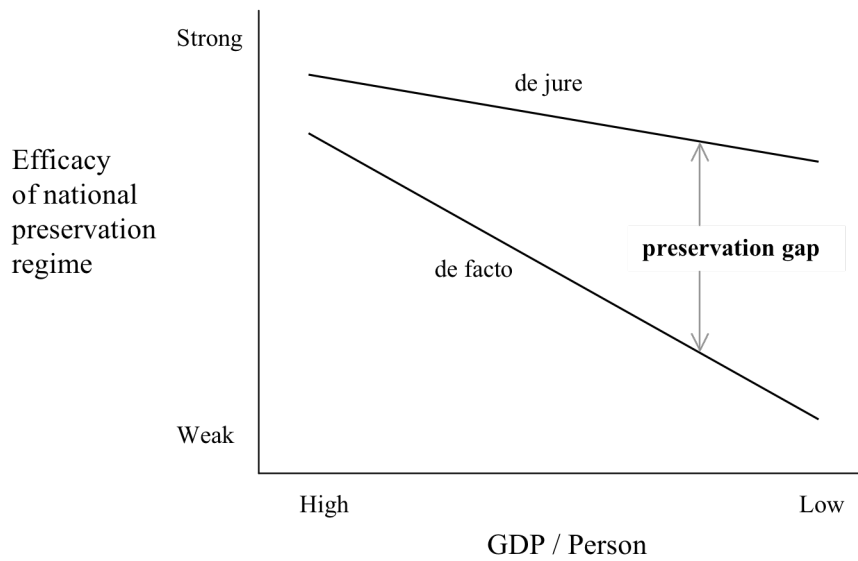
Figure 2.2 The global disparity in heritage management capacities.

The uneven global distribution of heritage management capacity may be conceptualized in terms of the gap between de jure and de facto preservation, which tends to be widest where poverty and inequality are greatest. Precise delineation of this relationship is hampered by the same lack of evidence that is a core premise of this paper. One international measure of governmental accountability, however, the Global Integrity Index, clearly shows a pattern in the non-implementation of national legal frameworks that is clearly, if not exclusively, correlated with economic status (Global Integrity 2009). Leaving aside the many other possible correlations between poverty, corruption and bureaucratic inefficiency, we may observe that domestic heritage management capacities vary not just in absolute terms but in relation to each country's heritage stock, of which, in monumental terms, a number of poorer countries are particularly well-endowed (Netzer 1998). Further circumstantial evidence is supplied by diverse individual accounts of systemic non-compliance with what are often inadequate national preservation laws due to the lack of resources (Asombang 2000, Breen 2007, Henson 1989, Kiryakov 2000, McIntosh 1993, Myles 1989, Norton 1989, Rasamuel 1989, Stokin et al 2008). That this intuitively obvious and critically important rift in the global preservation landscape

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remains largely un-remarked and unexplored speaks volumes about the intellectual biases of contemporary heritage management research. Further research is needed to clarify this model and to reconcile it with the possibility that well-funded Western regimes, such as those of England, the United States and Japan, while awash in gray literature, do not effectively preserve sites (Darvill & Fulton 1998, King 2009, Okamura 2000).

The existence of the preservation gap means that the 'marginal utility' of incremental heritage research is far greater in Laos or Lesotho than in Germany or Japan. An informal review of a leading international heritage research journal, however, shows that almost three-quarters of its articles address European, North American and Australian contexts. Moderating this preoccupation with the West and shifting our attention to Southern, and especially less developed, countries is not only morally pragmatic; it also promises to be epistemologically transformational. Confronting the researcher with fresh practical and conceptual complexities, consideration of heritage preservation in the incredibly diverse countries of the global South promises to broaden our scope of inquiry and force re-evaluation of deeply held assumptions about the meaning and conduct of heritage management. It allows us to see that the core issues animating a Eurocentric study of heritage management may be peripheral with regard to countries whose priorities reflect wildly different cultural, historical, social, political and economic circumstances.

The Practice of Preservation and the Preservation of Practice

The same moral logic that justifies closer examination of the global South in general and developing countries in particular demands heightened solicitude for threatened indigenous heritage. Analytical engagement with the plight of the Yanomami, Kondhs, Karen, Penan and other marginalized cultures facilitates the establishment of a comprehensive epistemological framework encompassing the full range of cultural expressions and the full wisdom of the global heritage community. It also exposes a fundamental disjuncture between the practice and the preservation of heritage. Manifest

in the oxymoronic expression 'living heritage' and in debates about competing authenticities, this disjuncture comprises the central challenge of cross-cultural preservation. It is exemplified by the instrumental application of logical abstractions such as 'intangible heritage' or 'oral tradition' to describe what to an indigenous person may be thought of as "life" or "self," or by use of the term "cultural landscape" to denote what is perceived emically as "ancestral home, place of origin and universal center."

In societies for which the movable and immovable, tangible and intangible, cultural and natural are inextricably linked, there are less discrete heritage values than there is a transcendent value attaching to the active maintenance of the cultural whole within which individual places, objects, activities and beliefs find meaning. For those facing displacement and forced assimilation, it is not heritage resources or categories are at stake, but cultural survival. The indiscriminate transposition of Western heritage management doctrine to indigenous groups facing sudden, wholesale and imposed change thus imposes a semantic equivalency that renders incidental and negotiable what is to the population in question immediate and existential. In focusing on formal content rather than functional interrelationships, it mis-casts the definition and thus the criticality of the core problem, invoking a methodological inevitability that forecloses pursuit of more aggressive, holistic measures designed to mitigate, rather than accommodate, change. The result may be the preservation of heritage at the expense of culture.

The sense of detachment evident in Mallory's famous justification for attempting Everest, referenced earlier, contrasts meaningfully with the attitudes of his Tibetan porters, for whom his efforts seemed superfluous, if not transgressive, given the mountain *Chomolungma's* cultural and spiritual immanence. The paradoxical premise of the Western heritage management paradigm is that public disregard for the latent social value of certain phenomena warrants authoritative intervention to effect their preservation. Heritage is in this context relict, vestigial and dormant, situated on the periphery of the broader social consciousness. Institutional preservation may thus be seen as the clinical assignation of placeholder value to cultural impedimenta on behalf of an abstract public

by bureaucratic functionaries. This forensic, technocratic and materialist orientation renders Western preservation ill-suited to accommodate the vital, fluid and embedded inter-functionality of heritage in certain traditional, spiritual and indigenous contexts.

The active role of the past in the exceptionally resilient traditional culture of Bhutan, for example, suggests that formal preservation is theoretically irrelevant where an informal, organic practice of heritage is a core aspect of cultural reproduction. The overriding aim of stewardship is properly, therefore, the preservation of cultural autonomy, integrity and continuity, qualities from which heritage value and significance derive.

Conclusion

As set forth here, prosecution of a closely interpreted stewardship principle leads in due course to a revelatory re-appraisal of its own philosophical basis. By encouraging cross-cultural engagement it exposes the limitations of Western heritage management, rendering suspect its acceptance as an emerging global standard (Byrne 1991, Carman 2002, Sofield 2009) and evolutionary end state (du Cros 2007). Such assumed universality hinders realization that as default arbiters of culture change, Western heritage practitioners must themselves adapt by learning how to anticipate, plan for and help communities respond to disruptive episodes of change rather than simply chronicling what is being lost. Still, reassurance may be found in the progressive accommodation of diversity and complexity that defines the recent history of international heritage management, a la UNESCO and affiliates. Its unfolding trajectory – from reactive, elitist, monumentalist and materialist toward proactive, collaborative, comprehensive and holistic – has largely been influenced by accumulated experience in Southern and developing country contexts. There is thus every reason to have faith in the long-term adaptive potential of the international heritage management establishment. The question is what will be lost in the interim.

The metaphor of the fall line has been used here to show how proactive, deliberate, global operationalization of the stewardship principle can lend purpose, direction and relevance to heritage research. Re-casting the research mission, it calls for the cohesive development of an applied global science of heritage use capable of informing the prioritization and resolution of immediate preservation problems. It thus forces remediation of our own ignorance about the global reality of heritage loss and of the disciplinary tendencies despite which it has persisted. Ultimately, though, adherence to any ethical code, including the stewardship principle and its corollaries, must rely not upon exhortation or calculation but personal conviction.

The story of our time is that of collective awareness catching up with the cumulative impacts of individual actions. Realization that we are the authors of our own calamity has brought us to the intersection of ethics and self-interest, the convergence of theory and practice, the threshold between mounting responsibility and fleeting opportunity. The scale, complexity and urgency of problems such as species decline, environmental degradation, economic turbulence and climate change have led researchers from across continents and disciplines to adopt coordinated, synthetic and applied research programs. The study of heritage management, caught in an eddy of disinterest or denial, has yet to follow suit. Perhaps a second look at the stewardship principle will show that it is not just a faded disciplinary calling card, but an invitation to join our colleagues in a cooperative global enterprise dedicated to the achievement of long-term social and environmental equilibrium.

Chapter 3

INTERROGATING THE EQUITY PRINCIPLE:
THE RHETORIC AND REALITY OF MANAGEMENT PLANNING
FOR SUSTAINABLE ARCHAEOLOGICAL TOURISM

Introduction

Within the field of international archaeological heritage management, tourism is tacitly accepted as the handmaiden of sustainability. Despite the documented risks of tourism at heritage sites, tourism development is often a core component of - if not the motivating factor behind - international management planning for monumental archaeological and historic sites in less developed countries (LDCs). Sustainable management plans include provisions for the economic inclusion of host communities that are designed to ensure equitable distribution of tourism benefits. Such provisions commonly find expression through financial, technical and organizational assistance for the establishment of locally-based, tourism-oriented enterprises. These include cultural industries, such as handicraft production and performances, and small businesses, such as shops, guesthouses and guide services.

It could be argued that these tactical measures for achieving socioeconomic equity have little more than symbolic value, given the vanishingly small proportion of overall tourism revenues they represent. As one researcher asks: "A crowded craft market may be a visual testament, but how much money is actually being earned and how many are actually employed?" (Hawkins, 2007, p. 359). To be sure, a rising tide of tourism-based prosperity may benefit even the most marginal groups. Yet there is ample reason to question the efficacy of international efforts to sow the seeds of equitable tourism development.

It is the contention of the author that the tacit assumptions and implied claims characterizing this important dimension of heritage management have for too long escaped critical scrutiny. Not only may current measures to achieve equity be perceived as token gestures, but historical indifference to their outcomes fosters a complacency that serves to legitimate, rather than ameliorate, inequitable development. The sheer preposterousness of the idea that the World Heritage Committee, for example, would take official action in response to the elite monopolization of tourism benefits at a listed site is itself an indication of the current state of ambivalence surrounding the concept of equity.

Archaeological destinations provide a unique window on the issue of inequitable tourism development. They often retain profound, deeply rooted cultural significance, yet their fragile, non-renewable, and localized character renders them susceptible to exclusion and monopolization. As primary markers of social identity, they are subject to ideologically motivated manipulation. Since their core cultural and historic values are not readily apparent to the casual observer, they require a relatively high degree of touristic intermediation and interpretation. This makes them especially prone to misrepresentation and commodification. Their aesthetic and affective appeal, moreover, invites touristic exoticization and cultural objectification, processes linked to inauthentic reconstruction, looting, intellectual property rights infringement and other problems.

The goal of this paper is to highlight the need for more rigorous approaches to research and planning for equitable LDC heritage tourism development by critically exploring the gap between the rhetoric and reality of sustainability as it applies to archaeological heritage. First, the uncomplicated role of equity in the normative discourse linking sustainable preservation, tourism and development finds contrast here with the clouded treatment it has received in the research community. Then, consideration of real-world cases drawn from diverse World Heritage sites provides insight into the efficacy of international management planning for sustainable archaeological tourism development (IMPSAT) in LDCs, informing the creation of a generalized model of tourism development inequality. Shifting the focus of the methodological discussion from intervention to outcome, finally, leads to re-definition of the core problem as one of power relations rather than planning techniques, a move with

far-reaching philosophical and practical implications for the future conduct of heritage management. While these implications are most directly relevant to archaeological heritage tourism in LDCs, they apply to heritage resources broadly and to tourism development wherever inequality may be found.

Aspiration: the Normative Nexus of Tourism, Preservation and Development

This study concerns the activities of a predominantly Western array of public and private actors and institutions engaged in archaeological, architectural and cultural preservation around the world – what is here referred to as international archaeological heritage management (IAHM). These include quasi-governmental organizations, UNESCO advisory bodies, Bretton Woods institutions, international NGO's, private foundations, national governments, museums, universities, private consultants and others. UNESCO is the hub of this constellation, wielding global influence through normative, operational and technical means. It is an originator, aggregator and promulgator of heritage management best practices, which, in the form of protocols, standards, published guides, training sessions, conferences and the like, it disseminates throughout the IAHM community. Through the mandatory requirements of the World Heritage program, for example, UNESCO wields direct influence on the form and format of heritage management planning in member states.

Through instruments such as the 2004 World Tourism Organization (WTO) Hue Declaration on Cultural Tourism & Poverty Alleviation, UNESCO and its partners acknowledge that archaeological heritage management, tourism and socioeconomic development share a strong and symbiotic relationship (UNWTO, 2004a). Archaeological resources are central to the touristic appeal, and thus the economic welfare, of countries such as Mexico, Guatemala, Jordan, Egypt, Greece, Sri Lanka, Zimbabwe and Tunisia. Tourism to Machu Picchu and the Inca Trail accounts for 4-6% of Peru's annual GDP (Calder, 2004), for example, and 28% of tourists visiting Angkor stated that the site was the sole reason for their trip to Cambodia (Ravinder and Phuong,

2004). Indeed, most of the untapped growth potential in global archaeological tourism is in less developed, former colonial states in South America, Africa, Asia and the Pacific. Of the twenty fastest growing LDC tourism destinations over the years 1990-2000, the top five - Cambodia, Lao PDR, Iran, Myanmar and Vietnam - have significant cultural and archaeological tourism appeal (Roe et al, 2004).

