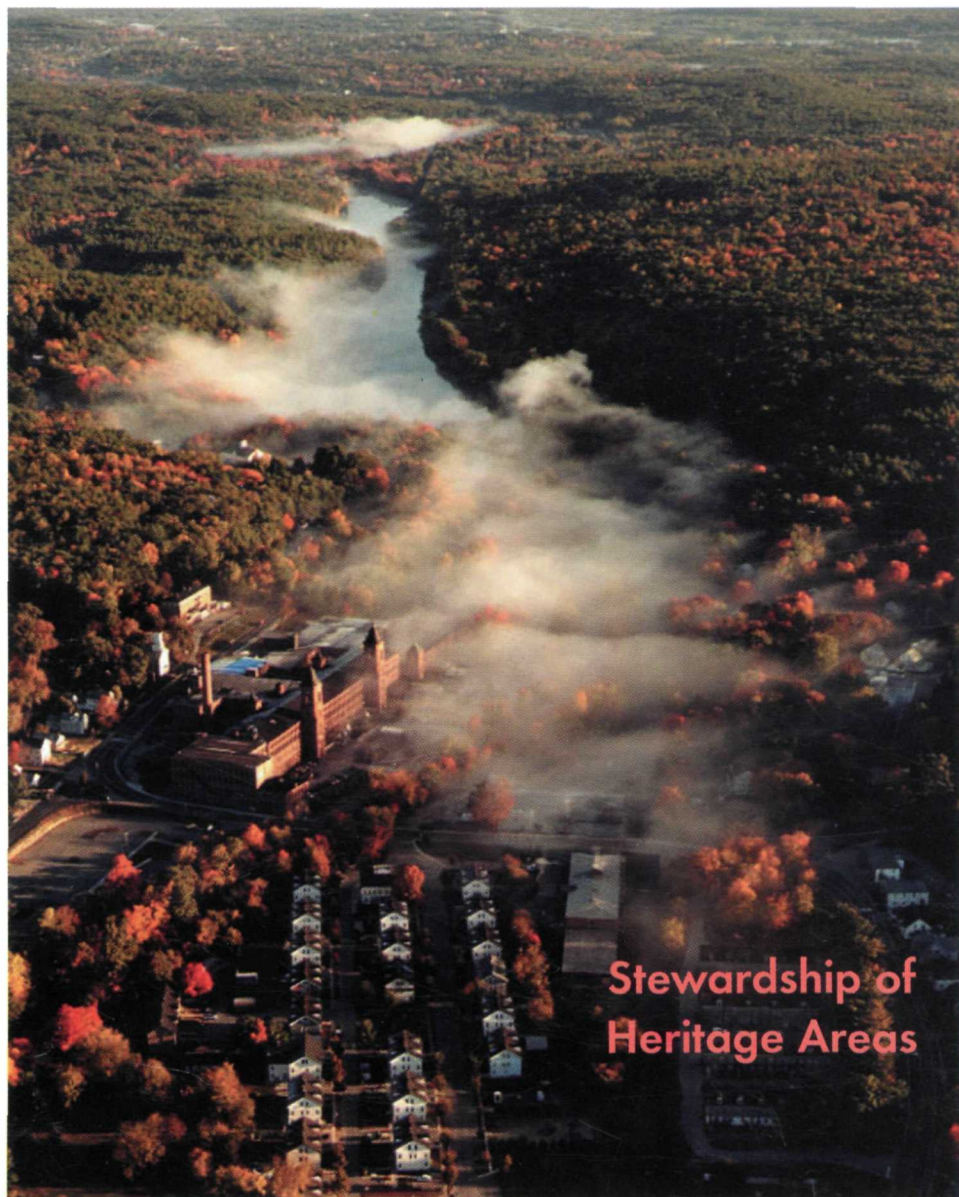


The George Wright  
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**Stewardship of  
Heritage Areas**



### Origins

Founded in 1980, the George Wright Society is organized for the purposes of promoting the application of knowledge, fostering communication, improving resource management, and providing information to improve public understanding and appreciation of the basic purposes of natural and cultural parks and equivalent reserves. The Society is dedicated to the protection, preservation, and management of cultural and natural parks and reserves through research and education.

### Mission

The George Wright Society advances the scientific and heritage values of parks and protected areas. The Society promotes professional research and resource stewardship across natural and cultural disciplines, provides avenues of communication, and encourage public policies that embrace these values.

### Our Goal

The Society strives to be the premier organization connecting people, places, knowledge, and ideas to foster excellence in natural and cultural resource management, research, protection, and interpretation in parks and equivalent reserves.

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ROBERT M. LINN, Membership Coordinator  
EMILY DEKKER-FIALA, Conference Coordinator  
P. O. Box 65 • Hancock, Michigan 49930-0065 USA  
1-906-487-9722 • fax 1-906-487-9405  
info@georgewright.org • <http://www.georgewright.org>

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# Society News, Notes & Mail



## **Nearly 850 Attend GWS/CR2003 Conference**

Despite the uncertainties of war and significant budget squeezes, the George Wright Society / Cultural Resources 2003 joint conference drew a very healthy crowd of almost 850 people to San Diego in April. This was the 12th in a series of conferences dating back to 1976 and which have been organized by the Society since 1982. The attendance was the highest ever since the GWS became involved. Over 130 sessions covering an exceptionally wide range of natural and cultural resource topics were held. If you missed it, you can still get a feel for the meeting by browsing the abstracts on-line at [www.georgewright.org/2003abstracts.pdf](http://www.georgewright.org/2003abstracts.pdf). A conference proceedings CD and book containing over 80 papers is in preparation. If you are a GWS member, you will be notified upon publication. If not, you can ask to be notified by sending a message to [info@georgewright.org](mailto:info@georgewright.org).

## **GWS Signs on to Iraq Looting Letter**

In mid-April the Society added its name to an urgent letter that went out to top American officials soon after the deplorable ransacking of the National Museum in Baghdad became known. The letter asked the American president, secretary of state, and secretary of defense to take immediate and decisive steps to intervene to stop the looting and destruction of Iraq's cultural treasures. The letter read in part: "As leaders of national organizations representing millions of Americans who believe that the material culture inherited from our ancestors constitutes one of humanity's greatest treasures, we call on you to use all means at your disposal to stop the pillaging and protect cultural sites and institutions of Iraq. These include historic sites, historic urban districts, cultural landscapes, buildings of unusual aesthetic values, archaeological sites, museums, libraries, archives and other repositories of cultural property and human memory." The letter was signed by, among others, the American Anthropological Association, Archaeological Institute of America, National Geographic Society, National Trust for Historic Preservation, Society for Historical Archaeology, and the U.S. Committee for ICOMOS (International Council of Monuments and Sites).

## **The Society at the World Parks Congress**

The Society will be well represented at the fifth World Parks Congress (WPC), upcoming in Durban, South Africa, this September. The WPC is the largest professional meeting devoted to parks and protected areas, and is held only once every ten years. It is organized by IUCN-The World Conservation

Union through its Protected Areas Program office and with the assistance of the World Commission on Protected Areas, IUCN's global volunteer network of park professionals. The Durban meeting will, as one would expect, have a strong African theme, but attendance from around the world assures a global focus.

The GWS will be represented by three members of the current board of directors: Dave Parsons, director of the Aldo Leopold Wilderness Research Institute; Rick Smith, an NPS retiree who has been deeply involved with the International Ranger Federation; and Stephen Woodley, chief scientist of Parks Canada. In addition, Dave Harmon, the GWS executive director, will attend. Parsons and Harmon will both take part in a pre-Congress mountain protected area workshop, and Harmon will also be involved in the launch of a new book, *The Full Value of Parks: From Economics to the Intangible*, which he co-edited with Allen D. Putney. We will provide a report from Durban in the December issue.

## **A New Logo for the GWS ... and a New Look for the Forum**

We hope you will have already noticed the updated look to this issue of the *Forum*. We've refreshed our style to accompany the new GWS logo, which you can see in full color on the back cover. The GWS board decided last year to have the logo professionally re-designed to make it simpler and more intelligible. Our original logo, you'll recall, was a view of Earth as if you were standing on the surface of the moon. The view of the entire world at once was intended to convey the holistic aspect of the GWS mission, covering parks everywhere. In the original logo, the continents and seas were partially obscured by swirling clouds, which made the intended symbolism more difficult to understand. The new logo is essentially a stylized version of the old one, with the grey "swoosh" motif representing the moonscape and the blue and green semi-detached circle the Earth. The two colors signify our dual mission of promoting the science and heritage values of parks. In addition, the new logo incorporates the Society's name as an integrated element. The logo is being introduced to all Society publications and our website, which itself is in the process of a major re-design.

## **From Yellowstone to Africa**

"Beyond the Arch: Community and Conservation in Greater Yellowstone and East Africa" is the theme of the 7th Biennial Scientific Conference on the Greater Yellowstone Ecosystem. The event will be October 6-8, 2003, at Mammoth Hot Springs. The goal is to generate, in non-technical language, a publicly oriented discussion of issues that draw together national parks in the Greater Yellowstone Area and East Africa. Participants will make comparisons and foster dialogue across boundaries marking the intersections of global and local, private and public, natural and cultural, and scientific and social spheres. Managers, scientists, policy-makers, and the public will come together to discuss and consider the interdependence of both nature-society relations and natural

and cultural history in local and global contexts. The conference will promote understanding of the ecological and social challenges facing parks in the Greater Yellowstone Area and East Africa, and initiate the development of useful strategies for sustaining the national park idea at the dawn of the 21st century. Featured speakers will include Richard Leakey, a leader in fighting political corruption and the destruction of Kenya's natural resources, and global spokesperson for conservation. Details at: [www.nps.gov/yell/technical/conference.htm](http://www.nps.gov/yell/technical/conference.htm).

## Errata

A reader has pointed out an error and a possible point of confusion in Robert M. Dunkerly's article "Our History's History" in the last issue (Volume 20, Number 1). First, the National Park System Advisory Board is referred to as "congressionally appointed" when in fact its members are appointed by the secretary of the interior. Second, we were reminded that referring to the law that created the National Park Service as the "Organic Act" with capital letters (as Dunkerly did ... and we often have!) is misleading. As our reader notes, if one goes to the U.S. Code and looks up "Organic Act" one will come up empty-handed because there is no such law. The term "organic act" (lowercased) properly refers, in a generic way, to any law creating an agency. The correct name of the NPS organic act is the "National Park Service Act of 1916," and that is how one can find it in the Code.





## Stewardship of Living Landscapes

**I**t is timely to dedicate an issue of *The George Wright Forum* to the heritage areas movement. This is an important direction in conservation, as demonstrated by the growth in the number of heritage area initiatives at every level in the United States. Today there are twenty-three congressionally designated heritage areas and corridors and more than a dozen proposals for additional national areas. A number of new state heritage programs have joined the established ones in New York and Pennsylvania, and literally hundreds of regional grassroots initiatives are underway across the country.

While the first national heritage area was designated as recently as 1984, the concept of conserving important lived-in landscapes—by harnessing the energy of every level of government and, most critically, of the people who live in them—has been under development for over thirty years. These ideas have been tested not just in the United States, but also in Europe and, now, around the world. The shift has been from a straightforward park model with a sharp boundary, owned and managed by a public agency, to large landscapes with multiple owners and complex partnerships as the managing entity. This collection of papers examines global trends in conservation stewardship, reviews the historical development of heritage areas in the United States, and examines some of the benefits of this collaborative approach in telling richer stories and tackling daunting preservation projects.

We are indeed fortunate to have Adrian Phillips' paper to lead off this issue of the *Forum*. Titled "Turning Ideas on Their Heads: The New

Paradigm for Protected Areas," the article looks at the new models for conservation that are emerging around the world. The classic view of protected areas has been that of the government-owned, government-run national park units as developed in the United States. Through careful comparison of international trends in conservation, Phillips demonstrates that the approach to protected areas has shifted radically from a top-down, regulatory one to an inclusive vision with shared management and multiple objectives that include those of the community.

His work, along with Brent Mitchell's, provides an international perspective and allows for thoughtful comparisons between international trends and some of the innovations in protected areas here in the United States. The similarities between the conservation practices in other countries around the world and the experience in designating large living landscapes as heritage areas are striking. The opportunity for placing these new larger living landscapes in a con-

servation framework broadens the context of our work and increases the public benefit.

Brenda Barrett and Glenn Eugster provide a historical context for the emergence of national heritage areas in the United States. Tracing both ideas on landscape-based conservation within the federal government and such outside societal influences as transportation and suburban sprawl, these papers track the development of a new partnership role for the National Park Service. This is characterized by a fundamental shift in control and governance that empowers the people who live in special places with the responsibility for telling their stories and caring for their resources. Laura Gates and Nancy Morgan illustrate how national park units and national heritage areas can work together to preserve a larger whole. The successful partnership of the Cane River Creole National Historical Park and the larger Cane River National Heritage Area recognizes the unique value the local community can add to interpretation of place and the power that partnerships bring to resource conservation. As new heritage areas are proposed that incorporate larger expanses of public lands, particularly in the West, these models of collaboration between land manager and community will become more and more significant.

Finally, national heritage areas can play a critical role in saving at least something of what Constance Bodurow calls the “big and dirty” industrial landscapes. Such areas as the Ford Rouge Plant and the steel valleys in Pittsburgh are of unparalleled

significance, but present an overwhelming management challenge to a park-based agency. Her overview defines the scale of the issue and offers an alternative to the total loss of these resources by transforming how we think of their preservation.

Although the national heritage area movement is still young, it is not too early to try and place the ideas that give it energy within the larger context of community-based conservation. Developing a heritage area at any governmental level involves working in partnership across political and disciplinary boundaries. It is a strategy to achieve conservation in concert with compatible economic development, whether renewing traditional economic pursuits or finding new ways to sustain the people that give the landscape life. The goal is to maintain resource values, both natural and cultural, as well as maintaining community vitality: to manage change with losing the spirit of place.

Forty-five million people live within the boundaries of existing national heritage areas. The proposed new areas showcase strong partnerships with national park units, Western landscapes, diverse stories, and even more people. For this reason alone the National Park Service and all organizations that care about conserving the American landscape should look closely at this phenomenon. Adrian Phillips suggests that this new paradigm may offer unparalleled potential to view protected areas in a broader context and to build support among residents and their political leaders.

Finally, it is valuable to understand that these areas are not out of step with



the history of resource protection in the United States and around the world. Undoubtedly, the idea of what constitutes a heritage area will continue to evolve and new and innovative ways to address the conservation of

living landscapes will be explored. New possibilities for conservation with communities are still developing, and we hope that the ideas in this issue will provide both background and a starting point for future work.

**Brenda Barrett**, National Coordinator for Heritage Areas, National Park Service, 1849 C Street NW, Washington, DC 20240; [brenda\\_barrett@nps.gov](mailto:brenda_barrett@nps.gov)

**Nora Mitchell**, Director, Conservation Study Institute, National Park Service, 54 Elm Street, Woodstock, Vermont 05091; [nora\\_mitchell@nps.gov](mailto:nora_mitchell@nps.gov)



# Turning Ideas on Their Head

## The New Paradigm For Protected Areas

### Introduction

**T**he ideas that this paper brings together will be individually familiar to resource managers, protected area planners and managers, and other conservation experts, but they may not have considered their combined significance. So its purpose is not so much to break new ground as to suggest that the changes that have occurred in our thinking and practice towards protected areas over the past 40 or so years amount to a revolution. But while the merits of many of these individual changes have been fiercely debated, their collective significance, which can be traced in the decisions of four world parks congresses, has largely gone unnoticed. Yet taken together they have produced a new paradigm for protected areas in the 21st century. Powerful forces have helped to bring about this new paradigm—and they will have an even greater influence on protected areas thinking and practice in future.

### Protected Areas

A starting point is a definition of “protected area.” IUCN adopted this in 1994:

[An] area of land and/or sea especially dedicated to the protection and maintenance of biological diversity, and of natural and associated cultural resources, and managed through legal or other effective means (IUCN 1994).

The Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) uses a different definition:

[A] geographically defined area which is designated or regulated and managed to achieve specific conservation objectives (Article 2).

In practice these definitions are only marginally different. Either would suffice for the purposes of the argument in this paper. Note that both of them consider protected areas:

- To be area-based concepts that might be found anywhere;
- To require specific measures (dedication, designation, regulation) for the purposes of biodiversity conservation (i.e., protection and maintenance);
- To require management, delivered through legal or other effective means; and
- By implication, to require that some kind of management authority is in place to secure conservation.

There are some 60,000 protected areas around the world—that is, places that satisfy the IUCN definition and are held in the database kept by the United Nations Environment Program’s World Conservation Monitoring Center (UNEP/WCMC) at Cam-

bridge, United Kingdom. However, fewer than a quarter of these are large enough to be included in the United Nations List of Protected Areas, whose listings are normally restricted to areas greater than 10 sq km. The U.N. list is published every few years; the last edition dates from 1997 (IUCN 1998a).

Protected areas are managed for many purposes and nationally have been called by many different names. To bring some order into this complicated situation, IUCN has developed a system of protected area categories, based on primary management objectives (IUCN 1994). All categories are intended to fit within IUCN's overall definition of a protected area. These categories are summarized in Table 1.

### A Classic View of Protected Areas

It is traditional (and correct) to accord to the United States the honor of pioneering protected areas in their classic form, as government-owned, government-run areas set aside for protection and enjoyment. This model was, and remains, a simple but powerful expression of peoples' concern to protect their heritage for all time. If this paper sets out to show why it is now often regarded as incomplete, and in some situations potentially counterproductive, this is not to diminish its achievements in many countries, nor to suggest that it has no role to play in the future.

Notwithstanding the leadership role of the USA, in fact the idea of for-

Table 1. IUCN categories of protected areas (IUCN 1994)

Category	Description
Ia	<b>Strict Nature Reserve:</b> Protected area managed mainly for science.
Ib	<b>Wilderness Area:</b> Protected area managed mainly for wilderness protection.
II	<b>National Park:</b> Protected area managed mainly for ecosystem protection and recreation.
III	<b>Natural Monument:</b> Protected area managed mainly for conservation of specific natural features.
IV	<b>Habitat/Species Management Area:</b> Protected area managed mainly for conservation through management intervention.
V	<b>Protected Landscape/Seascape:</b> Protected area managed mainly for landscape/seascape conservation and recreation.
VI	<b>Managed Resource Protected Area:</b> Protected area managed mainly for the sustainable use of natural ecosystems.

mally designated protected areas—national parks in particular—took root in a number of countries around the same time. The origins of Yosemite National Park go back to 1864, and Yellowstone National Park, of course, came into being in 1872. But the Portuguese colonial government of Brazil initiated what is now Tijuca National Park in 1861. The British colony of New South Wales (Australia) reserved a number of areas west of Sydney for protection and tourism in the 1860s and 1870s, some of which later became part of Blue Mountains National Park. In 1879, Royal National Park was created in the wilds south of Sydney as a natural recreation area for its burgeoning population. In 1885, Canada protected hot springs in the Bow Valley of the Rocky Mountains; part of this became Banff National Park. Several forest reserves were set up in South Africa in the last years of the nineteenth century. In 1887 in New Zealand, the Maori Chief Te Heuheu offered the Crown 2,400 ha of sacred mountain summits, which later became Tongariro National Park Act. The provincial or state tier of governments also started to create protected areas: the province of Ontario in Canada created Queen Victoria Niagara Falls Park in 1885, and Algonquin National Park (later Algonquin Provincial Park) in 1893 (Holdgate 1999).

While the modern protected areas movement had 19th-century origins mainly in the then “new” nations of North America, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, other countries were quick to follow. During the twentieth century, the idea spread

around the world, though the driving force has been different in different regions. For example, in Africa, the emphasis was on creating large game parks; in Europe, a focus on landscape protection was more common.

The inspiration of the United States was much in evidence in this worldwide trend—creating a family of “Yellowstone’s children” (Everhart 1972). Indeed, active marketing of the U.S. experience has a long history. Thus, the 1940 Washington Convention on Nature Protection and Wildlife Preservation in the Western Hemisphere called on contracting parties to create protected areas, of which the principal model was national parks, *sensu* USA. The first two world parks congresses were held in the United States (Seattle in 1962; Yellowstone and Grand Teton national parks in 1972). Beginning in 1965, the USA (and Canada) hosted a very influential annual short course on parks for young conservation leaders from around the world. Also, the international office of the U.S. National Park Service helped many countries to establish national parks. Pride in the American achievement was evident: as the writer Wallace Stegner said, “National Parks are the best idea we ever had. Absolutely American, absolutely democratic, they reflect us at our best rather than our worst” (Stegner 1983).

As protected areas were set up in more and more countries, it became more difficult to generalize about why they were established and how they were managed. Nonetheless, for many years the classic model dominated thinking, and was at the center of

much national legislation to set up protected areas. This view was reinforced by IUCN's advisory, promotional, and training work in this field, which treated national parks as *primus inter pares* among the different kind of protected areas.<sup>1</sup> These ideas were delivered on the ground in many parts of the developing world through support given to national park projects by FAO (the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, in which U.S. experts played a very influential role, especially in Latin America), and (after its establishment in 1972) UNEP, as well as by some other donors. Also, many countries set up specialized agencies (national parks services) to manage these areas.

At least until around the mid-1960s, the climate in which protected

areas were set up favored a top-down and rather exclusive view of protected areas. Setting up large game parks without too much concern for the impact on local people fitted well with the autocratic style of colonial administration (especially in Africa), and it was equally at home in the early days of post-colonial government which followed many of the same styles of administration. Thus, modeled in part on the 1940 Western Hemisphere Convention, the 1968 Africa Convention on Nature and Natural Resources encouraged the creation of protected areas from which local people would be excluded, though tourists (and their activities such as sport fishing) would be welcome (see Table 2).

Certainly the opinions and rights of indigenous peoples were of little con-

Table 2. Extracts from the 1968 Africa Convention on Nature and Natural Resources.

*Conservation area* "means any protected natural resource area, whether it be a strict natural reserve, a national park, or a special reserve...."

*Strict nature reserve* "means an area ... under State control ... throughout which any form of hunting or fishing ... [is] strictly forbidden ... where it shall be forbidden to reside, enter, traverse or camp...."

*National park* "means an area ... under State control ... exclusively set aside for the propagation, protection, conservation and management of vegetation and wild animals ... in which the killing, hunting and capture of animals and the destruction or collection of plants are prohibited ... and [in which measures are taken] to enable the public to visit these parks.... [S]port fishing may be practised with the authorisation and under the control of the competent authority...."

*Special reserve* "means other protected areas such as: 'game reserve' ... within which the hunting, killing or capture of fauna shall be prohibited ... where settlement and other human activities shall be controlled or prohibited; 'partial reserve' or 'sanctuary' ... an area set aside to protect characteristic wildlife.... 'Soil,' 'water,' or 'forest' reserve shall denote areas set aside to protect such resources."

cern to any government before about 1970; these groups were not organized as a political force as they are now in many countries. Even in more developed countries, the prevailing view until about the 1960s was that governments knew best, and public opinion was something for officials to help shape, not to be influenced by. Moreover, the scientific foundation for protected areas was often limited: the basis upon which areas were selected, and their boundaries drawn, often involved arbitrary judgment based on superficial knowledge. More generally, the idea of inter- or multi-disciplinary working was in its infancy. The great majority of people working in their

area or profession made little effort to build bridges to others employed in related topics; protected areas were no exception. In short, many protected areas came into being at a simpler time in a less complex world.

It is this context that accounts for the main features of the classic model, or paradigm,<sup>2</sup> of protected areas as it was before, say, 1970, and which are summarized in Table 3.

Of course, Table 3 is a bit of a caricature, and certainly a rather crude generalization that overlooks many of the detailed ways in which protected area management in one country differed from that in another. Nonetheless, it captures the prevailing values

**Table 3. A classic model of protected areas (adapted from Phillips 2002).**

<p><b>Objectives</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● “Set aside” for conservation, in the sense that the land (or water) is seen as taken out of productive use</li> <li>● Established mainly for scenic protection and spectacular wildlife, with a major emphasis on how things look rather than how natural systems function</li> <li>● Managed mainly for visitors and tourists, whose interests normally prevail over those of local people</li> <li>● Placing a high value on wilderness—that is, on areas believed to be free of human influence</li> <li>● About protection of existing natural and landscape assets—not about the restoration of lost values</li> </ul> <p><b>Governance</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Run by central government, or at least set up at instigation only of central government</li> </ul>	<p><b>Local people</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Planned and managed against the impact of people (except for visitors), and especially to exclude local people</li> <li>● Managed with little regard for the local community, who are rarely consulted on management intentions and might not even be informed of them</li> </ul> <p><b>Wider context</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Developed separately—that is, planned one by one, in an <i>ad hoc</i> manner</li> <li>● Managed as “islands”—that is, managed without regard to surrounding areas</li> </ul> <p><b>Management skills</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Managed by natural scientists or natural resource experts</li> <li>● Expert-led</li> </ul> <p><b>Finance</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Paid for by the taxpayer</li> </ul>
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held by protected areas professionals and political leaders at the time.

**Charting the Changes in Thinking**

To help chart the progress in thinking about protected areas since, an analysis has been undertaken of the topics chosen for recommendations at the four global protected areas events that have occurred since 1962. These are the first (Seattle, 1962), second (Yellowstone/Grand Teton, 1972), third (Bali, 1982), and fourth (Caracas, 1992) world parks congresses. Also included in the analysis are two other international protected area

of the texts of the recommendations tends to bear out the following conclusions.