A core principle of the sustainability concept, which has become paradigmatic within the international management planning community, is equity. According to the 1987 Brundtland Report, sustainable development is defined as progress that meets present needs without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs (WCED, 1987). In this influential formulation, sustainable development has three components: economic growth, environmental protection and social equity. More recently, Redcliffe and Woodgate (1997) succinctly explain sustainability as the application of the principles of futurity, equity and holism to the ecological, sociocultural and economic realms. The WTO contemporary definition of equity in the context of sustainable development states that it should provide "…socio-economic benefits to all stakeholders that are fairly distributed, including stable employment and income-earning opportunities and social services to host communities, and contribute to poverty alleviation." (UNWTO, 2004b). The International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) International Cultural Tourism Charter and the World Heritage Sustainable Tourism Program use similar language to call for the economic inclusion of local communities and the poor (UNESCO, 1999, 2008).

The goals of human development, heritage preservation and tourism are bound up in mutually reinforcing, practical and idealistic relationships that find common expression in the institutional rhetoric of sustainability. Equity has thus become a default objective of international tourism development management plans. The question is the degree to which it is being achieved in practice. Before turning for answers to the consideration of real-world cases, let us examine the verdict of tourism development researchers.

Ambiguity: Uncertain Appraisals of Equity as Outcome

The idea of equity has been invoked consistently, if obliquely, in tourism research literature. The persistence of international socioeconomic inequality was the central problem that dependency theory sought to explain, for example, and distributional justice was a fundamental theme of early research on LDC tourism impacts (Britton, 1982; de Kadt, 1979; Smith, 1989). As the scholarly conversation turned from negative effects to remedial forms of tourism, the ascendance of the sustainability concept saw equity assume a permanent place in LDC tourism development discourse. Among development agencies, this was reflected in the emphasis placed on pro-poor tourism and bottom-up planning approaches. In academia, the theme of community participation gained prominence, an ideal for which equity is both aim and enabler.

A challenge facing the researcher attempting to gauge the success of IMPSAT, however, is that very little has been published on the relationship between planning objectives and corresponding socioeconomic outcomes, especially in LDCs. The emphasis in community tourism research is on what should be done rather than what is being or can be done (Joppe, 1996; Timothy, 1999). Equity is thus usually referred to in a prescriptive sense, as a corollary of participatory decision-making and a precondition for the allocation of benefits. Descriptive treatments of LDC tourism development equity, on the other hand, tend to be qualitative and anecdotal, emphasizing the effects, rather than the reproduction, of inequality. While extremely useful, descriptive typologies of community participation (Li et al, 2007; Okazaki, 2008; Selin & Chavez, 1995; Tosun, 2006) deal in logical categories rather than empirical realities.

In the absence of robust, empirical research, the efficacy of IMPSAT is unclear. A review of the mostly indirect references to this topic in tourism research literature reveals a spectrum of impressions ranging from cautious optimism to extreme pessimism. Among the former must be counted the many discussions of alternative tourism implicitly assuming that sustainability is attainable through the application of some correct formula. These often equate inclusiveness with equity, specifying normative 'laundry lists' designed to ensure participation from a cross-section of society (Inskeep, 1991; UNWTO,

2004c; Walker, 2009). Also in this category are prematurely laudatory assessments of projects experiencing early-stage tactical success (Joshi & Rajopadhyay, 2007).

Some researchers have taken an explicitly darker view, not only doubting the equitability of IMPSAT in LDCs, but questioning whether it is possible under prevailing circumstances. The idea that tourism development in LDCs is inherently unequal is not new (Brohman, 1996; de Kadt, 1979; Greenwood, 1989; Harrison, 1992; Mowforth & Munt, 1998). Indeed, the observation that the harms and benefits of tourism are unevenly distributed has been widely acknowledged (Bandara, 2001; Harrison, 1992). Various researchers have suggested that the potential of tourism development for equitably benefiting communities and reducing poverty remains unproven (Joppe, 1996; Hawkins, 2007; Prentice, 1993), oversold (Butler, 1993; Taylor, 1995) and illusory (Bianchi, 2004; Manyara, 2007; Tosun, 2000). It has even been suggested that marginality is itself a tourism commodity (Azarya, 2004), that sustainability initiatives have been damaging (Butler, 1993) and that "tourism planning as aid has contributed to, rather than ameliorated, dependency" (Burns 1999 p. 344).

The question of the performance of IMPSAT is one not simply of academic or historical interest, but is crucial to an understanding its future prospects. While diversity of opinion is a sign of disciplinary health, the vagueness surrounding this issue is an important failing of academic and institutional heritage tourism research. In a preliminary effort to dispel this conceptual fog, discussion now turns from the normative and ideational contexts to the observed reality of LDC archaeological tourism.

Actuality: Comparative Cases

A rigorous assessment of tourism development equity would ideally involve a multi-sited, multivariate, longitudinal study. The researcher unable to conduct such an enterprise is forced to consider whether useful insights may be obtained through the analysis of secondary sources. A review of academic and professional heritage management – as opposed to tourism – research literature addressing LDC IMPSAT

outcomes reveals a similarly unpromising propensity for the prescriptive, qualitative and anecdotal. Despite these limitations, however, a subset of these accounts provide useful test cases since they offer explicit, diachronic appraisals of equity at sites that are known to have been subject to sustainable planning practices. While consideration of such cases does not permit statistical generalization, it does support analytical generalization by providing insight into trajectories of inequality at diverse archaeological heritage tourism sites (Yin, 2009).

Equity refers to the even or proportional distribution of a resource or opportunity among members of a population. While the emphasis here is on the allocation of economic benefits and opportunities, it is important to note that because all of the documented impacts of tourism – the environmental, social, cultural and physical, as well as the economic – are interrelated, they should ideally be accounted for in any overall assessment of equitability. Given the scope and complexity of the issues under consideration, and the volume of past literature addressing the international dimensions of inequality, the accent here is on the local, regional and national levels.

The primary vehicles for translating sustainability principles into site-specific directives are management plans. These generally include provisions designed to promote socioeconomic equity, as previously mentioned, but omit reference to corresponding mechanisms for post-mortem measurement and evaluation of results. In the absence of such evidence, analysis here proceeds from the null hypothesis that such plans do in fact achieve their objectives. The goal here is thus to test the implicit assumption that IMPSAT equity provisions have been effective. The comparator employed is the developing or newly industrializing nation-state; the unit of analysis is the archaeological – and, in one instance, historic – site and surrounding community. The embedded unit of analysis is tourism development equity, the measurement of which, due to the character of the evidence, is necessarily informal and subjective.

Materials consulted for the case studies included UNESCO and ICOMOS reports; academic heritage tourism and heritage management books and journals; government reports and news items. In order to be included in this analysis, a property had to be an archaeological/heritage tourism site in an LDC that is known to have been subject to

international sustainable management planning and for which explicit, substantiated, retrospective reference to equitability by one or more professional or academic sources could be found. All eligible sites the author was able to discover have been included and all happen, not coincidentally, to be World Heritage sites. It is unquestionable that further research would reveal additional candidates for consideration. In the event, the cases selected for analysis are intended to be internationally representative, their number reflecting the relative scarcity of pertinent documentary evidence and the desire to compensate for empirical weakness with qualitative breadth. The aim was not to showcase diverse, predetermined aspects of tourism development but to gather evidence capable of supporting a search for patterns. The repetition that occasionally results is thus meaningful in and of itself.

The iconic Inca site of Machu Picchu, Peru, has experienced explosive tourism growth in recent decades. The cessation of armed conflict, the opening of new air routes and its 1983 inscription on the World Heritage List have led to a massive increase in visitation since the early 1980's. Despite the creation of two site management plans, pressure from the World Heritage Committee and the 2005 initiation of a major international infrastructure development project, tourism development at Machu Picchu has been called an 'anti-model' of sustainable development (Arellano, 2006). Against a backdrop of uncontrolled growth, opportunism and tourism-induced social, cultural, economic, and environmental ills, tourism development at Machu Picchu has been riven by conflicts. These have pitted locals against tourists, government officials and regional in-migrants. The rapid growth of tourism at the site has resulted in physical and perceptual deterioration, crowding, crime, pollution, price inflation and the uncontrolled growth of settlements within protected and/or landslide-prone areas (Earth Island Institute, 2006; McDonnell, 2006). Although the World Heritage Committee in 2007 expressed satisfaction at recent preservation measures, the selection of Machu Picchu as one of the "Seven Wonders of the Modern World" promises to increase the annual tourist load, further straining the already loose enforcement protections.

A number of factors call into question the equitability of tourism development at Machu Picchu. First, the Peruvian government has practiced centralized, exclusionary decision-making in awarding tourism contracts, planning for tourism development and using the site for financial gain. Examples of this include disregard for the interests of the indigenous Quechua, the controversial granting of concessions for helicopter and cable car access, the damaging use of the site for a beer commercial and the imposition of prejudicial access restrictions that was met with popular protest (Barby, 2005; McDonnell, 2006). Second, local Peruvian porters have been exploited by their employers, until recently carrying heavy loads for low wages, without adequate healthcare (Inka Porter Project, 2007). Third, the Peruvian government has consistently displayed apathy in its implementation and enforcement of protective measures, a frequent cause of contention between the World Heritage Committee and the Peruvian National Institute of Culture (World Heritage Committee, 2005). Fourth, extra-local entrepreneurs from Cuzco and Lima have dominated tourism-related market opportunities, to the detriment of local residents.

Few countries have received as much attention from international development agencies as Cambodia. As the pillar of Cambodian tourism, mainstay of the Cambodian economy, and symbol of national pride, the sprawling, 9th-15th Century Khmer capital of Angkor has recently been the object of numerous international preservation initiatives. The year 1994 saw the conclusion of a landmark exercise in heritage site management planning with the publication of the Zoning and Environmental Management Plan for Angkor (ZEMP). Sponsored by UNESCO and created by a multidisciplinary team of international experts, the ZEMP was represented as a model of contemporary heritage management planning.

Shortly after the plan was completed, one expert presciently observed that "…these plans and studies presuppose some level of goodwill and rational self-interest, when in fact Cambodia is fraught with bickering factions, ever underpaid officials, often subject to influence peddling, and a business and development community unsympathetic to regulatory controls…" (Chapman, 1998). The truth of this assertion was borne out when

ZEMP authorities calling for the orderly introduction of European hotels were completely blindsided by the uncontrolled incursion of Asian hotels. One researcher has described how this tidal wave of tourism development swept away plans for sustainable development, leaving behind a socioeconomic landscape of peaks and valleys (Winter, 2007). The demands of rampant, unplanned growth now exceed local capacities for waste disposal, electricity and water supply. International efforts to stimulate grass-roots, tourism-oriented businesses have had success, but are dwarfed by rising levels of inequality between poor, local residents and in-migrants with greater expertise and resources. Despite the massive influx of development aid and tourism revenue, Siem Reap province remains Cambodia's third poorest - and one of the poorest in Asia (Winter, 2007).

Although it has been proclaimed a Honduran success story, an internationally sponsored attempt to update the management plan for the Classic Maya site of Copan, Honduras, shows that the planning process is vulnerable to the same power dynamics it is intended to address (Mortenson, 2006). Due to high stakeholder diversity, overly ambitious aims and a lack of familiarity with the local socio-political context, international experts failed to effectively represent, let alone reconcile, the concerns of local groups. Between 1998 and 2000, the archaeological site was taken over twice by indigenous Maya Chorti seeking land concessions and once by park employees seeking higher wages.   Both protested their exclusion from the economic benefits of area archaeological tourism by the Honduran Institute of Anthropology and History and the Ministry of Tourism. As of 2003, moreover, tourism-related growth had outstripped the provision of water, electricity and sewage disposal in the town of Copan Ruinas (UNESCO, 2004). At a larger scale, regional planning for the five-nation Mundo Maya tourism project has also neither involved nor profited local individuals.

A centerpiece of the Chinese government's commitment to tourism as a growth industry, the Old Town of Lijiang, Yunnan Province, has come under tremendous development pressure since its 1997 inscription on the World Heritage List. In the five

years from 1996 to 2001, annual visitation to the village of 25,000 increased from 1 million to 3 million (Zhao, 2005). During this period, the governor of Lijiang Prefecture was quoted as saying: "Our local culture, customs and the spirit of Lijiang are now seriously at risk from too many tourists suddenly coming here." (Crampton, 1999). Indeed, the congestion, commodification and uncontrolled growth seen at Lijiang have made it an object lesson for the downside of heritage site 'disneyfication' (Michael, 2007). Along with higher prices, the loss of public space, the appearance of prostitution and overwhelmed water and sewage systems, a massive influx of opportunistic Han ethnic outsiders has crowded out local entrepreneurs (Li & Shao, 2005). The culture of the indigenous Naxi residents is being eroded by touristic misrepresentations of traditional forms of food, music, writing and visual arts being peddled at more than 2,000 souvenir shops and other tourism enterprises, 70% of which are owned by in-migrants (Crampton, 1999; Su & Teo, 2009; Wang, Y., 2007; Zhao, 2005). While residents chafe under what some perceive as oppressive architectural restrictions, government authorities provide insufficient funds for conservation. In response to its recent transformation, tourists have come increasingly to bypass Lijiang in their search for historic authenticity (Zhao, 2005).