The First World Conference on National Parks adopted a number of brief recommendations, but not all of them focused on protected area policy. Several addressed institutional questions (e.g., support for the newly founded World Wildlife Fund), site-specific issues (e.g., Galapagos), and species conservation issues. Table 4 includes only those recommendations that relate to protected area policy in general.

**Table 4. Topics of relevant recommendations of the First World Conference on National Parks, Seattle, USA, 1962 (Adams 1962).**

5: Park interpretation services
6: Research into undisturbed biotopes
7: Management to be based on scientific research
8, 9, 10: Protected areas definitions and standards
11: Exclusion of damaging development
13, 14: Inclusion of support for protected areas in aid programs
15: Marine protected areas
22: Species protection by protected areas

[Because the original recommendations were only given numbers, titles have been added by the author.]

events held since 1992, and the themes selected for the fifth congress to be held in Durban, South Africa, in September 2003. Each congress was (or will be) a global gathering of protected area and other conservation experts, addressing the issues that they regard as the most pressing. The strictly limited number of recommendations adopted at each event forced a prioritization that can be quite revealing. Of course this is a crude form of analysis on its own, but detailed study

The recommendations adopted by the Second World Conference on National Parks were much more clearly focused on what were then seen as the global priorities for protected areas. They are set out in Table 5.

The most remarkable thing about this list, fully borne out by a detailed analysis of the texts of the recommendations, is the failure to address the connections between protected areas and questions of development in general, and between protected areas and

**Table 5. Topics of recommendations of the Second World Conference on National Parks, Yellowstone and Grand Teton national parks, USA, 1972 (National Parks Centennial Commission 1973).**

1.	Conservation of Representative Ecosystems
2.	Conservation of Tropical Forest Ecosystems
3.	Conservation of North and Sub-Polar Ecosystems
4.	Marine National Parks and Reserves
5.	Establishment of Antarctica as a World Park under U.N. Administration
6.	International Parks
7.	Regional Systems of National Parks and Other Protected Areas
8.	Conservation of the World Heritage
9.	Wetlands Convention
10.	Standards and Nomenclature for Protected Areas
11.	Integrity of National Parks and Equivalent Reserves
12.	Usage of National Parks
13.	Detrimental Effects of Vehicles, Boats, and Aircraft in National Parks and Other Protected Areas
14.	Research on National Park Values
15.	Planning of National Parks and Other Protected Areas
16.	Exchange of Information
17.	Technical and Financial Assistance for National Parks
18.	Training
19.	Interpretation Services for National Parks
20.	Education in National Parks and Other Protected Areas

the areas around them in particular. There is also little interest shown in local communities or indigenous peoples—except as a threat to protected areas. And no direct attention is given to biodiversity and genetic resources conservation. From today’s perspective, these products of the 1972 conference in Yellowstone appear to represent an inward-looking and narrow view of protected areas. They produce a much more comprehensive agenda than that adopted at Seattle, and may be said to capture the priorities of advocates of the classic paradigm in Table 3.

**Toward a New Paradigm**

It is instructive to compare Table 5 with the topics of recommendations adopted by the Third World Parks Congress in Bali, Indonesia, ten years

later (see Table 6). While some themes are the same or similar, there are a bunch of recommendations that address a wholly new agenda—see those emphasized in italics. Even familiar topics, like poaching, are considered from a much more constructive viewpoint, with as much stress on alternative sources of income for local people as on combating illegal activities. In place of education in protected areas has come the much bigger challenge of building public support for protected areas. In this way, by making the link between protected areas and development questions, and by acknowledging the key role of local and indigenous groups, Bali represented a real watershed.

Analysis of the recommendations adopted at the Fourth World Congress on National Parks and Protected

**Table 6. Topics of recommendations of the Third World Congress on National Parks and Protected Areas, Bali, Indonesia, 1982 (McNeely and Miller 1984).**

1.	Information on Protected Areas
2.	Global System of Representative Terrestrial Protected Areas
3.	Marine and Coastal Protected Areas
4.	Antarctica
5.	<i>The Role of Protected Areas in Sustainable Development</i>
6.	Threats to Protected Areas
7.	Combating Poaching
8.	<i>Environmental Planning and Protected Areas</i>
9.	<i>Protected Areas and Traditional Societies</i>
10.	<i>Conservation of Wild Genetic Resources</i>
11.	<i>Development Assistance and Protected Areas</i>
12.	Management of Protected Areas
13.	Protected Areas Personnel: Training and Communication
14.	Development of Public Support for Protected Areas
15.	Voluntary Assistance for Protected Areas
16.	World Heritage Convention
17.	Biosphere Reserves
18.	International Agreements and Protected Areas

Areas, Caracas, Venezuela, shows a number of further new themes emerging. This congress took place just before the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) and was clearly influenced

by issues that were to come to the fore in Rio de Janeiro a few months later, such as global change and biodiversity conservation; see italicized recommendations in Table 7 below. It should be noted, however, that other

**Table 7. Topics of recommendations of the Fourth World Congress on National Parks and Protected Areas, Caracas, Venezuela, 1992 (McNeely 1993).**

1.	Strengthening the Constituency for Protected Areas
2.	<i>Global Change and Protected Areas</i>
3.	<i>Global Efforts to Conserve Biodiversity</i>
4.	Legal Regimes for Protected Areas
5.	External Forces Threatening Sustainability
6.	<i>People and Protected Areas</i>
7.	<i>Financial Support for Protected Areas</i>
8.	<i>Protected Areas and the Sustainable Use of Natural Resources</i>
9.	Tourism and Protected Areas
10.	<i>Partnerships for Protected Areas</i>
11.	Marine Protected Areas
12.	Information, Research, and Monitoring
13.	<i>Ecological Restoration</i>
14.	Water and Protected Areas
15.	Development Planning and Natural Resource Use
16.	Expanding the Global Network of Protected Areas
17.	Protected Area Categories, Management Effectiveness, and Threats
18.	Building Protected Areas Institutions
19.	Developing Protected Areas Professionalism
20.	Biosphere Reserves

new ideas, such as encouraging (supranational) regional strategies for protected areas and promoting the idea of corridors between protected areas, were included in the Caracas Action Plan but not in the recommendations adopted there (see McNeely 1993; Holdgate and Phillips 1999).

In the years since Caracas, ideas about protected areas have continued to evolve rapidly at the international level. Thus, the first Latin American Congress on National Parks and Other Protected Areas (Santa Marta, Colombia, 1997), gave priority to (a) the spiritual dimension of protected areas; (b) the emerging impacts on protected areas of an increasingly globalized free-market economy; and (c) the changing role of protected area agencies, from “managers” to “regulators” (Castaño Uribe 1997). In the same year, IUCN convened a “mid-term” meeting five years after the

Caracas Congress in Albany, Australia. The theme was “From Islands to Networks,” and the meeting emphasized the importance of bioregional planning as a context for protected areas management (IUCN 1998b).

It is of course too soon to say what will be decided at the forthcoming Fifth World Parks Congress to be held in Durban, South Africa, in September 2003, but the pre-congress draft list of proposed topics for recommendations is analyzed in Table 8.<sup>3</sup>

Table 9 attempts to synthesize this analysis by showing how various themes have emerged over the course of these five congresses while others have declined in importance. The grouping of recommendations is subjective, as is the assignment of recommendations. Moreover, the titles are far less important than the contents of the decisions. Also, it is noticeable that over time the range of issues covered

**Table 8. Draft topics for recommendations at the Fifth World Parks Congress, 2003.**

1. Protected Areas and Global Change
2. Protected Areas and The CBD
3. *Protected Areas in Africa*
4. Protected Areas and Extractive Industry
5. Protected Areas and Tourism
6. Protected Area Categories for the 21st Century
7. Protected Area and Mountains
8. Transboundary Protected Areas
9. *Spiritual Values of Protected Areas*
10. Linking Protected Areas to International Programmes
11. *Urban Protected Areas*
12. Protected Areas and Armed Conflict
13. Protected Areas and Politics
14. *Governance for Protected Areas*
15. Capacity Building for the 21st Century
16. Protected Areas and Information Technology
17. Management Effectiveness of Protected Areas
18. Financial Security for Protected Areas
19. Building Comprehensive Protected Area Systems
20. Communities and Equity
21. Marine Protected Areas

Table 9. Changing priorities for world parks congresses.

Topic	Recommendations adopted at (or proposed for):				
	1 <sup>st</sup> (1962)	2 <sup>nd</sup> (1972)	3 <sup>rd</sup> (1982)	4 <sup>th</sup> (1992)	5 <sup>th</sup> (2003)
Ecosystem coverage (including marine)	15	1, 2, 3, 4, 5	2, 3, 4	11, 14, 16	7, 19, 21
Standards, definitions, information	8, 9, 10	10, 16	1	12, 17	6, 16, 17
Threats, pressures, global change	11	11, 12, 13	6, 7	2, 5, 9	1, 4, 5, 12
Technical assistance, finance	13, 14	17		7	18
Interpretation, education	5	19, 20	14		
Species, genetic resources, biodiversity	22		10	3, 8	
Research, science	6, 7	14			
Law, planning, and management		15	12	4	
Training, capacity building		18	13	18, 19	15
Conventions, transboundary, etc.		6, 7, 8, 9	16, 17, 18	20	2, 8
Building support, partnerships			15	1, 10	13
Development, bio- regional scale, etc.			5, 8, 11	15	10
People (including indigenous peoples)			9	6	20
Ecological restoration				13	
Governance					14
Spiritual values					9
Urban links					11

N.B.: the proposed region-specific recommendation on Africa at the Vth Congress has been excluded from this analysis.

under the topic headings has increased greatly, so titles alone can be misleading. Nonetheless, this analysis serves to illustrate what has been seen as important at different ten-year stages over the past 40 years, and to that extent the broad trends are clear.

This analysis of the topics chosen for recommendations at the world parks congresses between 1962 and 2003, albeit a subjective one, reveals

how much ideas about protected areas changed in quite a short time. A number of critical external events were responsible for moving the agenda of the world parks congresses over this period. At the international level, the most important were:

- The 1972 United Nations Conference on the Human Environment held in Stockholm (which may be seen as signaling the end of a colo-

- nial period of conservation);
- The development around the same time of the biosphere reserve concept as part of the Man and Biosphere program of the U.N. Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, with its idea of a core area for strict protection surrounded by buffer and transitional zones, and its integration of conversation and development;

- The publication of the World Conservation Strategy in 1980, which expressed new thinking on conservation and its relationship to development (IUCN 1980); and
- The adoption of Agenda 21 and the CBD at the 1992 UNCED.

These same events influenced (and reflected) thinking about people and nature in general over the same period—see Table 10.

**Table 10. Summary of people—nature problematics in international conservation, 1960-1999 (Jeanrenaud 2002)**

<i>Variable</i>	<i>1960+</i>	<i>1980+</i>	<i>1990+</i>
<b>Perception of nature</b>	Wilderness	Ecosystem; biodiversity; ecoregions	Culture in nature and nature in culture
<b>Environmental values</b>	Theocentric and anthropocentric	Anthropocentric and cosmocentric	Anthropocentric and cosmocentric
<b>Diagnosis of environmental problems</b>	Overpopulation; exceeding the land's carrying capacity	poverty; overpopulation	Power relations; North-South inequalities; what <i>counts</i> as a problem and to <i>whom</i> ?
<b>Representations of local people</b>	People are the threat	People can't be ignored; people are a resource	Align with rural people
<b>Solutions and technologies</b>	Exclusionary protected areas	Buffer zones, integrated conservation and development programs; sustainable use; community-based conservation	Alternative protected areas; participatory natural resource management; human rights
<b>Power relations</b>	Alliances with elites	Technocratic alliances	Alliances with grassroots
<b>Key influences</b>	Colonial conservation; elitist interests	Sustainable development debate; growing concern for livelihoods	Democracy/human rights movement; participatory development; post-modern influence on natural and social sciences

Author's note: Whereas the 1980+ column corresponds very well with the message in the World Conservation Strategy of 1980, the 1990+ column seems to go beyond UNCED and Agenda 21. Perhaps this most recent group of ideas challenges governments too much to find expression in an international agreement. Nonetheless, the ideas in the right-hand column are beginning to influence thinking profoundly, especially the idea of linking human rights and environmental protection. Indeed, what seems to be emerging is the idea of an environmental human right as against, or as well as, a theory of rights of nature.



## The Modern Paradigm for Protected Areas

The result is the emergence of a new paradigm for protected areas, one which contrasts in almost every respect with that which prevailed 40 or even 30 years ago. The essential elements of the paradigm at the outset of the 21st century are listed in Table 11. The contrasts with the classic model (Table 3) are summarized in Table 12.

None of the ideas in Table 11 (summarized in the right-hand column of Table 12) is particularly novel. They are becoming the standard ways of working among professionals in the protected areas business in many countries, although progress with some issues is more rapid than with others. The contrast with the classic model is very striking. In almost every respect, established ideas that pre-

**Table 11. The main elements of the modern paradigm for protected areas.**

<p><b>Objectives</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Run also with social and economic objectives as well as conservation and recreation ones</li> <li>• Often set up for scientific, economic and cultural reasons—the rationale for establishing protected areas therefore becoming much more sophisticated</li> <li>• Managed to help meet the needs of local people, who are increasingly seen as essential beneficiaries of protected area policy, economically and culturally</li> <li>• Recognizes that so-called wilderness areas are often culturally important places</li> <li>• About restoration and rehabilitation as well as protection, so that lost or eroded values can be recovered</li> </ul> <p><b>Governance</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Run by many partners, thus different tiers of government, local communities, indigenous groups, the private sector, NGOs, and others are all engaged in protected areas management</li> </ul> <p><b>Management technique</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Managed adaptively in a long-term perspective, with management being a learning process</li> <li>• Selection, planning, and management viewed as essentially a political exercise, requiring sensitivity, consultations, and astute judgment</li> </ul> <p><b>Finance</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Paid for through a variety of means to supplement—or replace—government subsidy</li> </ul>	<p><b>Local people</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Run with, for, and in some cases by local people—that is, local people are no longer seen as passive recipients of protected areas policy but as active partners, even initiators and leaders in some cases</li> <li>• Managed to help meet the needs of local people, who are increasingly seen as essential beneficiaries of protected area policy, economically and culturally</li> </ul> <p><b>Wider context</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Planned as part of national, regional, and international systems, with protected areas developed as part of a family of sites. The CBD makes the development of national protected area systems a requirement (Article 8a)</li> <li>• Developed as “networks,” that is, with strictly protected areas, which are buffered and linked by green corridors, and integrated into surrounding land that is managed sustainably by communities</li> </ul> <p><b>Perceptions</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Viewed as a community asset, balancing the idea of a <i>national</i> heritage</li> <li>• Management guided by international responsibilities and duties as well as national and local concerns. Result: transboundary protected areas and international protected area systems</li> </ul> <p><b>Management skills</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Managed by people with a range of skills, especially people-related skills</li> <li>• Valuing and drawing on the knowledge of local people</li> </ul>
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Table 12. Contrasting paradigms: a summary of Tables 3 and 11 (adapted from Phillips 2002).

	<i>As it was: protected areas were...</i>	<i>As it is becoming: protected areas are...</i>
<b>Objectives</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Set aside for conservation</li><li>• Established mainly for spectacular wildlife and scenic protection</li><li>• Managed mainly for visitors and tourists</li><li>• Valued as wilderness</li><li>• About protection</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Run also with social and economic objectives</li><li>• Often set up for scientific, economic, and cultural reasons</li><li>• Managed with local people more in mind</li><li>• Valued for the cultural importance of so-called wilderness</li><li>• Also about restoration and rehabilitation</li></ul>
<b>Governance</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Run by central government</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Run by many partners</li></ul>
<b>Local people</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Planned and managed against people</li><li>• Managed without regard to local opinions</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Run with, for, and in some cases by local people</li><li>• Managed to meet the needs of local people</li></ul>
<b>Wider context</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Developed separately</li><li>• Managed as “islands”</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Planned as part of national, regional, and international systems</li><li>• Developed as “networks” (strictly protected areas, buffered and linked by green corridors)</li></ul>
<b>Perceptions</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Viewed primarily as a national asset</li><li>• Viewed only as a national concern</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Viewed also as a community asset</li><li>• Viewed also as an international concern</li></ul>
<b>Management techniques</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Managed reactively within short timescale</li><li>• Managed in a technocratic way</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Managed adaptively in long-term perspective</li><li>• Managed with political considerations</li></ul>
<b>Finance</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Paid for by taxpayer</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Paid for from many sources</li></ul>
<b>Management skills</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Managed by scientists and natural resource experts</li><li>• Expert-led</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Managed by multi-skilled individuals</li><li>• Drawing on local knowledge</li></ul>

vailed only 30 years ago have been turned on their heads. The result is a revolution in our approach to protected areas.

Putting this new paradigm into action calls for a new, more people-focused protected areas legislation, such as that adopted in Peru or Brazil

(though existing laws can often be stretched to accommodate many of the new approaches); the “re-engineering” of protected areas people; the re-education of politicians and the public so that they understand the new model of protected areas; and the re-orientation of development assistance

policies so as to integrate protected areas into poverty reduction projects and strategies. Bringing about such a revolution has not been easy. There are many people who—for good reasons or bad—do not wish to hear that the values and policies associated with protected areas are now very different from those that prevailed in the past. And indeed there may be some in the profession who still yearn for the old certainties.

### **The Forces Behind the Changes**

The forces that have driven these changes are increasingly powerful. It is not the aim of this paper to analyze them in detail: the implications are very broad, since they touch on many aspects of the way that society operates and how nature functions. But it is possible to identify the main factors that have brought about a very different way of looking at conservation issues, and the management of natural resources in general and of protected areas in particular. These relate to scientific understanding, cultural and social awareness, the acknowledgment of human rights, political developments, general developments in management practice, technological advances, and economic forces.

Scientific understanding has taught us, for example, that many protected areas are too small to function effectively and need to be joined up with others, or set in an ecologically friendly landscape, if the species within them are to survive. It has also shown us that the human impacts on what were previously thought of as pristine environments, from the Amazon forest to the Australian outback, have often

been significant—thereby to some extent undermining the power of the wilderness argument. It has revealed many new frontiers for conservation, especially in the marine environment, including the high seas, and many new challenges, such as climate change. It has also shown that techniques exist for ecological restoration.

Cultural and social awareness encourages greater respect for local communities and traditional and indigenous peoples, an understanding of the true character of their relationship with nature, and an appreciation of the sustainable practices that many of them have followed. This too has led people to question the value of the wilderness concept, since many so-called wilderness areas are in fact the homelands of indigenous peoples. The views and experience of women are acknowledged now to be of special importance, and there is concern that ethnic minorities should not be marginalized; this too affects views of the relationship between protected areas and the people living in or near them. More generally, greater understanding of the values held by different sectors of society has made it incumbent on protected area managers to listen to the views of local people and to respond to their concerns. The current pre-occupation with stakeholder analysis is an expression of this.

Linked to this has been the emergence in recent decades of an international doctrine and law on human rights, especially the rights of indigenous peoples, particularly in relation to the environment. This is evident in the International Labor Organization's Convention 169, the draft Dec-

laration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, and the Inter-America Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. In response, governments have been obliged to make big changes in how they approach protected areas in indigenous territories. In Latin America, the Arctic, New Zealand, and Australia, for example, governments are transferring responsibility for management, and even for initiating protected areas, to local communities. Respect of indigenous rights and awareness of the values of indigenous knowledge have been reinforced through the implementation of international conservation agreements. Thus the CBD includes article 8(j), which specifically calls on countries to work with indigenous and local communities. And even though conventions dating from the early 1970s, notably Ramsar (wetlands) and World Heritage, do not include such measures, their implementation (and that of UNESCO's Man and Biosphere Program) has been increasingly guided by the need to be sensitive to cultural diversity and the values of indigenous groups.

It is impossible to generalize about political developments, but several broad trends do seem to be underway in many parts of the world, in Africa, Latin America, Eastern Europe, India, China, and so on. For example, greater democratization and the devolution of power from the center to regional and local tiers of government (including indigenous peoples) means that central government is no longer the only government agency that creates or manages protected areas: provincial, municipal, and local governments are

also more and more involved. The enhanced role of civil society favors non-governmental organizations (NGOs) playing an increasingly important role in protected areas. Greater use of market mechanisms to effect change, deliver services, or manage processes impact in many ways on protected areas and how they are managed. For example, private individuals are creating their own reserves, commercial ventures are more involved in delivering aspects of protected area management, and protected area managers have to approach their job in a more business-like way. At the other end of the scale, governments increasingly recognize that protected areas are in part an international responsibility. This is sometimes very precise, for example where a site is designated under the World Heritage or Ramsar conventions (or regional agreements such as those in Europe), and sometimes it is a more general sense of responsibility encouraged particularly by the requirements of the CBD to conserve biodiversity *in situ*.

General developments in management practice have affected protected area management in a number of ways. For example, in the latter part of the 20th century it has become clear that making connections across professional and institutional boundaries is one of the biggest challenges facing governments and managers of all kinds. For protected areas, this means making connections to the areas around and adopting a multi-disciplinary approach. Another broad trend in management in general is away from detailed master plans and towards the adoption of a strategy of clearly

defined objectives coupled with adaptive forms of response; this too finds an echo in protected areas practice.

Technological advances also have their impact on protected areas management. It is not just that IT or GIS make possible the handling and sharing of vast amounts of data and information, but that they create a different set of understandings and expectations among all concerned. In particular, they encourage a belief that the boundaries to what are possible are not so often technical as they are human and political.

Finally there are economic forces, ranging from the global to local, but all putting pressure on protected areas planners and managers. As these pressures have grown, so the management of protected areas has been 'invaded' by economic theory. Managers have had to master the language of values and benefits that protected areas represent, and to adopt more business-like approaches to the care of these places, including the requirement to develop business plans. Increasingly, this has included the idea of generating income to supplement government subventions.

### **Some Critical Reflections on the Modern Paradigm**

As noted at the outset of this paper, the current approach to protected areas is now widely shared. It accords well with prevailing political, economic, and scientific conditions. But it is not without major problems and the reality is that it is not always easy to operate the modern paradigm. Here are several of the criticisms that are sometimes heard:

- *Devolution of political power from the center has led to the break-up of some protected area agencies with unfortunate results.* An extreme case is Indonesia, where the parks system in a country of globally important biodiversity has, to a large extent, been undermined by the breakdown of central control and widespread corruption. Several vital sites (such as Gunung Leuser National Park in Sumatra) face wholesale destruction from a range of threats; Jakarta has neither the will nor the ability to do much to defend the area in a political climate that encourages the ruthless extraction of natural resources.
- *Stakeholder participation and community involvement may be essential but they can make great demands of resources (staff, time, and money) from over-stretched protected areas agencies.* Also, they call for fine political judgments about who stakeholders are and how conflicting interests can be determined and reconciled. Sometimes it is all too difficult and managers complain of "analysis paralysis" and "stakeholder fatigue."
- *We should not be naïve about the willingness or ability of all local communities to support conservation and sustainable use.* Not every community has responsible traditions in its use of natural resources; modern hunting technology (e.g., high-velocity rifles) can change the balance between hunters and wildlife; and a community with a fast-growing population has a different impact on natural resources than one with a stable population.

How to build partnerships with local people in the context of such challenges poses major dilemmas for many protected area managers.

- *In our enthusiasm for people-based conservation, we are in danger of diminishing the achievements of government-managed, strictly protected areas.* That is not the intention; in fact, government-owned and -managed parks that are strictly protected against all kinds of exploitative use will remain the cornerstone of many countries' systems of protected areas. The new paradigm is not intended to undermine the value of such places but to show how their management has changed (or should change) radically, and to stress that the contribution that other kinds of protected areas can make is equally important. It also a reminder that all governments try to meet the demands of many different groups and therefore find it hard to support protected areas at the expense of other interests. The relevance of new paradigm is that it offers more scope for negotiation.
- *We are in danger of making the manager's job undoable.* The demands of stakeholder analysis are only one part of the protected area manager's ever-expanding set of responsibilities. He or she is expected to master (or at least employ experts in) many new and complex areas of expertise (business skills and fundraising, economics, conflict resolution, public relations, and so on) on top of natural resource and visitor management. Now the manager is being

urged to think beyond the protected area's boundaries, to engage in bioregional planning initiatives (see below), and even to address wider social problems faced by ethnic minorities in nearby cities.

There are many more such difficult questions, and no easy answers to them. The modern paradigm may indeed represent the outcome of a revolution in protected areas management, but it greatly complicates the task of management. Nonetheless, as the last part of this paper shows, it is fast becoming a reality.

### **The Modern Paradigm in Action**

Three examples of the application of the new approach to protected areas planning and management are briefly explored, with references to on-the-ground action: community-conserved areas, bioregional planning/ecological networks, and protected landscapes and seascapes (IUCN protected area management category V). They all suggest that the cutting edge of protected area work has moved into very different fields from those that received most attention 30 years ago.

#### **Community-conserved Areas<sup>4</sup>**

Community-conserved areas (CCAs) may be thought of as natural ecosystems containing significant biodiversity value that are conserved by communities that depend on these resources, either culturally, for their livelihoods, or both. While conservation efforts may or may not include outside support, the three key features are that the local communities:

- Are concerned about the ecosys-



tem though their relation to it;

- Take effective action to maintain or enhance biodiversity; and
- Are major players (usually *the* major players) in decision-making and implementing decisions.

It is becoming clear that while such areas provide a potentially important new tool in the conservation armory, they have often gone unrecognized. There are several reasons for this. Many government conservation agencies are just too busy running their own protected areas, and hard pressed financially, to reach out to support community initiatives. Some conservation experts do not believe that local people can live alongside nature and conserve it. In some countries, legal and policy frameworks do not recognize the role of local people in conservation. Finally there are many countries where indigenous peoples and rural communities have yet to secure their full legal rights to the territories and resources that they have occupied or used in the past.