Koutra has analyzed the structural inequalities of tourism development at the 15th-18th Century fortified trading posts of Cape Coast Castle, Elmina Castle and Fort St. Jago in Ghana. She observes that the social and economic benefits of tourism are not equitably distributed among the residents of local communities and that current patterns of international aid and dependency may only be expected to reinforce poverty and gender inequality (Koutra, 2007). According to a US/ICOMOS management planning expert, the "hit-and-run" bus tours typifying visitation to the site(s) contributes little to local economies, leaving poor, local residents to languish amid decaying infrastructure (Comer, 1999). Revenue from entry fees goes directly to the minister of finance, despite the sites' advanced state of disrepair and polluted surroundings (UNESCO, 2004). Koutra argues that tourism development at these sites, and in Ghana in general, has been designed and controlled by foreign experts whose overly elaborate master plans were

doomed due to unrealistic assessments of local conditions and the absence of local financial and technical resources. Despite international efforts designed to assist community members in taking ownership of preservation and development, local residents regard the World Heritage sites with apathy and alienation.

The magnificent 8th Century Indonesian Buddhist stupa of Borobudur occupies an important place in the history of IAHM as the subject of an early, complex, UNESCO-led conservation campaign. Recently, Wall & Black set out explicitly to compare an internationally-formulated site management master plan with its real-world effects. They found that while the planned archaeological park had been implemented, exclusionary planning, forced relocations and disruption of spiritual practices made it a prime example of global culture displacing local (Wall & Black 2004). Hampton has described the authoritarian, top-down approach to tourism development taken by the Suharto regime, whose "overtly anti-participatory" stance (Dahles, 2000, p. 158) sparked popular protest in 2003 with the proposal of a large-scale commercial development adjoining the site (Hampton, 2005). Blocked from access, local vendors took to crowding the entrance and car park, causing chaos and congestion (Boccardi et al, 2006). Hampton catalogs the barriers separating local community members from equitable market access. These include their exclusion from the planning process, lack of knowledge and capital, inter-ethnic and inter-class rivalries, extra-local competition, state appropriation of tourism revenues, corruption, and mercenary governmental policies.

Analysis: Endogenous Explanations for an Elusive Equity

"if development consists of the promises made by various aid agencies and financial institutions as they have sought to promote tourism as an agent for human development over some four decades, then it seems not to have worked."

(Burns, 1999, p. 17)

The preceding cases support the assertion that LDC tourism benefits are disproportionately allocated to powerful, mostly extra-local actors, while tourism harms fall disproportionately upon poor, local individuals. In so doing, they arouse skepticism regarding the prospects of IMPSAT to produce socioeconomic equity. This is not to deny the many benefits of tourism, but to qualify their distribution: the gulf between growth and development is most likely to entrap those who lack social and economic mobility. While it could be argued that plans aiming simply for the economic inclusion of local populations are immune to this criticism, economic inclusion is an empty goal unless it represents meaningful, lasting change.

The author was able to identify no comparably reliable cases evincing equitable outcomes in the form of ongoing intra-local control and just remuneration for all. The strongest positive example concerns the historic rural village and World Heritage Site of Xidi in Anhui Province, China, where control over the tourism development process by an elected villager's committee has brought significant communal economic benefits (Ying & Zhou, 2007). The increasing domination of decision-making by a local elite, however, disqualifies it, illustrating how idealistic the goal of equity may be. The few further references to ostensibly equitable outcomes at otherwise eligible properties were found to be unsubstantiated, anticipatory or negated by subsequent events.

The uniformly negative cast of the case studies could reflect methodological shortcomings or the underreporting of positive results. There is ample reason to believe, however, that the cases provide a generally representative picture of conditions across LDC archaeological tourism sites. At the very least, their findings suggest that tourism development in environments of inequality must be assumed to reinforce this dynamic unless otherwise proven. In the absence of convincing longitudinal data to the contrary, therefore, none of the putatively sustainable international LDC tourism development initiatives undertaken over the past decades should be assumed to have fulfilled the equity principle.

The proximate reason for this state of affairs is that sustainable management planning rhetoric is filled with prescriptions that are unworkable in LDCs because they

presuppose the existence of Western-style civic, legal and regulatory environments (Burns 1999). As Tosun puts it:

"…it is arguable that the principles of sustainable development have been developed in and by developed countries where different and far better economic, legislative and political structures are in operation than in LDCs."

(Tosun, 1998, p. 608)

Traditional responses to the shortcomings of tourism development planning have emphasized the tactical revision of project designs to better ensure participatory decision-making. This focus reflects the fact that outside planners exercise little, if any, control over the distribution of tourism benefits. Critical research on LDC stakeholder consultation shows, however, that meaningful participation, let alone the equitable allocation of benefits, is an elusive goal regardless of planning provisions (Aas et al, 2005; Joppe, 1996; Li, 2007; Mortensen, 2006; Ryan, 2002; Simpson, 2008; Timothy, 1999; Timothy & Tosun, 2003).

The patterns of inequality uniting the cases suggest a deeper explanation for IMPSAT failure. The ultimate reason is to be found in the present "…market conditions, macro-economic imperatives and… socio-political pathology" (Tosun, 2000, p. 629). As researchers studying tourism at the World Heritage site of Luang Prabang, Laos concluded, community involvement is a developed world concept and may not be practicable in environments of centralized decision-making, ineffective bureaucratic structures, social fragmentation, and conflicting goals, as are frequently encountered in LDCs (Aas et al, 2005).

The disjuncture between planning goals and outcomes is thus indicative of a more fundamental gap between planning assumptions and host country conditions. Shifting the focus of discussion from exogenous planning techniques to endogenous socioeconomic contexts allows for re-conceptualization of the core issue as being not about IMPSAT efficacy but the persistence of host country inequality. The ambiguity surrounding this

subject in tourism research literature may thus be seen to reflect conflicting assumptions as to whether LDC inequality is incidental or entrenched.

The cases presented here support the latter view, that tourism development fuels already deeply embedded, preexisting inequalities (de Kadt, 1979; Liu, 2003; Mowforth & Munt, 1998). They suggest further that the absence of a "genuine developmental determination" on the part of national authorities and the presence of firmly rooted power imbalances at every level of the LDC tourism supply equation *precludes* the true economic empowerment of disenfranchised populations (authors italics) (Tosun, 2000, p. 628). What is being argued, then, is that not only has LDC IMPSAT not produced equity, it will not; the primary reason is not flawed planning per se but the imperviousness of inequality to outside influence. While it is beyond the scope of this paper to catalog or explain LDC power imbalances, we may productively explore the idea that inequality may be an intrinsic, if not institutionalized, aspect of society.

Inequitable tourism development outcomes at Machu Picchu, Angkor, Copan, Lijiang, Cape Coast Castle and Borobudur were neither accidental nor aberrational. The vectors of inequality – the assets, understandings and institutions that enable the exploitation of difference – have deep and venerable roots. At the largest spatial and temporal scales, the uneven interdependencies of the world economy and the lingering effects of colonialism, for example, constitute tectonic sources of inequality. At the national or cultural level, caste systems, gender roles, religious differences and social hierarchies, while perhaps not perceived emically as prejudicial, perpetuate distributional injustice. Similarly, ethnic prejudice contributed to the disaffection of indigenous peoples in tourism development at Lijiang, Machu Picchu, Borobudur and Copan. Other examples of structural sources of inequality include Guanxi, "the utilitarian use of personal relationships," a concept deeply rooted in Confucianism, which enables inequitable tourism development in China (Li, 2007, p. 121) and social norms requiring deference to authority which preclude true participatory planning at Borobudur and elsewhere in Indonesia (Hampton, 2005; Timothy, 1999).

Structural vectors of inequality provide fertile ground for the systemic misuse of power. Top-down activities such as mining, logging, land redistribution and

infrastructure development, for example, may have resounding differential impacts, skewing the socioeconomic playing field upon which tourism development unfolds. The topography of power varies from country to country, but the private sector typically dominates the process of tourism development in LDC destinations (Singh et al, 2003). This tends to produce token public participation and favors unplanned, unsustainable development, as has been seen at Angkor and Cape Coast Castle. In other cases, due to weakness in the private sector, government plays a larger role (Jenkins & Henry, 1982; Zhang et al, 1999; Richter, 1989; Scheyvens, 2003). The prospects here are no better, given that only 18% of the worlds nations qualify as full democracies and nearly a third are authoritarian regimes (Economist Intelligence Unit, 2008). Government control often yields short-sighted, overly centralized, and insensitive tourism development as seen in Peru, Honduras, Mexico, Egypt and Turkey (Tosun, 2006).

China offers a prime example of how government and private sector interests may collude in inequitable heritage tourism development (du Cros et al, 2005; Huang et al, 2007; Kolas, 2008; Li, 2004; Yamamura, 2004). There, market liberalization and privatization have led to cooperation between regulators and public/private tourism development companies focused solely on profit-driven growth. The centralized, top-down, exclusionary planning associated with this approach is implicated in the failed implementation of tourism development plans across China (Lai et al, 2006). Accounts describe how land considered valuable for tourism development is appropriated from local residents through deceptive contracts or cash payments (Kolas, 2008). In one case, provincial authorities granted exclusive tourism development rights for a historic village to a private corporation which took 95% of receipts, leaving 4% to the township government and 1% to the community (Ying & Zhou, 2007). By attaching additional conditions to private development rights, such as investment in unrelated programs, government officials incent developers to compensate for this lost revenue by demanding higher tourism returns at the expense of the local community (ibid.). Due to co-profiteering private developers and national, provincial and municipal authorities, scant tourism income is allocated for conservation needs (Li, 2007). The overnight demolition of historic buildings and the touristic reconstruction or complete fabrication of heritage

sites by such enterprises is commonplace (du Cros et al, 2005; Sofield, 1998; Wang, S., 2007). Moreover, such elite-controlled 'historic' preservation schemes emphasize physical setting over socio-cultural context, disrupting local social systems embedded in traditional spatial relationships (Wang, S., 2007).

The foregoing provides but one example of the pervasive, yet largely undocumented role of corruption in LDC tourism development (Duffy, 2000; Hall & Page, 2000; Tosun, 2000). Although corruption is endemic in LDCs (Transparency International, 2009), its influence on tourism remains largely undocumented. It is implicated in each of the cases above and has been reported in places including India (Satish, 2008; India Times, 2001), Macau (BBC, 2007), the Phillippines (Hall & Page, 2000), the Solomon Islands (Radio New Zealand International, 2008), Guinea-Bissau (Euromonitor International, 2007), and Belize (Duffy, 2000). In his trenchant critique of tourism development equity, Tosun refers to the clientelistic monopolization of tourism benefits by international tour operators and local and national elites at a Turkish tourism destination (Tosun, 1998). He and others argue that LDC tourism development elites tend to view community participation as threatening or irrelevant (Dahles, 2000; Tosun, 2000). This justifies the circumvention of zoning guidelines, the monopolization of concessions, the preferential steering of tourists to favored businesses, the illicit trade in antiquities and other harmful practices. Unfortunately for IMPSAT, then, corruption belies the presence of powerful, subversive stakeholder interests outside the knowledge or control of foreign experts.

This discussion has spanned the gap between tourism development equity as an ideal, an assumption and an illusion. Consideration of diverse cases has led to the suggestion that inequality is less an artifact of ill-planned tourism development than a predictable manifestation of larger power asymmetries that are largely immune to outside influence. Despite the limitations of this study, it offers an example of the sort of synthetic research needed to expose the scope of the challenge at hand. Meeting this challenge requires not only understanding the 'what' and 'why' of the vectors of inequality, but also developing conceptual models of how inequality is reproduced in the context of tourism development.

Abstraction: Modelling LDC Tourism Development Inequality

While each episode of LDC heritage tourism development is unique, the common threads in the foregoing cases indicate that the reproduction of inequality may be understood in terms of a single, generalizable progression. The Model of LDC Tourism Development Inequality offered here, which expands upon and formalizes Hampton's synthesis of Butler and Cohen's work (Butler, 1980; Cohen, 1982; Hampton, 2005), employs an original configuration of process, scale and sequence to represent the under-provision of equity in less-developed countries. It is based on two principles: that equity is by definition relational and processual; and that, given current patterns of corruption and capital accumulation, there is an inverse correlation between the relative status of poor, local individuals (vis a vis the overall apportionment of benefits) and the scale of tourism development.

The notion that progressive, scale-dependent, localized decline is inherent to tourism development has been expressed in other models, including Butler's original formulation of the Tourism Area Lifecycle (Butler, 1980). It is also integral to Doxey's Irridex, Ashworth's model of the Dilution of Place Identity, Russo's model of the Spatial Allocation of Tourism Costs and Benefits and Fan, Wall and Mitchell's model of Creative Destruction (Ashworth, 2000; Doxey, 1975; Fan et al, 2008; Russo 2002). Successively unequal outcomes are also strongly implied in the escalating inter-scalar conflicts of authority characterizing Keller's Hierarchies of Control and Capital Input (Keller, 1987). In a sense, all models of tourism development incorporating the ideas of imposed change and/or differential impacts are models of inequality. None of the models mentioned above, however, though they describe an unequal, evolving insider/outsider opposition, attempt specifically to explain the rise of inequality in LDCs.