Yet the importance of CCAs is considerable, for they are far more common than was previously appreciated. In South Asia, for example, it is estimated that there are many such areas under community protection (Kothari, Pathak, and Vania, 2000). They exist too in the form of sacred groves in Africa, as “tapu” areas in the South Pacific, or as “hemas” reserves in pastoral communities of western Asia. They are common also in many parts of the world, ranging from the Arctic to tropical rainforests, where indigenous peoples have long lived close to nature. So where the efforts of local people to conserve their own

environments go unrecognized and unsupported, it means that a major contribution to conservation (and a ready-made tool for building local support for conservation) is being neglected. Nonetheless, there are encouraging signs that some governments are coming to see the value of treating local and indigenous communities as partners (see Table 13).

It is important to keep a sense of proportion. Not all community-based resource use is sustainable and not every local group will manage nature in a responsible way. But there is enough hard evidence now, from many parts of the world, to show that the idea of CCAs needs to be recognized as a fourth arm of conservation, alongside the efforts of governments, NGOs, and the private sector. There are important lessons being learned too about why such approaches work better in some countries than in others. For example, CCAs will thrive where power is devolved to local people, human rights are respected, and decision-making is transparent and equitable. Where this happens, CCAs contribute to conserving biodiversity and landscapes but also demonstrate the integration of conservation and development, contribute to national protected area systems, and are part of ecological networks and bioregional planning (see next section).

### **Bioregional Planning/ Ecological Networks**

IUCN has recently published a review of ecological networks (Bennett and Wit 2001). It draws in part on earlier unpublished work by Miller and Hamilton (1997). What these

**Table 13. Some examples of the successful partnerships between government and CCAs**  
(source: personal communications as shown)

<b>Country</b>	<b>Initiative</b>	<b>Brief description</b>	<b>Significance</b>
Australia	indigenous protected areas (IPAs)	IPAs allow indigenous landowners to declare that they will manage their lands mainly for protection of natural and associated cultural resources	IPAs account for nearly 17% of total protected areas estate in Australia <i>Source: Steve Szabo</i>
Mexico (state of Oaxaca)	community protected natural areas	laws recognize community land and resources, community land-use planning, and local decision-making	local communities in Oaxaca (the most biodiverse rich region of Mexico) protect nearly 200,000 ha <i>Source: Gonzalo Oviedo</i>
Ecuador (Cofan de Bermejo)	negotiations over rights of indigenous groups	transfer of responsibility of ecological reserve from government to local federation of indigenous groups	50,000 ha of land will be managed by local people with outside support <i>Source: Gonzalo Oviedo</i>
Colombia (Indiwasi National Park)	negotiations over rights of indigenous groups	transfer of responsibility of national park from government to indigenous groups (first of 47 in Colombia)	70,000 ha of land will be managed by local people with outside support <i>Source: Gonzalo Oviedo</i>
Samoa (Safata and Aleipata Marine Protected Areas)	establishment of marine protected areas for sustainable fisheries	local communities have taken the initiative to define and establish MPAs (including “no-take zones”) in the waters and coastal areas of the District Communities of Safata and Aleipata	30,000 ha + of land/sea will be protected and managed by customary laws and regulations, approved by government in community-prepared management plans <i>Source: Pedro Rosabal</i>
Isle of Eigg, Scotland, U.K.	community-based purchase of the island	small island community, in partnership with Scottish conservation NGO and regional agency, bought island for conservation and sustainable development	7,500 hectares of high biodiversity and scenic value now conserved by local people who have developed sustainable forms of tourism <i>Source: Web site</i>

overviews show is that there are initiatives now underway in many parts of the world to promote large-scale planning for conservation and sustainable resource use, which involve developing networks of protected areas linked with other land and water zones, all managed in an integrated way. Such initiatives go by several different names that relate to similar concepts (e.g., ecological networks, bioregional

planning, landscape-scale or ecoregion-based planning).

Bennett and Wit found 150 such schemes in all, and studied 38 in detail. Of these, over a third were being implemented. Their examples are found in all parts of the developed and developing worlds. As the examples in Table 14 show, ecological networks vary greatly in size, from county to continental scale, and the aims

sometimes differ too. Several of them involve two or more countries. Roughly half of such initiatives are government-led, with the rest inspired by NGOs. Many form parts of international programs (e.g., biosphere reserves); others are stand-alone schemes. But while the initiatives differ widely in many respects, they have certain features in common:

- They focus on conserving biodiversity at the ecosystem, landscape, or regional scale, rather than in single protected areas;
- They emphasize the idea of ecological coherence through encouraging connectivity;
- They involve buffering of highly protected areas with eco-friendly land management areas;
- They include programs for the restoration of eroded or destroyed ecosystems; and

- They seek to integrate economic land use and biodiversity conservation.

All these schemes have important implications for the established protected areas within them. National parks and other protected areas become the “anchors” of the network, the core areas around which buffers are created and between which corridors are established; they also set the standards toward which restoration schemes can aspire. Such projects, therefore, have the effect of linking the protected areas to the surrounding land and water areas, and to the regional economy. They also provide a framework within which privately, publicly, and communally owned land can be managed through voluntary agreements for a common cause. While early indications of the benefits of bioregional planning are encourag-

**Table 14.** Some ecological network/bioregional planning initiatives (Bennett and Wit 2001).

<b>Title of initiative</b>	<b>Areas involved</b>	<b>Leading organizations</b>	<b>Main objectives</b>	<b>Main components</b>
Mesoamerican Biological Corridor	eight Meso-american countries (multi-national)	inter-governmental leadership	halt biodiversity loss, ecosystem fragmentation; integrate with regional development, including integrated coastal zone management and MPAs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• core areas</li> <li>• corridors</li> <li>• buffer zones (multiple use areas)</li> </ul>
Yellowstone–Yukon	Canadian and U.S. Rockies (bi-national)	NGO alliance	ensure that wilderness, wildlife, native plants, and natural processes continue to support natural and human communities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• wildlife cores</li> <li>• connecting movement corridors</li> <li>• transition areas</li> </ul>
Netherlands Ecological Network	The Netherlands (national)	Dutch Ministry of Agriculture, Nature Management and Fisheries	create coherent network for species and habitats; stimulate self-sustaining natural processes; develop/restore connectivity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• core areas</li> <li>• ecological corridors</li> <li>• buffer zones</li> <li>• nature development areas</li> </ul>
Cheshire Econet	Cheshire County, U.K. (local)	Cheshire County Council/E.U. LIFE program	manage landscape for people and wildlife, and improve the connections between surviving wildlife habitats	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• core areas</li> <li>• restoring and re-connecting landscape features</li> </ul>

ing, a major challenge over the next few years will be to assess the true value of these initiatives for biodiversity conservation and sustainable development. A particular challenge will be to establish how effective such large-scale initiatives are in linking with local people on the ground. (For a thoughtful analysis of the relationship between local participation and one of the largest bioregional projects, the Mesoamerican Biological Corridor, see Rivera et al. 2003.)

The institutional and capacity-building implications of bioregional or ecological network planning are indeed formidable. Three kinds of challenges arise:

- To build the capacity to plan and manage at a scale that is unfamiliar to most protected area managers;
- To foster stakeholder participation for a wide range of partners, which can be very challenging given the complex social and economic implications of working at a large geographic scale; and
- To establish cooperative institutions to ensure the delivery of results, where previously agencies were typically more narrowly focused (Miller 1996).

While it is not suggested that protected area managers—with their limited responsibilities and geographically circumscribed powers—should lead such initiatives on their own, their full involvement in them is essential. Nothing illustrates more the need for protected area management to be outward-looking and connecting with the

world around than the development of such initiatives.

### **IUCN Protected Area Management Category V: Protected Landscapes and Seascapes**

Table 1 summarizes the IUCN management categories for protected areas. While IUCN insists that *all* categories are important, traditionally the focus of most conservation attention has been on categories I–IV, the so-called strictly protected areas. These are areas in which the human presence—though it often exists—is kept at a minimal level. The need for them is greater than ever if much biodiversity is to be protected. However, there is now also a growing interest in protected areas which are lived-in landscapes, that is categories V and VI, the so-called multiple-use protected areas.<sup>5</sup> To promote interest in the approach, IUCN has just published guidelines on the management of Category V protected areas: *Protected Landscapes and Seascapes* (Phillips 2002). This section draws on that advice.

In the *IUCN Guidelines for Protected Area Management Categories* (IUCN 1994), category V, protected landscape/seascape, is defined thus:

[An] area of land, with coast and sea as appropriate, where the interaction of people and nature over time has produced an area of distinct character with significant aesthetic, ecological and/or cultural value, and often with high biological diversity. Safeguarding the integrity of this traditional interaction is vital to the protection, maintenance and evolution of such an area.

With more than 50 years of experience in Europe, and a growing body of experience from elsewhere, it is now

possible to identify with confidence the main features of the category V approach. Thus it is concerned with both people *and* their environment, and with a range of natural and cultural values. It focuses on areas where people–nature relationships have produced a landscape with high aesthetic, ecological, biodiversity, or cultural values, and which retains integrity. It views communities, and their traditions, as fundamental to the success of the approach; therefore, stakeholder and partnership approaches are needed. The approach recognizes the need to support the stewardship role of the private landowner or manager (including that of land trusts or similar bodies). It usually involves management arrangements that are resolved through decision-making at local government or community levels. It can bring social, economic, and cultural benefits to local communities, along with environmental, cultural, educational, and other benefits to a wider public. It requires that management activities are integrated, promote sustainability, and help to resolve conflicts. Properly run, such areas can offer models of sustainability for wider application elsewhere in rural areas. But as with all protected areas, category V protected areas require effective management systems, including objective setting, planning, resource allocation, implementation, monitoring, review, and feedback.

Several reasons explain why so little international interest was shown in category V protected areas in the past. It was seen (wrongly) as an essentially Euro-centric idea which had little application elsewhere, and as a super-

ficial concern with how places *look*. Also most scientists argued that the global priority should be the remaining core “natural” areas. Such views prevailed also because of the dominance of biologists, zoologists, and other natural scientists in the conservation movement. Finally, there was the power of the essentially North American model of a national park: a simple concept that stood in marked contrast to the complex idea of protecting environments that people had occupied and shaped for perhaps thousands of years. The contrast is illustrated by Table 15.

The focus is now being placed more on outstanding, lived-in landscapes because of important conceptual and operational advances in conservation and protected areas. Thus, conservation biology has shown the need to work at the ecosystem scale and across the wider landscape, through bioregional planning (see above) in which lived-in landscapes must form a part. It is accepted too that protected areas cannot be treated as islands, but must be seen in their larger context. The existence of “paper parks”—areas protected in name only—shows that reliance on regulation and enforcement is costly and too often fails. Also, there is a new understanding of the link between nature and culture. Thus healthy landscapes are shaped by human culture as well as by the forces of nature; rich biological diversity often coincides with cultural diversity; and conservation cannot be undertaken without the involvement of those people closest to the resources (Brown and Mitchell 2000).

**Table 15. Categories II and V contrasted.**

<b>Characteristic</b>	<b>Typical situation in Category II National Parks</b>	<b>Typical situation in Category V Protected Landscape/seascape</b>
natural environment	apparently “natural” ecosystems	greatly modified ecosystems
management objectives	ecosystem conservation and tourism	landscape protection, tourism, local economy and culture, sustainable use
principal economic land uses	tourism	farming, forestry, tourism
land/water ownership	mainly publicly owned	mainly privately owned
management agency	central/provincial government	provincial/local government
human settlement	limited (sometimes illegal)	long established, “part of the scene”

Although the greatest concentration of category V protected areas is to be found in Europe, under names such as regional nature park (France), nature park (Spain), protected landscape area (Czech Republic), and national park (U.K.), there are category V protected areas in many other parts of the world. Examples are:

- The small island developing states in the Caribbean and the Pacific;
- The traditional farming lands of the Andes;
- The traditional coffee-growing areas of Mexico and Central America;
- The long-settled landscapes of eastern parts of the USA and Canada;
- The growth, within the U.S. national park system, of new protected areas relying on partnerships with local communities;
- Wildlife dispersal areas of East Africa;
- The ancient “hemas” reserve and irrigation systems of Saudi Arabia;

- The mountain communities of the Himalayas, e.g., the Annapurna Conservation Area, Nepal;
- Japan, where many national parks are managed as Category V protected areas; and
- The rice terraces of the Philippines.

In 1997, WCMC recorded 3,178 category V protected areas in its database, covering in total 676,892 sq km—that is, 23.8% in terms of the number of all protected areas and 11% in terms of area covered (IUCN 1998a). The publication of IUCN’s guidelines for category V protected areas (see above) is an indication that this is becoming a growth sector for new protected areas.

### **Conclusion**

It is not the purpose of this paper to diminish in any way the value of strictly protected areas, nor to disparage the achievements of this kind of conservation. Well-managed protected areas of all categories are needed more than ever. Indeed, in many places biodiversity conservation will not be secured



without a still greater effort to protect large parts of the planet against exploitation of any kind. But it is essential to adopt new ways of managing these, and in any case strictly government-owned and -managed protected areas alone are no longer enough. What is called for in the 21st century, and what is now emerging in the new paradigm, is a broader way of looking at protected areas.

It is broader in three senses:

- By including a wider range of actors among those who initiate and manage protected areas, of which CCAs are an example;
- By working at a far broader scale than hitherto, as exemplified by ecological networks and bioregional planning; and
- By broadening our understanding of the range of possibilities encompassed in the definition of

a protected area and the IUCN protected area categories, so that we can embrace parts of the lived-in landscape, for example as category V protected areas.

There have in fact been huge conceptual advances in thinking about protected areas over the past 30–40 years, as this paper has shown. In theory, at least, we know now what needs to be done to achieve successful protected areas. The challenge, as always, is to apply the theory. This requires that we develop support among people and their political leaders for protected areas. This in turn depends upon us being able to show the benefits that they can bring to society. That is the theme —Benefits Beyond Boundaries—of the Fifth World Parks Congress to be held in Durban this coming September.

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### Endnotes

- 1 Thus, the first title of what is now the *United Nations List of Protected Areas* was *United Nations List of National Parks and Equivalent Reserves*. The first title of the IUCN commission on the topic was the International Commission on National Parks (later Commission on National Parks and Protected Areas, now World Commission on Protected Areas). The title of the 1962 and 1972 congresses were “International Conference on National Parks,” the 1982 event was called the “Third World Congress on National Parks” that in 1992 was entitled “Fourth World Congress on National Parks and Protected Areas,” while that which is planned for 2003 will be the “World Congress on Protected Areas.”
- 2 “Paradigm” is used here to mean a prevailing pattern of concepts and attitudes which together constitute an ideal for the planning and management of protected areas.
- 3 The author added the titles as the originals were only numbered.
- 4 See the IUCN/WCPA web site: <http://wcpa.iucn.org/>.
- 5 This section draws in particular from material provided by Grazia Borrini-Feyerabend, Ashish Kothari, and Gonzalo Oviedo, to whom I am therefore indebted.
- 6 Though category V is unique among the categories in its emphasis on *interaction* between

people and nature, it shares with category VI the idea of multiple use. Many of the reasons for a growing interest in category V apply to category VI as well, for example the emphasis on sustainable use of natural resources. But there is an important difference. While category V protected areas are lived-in landscapes that have been extensively modified by people over time, the definition of category VI speaks of an “area of predominantly unmodified natural systems,” which is to be managed so that at least two-thirds of it remains that way.

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**Adrian Phillips**, Senior Advisor to IUCN on World Heritage, 2 The Old Rectory, Dumbleton near Evesham WR11 6TG, United Kingdom; [adrianp@wcpa.demon.co.uk](mailto:adrianp@wcpa.demon.co.uk)



# International Models of Protected Landscapes

## Introduction

Our concepts of parks and protected areas—what they should protect, how, and even why—have expanded greatly in recent decades, as described in the article by Adrian Phillips in this issue. Both by necessity and design, models of conservation are increasingly more inclusive, embracing both natural and cultural values of lands where the two are related and indeed closely interdependent. Protected landscapes—outstanding, lived-in lands shaped by people over time—have produced a level of interest within the international conservation community such that guidelines for their designation and management have recently been developed. Examples of protected areas that include many or all of the characteristics of the protected landscapes model are growing in number and diversity, including heritage areas (and other park partnership areas) in North America. Examining some of this recent work in the context of international guidelines may inform future site-specific efforts, while contributing to the growing understanding of the challenges and benefits of protecting landscapes worldwide.

### Protected Landscape/Seascape

Here, the term “protected landscape” follows the IUCN definition (IUCN 1994), which is quoted by Phillips elsewhere in this issue. Safeguarding the integrity of the traditional interaction between people and the environment is vital to the protection, maintenance, and evolution of protected landscapes. As described below, areas meeting this definition are given diverse names in different countries; thus, the IUCN categories are set out to apply a standard name to areas meeting this definition, in this case, Category V Protected Landscapes/Seascapes. Approximately one-quarter of the protected areas listed in the most recent *United Nations List of Protected Areas* (IUCN 1998) are cate-

gory V protected areas. By area, protected landscapes constitute slightly more than one-tenth by the world's protected area estate. However, because the capacity of the international community to recognize protected landscapes is relatively new, the number and extent of areas that meet the criteria without formal designation may be underrepresented in these figures.

The principle distinction of category V is its emphasis on the interaction of people and nature. Over much of the world, healthy landscapes are shaped by human culture as well as nature. Rich biological diversity often coincides with cultural diversity.

As both a practical and ethical matter, failure to include diverse interests

intimately in protected area decisions is becoming increasingly unacceptable. In all but the most narrow of circumstances, conservation cannot be effective without the involvement of people closest to the resources. Protected landscapes make conservation possible in places where people live and work. They are the kind of places most likely to be the focus of community-based management. This has geographic and educational implications, as conservation is not just something that happens in a remote reserve distant from the experience of most people, but in their back yard, where they can see it.

This is not in any way to diminish or discount the importance of other kinds of protected areas to conservation. There is and always will be a vitally important role for strict nature reserves, wilderness areas, Category II national parks, and natural monuments. Protected landscapes should be seen as a complement to these types of protection models, not as competition. Indeed, as the field of ecosystem design becomes increasingly sophisticated, protected landscapes could be designated between and around more restrictive protected areas to provide buffer zones and habitat connectivity.

Ecosystem science is increasingly indicating the necessity of managing at large geographic scales to achieve functional benefits in ecosystem services, adding to the well-recognized need for suitable habitat for wide-ranging species. Protected landscapes offer opportunities for carrying out conservation over large areas; for example, as part of North American

initiatives such as the Yellowstone-to-Yukon (Y2Y) and Northern Appalachians–Acadia ecoregion projects.

### **Management Guidelines**

Aware of the growing importance of protected landscapes, IUCN sought to provide guidance to them. A handbook on protected landscapes had been published by P. H. C. “Bing” Lucas in 1992, but was in need of updating in light of a wealth of new experience. A task force was established for the purpose, leading to the publication of management guidelines last year (Phillips 2002). The guidelines describe considerations for the planning and management of protected landscapes, providing guidance gleaned from experts from around the world. The guidelines are, in turn, founded upon 12 principles, listed in Table 1.

Because they are inherently cultural, protected landscapes are of course very different in appearance and expression in different regions and countries. Applying a common definition to all of them—and suggesting guidelines for their management—is not intended to homogenize their development or care. To the contrary, the very point is to celebrate and preserve their natural and cultural diversity.

### **Examples of Protected Landscapes**

North American conservationists are perhaps most familiar with Category V Protected Landscapes of Europe, especially Western Europe. The management model, at least as we recognize it today, developed there during

**Table 1. Twelve principles for the management of category V protected areas (Phillips 2002).**

1.	Conserving landscape, biodiversity, and cultural values are at the heart of the category V protected area approach.
2.	The focus of management should be on the <i>point of interaction</i> between people and nature.
3.	People should be seen as stewards of the landscape.
4.	Management must be undertaken <i>with</i> and <i>through</i> local people, and mainly <i>for</i> and <i>by</i> them.
5.	Management should be based on co-operative approaches, such as co-management and multi-stakeholder equity.
6.	Effective management requires a supportive political and economic environment.
7.	Management of category V protected areas should not only be concerned with protection but also enhancement.
8.	When there is an irreconcilable conflict between the objectives of management, priority should be given to retaining the special qualities of the area.
9.	Economic activities that do not need to take place within the protected landscape should be located outside it.
10.	Management should be business-like and of the highest professional standard.
11.	Management should be flexible and adaptive.
12.	The success of management should be measured in environmental <i>and</i> social terms.

this century, especially since World War II. All of the national parks in the United Kingdom are in fact Category V protected landscapes, as are the French regional parks.

**White Carpathians Protected Landscape Area.** In the White Carpathian Mountains on the border of the Czech Republic and Slovakia, unnatural habitats have long been created and maintained by management of meadows for hay (Figure 1). Today there is no longer a significant market for the hay, and the meadows are filling in. Working in the White Carpathian Protected Landscape Area (PLA; formally, two PLAs on either side of the border), conservation groups recognize the natural and cultural value of these meadows and are working to keep them open. For some, the most important value is cultural, keeping alive a tradition that long defined their agrarian communities. Others stress the importance of biodiversity; species richness is reduced when the land is allowed to return to a “natural” forest-

ed state. Residents value the aesthetic qualities of the meadows and fields, and growing tourism interest in the area is placing an economic value on the appearance of the landscape as well. Efforts to preserve the landscape are taking many forms, including reintroduction of extensive grazing on a reduced scale, voluntary mowing of the meadows by traditional means (with a hand scythe) as a cultural activity, and more overt habitat manipulation, such as mechanized mowing as a substitute for agricultural practices. Efforts are continuing to find mechanisms for maintaining the benefits of traditional use of the land while adapting to the reality that the economic underpinnings of that use are gone, probably forever.

**Pisac Cusco Potato Park.** In the Andes of Peru, seven Quechua communities are proposing a “potato park” to ensure the future of agrobiodiversity in their area (Figure 2). Many varieties of potato and other crops have been developed here over thou-





**Figure 1.** The interaction of people and nature is disrupted by systemic economic change. The traditional agricultural activities in the White Carpathian Protected Landscape Areas spanning the border of the Czech Republic and Slovakia are no longer viable. Efforts are ongoing to restore meadow management by restoring some of the viability and accentuating the cultural benefits of maintaining the tradition. Photo: Jessica Brown.

sands of years. Creation of a protected landscape will not only protect the land these important genetic resources are on, but also the local knowledge needed to care for them and the cultural heritage intimately associated with them. It will help to ensure that this rich landscape continues to be managed in traditional ways, and should secure the rights of the local communities to maintain their custodial function of the resources (Alejandro Argumedo, personal communication).

These examples are put forward because of the clarity with which they illustrate the concepts of the interconnectedness of people and nature. However, landscapes do not have to be pastoral, nor shaped over millennia, to

be worthy of protection.

### **Relevance to Heritage Areas**

As previously mentioned, protected landscapes as a broad management category will appear in strikingly different forms in different cultural, political, and economic contexts. The advent of national heritage areas (and similar areas not presently considered for the specific designation) in the United States certainly relates to the international model described here. Table 2 provides a brief comparison of suggested criteria for national heritage areas and key characteristics of protected landscapes, indicating several points of parallel philosophy. The overlap is not perfect, of course. Protected landscapes do not emphasize

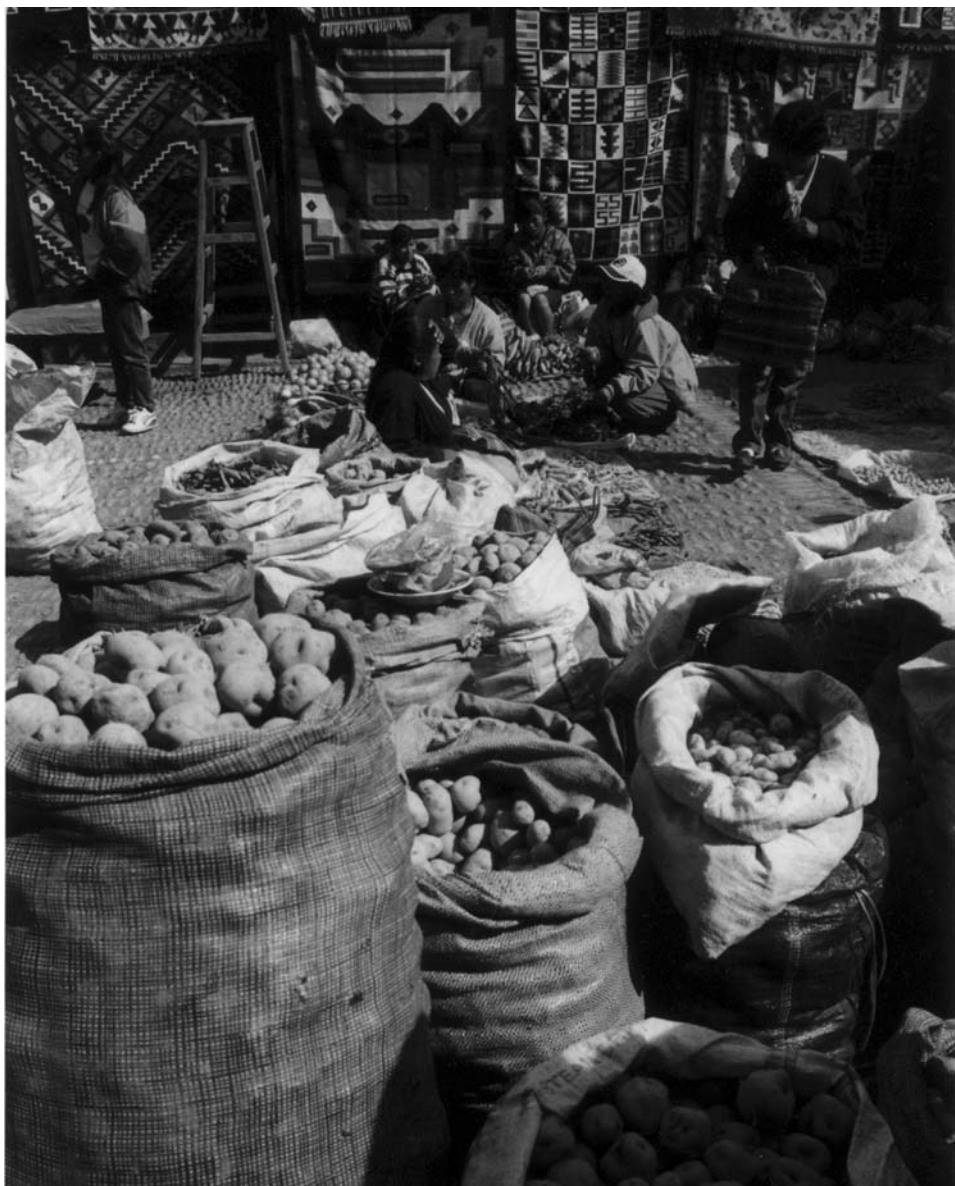


Figure 2. The interaction of people and nature over millennia in the Andes has produced areas of great agrobiodiversity. Seven Quechua communities in Peru are proposing a protected landscape to preserve genetic diversity of potato and other crops, and the local knowledge of how to care for them. Photo: Jessica Brown.

historical aspects (as a subset of cultural values) as do many heritage areas, for example.