More specifically, the tourism development model presented here differs from previous efforts in three essential ways. First and foremost, it identifies, defines and sequentially inter-relates the primary mechanisms of widening divergence, taking into

account regional in-migration and intra-local difference. Rather than describing a rigidly occurring sequence of events, it is intended to capture a set of essential relationships. It postulates five phases of development, each corresponding with a shift in scale and a representative process of (dis)enfranchisement. It is important to bear in mind that while these phases bear resemblance to those of Butler's TALC, they are not intended as a conceptual overlay; this model is an attempt to explain how marginalization unfolds, not to represent the tourism development process per se. Second, it reflects the increasingly skewed inter-scalar distribution of costs and benefits, be they social, economic or environmental, that is a function of tourism growth. This is the meaning of the variable size and shading of the boxes in Figure 1. Third, it captures the hierarchical, polarizing socioeconomic realignment that accompanies the successive arrival of ever-larger capital inflows as these are expressed through the changing composition of key economic stakeholders. Note that it is not assumed that all destinations pass through all phases.

Scale: Local Regional National International

Phase 1
Engagement
  peasant

Phase 2
Competition
  peasant
  small owner

Phase 3
Dilution
  peasant   laborer
  laborer
  small owner small owner

Phase 4
Discrimination
  laborer   laborer   government
      small owner large owner
  small owner large owner investor

Phase 5
Degradation
  laborer   laborer   government   large owner
      small owner large owner
  small owner large owner investor   investor
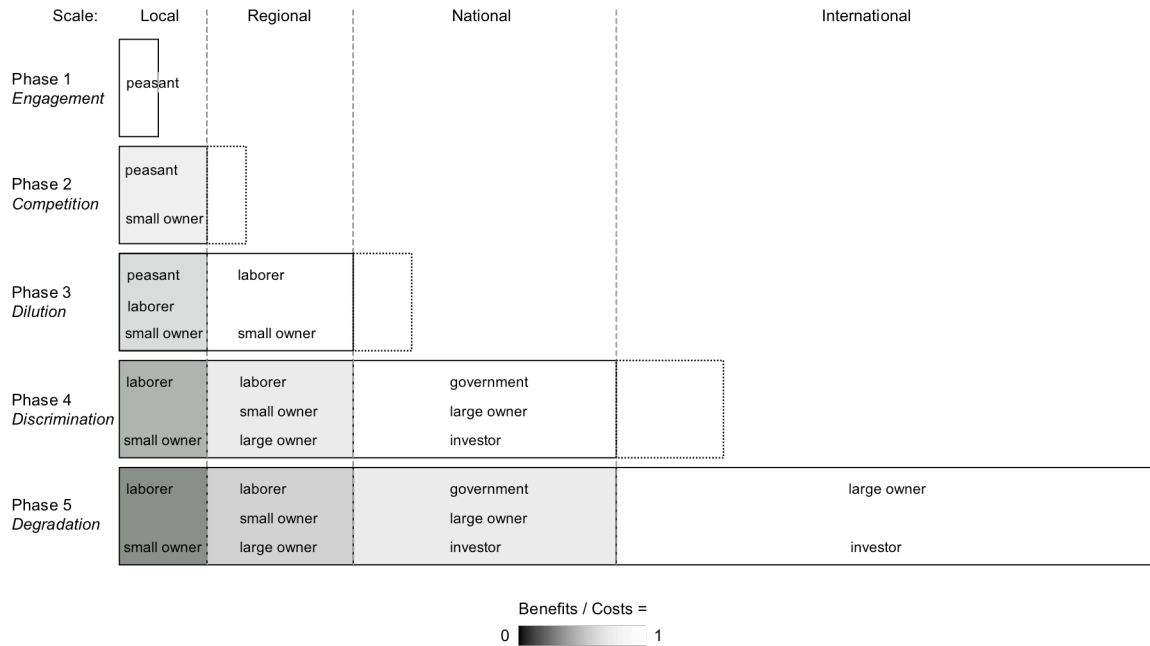
Benefits / Costs =
0 ▬▬ 1

Figure 3.1 Model of LDC Tourism Development Inequality: representative roles and
relative impacts.

The reproduction of inequality at LDC heritage tourism development sites may be ascribed to four basic processes: competition, dilution, discrimination and degradation. These processes are, in reality, neither discretely sequential nor scale-specific, but are here ordered by the phase in which their effect becomes determinative.

Competition is personal, direct and accessive. It refers to the differential ability of certain actors to exploit market opportunities based upon their access to technical, financial, political and other resources. The ability of better-educated local individuals to find employment, for example, may reinforce discriminatory tendencies, but reflects the exigencies of supply and demand rather than unfair practices. Competition originates at the local level and continues throughout the development process.

Dilution is impersonal, indirect and proportional. It refers to the decreasing proportion of tourism benefits accruing to local populations over time as extra-local actors capture increasing shares of the tourism market. This effect is exacerbated by the

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difference between the exponential growth potential of leveraged investment versus the arithmetic and geometric potentials of wage labor and direct sales. Dilution becomes a significant factor at the regional scale, becoming ever more pronounced as development reaches national and international scales.

Discrimination is personal, direct and accessive. It refers to the selective apportionment of access to tourism-related opportunities based on differences of class, race, ethnicity, gender etc. It involves both the mutually preferential treatment of individuals within a patronage network and the imposition of sanctions against groups or individuals through prejudicial planning, regulation, licensure, fees, contracting and so on. It may manifest itself in the form of forced relocations, prohibitions against itinerant enterprises, arbitrary appropriations, and other measures. Discrimination occurs independent of scale, but may become institutionalized in Butler's consolidation phase.

Degradation is impersonal, indirect and contextual. It references the long-term, spatially concentrated deterioration of socio-cultural, economic and environmental conditions, the effects of which are felt most strongly among community members and the poor. It encompasses the damage and disruption caused by inflation, social polarization, crime, economic re-structuring, cultural commodification, deforestation, congestion, pollution, infrastructural failure, and myriad other tourism impacts. Depending on one's perspective, degradation may originate with the arrival of a single tourist. Since its effects are cumulative and compounded with tourism volume and intensity, however, it is here associated with the late, international phase of development.

The phases of the model proceed as follows:

Phase 1 (Engagement). Corresponds loosely to Butler's *Exploration* Phase. The initial arrival of small numbers of tourists induces a shift in local lifeways toward the informal provision of tourism services such as transport, food, guiding and accommodation. The barriers to market entry are at this stage relatively low.

Phase 2 (Competition). Corresponds loosely to Butler's *Involvement* Phase. The arrival of more tourists further reorients the local economy and begins to attract opportunists from neighboring areas. Some of these new entrants possess motivation, knowledge, skills and capital that enable them to capture a significant share of tourism profits. This reinforces competition and incipient polarization among community members.

Phase 3 (Dilution). Corresponds loosely to Butler's *Development* Phase. As the costs of rent, property, regulatory compliance, licensure and bribery increase, small, informal businesses become squeezed out of the market. Greater opportunities and higher barriers to market entry increasingly favor well-positioned outsiders, attracting an influx of predominantly regional, but also national, public and private players. The proportion of overall tourism revenues available for capture by local individuals declines commensurately.

Phase 4 (Discrimination). Corresponds loosely to Butler's *Consolidation* Phase. Centrally planned strategies designed to guarantee market access, possibly through the actions of semi-private investment corporations, result in an influx of capital, increased regulatory intervention and the preferential awarding of contracts and transference of land. This further marginalizes local residents and the poor, whose legal, economic and physical access to heritage tourism sites becomes sharply reduced. Class and ethnic prejudice may justify their removal and political suppression, leaving hawking and other micro-scale enterprises as the only viable options for independent employment. Hotels, shops and restaurants established by extra-local elites employ lower-skilled individuals in menial jobs, supplying their own experienced professional staff from elsewhere. Rising fees, taxes and price inflation increasingly offset local-level gains from tourism. As the seasonal and permanent population grows, demand for water, power, waste disposal and other infrastructure may begin to outstrip local capacity, the consequences of which disproportionately affect poor, local populations. National-level private and

governmental control of tourism development hardens even as international speculative investment begins to erode their primacy.

Phase 5 (Degradation). Corresponds loosely to Butler's *Stagnation* and *Decline* Phases. The rising influence of international tourism providers characterizes the culminating phase of tourism development (Harrison 1992). Whether driven by trans-national corporations seeking new market offerings or domestic authorities and entrepreneurs seeking capital, expertise and access to tourists, the ascendance of international investment accelerates the transference of control from the local poor to the global elite. Since developed country tourism operators supply large volumes of tourists – and revenue – they become arbiters of demand, competing with each other to influence and anticipate market trends. LDC tourism authorities thus become subordinated to foreign corporations whose annual earnings may exceed their own GDP many times over. The growth of mass tourism spurs greater efforts at commodification, exploitation and intermediation. Increasing adherence to developed country quality standards leads tourism providers to recruit more foreign expertise. Foreign exchange leakage reaches a crescendo at this stage, running as high as 70% (Akama & Kieti, 2007). Ultimately, overexploitation exhausts the competitive potential of the tourism resource, resulting in disinvestment and the movement of tourism flows to other locales.

Antinomy: The Faustian Bargain of LDC Tourism Development

It has been argued in this paper that while tourism may bring growth, it is less likely to bring about equitable socioeconomic development. That this distinction is so frequently lost in the tumult of tourism development bespeaks a fundamental divergence of priorities between donor agencies, LDC governments and heritage managers. To many heritage management professionals, tourism is the horse that pulls the cart of preservation. From the perspective of the UN or the World Bank, however, cultural preservation and tourism are twin horses pulling the cart of socioeconomic development.

For debt-ridden LDC governments, preservation is secondary to the priority of tourism-driven growth, as measured in foreign exchange earnings, tax revenues, job creation etc.

Given this assortment of competing agendas, there is bound to be confusion and conflict over issues of law, policy, access and management. What this means in practice is that successful tourism development initiatives face a slippery slope of increasingly chaotic growth and imposed change – a race to the bottom in which the prize ultimately goes to the powerful and the finish line is resource exhaustion. The resulting economic, socio-cultural and environmental transformations may, in hindsight, be dismissed as having been inevitable (Harris, 1993).

Despite the many documented acts of local resistance against inequitable tourism development, some community members have greeted it with enthusiasm. Although relegated to the least desirable occupations in what is clearly unsustainable tourism development at Mombasa, Kenya, local residents expressed unequivocal support for the opportunities it has brought to their community (Akama & Kieti, 2007). Other researchers have described community members "bent on short-term economic exploitation" of a section of China's Great Wall, despite the unequal division of tourism benefits at a comparable nearby site, where extra-local entrepreneurs captured much of the profit (du Cros et al, 2005, p. 184). In another case, rural Chinese villagers protested their exclusion from a government heritage tourism project that entailed forfeiture of their land – and traditional livelihoods – in exchange for a one-time cash payment (Li, 2004). This phenomenon does not solely reflect the urgency of material want: in parts of Asia, for example, the direction of tourism development is shaped by shared visions of modernity that privilege certain actors and agendas over and against those seen as representing backward, traditional, 'peasant ideologies' (Hampton, 2005; Joshi & Rajopadhyay, 2007; Li, 2004).

Heritage preservationists in LDCs face nested dilemmas. First, tourism development is an extractive process designed to convert the intangible qualities of place into financial assets through the medium of the tourist. Insofar as it is predicated on the exploitation of differentials in power and access, it is inherently inequitable. Second, while the horse of tourism development may be harnessed to the cart of preservation, it may ultimately

prove to be a Trojan horse carrying the agents of cultural dislocation. It could thus be argued that preservation-oriented tourism development in LDCs is, in effect, a well-intentioned way of ushering 'traditional,' predominantly agrarian societies more fully into modernity. In this argument, heritage management functions as a cultural hospice, conserving the material fragments of vanishing lifeways rather than preserving the cultural context within which they are actively reproduced. This interpretation is reinforced by accounts demonstrating that, when faced with a choice between poverty and modernity, individuals in LDCs often choose to abandon traditional lifeways. Third, however, the aspects of modernity most decried by heritage experts, such as the disappearance of traditional cultural practices, may signify the socioeconomic transformations most ardently desired by historically marginalized people.

Conclusion

Acknowledging the intractability of inequality does not mean giving up. It means re-envisioning our role, moderating our expectations and refining our methods. Perhaps the relevant question is not how to achieve socioeconomic equity, but how much inequality is acceptable. Perhaps instead of advocating for tourism, the role of the heritage practitioner should be to mediate its effects – educating communities about tourism tradeoffs, facilitating local control over the pace and character of growth, promulgating sustainability principles and cultivating a preservation ethic.

Ultimately, the impetus for sustainability must come from within LDC populations. Interestingly, events at Xidi suggest that because in historic villages the heritage resource is owned and occupied by local individuals, sustainability should be more attainable than in communities adjoining archaeological sites, the ownership and control of which almost inevitably falls to the state. Regarding those factors within foreign control, however, this study supports two general observations. First, the vagueness surrounding the issue of equitability in management planning outcomes is due to a mutually reinforcing lack of conceptual clarity and methodological rigor. Future disciplinary advancement hinges on our ability to concretely define, measure and evaluate equity.

The vague, pliable nature of the sustainability concept has been noted in the past (Butler, 1993; Mowforth & Munt, 1998; Saarinen, 2006; Swarbrooke, 1998). The lack of critical attention given to the meaning of the equity principle has led to contradictions such as the promotion of elite tourism in the name of sustainability, despite its historical association with enclave tourism, a decidedly inequitable form of development (Cohen, 2002). What management plans calling for 'economic equity,' 'local participation,' 'inclusion,' 'involvement,' 'empowerment,' compensation' and 'control' have in common is a lack of clarification as to what these terms mean in practice. Does equity imply proportional maintenance of the status quo, or, given their prior claim to the resource in question and heightened exposure to the downsides of tourism, should local community members receive commensurately larger economic benefits?

The link between the semantic indeterminacy and operational elusiveness of equity is the lack of empirical, longitudinal, outcomes-oriented research mentioned previously (Butler, 1993; Joppe, 1996). The inability to measure and critically evaluate project performance – the lack of adherence to basic project management principles, in other words – severely inhibits the accumulation of actionable institutional and professional knowledge. The path to conceptual and methodological refinement is an iterative cycle of intention, action and understanding. Baseline data from past projects should be used to formulate measurable objectives and performance standards for current ones. These, in turn, should be evaluated in light of project outcomes as measured over the long term. The lessons learned should inform planning for subsequent interventions, thus continuing the cycle.

The importance of sustainability assessments and indicators has been the subject of growing attention (Blake, 2008; Ko, 2003; Choi & Sirikaya, 2006; Roberts & Tribe, 2008; Schianetz, 2008). Equity indicators must not only facilitate monitoring of cumulative and dynamic change at multiple scales, but they must be able to track the relative socioeconomic status of individual households. Simply reporting average annual income for a destination community, for example, does not reveal intra-local divergences of wealth, including those arising between prior inhabitants and recent in-migrants. Robust equity indicators should, furthermore, be based on income distribution metrics

such as the Gini or Thiel indices, and should reflect environmental as well as socio-economic change.

The second implication of this study for the future conduct of management planning stems from the observation that inequality is an input, rather than a product, of LDC tourism development. This suggests the need for strategic, inter-disciplinary and collaborative efforts in which heritage preservation and tourism are components of broader socioeconomic and environmental development strategies. The current lack of cooperation between international environmental conservationists - who have long grappled with the challenges of sustainability, tourism and community development - and cultural preservationists, for example, represents a significant lost opportunity. It is only through concerted effort that innovations such as microfinance, sanduq, certification programs and alternative site management partnerships will reach their full potential. It is only through strong, international alliances that we will be able to effect strategic change by engaging the LDC levers of power at all scales (Fisher et al 2005).

Despite its drawbacks, tourism may be the best hope for economic development in LDCs. It is hoped that this paper will help to stimulate and re-frame the discussion of equity by exposing the weakness of its evidentiary grounding and by providing new conceptual tools for the refinement of its terms. The cases presented here are persuasive, if not definitive, in casting doubt on the practical attainability of equity, shifting the burden of proof onto those making celebratory claims and re-centering attention on the complexities of host country social, cultural, political and economic dynamics. The integrated model of LDC tourism development introduced here, with its original focus on explaining how inequality unfolds, references what are the symptomatic expressions of these deeper crosscurrents. Heritage management in LDCs must ultimately concern itself with people, not properties; results, not intentions; cultural integrity, not physical conservation. In the logic of global capital, heritage places are resources to be mined. This mercenary and exploitative agenda is antithetical to the socially, culturally and geographically embedded qualities of heritage. If we as heritage professionals are to continue to rely on tourism development as a strategy for site preservation, it is incumbent upon us to ensure that it is more than nominally sustainable.

Chapter 4

LOCATING GOVERNMENT INTERESTS
IN UNDERWATER TREASURE SALVAGE

Introduction

Despite the many reported causes of destruction of submerged heritage, preservation
rhetoric has spotlighted treasure hunters as the primary culprits, casting them as free-
ranging rogues who hoodwink governments, publics and the media into tolerating their
activities. To be sure, anecdotal evidence from the Mediterranean, the U.S. Great Lakes
and Gulf coast and the South China Sea strongly suggests that organized treasure salvage,
along with recreational and opportunistic looting, is immensely destructive. The
disagreement between those advocating greater protections for historic wrecks and those
favoring continuation of the status quo is played out most prominently in a highly
polarized debate over the ethics and pragmatics of the UNESCO Convention for the
Protection of Underwater Cultural Heritage (CPUCH). Unproductive though it may
seem, this debate references a growing global conflict between the unstoppable force of a
burgeoning international preservation ethic and the immovable object of an entrenched
treasure salvage community.

The critical attention focused on treasure salvors has overshadowed the fact that behind
virtually every one is a sovereign government tacitly endorsing, if not actively
encouraging, their activities. No radical fringe, it is instead those governments
categorically refusing to work with treasure hunters that are in the minority (Neyland
2002). Though widespread, the character and incidence of this involvement remains a
black box. If researchers are to break the current rhetorical stalemate and inform the

development of internationally workable preservation measures, they will benefit from better understanding which governments participate in treasure hunting, how they do so and why.

The goal of this paper is to provide a fresh perspective on the problem of treasure salvage through critical evaluation of the real-world actions and underlying motivations of participating governments, using the contractual agreements that cement these relationships as a conceptual springboard. Narrowing in on these ostensibly mundane bureaucratic mechanisms opens up a world of nuance and complexity, moving discussion from simplistic understandings of salvor intransigence to deeper appreciation of the political, economic, social and historical forces which for so long have made treasure hunting popularly justifiable. This effort is intended to inform underwater preservation by shoring up its evidentiary basis, challenging its assumptions and re-framing the terms of the CPUCH debate. It is also intended to promote the development of an integrated, international, scientific and strategic study of heritage management by modeling research into an important yet under-examined domain.

A frustrating characteristic of the preservation versus treasure salvage debate is its lack of empirical evidence. While further philosophical arguments over the proper valuation and disposal of submerged remains hold meager promise, systematic research into the causes and rates of resource loss; the qualitative and quantitative extent of salvor-induced damage and the real microeconomics of treasure hunting and submerged tourism, among other topics, could help to fundamentally redefine the terms of discussion. Similarly, treasure hunting contracts are an important object of study because they both enable and illuminate the treasure salvage phenomenon. They are noteworthy from a heritage management perspective because they represent the government-sponsored privatization, destruction and dispersal of public heritage resources. They represent the regulatory counterpoint to generally more robust terrestrial heritage controls and mark an ethical inflection point between government economic development and resource management policy programs. As policy instruments, THCs invite conceptualization as public/private

partnerships, a notion which more faithfully describes their nature and frees them from their presumed moral exceptionality. By constituting a common basis of comparison across diverse international settings, THCs offer a unique analytical opportunity. Finally, as discrete and ostensibly public policy vehicles, they offer a rare glimpse into an otherwise shadowy and inaccessible world.

In the first part of this paper, I offer conceptual and practical orientation to THCs. I then present a series of brief cases intended to illustrate the international gamut of government involvement in treasure salvage. Finally, I use the evidence to reinterpret government rationales and propose an evolutionary model of shipwreck management. I conclude by discussing the implications of this analysis for future rhetoric, research and policy.

The Practical and Conceptual Context of Treasure Hunting Contracts

While the existence of contractual arrangements between treasure hunters and sovereign governments is no secret to those concerned with the preservation of submerged heritage, the topic has escaped serious study. The admittedly modest body of scholarly literature pertaining to treasure hunting consists primarily of ethical and methodological critiques of salvors (Adams 2007, Carrell 1996, Villegas Zamora 2008), on one hand, and broad, CPUCH-centric legal and policy discussions (Elia 2000, Zander & Varmer 1996) on the other. The dissonance between Admiralty law and international heritage preservation policy has attracted a significant body of legal scholarship (Bautista 2005, Bowman 2004, Curfman 2008, Dromgoole 2002, Dromgoole 2006, Forrest 2003, Frost 2004, Hallwood & Micelli 2006, O'Keefe 2002). Apart from an occasional general statement or aside, however, these sources are not concerned with problematizing government sponsorship of treasure salvage. More directly relevant is Hoagland's chapter on Chinese submerged heritage protections, in which he provides a useful discussion of shipwreck policy determinants (Hoagland 1999). In his 1985 article, Cycon offers a detailed comparative snapshot of international legal and regulatory frameworks for marine archaeology, much

of which applies to THCs (Cycon 1985). Lastly, maritime archaeologist Michael Flecker, a longtime collaborator with salvors, provides valuable insights into government approaches to treasure salvage in Southeast Asia (Flecker 2002).

Legal protections for historic wrecks vary widely. Given the extensive literature on the subject, a detailed explanation will not be provided here. In essence, state ownership claims are gradually eroding the historical preeminence of the doctrine of 'finders keepers'. While some nations, such as Australia, Argentina, China, Greece, Italy, France, India and Sri Lanka assert ownership over and prohibit commercial salvage of historic wrecks, others, such as the Republic of the Congo or Angola, lack any regulatory provisions for shipwrecks whatsoever (UNESCO 2007). Abandoned wrecks in international waters have historically enjoyed no protection, a situation that CPUCH is intended to remedy. THCs only apply to governments' exploitation of their own property, either by virtue of its location in territorial waters or its special status under the assertion of sovereign immunity, the perpetual inviolability of the sovereign warships of certain nations.

The means by which political entities regulate access to submerged heritage under their jurisdiction include designation of specific vessels; establishment of protected areas; restrictions on the activities of sport divers; preemptive survey requirements for dredging, pipeline or cable-laying operations; and prohibitions on tampering with submerged gravesites, among others. Here the concern is with de jure and de facto government policies demonstrating commitment to the detection, recovery and sale of artifacts from historic wrecks, as they are variously defined. Although independent governmental salvage ventures occur, it is far more common for them to work, directly or indirectly, through agreements with private commercial salvors. Administratively speaking, these agreements may take the form of instruments such as licenses, permits, concessions, leases, fees, royalties, partnerships, contracts, corporations and joint ventures. Conceptually, these are all forms of public/private partnerships, which, by definition, are

designed to yield outcomes not available to either party independently. For the sake of simplicity, they are all included here under the generic acronym THC.

Of primary interest are treasure salvage concessions authorizing unlimited search and salvage, since these are the most flagrant and destructive forms of THC. These typically award salvors exclusive access to a specified zone in exchange for a selection of unique artifacts and a share of the proceeds from the sale of the remainder, often a 50/50 split. Salvors may be required to follow minimum archaeological standards, submit to on-site inspections and demonstrate their financial and technical ability to fully recover and conserve artifacts. Often, THCs apply to the salvage of previously located wrecks, occasionally to the dispensation of artifacts from wrecks that have already been salvaged. Regarding these post-discovery and post-recovery agreements, governments' ethical exposure is limited since they do not involve pre-authorization nor, in the latter case, prior knowledge. With concessions, however, governments overtly, prospectively and indiscriminately sanction the degradation of all wrecks encountered in a wide area. Technically, one may distinguish between concessions for targeted, vessel-specific surveys and opportunistic, areal surveys, but, since both usually allow investigation of any wreck encountered, these differ little in practice.

From the perspective of salvors, THCs have in recent decades gone from being a costly irritant to a strategic necessity. The inherent uncertainty of treasure salvage is increasingly being mitigated by a coalescence of financial, commercial, organizational and technological innovations/developments designed to ensure maximal returns. The search for and retrieval of submerged valuables is thus but the central creative moment in a larger, cyclical business enterprise, which also comprises fundraising, production, promotion, distribution and reinvestment. Through the heightened efficiency and legitimacy they offer, THCs facilitate the predictability, profitability and replicability that is essential to the success of this investor-driven model.

The exemplar of this phenomenon is Odyssey Marine, which has turned treasure salvage "from a 'mom-and-pop' venture like the Fisher family's Treasure Salvors Inc. into …a highly efficient corporate juggernaut." (Flannery 2009). High-tech operations such as Odyssey's require vast infusions of capital. Over the last 25 years, web-based solicitations, publicly traded stocks and financial consultancies have come to link this need for funding with a rapidly growing global community of investors. In turn, PR and marketing firms, auction houses, art dealers, retailers, museums and media conglomerates help to leverage these investments by monetizing every possible facet of the history, discovery, excavation and contents of each valuable wreck. Odyssey is NASDAQ-listed, counting among its investors a hedge fund and among its joint venture partners Disney, the Discovery Channel and National Geographic. Odyssey's Greg Stemm has suggested that film rights and exhibitions may replace artifact sales as major sources of profit for treasure hunters, citing the example of the RMS Titanic, Inc. (U.S. News 1999). Treasure salvors Admiralty Corp. sell their investors on the promise of five revenue streams: the sale of artifacts; the sale of merchandise; exhibition fees; corporate sponsorship fees; and the sale and licensing of intellectual property rights (PR Newswire, 2003). Rivals Arqueonautas S.A. has even branded its own line of apparel (Arqueonautas SA 2010).

All treasure salvage firms strive for competitive advantage through privileged access to information, locales and/or technologies. Economies of scale and consistent returns are most attainable when salvors' resources can be simultaneously applied to multiple projects at various stages of development, ideally in recently opened or deep waters where virgin wrecks may be found. The work of corporate salvors Odyssey Marine and Arqueonautas Subaquatica exemplifies two primary strategies based on these principles.

One approach is based on the search for known, recent, inaccessible wrecks in international waters. Deepwater salvors face a trade-off in that promising wrecks are likely to be undisturbed but are difficult to locate and costly to salvage. Those with the best locational information are also likely to be more recent, and thus susceptible to competing claims of ownership. Odyssey, arguably the most successful salvage firm in

history, targets well-documented vessels whose exceptional value far outweighs anticipated research, survey, recovery, conservation, legal and other costs. Odyssey's technical supremacy allows them to exploit deepwater wrecks' inaccessibility at the expense of their less well-equipped competitors. Once a target is located and its wealth potential confirmed, its notional accessibility skyrockets, allowing Odyssey to present any governments having ownership claims with a fait accompli: conclude a THC or risk a court battle or the loss of the wreck to illicit, newly-interested looters. With their impressive record of accomplishment, however, just the threat of a survey and salvage expedition could be enough to induce government cooperation. The case of HMS Sussex, in which the British government agreed to a sliding split, seems to validate this approach. That of the so-called Black Swan, in which the government of Spain claimed a wreck Odyssey had secretly excavated, demonstrates the critical importance of gaining prior assurance from interested governments. Of course, in cases involving no substantial government claims, such as that of the SS Central America, THCs are irrelevant.