And yet the affinities are very strong. A workshop on areas managed through National Park Service (NPS)



**Table 2. Comparison of characteristics of heritage areas and protected landscapes. Heritage area column derived from NPS 2003; key characteristics of protected landscapes taken from Phillips 2002 (p. 12).**

	<b>Heritage Area</b>	<b>Protected Landscape</b>
<i>Public/Community Role</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Demonstration of widespread public support among residents</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Views communities as fundamental to success</li> </ul>
<i>Planning and Management</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Residents, business interests, non-profit organizations, and governments are involved in planning</li> <li>• Management entity and units of government are willing to commit to working in partnership</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Management arrangements are determined by local circumstances and needs, and resolved through decision-making at local government or community levels</li> </ul>
<i>Distinct/High Value</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Assemblage of natural, historic, or cultural resources that together represent distinctive aspects of American heritage</li> <li>• Area provides outstanding opportunities to conserve natural, cultural, historic, and/or scenic features</li> <li>• Area retains a degree of integrity</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Area where people-nature relationships have produced a landscape with high aesthetic, ecological, biodiversity, and/or cultural values, and which retains integrity</li> </ul>

partnerships (heritage areas, wild and scenic rivers, national trails and affiliated areas) identified the following four benefits of partnership areas (Tuxill and Mitchell 2000): they (a) help NPS reach new constituencies and build public support; broaden the impact of NPS; (b) offer lessons applicable to other settings; (c) foster a stewardship ethic among the general public; and (d) are strikingly similar to the benefits described in the category V guidelines.

Protected landscapes and heritage areas also offer tangible economic benefits, especially with regard to products and services that can be produced and sold or provided locally, and promoted with an identity associated with the locale or region. Not surprisingly, these economic opportunities are

emphasized in considerations of initiating or planning a protected landscape. These are areas in which conservation and development go hand in hand. There is an implicit caution, however, in the potential for an overemphasis on direct economic benefits. Neither conservation nor development should gain the upper hand, and thus balanced decision-making mechanisms and public involvement must be maintained to ensure that economic activities that derive benefits from the heritage in protected landscapes do not deter nor detract from its conservation. Heritage must be used without expanding to a scale of exploitation, potentially triggering a decline in the landscape that harbors it. The “protection” of landscapes is further enhanced by putting forward

the indirect and social benefits in equal measure.

In the majority of cases, the “interaction of people and nature over time” that “has produced an area of distinct character” now has or once had a fundamental economic use at its foundation, be it agriculture, forestry, resource extraction, etc. Sometimes creative mechanisms can be devised to restore some or all of the economic engine to a landscape, or else mimic that engine. But the temptation to support land interaction or use artificially is to be resisted, subject as it is to cessation of disassociated support.

The protected landscapes concept “reflects a visionary and pro-active approach, aiming to enhance values rather than simply to maintain or protect existing assets” (Phillips 2002). In practice, as the values of an area are to be considered holistically, there is often a degree of subjectivity as to whether a specific management change (e.g., an infrastructure development, or new land use) would enhance those values or diminish them. For this reason, a clear, adaptive management planning process is necessary to ensure that specific policies and activities within a protected landscape are in keeping with its overall objectives.

Protected landscapes and heritage areas are attractive in that they can broaden the participation of many different kinds of people in conservation. This also poses a challenge to managers, who must deal with a complex mix of stakeholders and partners unprecedented in the experience of protected areas.

On the other hand, that mix is already complicated in the case of coastal landscapes, where a growing proportion of the world’s population reside. Protected seascapes, in many forms, can play a highly significant role in determining the impact of population concentration on coastal environments.

But the expanding dimensions and diversity of these kinds of areas would suggest that they are attractive to many people, both local interested parties and policy-makers. Convergence of experience confirms that the inclusive approach to conservation and authentic heritage enhancement in the United States is consistent with protected area innovations elsewhere, suggesting opportunities for mutually beneficial exchange among practitioners, policy-makers, and sites.

## Conclusion

Recently, David Lowenthal (2003) observed that “to become a viable goal, conservation ... needs to become more inclusive in three senses: it must care for all locales, not just a select few; it must involve all the people, not just a select few; it must laud all creative acts, not just those that preserve some past.” The protected landscape model presents one opportunity to make conservation more inclusive: by broadening the base of protected areas, broadening the number and variety of people involved in their management, and protecting features of people’s interaction with the land in ways that celebrate heritage and adapt for the future.

## Acknowledgments

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**Brent A. Mitchell**, Director, International Stewardship, Quebec-Labrador Foundation Atlantic Center for the Environment, 55 South Main Street, Ipswich, Massachusetts 01938; [brentmitchell@qlf.org](mailto:brentmitchell@qlf.org)



# Roots for the National Heritage Area Family Tree

Welcome to Independence National Historical Park, a property of the National Park Service (NPS). The reality behind the brown sign and the arrowhead is more complicated than meets the eye. The city of Philadelphia owns Independence Hall and until recently, when the bonds were finally paid off, the commonwealth of Pennsylvania owned the adjacent mall. From the time the national park idea migrated back East, the agency has had to work in partnership in a more and more complex and peopled environment. Unfortunately, in many cases these partnership arrangements had more the air of an arranged marriage and not that of a more perfect union. Shared ownership and authority over resources was seen as a problem to overcome, not as an opportunity for expanding the scope of conservation.

Today this attitude is changing and NPS recognizes the value in a partnership approach to resource management. But even with this shift, communities across the country and their congressional delegations are asking for more partnership initiatives. They are pushing NPS to become part of the mix in recognizing and preserving special places where people live and work, looking at larger and larger landscapes and providing their expertise and imprimatur to conservation efforts where the people that live there set the agenda. These large landscapes are, of course, the national heritage areas or corridors of which 23 have been designated to date, incorporating almost 45 million people in over 150,000 square miles. With proposals for a dozen new areas before Congress, it is an appropriate time to begin the search for the roots of the heritage area idea.<sup>1</sup> By understanding the context of landscape conservation in the past,

these newer collaborative approaches can be better integrated into the National Park System.

The definition of a national park has always been a dynamic process with the agency expanding its scope from natural wonders to historic landmarks, and then to places offering outstanding recreational opportunities. The expanding definition of the agency's mission and the need to offer park experiences closer to population centers has brought the National Park Service into more complex relationships with certain landscapes. In 1961, Cape Cod National Seashore was authorized with the recognition that ownership of the 43,500 acres within the defined park boundary would always be a mix of federal, state, municipal and private landowners.<sup>2</sup> The 40-mile strip of Atlantic beaches, dunes, and wetlands included parts of six cape communities and hundreds of owner-occupied buildings. The

authorizing legislation contained a number of innovations to mesh the new park presence with the existing conditions. Under what became known as the “Cape Cod formula,” NPS was prohibited from condemning private improved property if the local governments adopted zoning ordinances that were consistent with the park’s purpose. This had the effect of not just appeasing local property owners concerned about forced resettlement, but preserving the living landscape of fishing villages and summer cottages.<sup>3</sup> Another innovation in the Cape Cod legislation was the establishment of a park advisory commission representing the six units of local government, the county, the commonwealth of Massachusetts, and a representative of the secretary of the interior. This gave the local community an ongoing forum for issues that arise in any area where there are multiple owners with varying interests.<sup>4</sup>

Cape Cod National Seashore was not the only new unit that challenged the National Park Service to manage more and more complex landscapes. In the 1960s and 1970s, Cuyahoga National Recreation Area (now National Park) in Ohio, Delaware Water Gap National Recreation Area in Pennsylvania, Gateway National Recreation Area in New York and New Jersey, and Golden Gate National Recreation Area in California, to name just a few, were added to the system. All included large land areas with non-federal owners and different visions of how the areas should be managed for the future. But it was the question of how to manage the Santa Monica Mountains as a part of the

National Park System—and how to pay for it with public dollars—that introduced some new thinking on roles and responsibilities.

The Santa Monica Mountains consist of almost 200,000 acres of mountain peaks, valleys, and Pacific coastline adjacent to the heavily urbanized Los Angeles Basin. In the early 1970s, citizens concerned that rapidly spreading residential development would destroy the area’s natural values sought both state and federal assistance. At the request of the secretary of the interior, the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation studied the region and concluded that its designation as a national recreation area was not justified based on considerations of cost and carrying capacity. Furthermore, the bureau thought that designation might stifle local and state land preservation initiatives.<sup>5</sup>

Not satisfied with this response, Senator J. Bennett Johnston, chairman of the Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation, reflected that while the National Park Service might have been too successful in bringing parks to “where the people are,” this was not the time to do nothing. He suggested that the escalating cost of land in urban locations, rising administrative costs, and an uncertain economy called for a different approach. To this end he requested assistance from the Congressional Research Service. The innovative answer, authored by Charles Little, was to establish a new kind of park, a “greenline park.”<sup>6</sup> The concept was modeled after national park practice in England and Wales where land acquisition is kept to a minimum and land is protected by

land development controls. The report defined these new parks as “a resource area containing a mix of public and private land which is comprehensively planned, and regulated by an independent State agency set up specifically to preserve its recreational, aesthetic, ecological, historic and cultural values.”<sup>7</sup>

The report offered a new approach, a compromise by which the Santa Monica Mountains could be saved by setting a boundary that includes both public and private lands, by authorizing federal funding in a defined amount, and by requiring the state of California to prepare a comprehensive plan for land conser-

vation which, if approved by the secretary of the interior, would secure the federal funding for implementation. The new idea was that “a mix” of private and public lands would be planned and controlled in a way that would optimize preservation, not of a series of recreational sites and projects, but of the whole landscape.<sup>8</sup> This concept is new in that it proposes a strategy for planning, managing, and funding a park unit through partnerships, but not new in that it preserves state governments’ pre-eminence in land use and the federal interest in protecting large, significant recreational landscapes (Figure 1).

In 1978, the new Heritage Conser-



Figure 1. Canoes heading to Philadelphia, Schuylkill River Valley National Heritage Area. Photo provided by National Park Service.



vation and Recreation Service in the Department of Interior expanded on the greenline parks concept with a proposal for a system of national reserves, later called "areas of national concern."<sup>9</sup> The development of a reserve concept was in part motivated by a series of legislative proposals that were based on community desire to conserve special places (usually large landscapes) and the agency's concern that, if approached with the usual buy-and-hold strategy, these proposals would be prohibitively expensive. Under the reserve concept, a process was delineated whereby residents at the local or regional level would initiate a proposal for protection as a potential national reserve or area of special concern. If found appropriate, they would receive assistance in preparing a management plan that would identify a spectrum of supporting and funding partners. If approved by the secretary, Congress would allocate limited funds for implementation.<sup>10</sup>

The proposed system of national reserves was to emphasize planning and commitment from many partners, including asking local and state government to tackle land use control and management in lieu of federal land acquisition. The reserves would remain a living landscape, a place for people to reside and carry out compatible economic development. Some of the benefits of the strategy to the Department of Interior would be its cost-effectiveness and proactive nature, its capacity to aid local governments, the additional protection it would afford around existing national parks, and its role in preventing the

dilution of the existing National Park System.<sup>11</sup> Finally, the report evaluated a series of high-priority legislative proposals that were before Congress for their potential to be managed under this new approach and analyzed the possible outcomes based on protection, coordination, and cost.<sup>12</sup>

Since four of these park proposals are often referred to as precursors of the heritage area and corridor proposals, it is useful to look at how Congress actually crafted the planning, management and funding for each. Note that all were enacted as part of the Omnibus Park and Recreation Act of 1978.