A second approach involves the opportunistic search for unknown but accessible wrecks in territorial waters. This model, adopted by Arqueonautas and many other investor-driven salvage operations, is based on the historically-attested concentration of valuable wrecks in certain coastal areas - often former colonies - which for one reason or another have escaped the attention of looters. Such wrecks generally present fewer technical difficulties than those in deeper water, but are often disarticulated, hidden among many 'false positives' and, once found, difficult to hide from rival salvors and government officials. This approach relies on systematic survey of high-potential areas supplemented by archival research and information gleaned from local mariners. The classic variation – the search for a single, documented coastal wreck of unknown location, a la Mel Fisher – has virtually identical concession requirements.

The need for THCs is built into the business model of companies like Odyssey and Arqueonautas: in the former case for salvage, since no permission is needed to search international waters, in the latter, for both. There are other, hybrid strategies, but the

bottom line is that the high stakes of corporate salvage render unacceptable the risk of injunction by states having ownership claims. THCs offer other benefits, however, such as the reduction of uncertainty. This translates into logistical advantages, in terms of planning and staging, and financial advantages, in terms of reassuring prospective investors. Arqueonautas and its near-shore peers require the exclusivity THCs afford, which can extend to the provision of government security for artifact repositories on land. All firms benefit from the veneer of respectability that state sanction confers; market demands increasingly disfavor any taint of impropriety. At the same time, THCs implicate administrations in salvors' activities, establishing common cause and ensuring future complicity. Where THCs involve governmental corruption, they are simply a cost of doing business.

The integration of THCs into the treasure salvage business model is driven not by corporatization alone, but by heightened competition, a rapidly diminishing resource base and the specter of an impending CPUCH-induced moratorium, which some believe "has the shipwreck salvage and dive industry on the brink of extinction" (Nessel 2000). For a host of reasons, then, salvors are strongly incented to obtain THCs from host governments.

Illustrative Examples

The biggest obstacle to researching THCs is the lack of reliable evidence. Since THCs are rarely publicized, especially in developing nations, much of the available evidence is secondhand and, as such, is subject to contention. The lack of pertinent scholarly research and the international purview of this exploratory research necessitate reliance on electronic sources, governmental, journalistic and commercial. Another risk inherent in this comparative approach is that laws governing domestic treasure salvage can shift from year to year. To confuse matters still further, actual events may not comport with avowed legal or policy frameworks. Lastly, it is rarely possible to gauge the precise

archaeological sensitivity of excavations by project, salvor or country. Included here are instances for which the sale of artifacts was an integral, if not primary, governmental objective. The coverage is intended to be representative, not exhaustive, and is weighted toward the most egregious and informative cases.

Until recently, Cuba provided an example of an aggressive state quasi-monopoly over treasure salvage. Institutional treasure hunting was initiated in 1969 by the Castro's, through the National Bank of Cuba, in partnership with personnel from the Department of Oceanography. This group was later placed under the auspices of a newly created Department of Currency Salvage, before being relocated to the Ministry of Mines and then to the Ministry of Finance. They acquired some archaeological legitimacy in 1978, when the Department of Colonial Archaeology of the Institute of Anthropology assumed oversight. The following decade and a half saw CARISUB, as the group became known, exercise proprietary access to Cuba's underwater heritage, conducting prolific archaeological research, according to one source (De Bry 2003) and lucrative treasure hunting, according to another (Drouhet 1997). In 1993 alone, 23 wrecks were found, reportedly generating an average of $1 million per day of field operations through the sale of artifacts at international auctions (Ibid.). In justification of CARISUB's monopoly, Director Vincente de la Guardia stated: "Wrecks lying in our territorial waters are part of our heritage, as well as being part of the history and culture of the Cuban people. Nobody else will be given a chance to work on them." (Ibid.). Not even Jacques Cousteau was allowed to breach the wall of exclusivity surrounding Cuba's coastal waters (Werlau 2005). Fidel Castro, meanwhile, took a strong interest in the work of CARISUB, maintaining a personal friendship with its director and claiming two 17th century galleons as his own personal property (Drouhet 1997).

In 1990, Castro declared a "special period in time of peace," a program of financial discipline and self-sufficiency designed to counter the economic crisis resulting from the withdrawal of Soviet aid following the end of the Cold War. The disappearance of approximately $5 billion annually in subsidies and aid had caused the Cuban economy to

contract by 35-50% (O'Mara 2004). In 1994, a small governmental unit was created expressly to solicit treasure hunting permit applications from foreign concerns. A few years later, CARISUB was placed under the control of GEOMAR S.A., a subsidiary of SERMAR S.A., a private military corporation controlling all shipyards for naval repairs (Werlau 2005). SERMAR S.A., in turn, is owned by GAESA, a holding company for businesses run by the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Cuba and controlled by Raul Castro. Described as "a vehicle to stash away money overseas" (Werlau 2005 p. 380), GAESA receives revenues of over $1 billion annually and happens also to own a company controlling receipts from all fee-generating historic monuments and museums (Ibid.). CARISUB was thus one tiny appendage of a colossal conglomeration of army-run commercial enterprises involved in tourism, real estate, construction, agriculture, technology, import/export and other sectors (O'Mara 2004).

Under the new arrangement, CARISUB was again given the mandate to cooperate with foreign investors in search of treasure. As a result, the entire staff of archaeologists, conservators and historians resigned (De Bry 2003). The new military management team was comprised of naval personnel, including a colonel with business relationships to two salvage firms seeking concessions. During the 1990s, GEOMAR S.A. undertook joint ventures with Canadian, French, South African and other foreign salvage companies. In one of these, the Cuban Ministry of Patrimony claimed half of all finds, with proceeds from the sale of the rest, minus project expenses, to be split between GEOMAR and the salvor (Wilson 2000). The status of CARISUB, now that Cuba has ratified CPUCH, is not known.

Submerged heritage in socialist Vietnam is also under the control of a dedicated, state-owned salvage entity, the Vietnam Salvage Corporation (VISAL), housed within the Vietnam Maritime Bureau. In contrast to CARISUB's relative autonomy, VISAL routinely partners with the Vietnam National Museum to undertake joint ventures with foreign companies. Their inaugural effort, in partnership with the Swedish firm Hallstrom Holdings, Inc., involved the 1991 recovery of the Vung Tau cargo. When this

collection of 28,000 pieces of Qing Dynasty blue-and-white porcelain was auctioned by Christie's, it fetched $7.2 million. The Vietnamese government retained 75% of this sum (Hoagland 1999), and a representative sample of ceramics.

In 1996, when VISAL proved unsuccessful in raising the cargo of a late 15th Century Thai vessel, first identified by fishermen finding porcelain in their nets, they sought assistance from the Singapore-based salvor Saga Horizons. The resulting collaboration, which included an Oxford University archaeologist, Mensun Bound, succeeded in recovering over 250,000 intact pieces of porcelain from depths over 200 feet using costly saturation diving techniques (Pope 2007). The Hoi An Wreck recovery project took four years and cost an estimated $14 million. As specified by contract, all pieces unique to the cargo were retained by Vietnamese museums along with 10% of the 'repetitive' pieces. The remaining 90% was sold at auction, with VISAL, Saga Horizon and the Vietnamese Ministry of Culture splitting the proceeds. According to the director of the Vietnam Institute of Archaeology, Saga Horizons obtained 70% of the revenues (Viet Nam News Agency 2009). Ironically, the Hoi An auction proved to be a financial failure (Pope 2007).

VISAL and the Vietnam National Museum are not dependent on outside assistance. In the late 1990's, Vietnamese provincial officials paid fishermen almost 1$ million for the 18th Century Chinese ceramics they had removed from what became known as the Ca Mau Wreck (Thanh Nien News 2007). The Vietnamese government spent another $800,000 on the salvage of what remained of the cargo by VISAL and the Vietnam National Museum. In early 2001, Vietnamese fishermen discovered what was later identified as a 400-year-old Chinese junk when their trawl nets became entangled in submerged wreckage. Describing VISAL's subsequent salvage operations, a reporter observed, with no apparent irony, that "the archaeologists had divers cut holes in the hull of the wreck, which were then enlarged to allow larger quantities of antiques to be raised as the operation progressed." (Giang 2003).

The ongoing sale of the Ca Mau and Binh Thuan cargoes is expected to be highly lucrative, fetching a combined estimated $3.5 million at auction in Amsterdam and Melbourne alone (China Daily 2004, Thanh Nien News 2007). According to a 2002 Prime Ministerial Directive, the state will receive a 30% share of the Binh Thuan material and the remaining 70% will go to Binh Thuan Province and VISAL (Giang 2003). The largest share of the monies are ostensibly to be used for museum construction and "further research, search and salvage" - but not, apparently, for archaeology: the Vietnam Institute of Archaeology receives just $70,000 annually from the state to fund its operations, not enough to cover a week of underwater excavation (Viet Nam News Agency 2009).

In Vietnam, as in Indonesia, the Philippines and elsewhere in Southeast Asia, it is rare to find a pristine wreck site. A maritime archaeologist with long salvage experience in the region has testified to this effect (Flecker 2002). In 2003, the Vietnam News Agency reported the deaths of five shrimp divers who had drowned while diving for sunken antiquities using primitive equipment (Vietnam News Agency 2003). The article went on to describe the frequency of such activity, which was becoming a primary occupation for some.

The goal of commercial exploitation of submerged cultural resources is codified in the official program of the Republic of Indonesia's Department of Sea Exploration and Fisheries: "The sunken treasure potentials…are expected to help the government in funding the development activities, including in repaying off-shore loans which is one of the main problems in the country" (Indonesia Dept. of Sea Exploration and Fisheries 2000 p.3). In support of this policy, the Indonesian Minister of Maritime Affairs has publicly stated that 463 'unexplored' sunken treasure locations have been charted in the nation's waters, which, if salvaged, could produce $1-5 billion (Jakarta Post 2003). The aggressively pro-salvage stance of the Indonesian government puts it on a par with that of Cuba and Vietnam, but where CARISUB has tended to work autonomously and VISAL

in partnership with others, the Indonesian authorities rely entirely on private sector outsourcing.

Indonesian government-sponsored treasure hunting was inaugurated in response to Michael Hatcher's infamous looting of the Dutch East Indiaman Geldermalsen in Indonesian waters. Hatcher had secretly recovered, transported and sold the so-called "Nanking Cargo" without permission from the Indonesian government. A 1986 Christie's auction of some of the 18th Century ceramics taken from the wreck netted $20 million, launching a porcelain boom in the global art market. Upon discovery of Hatcher's treachery, Indonesian officials were incensed, accusing Hatcher of theft. The Dutch government also claimed ownership of the wreck under sovereign immunity, but later settled for a 10% share of the proceeds from sale (Pope 2007).

The Hatcher case alarmed archaeologists because he was rumored to have deliberately destroyed quantities of ceramics in an effort to prop up prices and because his success inspired a stampede of would-be imitators. It also alerted governments throughout East and Southeast Asia to the value and vulnerability of their submerged cultural heritage. In response to the Hatcher episode, China established an underwater archaeology team (Zhang 2002). The Indonesian government formed a national committee to oversee shipwreck exploration and put in place a series of rules designed to attract and derive benefit from private treasure salvors. In exchange for 50% of the proceeds from sale of recovered artifacts, salvors have since been required to work through an Indonesian-registered company, pay a deposit and fees, obtain permission from up to 22 different government departments, maintain minimum archaeological standards and submit to on-site supervision by Indonesian authorities (Flecker 2002, Oehlrich 2009).

Michael Hatcher reappeared in 1999 with his discovery of the Tek Sing junk and its cargo of more than 350,000 pieces of Chinese porcelain. His attempt to once again dupe Indonesian authorities was foiled by Australian customs officials, however, through whom it was revealed that Hatcher had underreported his take, undervaluing the

Indonesian government's share by a huge margin. Subsequent investigations revealed the complicity of members of the Indonesian national shipwreck salvage oversight committee in Hatcher's scheme (Arif 2002). In yet another case of perfidy, treasure salvor Luc Heymans recovered and hid ceramics from a thousand-year-old junk in 2004. Police learned of the hoard and forced him to agree to a 50/50 split with the Indonesian government (Chen 2007).

Competition, corruption and endemic looting are recurring themes in Indonesian wreck exploration, as they are throughout Southeast Asia. It is not unusual for poor, local looters to clean wrecks of their most accessible artifacts, which they sell to dealers, and to offer the position of the remaining subsurface remains to the highest-bidding licensed salvor. Individuals have even been known to manufacture sites for sale by salting the seabed with ceramics from elsewhere (Flecker 2002). The Java Sea Wreck was looted by locals and worked over by licensed salvors before finally being exhausted by another licensed team (Flecker 2002). Rivals attempted to move in on the wreck being salvaged by Cosmix Underwater Research, Ltd., whose team was also chased by the Indonesian Navy in a dispute over the division of spoils (Agence France-Presse 2005). The archaeologically significant but as yet undocumented Belitung or Batu Hitam wreck, a 9th century dhow found by sea-cucumber divers, was raided by looters during a break in licensed recovery operations (Flecker 2002). While the ceramics from this vessel were reportedly sold for $30 million, the German salvor ended up paying the Indonesian government a mere $2.5 million (Jakarta Post 2006). He is alleged to have avoided paying the stipulated fifty percent by bribing several senior officials in the Indonesian Defense Ministry and Navy (Ibid.). It seems to be an open secret among salvors that certain officials are open to off-the-record payments totaling far less than the half share to which the government is entitled by law. This would help to explain why, despite the many high-value wrecks found in its waters, Indonesia has officially received less than $3 million (Ibid.).

Between those nations prohibiting and embracing treasure salvage lies a shifting continuum of others exhibiting varying degrees of commitment to and capacity for treasure salvage. Although the governments of Malaysia and the Philippines are not systematically committed to the practice, they have displayed what could be described as a pragmatic dedication: museum personnel in both countries routinely conduct archaeological/commercial survey and recovery operations with the help of treasure salvors. Public offers, such as that of the Malaysian Terengganu state government in 2004 to assist any treasure salvage expedition, are reputed to entail adherence to somewhat stricter archaeological standards than are commonly observed among the salvage community (Asia Times 2004). This scientific sensibility does not preclude the sale of artifacts, however, as demonstrated by the case of the shipwreck *Diana*, in which the Malaysian government claimed all material having direct ties to Malaysian history and culture and a percentage of the receipts from the remainder (Flecker 2002). Treasure salvor Sten Sjostrand worked in Malaysia for more than a decade, cooperating with the Ministry of Culture, Arts and Tourism and the National Museum (Nanhai Marine Archaeology 2009). In exchange for 'unique and single' artifacts, 30% of all recovered items and assistance with museum exhibitions, the National Museum allowed Sjostrand to export and sell all remaining material.

Like Indonesia, the Philippines possess valuable submerged heritage and complicated archipelagic geography. Also like Indonesia, their policy on submerged wrecks has been shaped by at least one major episode of abuse. In addition to those searching for Spanish galleons and World War II-era souvenirs, scrap metal and Japanese gold, the country has fallen prey to its own version of Michael Hatcher: Phil Greco. Claiming to have worked 16 sites over 11 years, Greco amassed and transshipped a fabulous hoard of some 23,500 pieces of porcelain and other artifacts, including Dutch, Portuguese and English cannon, gold and silver coins and Chinese statues worth an estimated $50 million. According to one account, Greco never received permission from the National Museum to undertake search and salvage in Philippine waters, despite the issuance of an export permit by other officials (Haithman 2003).

Oversight for shipwreck exploration in the Philippines has rested with the National Museum since the 1980's. They perform their own archaeological excavations and partner with foreign salvage firms in exchange for 50% of any recovered artifacts (Flecker 2002). While the archaeological integrity of this work has varied, the financial returns have been consistently modest, with most wrecks having been previously plundered by local fishermen (Ibid.).

Governments demonstrating a more opportunistic enthusiasm for treasure salvage include those of Chile and Mozambique. In the former, the government-backed, private company ORIFLAMA SA has worked in partnership with Cuba's CARISUB to engage in what it calls underwater 'archaeology' but others describe as treasure hunting. The firm was founded in 2001 specifically to find and excavate the 18th Century Spanish galleon "Our Lady of the Good Council and San Leopoldo". Having located the vessel, the firm is in dispute with the Chilean National Monuments Council over its share of the wreck's estimated $30 million value (Thompson 2008).

The Mozambiquan firm Patrimonio Internacional was created to partner with treasure salvors Arqueonautas Subaquatica, who were awarded an exclusive license in 1999 to conduct search and recovery operations in the waters around the Ilha de Moçambique. According to their agreement, 50% of any finds go to Arqueonautas SA, the 'best' to the government of Mozambique and the rest to the 80% state-owned / 20% privately-owned Patrimonio Internacional (Quatorze & da Graça 2004). The lone Mozambiquan underwater archaeologist, who has reportedly been banned from working on some valuable sites (Judah 2002), has argued that the concession is a violation of national law prohibiting the export of cultural materials. His remarks were prompted by the 2001 Dutch auction of porcelain recovered from a 16th Century Portuguese wreck.

Opposing the archaeologist are the National Direction of Culture and other government authorities who justify the auction as a measure of last resort. According to the director

of Patrimonio Internacional, "We have a treasure to exploit, and if (we) didn't sell some of it, then everything that still exists would disappear", referring to the threat of unlicensed treasure hunters in the area (Agencia de Informacao de Mocambique 2004). Another official claimed that the government turned to private treasure salvors only after having unsuccessfully petitioned UNESCO for help in excavating unprotected wrecks (Ibid.).

Other countries with minimal archaeological and/or salvage capacity have turned to professional treasure hunters to help them 'rescue' wrecks through excavation and artifact recovery. Thus Arqueonautas SA, to whom Indonesian authorities recently issued a license "to assure the protection of national maritime heritage in the area of Bangka/ Belitung islands" (Arqueonautas Worldwide, S.A. 2010 A) was also recently invited to Brazil to conduct reconnaissance of a 16th Century wreck in preparation for a 'protective' recovery operation. They also recently concluded a seven-year 50/50 exclusive license for search and recovery from the government of Cape Verde (Arqueonautas Worldwide, S.A. 2010 B). The government of the Dominican Republic has pursued a quasi-scientific outsourcing partnership with two treasure salvors over the course of the past four decades. These salvors claim to have produced professional surveys, aerial mosaics and major artifact collections in conjunction with the Culture Ministry's Sub-aquatic Patrimony Office (Dominican Today News 2009).

The rhetorical disingenuousness of the Jamaican case is typical of pseudoscientific THCs. Beginning in the 1970's, the Jamaican government instituted a policy of only permitting underwater search and recovery operations by 'qualified archaeologists'. This pledge was twice renewed in the 1990's in response to increased volumes of illegal salvage and treasure hunting applications. In 2003, Colorado-based Ruby Mining Co., a subsidiary of Atlanta-based Admiralty Corporation, obtained an exclusive, three-year license from the Jamaican government to search for and recover wrecks within a 2,000 square mile area of the Pedro Banks (PR Newswire 2003). Under the terms of the agreement, the Jamaican government was entitled to half the proceeds from sale, all non-precious artifacts and first

choice of precious artifacts. Admiralty officers and representatives of the Jamaica National Heritage Trust hailed the exciting historical and educational potential of the Pedro Banks project (PR Newswire 2003). An Admiralty spokesperson pledged: "we refuse to endanger the ecology and the archaeological significance of these sites" (Mills 2003). Nevertheless, two leaders of the Archaeological Society of Jamaica resigned from their posts in protest against the government contract with Admiralty (Gentry 2004). As of 2004, the company claimed to have found three galleons; as of 2006, they were in financial default (Ginsberg 2006)

In some countries, treasure salvage policy is ad hoc. In the case of Haiti, such arbitrariness has given rise to longstanding controversy within and between the government, foreign nationals and the Haitian public. The 1970 granting of an exclusive, 75%-share concession to a Miami firm, who looted 20 wrecks in six weeks, provoked outrage among members of the preservation community (Associated Press 1971). More recently, controversy erupted over a 2003 concession awarded to American salvors Sub Sea Research LLC. The Haitian Minister of Culture, counseled by CARISUB, decried this theft of Haitian cultural patrimony by Americans and Europeans while Sub Sea Research accused government officials of aiding in the theft of bronze cannons and precious artifacts from an excavation site (Agence Haitienne de Presse 2006A (Robbing Haiti…), Latin American News Agency 2006). The interim prime minister of Haiti, whose government had cancelled and then re-issued the salvage contract, swore he had no knowledge of it, even though photographs showed him drinking champagne with its signatories (Agence Haitienne de Presse 2006B Commission of Inquiry). The Director of the Haitian Bureau of Mines testified that when he attempted to improve the terms of the 50/50 contract signed by the Ministries of Finance and Culture, he received a reprimand - presumably by those who stood to gain from the original agreement (Agence Haitienne de Presse 2006C The General Director). Another official reportedly instructed Sub Sea Research personnel not to share information about their finds with the Haitian public (Agence Haitienne de Presse 2006A). Haiti has since ratified CPUCH.

The inconsistent stance of some national governments toward treasure salvage can only be described as ambivalent. Among these are countries with abundant heritage management capabilities and lavish annual heritage management expenditures that nevertheless refrain from signing CPUCH. In the U.S., commercial exploitation of historic wrecks is legally permitted in all but two states (Pringle 2007). Recent cases have included the issuance of search and salvage permits relating to the vessel El Salvador by North Carolina authorities (Associated Press 2006), and permits for salvage and dredging to salvors Sea Hunt, Inc. by authorities representing the Commonwealth of Virginia and the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers (U.S. National Park Service 2007). In Canada, Nova Scotian officials entered into split agreements with commercial salvors looking to recover artifacts from the wrecks Fantome (Pringle 2006) and Auguste de Bordeaux (Knauss 2004). In the widely publicized HMS Sussex case, mentioned previously, the British Ministry of Defense concluded a THC in 2002 against the will of the Council for British Archaeology and in contravention of Europe's Valetta Convention on Protection of the Archaeological Heritage.

The position of some governments on treasure hunting is ambiguous. Treasure salvage concessions are allowed by Cayman Islands' law, but have not been permitted since 1990. Ecuador has signed CPUCH in 2006, but a treasure-hunting firm, RSOPs, claims to be working there now (RS Operations, Inc. 2010). While a reliable scholar has reported that there is no treasure hunting in the waters of the Dominican Republic, famed treasure hunter Burt Webber recently had his concession there extended for another two years (Caribbean Net News 2009).

From Description to Interpretation

The deeper one delves into the world of THCs, the more the scene changes from black and white to shades of gray. The foregoing review shows that salvors are not the sole drivers of treasure hunting nor is government involvement uncommon. It suggests that

the key international differentiator in this arena is not whether governments permit commercial salvage but to what standard. It emphasizes that while the modus operandi of salvors is relatively clear and constant, there is great diversity, indeterminacy and ambiguity surrounding government intentions, actions and outcomes.

The government of every coastal nation faces a policy choice regarding the fate of historic shipwrecks. In simple conceptual terms, this involves a decision about whether to reinforce their heritage and/or economic value and how best to do so. This determination is made, deliberately or by default, within a specific national context, against a backdrop of countervailing social forces and the ongoing depletion of the resource itself. A country's submerged heritage policy paradigm is thus shaped by macro-scale social, cultural, geographic, political and economic variables. These include resource endowment - the density and distribution of valuable shipwrecks that have accumulated through centuries of trade, colonization, warfare etc. It encompasses deeply held, culturally-mediated understandings of individual and group identity vis a vis the contemporary social role of the past and its physical referents. It reflects governmental structures, authoritarian and democratic, and legal traditions common and civil. It is conditioned by ethnic, demographic and historical factors, including past experience with treasure salvors. Given the complexity and contingency of these influences, the only reliable generalization that may be made concerns the heightened incidence of government-sponsored treasure salvage among less wealthy countries.

Among the reasons most frequently cited by governments for promoting treasure salvage is the protection of national cultural patrimony. This may seem ironic, given what we know of the damaging impacts of treasure salvage. The premises upon which this argument rests are, first, that wrecks are under imminent threat, either from decay or unauthorized salvage; second, that the state is not capable of securing them on its own; and third, that selective recovery and sale of valuable components does not meaningfully compromise wrecks' heritage value. Leaving aside quibbles over the definition of 'imminent threat', evidence suggests that the first condition is applicable in many, if not

all cases. The second premise, regarding states' lack of capacity for underwater exploration, undeniably holds true in many countries as well. The third premise seems the most problematic: how can wrecks' heritage value be reconciled with their undocumented destruction and commercialization?

In many countries, heritage values remain inextricably linked with the idea of financial gain, the other prominent justification for government involvement in treasure hunting. That poor countries should emphasize the economic value of shipwrecks is understandable: "… if sold skillfully to collectors and museums, the San Jose's treasure could fetch as much $10 billion - more than a third of Colombia's foreign debt." (Kraul & Williams 2007). In light of such potential dividends, the simultaneous commodification and valorization of heritage presents no ethical dilemma. Given its typically abysmal returns, however, treasure salvage seems to be a dubious financial expedient. The example of Indonesia, among others, shows that even where it is successful, governments cannot count on receiving their stipulated share. In some cases, more money could ultimately be generated through wreck-related tourism than from the sale of artifacts (Burkeman 2001).

Taking governments' stated rationales for engaging in treasure salvage at face value, we are immediately confronted with what appears to be two instances of institutionally irrational behavior: promotion of the destruction and dispersal of wreck assemblages as a protective measure and collusion in controversial, unprofitable enterprises as a financial expedient. The evidence suggests three interrelated, underlying explanations for these apparent contradictions: 1. Administrative incoherence or an absence of functioning policy; 2. Elite monopolization and corruption or a perversion of policy; 3. Alternative perceptions of the relative social benefits of archaeology, heritage, income and power or an alternative approach to policy.

Administrative incoherence results from irregularities such as organizational discontinuities, bureaucratic infighting, byzantine regulations, diffuse accountability and

competing mandates. The examples of Haiti and the Philippines have shown how changes in government can produce inconsistent policies. In another case, Salvage firm Sea Search Armada spent two decades wrangling with seven Colombian administrations over their share of an as-yet unexcavated Spanish galleon. A 1979 agreement awarding them exclusive search rights and 50% of finds was overturned by decree in 1984 by Colombian President Belisario Betancur, who reduced the company's prospective payoff to a 5% 'finder's fee' (Kraul & Williams 2007).

A more pervasive source of contradictory policies is the "absence of synergy" (Agence Haitienne de Presse 2006C) a Haitian official referred to when describing dysfunctional inter-departmental relationships. Such dynamics have been observed in Mozambique, Haiti, Indonesia, Colombia, Chile, the Azores and the Dominican Republic, among others. In Mexico, salvors who have been denied salvage permits by INAH Council of Archaeology have approached other government agencies, including the Supreme Court of Justice (Luna Erreguerena 2008). Irreconcilable policy differences can also result from an imbalance of power between preservation-minded and development-oriented agencies. In the absence of archaeological capacities and/or sensitivities, authority over sunken wrecks commonly resides with officials dedicated to the promotion of tourism, foreign investment, resource extraction and the like (Cycon 1985), or, as in the case of Cuba and Brazil, with the military. This sort of arrangement has elicited protest from government archaeologists and heritage managers in Chile, Colombia, Haiti, Jamaica, the Dominican Republic, the Philippines and Mozambique. Finally, nations such as Cote d'Ivoire and Namibia (UNESCO 2007) are representative of many developing countries in which laws for the protection of submerged heritage are rendered useless by a lack of enforcement.

These government failures lay fertile ground for 'regulatory capture', the ability of powerful, private actors to co-opt the policy-making process. Paulo Monteiro has described how an all-star faction of Portuguese elites mobilized behind treasure salvor Robert Marx in an effort to loosen legal restrictions on treasure hunting in Azorean

waters (Monteiro 1998). Rambelli has similarly described how the undue influence of "financiers and aristocrats" helped to promote passage of regressive, salvage-friendly legislation in 2000 (Rambelli 2008 p72).

The idea of regulatory capture partakes both of administrative incoherence and of elite monopolization. The latter entails the token public embrace of heritage as a cover for its private exploitation. In environments of political and economic instability, where government pay is inadequate, profit-making opportunities such as those associated with THCs offer enticement for all sorts of corruption, including kickbacks, embezzlement, influence peddling, nepotism, cronyism and bribery. This is illustrated by the Hatcher case in Indonesia and the Greco case in the Philippines, the scale of which would have necessitated the paying of bribes to the Coast Guard and other officials. Potential conflicts of interest arise when government officials become investors in treasure hunting schemes in their own waters. We have already seen examples of this in Cuba and Indonesia; another case involves a Panamanian provincial governor who purchased a large share in a firm's attempted salvage of the Playa Damas wreck (Castro & Fitzgerald 2006).

The third explanation for the apparently contradictory treatment of shipwrecks is that it reflects an internally consistent yet alternative value set. Explicit in protestations about lost patrimony in developing countries is outrage over the idea that it is being stolen and sold for tremendous profits. Statements such as the following abound: "The National Parks service has stopped the stockholding US companies from robbing the Dominican Republic of its cultural heritage." (PR Newswire 2009). This double sense of deprivation goes part of the way toward explaining the conditional valuation of heritage in developing countries. According to an Indonesian official: "If it has more economic value than historical value, there is no need to take it for our heritage museums" (Leow 2006). Rather than viewing heritage value as all-or-nothing proposition, heritage value may be seen as offering diminishing returns relative to its financial value. The marginal utility of incremental scientific interpretation regarding hull construction and historical

maritime social relations, in other words, cannot compete with the monetary value it displaces.

Public lotteries have been called a regressive tax because they differentially impact the poor; for authorities in countries experiencing immediate economic distress, the true odds of finding treasure may be irrelevant next to the possibility of a big payoff. Governments' financial exposure through THCs is small, moreover, and despite their failure rate, it takes only one rich find to justify the aggregate investment. There is good reason to believe, however, that at bottom, money may not be the point.

For governments, just as for salvors, THCs represent the minimization, rather than the courting, of risk. For one thing, they provide a *guaranteed* source of income in the form of fixed, up-front licensing fees, taxes and other payments. More importantly, they offer a sliver of control over otherwise unknowable and incalculable forces. There is a legitimate perception in many countries that the alternative to THCs is not preservation *in situ* but uncompensated loss: implicit in the concession-granting process is the fact that there is no way for state authorities to effectively guard against the theft of submerged artifacts, however stringent the law. The healthy states of piracy in the South China Sea and off the coast of East Africa are both indications of this law enforcement challenge. It has been repeatedly shown that authorities often do not detect plundering episodes until unprovenanced artifacts go up for auction. Seen in this light, unsolicited THCs may be viewed as extortive in that they reward salvors for refraining from carrying out the implicit threat of acting unilaterally. Alternatively, they may be viewed more generally as insurance against potential lost income stemming from illicit, clandestine salvage - an interpretation that accords with the cases of Indonesia and the Philippines, among others. Where heritage values are not perceived to be in jeopardy, collaborating with treasure hunters may seem preferable to exerting no influence at all.

> "Treasure hunts on land or in the sea might offer nothing but dreams but
> for a country that is troubled by a lack of good corporate governance and

burdened with a huge debt that hampers the process of economic recovery,
they could offer just that bit of hope."

(Arif 2002)

THCs do not just provide a means of exerting control - they afford the *appearance* of control. The symbolic manipulation of sunken heritage an important way for governments to assert authority, gain legitimacy and forge collective identities. By recognizing shipwrecks as national patrimony, aspiring governments signal their cultural sophistication, claiming membership in a community of nations for whom the idea of preservation is bound up with progressive ideas of sustainability, conservation and human rights. By taking command of the erstwhile property of neighboring states and former colonizers, leaders turn a page in the national historic narrative, enhancing their political capital while nurturing public pride. Being seen to be able to locate, recover, interpret and display lost artifacts, harnessing high-tech foreign expertise as needed, shows administrators to be farsighted, proficient and powerful. By advertising their determination to realize the latent economic potential of shipwrecks on behalf of the public welfare - regardless of actual outcomes - political figures cultivate an image of resourcefulness and benevolence.

Taking along-term view of submerged heritage management, one may wonder whether we are witnessing the incremental yet inexorable ascendance of heritage values over economic or an uneasy accommodation in the form of Odyssey-style commercial archaeology. A thorough, synthetic review of the historical evolution of treasure salvage, set against a parallel analysis of the international spread of protective regimes, would lend considerable insight on this question. Although such analysis must await future feats of scholarship, the piecemeal available evidence on THCs suggests a recurring, sequential pattern in the chronological development of national approaches to submerged heritage. Despite wide variation in particulars and pace, this pattern reflects the encroachment of government control over shipwrecks vis a vis the progressive ascription, appropriation, and dematerialization of value.

In the first stage of this developmental sequence, the state lacks the awareness, will, capacity or cause to intercept salvors or to manage submerged cultural resources generally. This is the condition in which many Caribbean nations found themselves a half-century ago and parts of Southeast Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa find themselves today. In the second stage, treasure salvors find it desirable to solicit concessions from host governments, to either forestall competition or avoid the risk of criminal apprehension. Government authority over THCs is somewhat arbitrary, residing with political appointees who grant extensive concessions for a modest stake of 25% or less. The third stage is characterized by the growing number and notoriety of salvors, who are attracted by these generous terms. Government officials, recognizing the financial and political dividends to be gained by exercising control over foreign-run, capital-intensive search and salvage operations, begin to speak of wrecks in terms of national cultural patrimony. In this third stage, THC oversight rests firmly in or is contested between agencies with purviews such as finance, economics, tourism, mines or sub-sea exploration, who are able to extract a 50% share plus fees and payoffs.

With rising public awareness of the damage wrought and profits earned by salvors, friction begins to develop between representatives of a nascent preservation movement and those officials and elites benefiting from treasure salvage. This fourth stage is characterized by an intensified competition, clientelism, and dissimulation salvage beneficiaries and growing objections by museum personnel, university faculty, newly-employed government archaeologists, journalists and other influential citizens.

In the final stage, mounting public pressure, stoked by reports of grossly irresponsible or criminal behavior, channeled by a handful of outspoken preservation advocates, results in the introduction of new legislation restricting or prohibiting private treasure salvage. Management authority over submerged heritage becomes vested with trained heritage professionals in an institution such as a Ministry of Culture, a department of archaeology, or a national museum.

Despite the oversimplification inherent in a 'model' of this kind, which strains to encompass diverse historical trajectories, it provides a useful framework for conceptualizing the contingent fluidity of government stances on CPUCH and submerged heritage management generally. If we hypothetically arrange national governments within a matrix showing their recent historical attitude toward and internal capacities for conducting treasure salvage (Figure 1.), this developmental model describes movement from the upper right to the lower left, a trend that roughly conforms to events seen across the Global South. An important question raised by this proposed is whether lasting, robust heritage management regimes can develop independent of larger processes of economic development and political liberalization.

Capacity / Orientation	High	Medium	Low
Committed	Cuba	Vietnam	Indonesia
Supportive		the Philippines	Mozambique, Chile
Ambivalent	USA, UK		Ecuador, Colombia, Haiti, Jamaica
Intolerant	Australia, China	Mexico, Greece	Cayman Islands, Argentina, Sri Lanka

Figure 4.1 Sample interpretive matrix showing government orientations toward
and capacity for treasure salvage.

Conclusion

Some archaeological diatribes leave the impression that treasure salvage is solely the province of fools and knaves. If examination of THCs shows us anything, however, it is the contextuality of preservation ethics. There is no question of moral relativity here: were the virtues of heritage universally shared and equally esteemed, preservation would not be chronically under-funded in all but a few nations. Although there is naiveté and malfeasance aplenty in THCs, continued government-sponsored treasure salvage may in large part be explained as a rational policy response to the uncontrollable loss of a

valuable and dwindling public resource. Abhorrent as it may seem, such governments may be viewed as discharging their responsibilities to the public by attempting to regulate and redirect such activity. That this involves valorization of select artifacts as well as archaeological destruction and crass commercialization need not be ascribed to ignorance and greed but a historically and culturally conditioned ambivalence toward the symbolic value of certain past remains and a pragmatism born of pervasive material want. Who can say what calculus of value a Caribbean islander should apply to a Spanish galleon, with its coins and crucifixes, or a Southeast Asian individual to a Chinese junk and its cargo of trade porcelain?

There is a gap between the perceptions of the problem in developed and developing countries. Given their radically divergent socioeconomic settings, it is understandable that the uncompromising stance of CPUCH may be perceived in some quarters as elitist. Heritage management, in the Western sense, is a luxury; signing CPUCH does nothing to change the underlying dynamics of heritage loss in LDCs. Even apart from practical and economic considerations, however, there is no reason to assume the philosophical universality of CPUCH's tenets. The Western heritage management paradigm has drawn fire from a number of critics who question its monumental, secular, static, scientific and touristic orientation and its related inability to adequately represent the interests of indigenous peoples and other marginalized groups. Not all countries can claim long-term political and economic stability, let alone the accretive legacy of successively refined conservation philosophies that underlies contemporary Western preservation mores.

It is conceivable that even as THCs mark the intensification of treasure salvage they also signify the maturation of national heritage management regimes. They do, after all, represent the assertion of oversight and control over resources that previously were without protection. To be sure, the attention of treasure salvors, however regulated, is a dubious form of protection. It is arguable that THCs legitimize the private liquidation of a public trust and that, moreover, the systematization they facilitate exhausts the resource more thoroughly than would the piecemeal depredations of clandestine actors. If the

developmental model described above is valid, however, the enactment of THCs may be an unfortunate but unavoidable step along a path toward more sustainable policy alternatives. It would be the height of cynicism not to recognize that at least some governments' use of salvors' services are earnest attempts at heritage management. Perhaps concessions should be therefore be seen as providing an administrative handle by which future policymakers can curb and finally eliminate abusive practices.

Acknowledging the institutional rationality of THCs does not imply their acceptance. It suggests instead the utility of adopting more nuanced persuasive strategies. It seems clear that international sermons on the benefits of in situ preservation will likely fall on deaf ears when the recipients are officials lacking archaeological sensitivities; dedicated to the exercise of what may be historically weak government authority; and personally, professionally and socially committed to the amelioration of poverty. If preservationists' goal is to lay the groundwork for an eventual shift, they must realize that it will not happen in one leap.

CPUCH advocates may earn more international converts if they move from exhortations about the need to protect heritage values from the predations of organized treasure hunters to genuine dialog with relevant government decision-makers about the root causes of vocational looting and the negotiability of institutional incentives for treasure salvage; convincing demonstration of the touristic potential of preservation in non-Western settings; and, above all, strategic action designed to build endogenous archaeological and heritage management capacities.

A provisional yet compelling observation that emerges from this study concerns the inverse relationship between state archaeological capacities and its commitment to treasure salvage. The obvious explanation for this is that it is a simple correlation reflecting an underlying heritage- or treasure-centric ethos. Curiously, however, there is evidence that even lone archaeologists can have significant influence on the direction of official policy toward submerged heritage. The examples of Pilar Luna Erreguerena in

Mexico, Somasiri Devendra in Sri Lanka, Margaret Leshikar-Denton in the Cayman Islands, Dolores Elkin in Argentina and Paulo Monteiro and Filipe Castro in Portugal all demonstrate the power of dedicated individuals to mobilize public support and enlighten political leaders.

By foregrounding the role of government in treasure salvage, I have attempted to productively re-frame the ongoing debate over the fate of submerged heritage. Following the trail of THCs across national contexts and behind rhetorical facades makes apparent that simple dualisms such as archaeology vs. profit, historicism vs. commercialism and heritage vs. economic value, while they may distinguish Western preservationists and salvors, fail to represent the international complexity of government participation in treasure salvage. It is hoped that this analysis will spur more sophisticated research into this and other social forces so rapidly eroding our submerged heritage resource base.

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