**Pinelands National Reserve** (1,000,000 acres; all nonfederal). This was the only proposal that legislatively followed the reserve model outlined above, and to date it is the only example of a reserve as envisioned in the original report. The authorizing legislation for the Pinelands National Reserve stated that the governor of New Jersey would establish a planning entity with representatives of local government, agriculture, and conservation interests, as well as a designee of the secretary of the interior. This body, known as the Pinelands Commission, was responsible for both assessing the environmental, cultural, and recreational resources of the region and preparing a strategy that includes regulatory, educational, and economic tools. It was to do so with maximum public involvement. In addition, grant funding of up to \$23 million was made available for selective land acquisition.<sup>13</sup>

**Santa Monica Mountains National Recreation Area** (153,700 acres;



21,000 federal). The Santa Monica legislation was a compromise, but not the one suggested in the *Greenline Park* report or in the proposal for a national reserve. The role that the land use authority of the state of California and its local governments could play in protecting the area's resources is recognized, but they were not authorized to step into that role either in return for substantial federal funding or, as in Cape Cod, as a bar to federal condemnation in exchange for appropriate zoning. The approach is more about coordination.<sup>14</sup> As in other parks with multiple stakeholders, the Santa Monica Mountains Advisory Commission was established as a forum for state, county, and local government partners. The amount of funding provided for land acquisition, while limited, far exceeded the \$50 million discussed in the *Greenline Park* report and is subject to annual appropriations, not a fixed allocation.

**Jean Lafitte National Historical Park and Preserve** (20,000 acres; 10,600 federal). The land assembly authority for this unit was very complex, including the 20,000-acre Barataria Marsh, an interpretive location in New Orleans to be selected later, the already-existing Chalmette National Historical Park, and other sites in the delta regions subject to the development of cooperative agreements. Guidelines to preserve environmental values were to be enacted by local governments who could cede their enforcement authority to the secretary of the interior. If they failed to act, the land could be acquired to protect those values. In deference to local culture, the legislation permitted hunt-

ing, fishing, and trapping in the Barataria Marsh. Again an advisory commission was established, representing state and local government, representatives of commercial fishing interests, conservation groups, and a representative from the National Endowment for the Arts. The funding was authorized at an amount not to exceed \$50 million from the Land and Water Conservation Fund.

**Lowell National Historical Park** (137 acres; 28 federal). The legislation establishing a National Park Service presence in the city of Lowell, Massachusetts, included both a park unit, Lowell National Historical Park, and the Lowell Historic Preservation Commission, with jurisdiction over a larger 583-acre historic district. The 15-member commission included representatives of local government, state government, and federal agencies. Unlike other commissions from this period, it had authority to undertake direct development projects, offer grant and loan assistance, and review other development projects in the historic district. The funding for the park was authorized at \$18.5 million and for the commission's programs at \$21.5 million.<sup>15</sup> The legislation also set an annual funding limit for the commission based on the aggregate of state, local, and private dollars expended for related purposes in the prior year.

From these four examples some of the key new concepts in park creation can be traced. These ideas include:

- Establishing a boundary based more on the definition of the resource than on the government's ability to acquire the land in ques-

tion;

- Harnessing the power of local land use authorities to preserve resources;
- Embracing other agencies' parks and less-than-fee-simple ownership to preserve resources within the boundaries without federal acquisition;
- Involving the local community and other interest groups through advisory commissions; and
- Limiting funding by setting fixed dollar limits, matching requirements, or both.

Many of these principles are seen in the newest wave of greenline parks, now called partnership parks: Keweenaw National Historical Park (authorized in 1992; 1,870 acres, all nonfederal); Boston Harbor Islands National Recreation Area (1996; 5 acres federal, 1,477 nonfederal); New Bedford Whaling National Historical Park (1996; 20 acres, all nonfederal); and Rosie the Riveter / World War II Home Front National Historical Park (2000; no fixed boundaries at this time).

Changes in administration and economic climate slowed park creation after 1978 and the National Park Service's next major "alternative" land conservation initiative was one of the most innovative. Citizens up and down the corridor of the Illinois and Michigan Canal sought to involve the agency in the preservation of this nationally important resource. The canal was owned by the state of Illinois, but its length (75 miles) and the deteriorated condition of the infrastructure was a management challenge. To remedy this situation, a

coalition lobbied congress for a new national park unit to bring dollars and recognition to the canal and to the many adjacent historic communities. NPS's response in 1981 was to propose a new approach: a concept plan for stabilizing the canal, developing a recreational trail, interpreting the cultural and natural resources, and revitalizing the adjacent communities under the leadership of a commission composed primarily of citizens living in the corridor.<sup>16</sup> Congress acted on this proposal, establishing the Illinois and Michigan Canal National Heritage Corridor in 1984.

The above discussion attempts to trace both the ideas and actions taken to wrap the National Park Service's mission around large living landscapes (Figure 2). Where do national heritage areas fit into this evolutionary model? Are they the logical extension of greenline parks, national reserves, and partnership parks, applied to even larger and more complex landscapes that incorporate whole human ecosystems? The answer seems to be "yes" with one more evolutionary turn. In national heritage areas, the mission of the National Park Service is placed in the hands of the people who live there. This is not a subtle shift—this is a revolution.

What had been commissions made up of local interests with an advisory role to an adjacent national park unit have been transmuted into operating commissions of local citizens and stakeholders with full management responsibility for the designated area. In more recently designated national heritage areas, the commissions themselves have been replaced by more

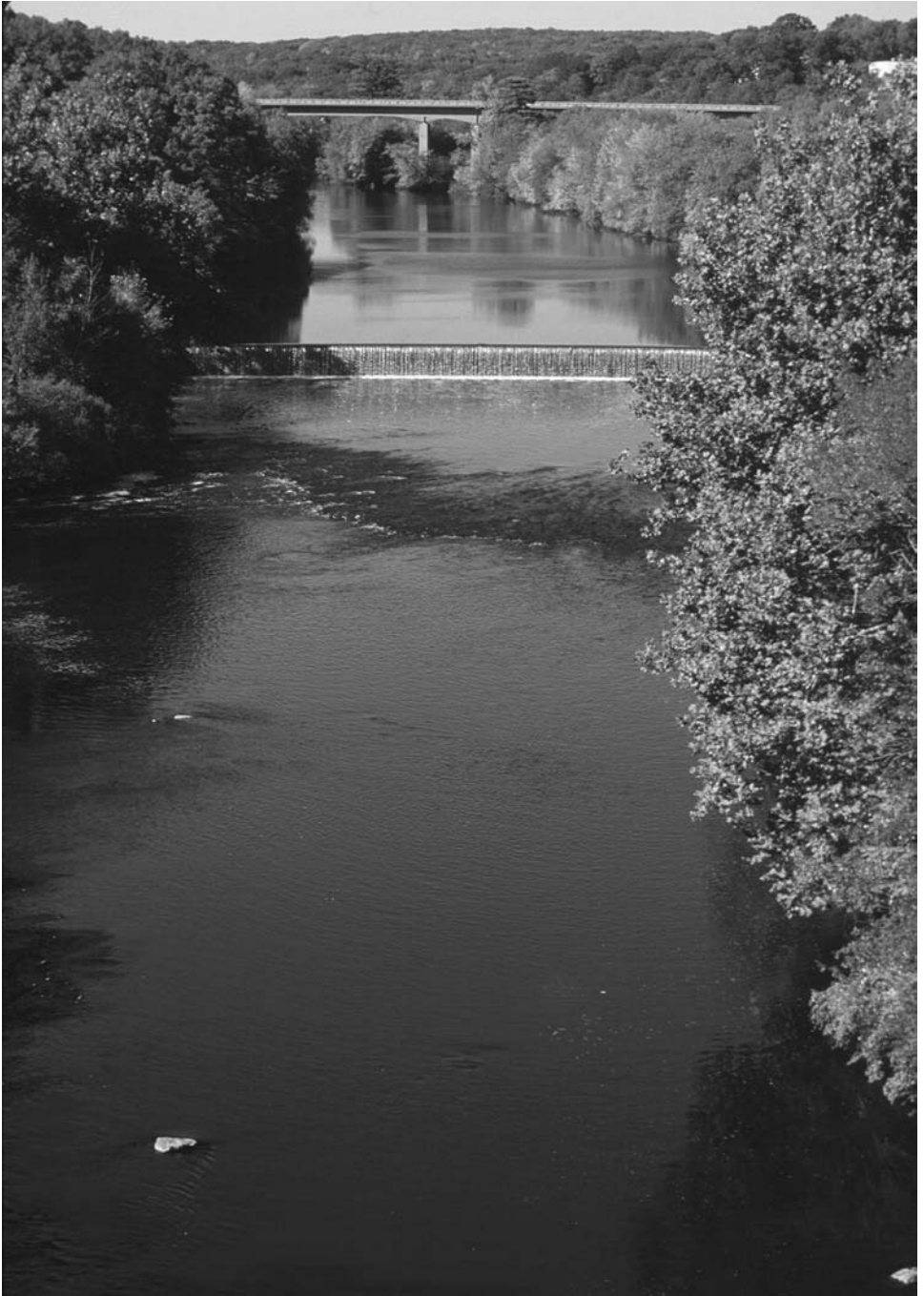


Figure 2. The valley in autumn, John H. Chafee Blackstone River Valley National Heritage Corridor. Photo provided by National Park Service.

flexible nonprofit management entities. This shift in governance is reflected in the planning and development of the heritage areas. The management plan is an undertaking of the management entity from scoping through identification of alternatives. The federal role is only to provide technical assistance and final approval of the document. Finally, and most importantly, the local entity is responsible for funding and implementation of the plan. NPS provides only limited dollars, and those allocations must be matched on a dollar-for-dollar basis.<sup>17</sup>

Another shift in direction is the role that the heritage areas play in land conservation. While earlier greenline parks and reserve models envisioned state and local governments doing the heavy lifting with land use regulations and mandated resource protection, this has not been the path that heritage areas have traveled. In part this is based on a political climate that eschews any regulation of private property. The statement in the 1973 study of the Santa Monica Mountains that "President Nixon has given national land use legislation the highest priority ... and chances of passage are good" was from another time.<sup>18</sup> But in addition to federal land use controls being politically out of favor, heritage areas prefer a cooperative approach to preserving resources. They focus on strong heritage educa-

tion programs to build a stewardship ethic rather than relying on regulation.

A lot of energy has been released in adopting this new way of conserving our nation's landscapes and the number of new congressional proposals demonstrates the high level of community support. However, somewhere along the line the national heritage area idea has become disconnected from its historical antecedents as the logical outcome of an expansive and inclusive approach to conserving the living landscape. The 23 national heritage areas are the not-so-distant relatives of Cape Cod National Seashore, Jean Lafitte National Historical Park, and Santa Monica Mountains National Recreation Area and of course are close cousins of the innovations at Lowell National Historical Park and the later partnership parks of the 1990s. By not recognizing this kinship, the national heritage areas are missing the opportunity to be counted as contributing to the larger mission of the National Park Service and to benefit from association with the nation's premier conservation agency. But the bigger lost opportunity may be to the National Park Service itself, which is not engaging this expanded constituency, learning about partnerships from the ground up, and claiming the preservation of many of the unique living landscapes that define this nation.

### Endnotes

- 1 As of spring 2003, Congress has introduced four study bills and eleven designation bills for individual heritage areas.
- 2 Cape Cod National Seashore includes 16,000 acres in nonfederal ownership. National Park Service, *The National Parks: Index 2001-2003* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 2001), p. 52.
- 3 The Conservation Foundation, *National Parks for a New Generation: Visions, Realities, Prospects* (Washington, D.C.: The Conservation Foundation, 1985), pp. 160-162.
- 4 The authorization for the Cape Cod Commission was extended beyond the original 10 years and was then reauthorized by legislation in 1998 (P.L. 105-280).

- 5 Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, *Santa Monica Mountains Study* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, 1973), pp. 4-7.
- 6 The term “greenline” was derived from the blue line that the state of New York drew around the Adirondack region when it created a reserve that included both public and private lands. Charles Little, *Greenline Parks: An Approach to Preserving Recreational Landscapes in Urban Areas* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress, 1975).
- 7 Ibid., p. 2.
- 8 Ibid., p. 9.
- 9 Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service, *National Reserves System* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service, 1978).
- 10 Ibid., pp. 1-2.
- 11 Ibid., p. 3.
- 12 Ibid., pp. 12-13.
- 13 Ebey’s Landing National Historical Reserve in the state of Washington, while titled as a reserve, differs in substantial ways from the Pinelands National Reserve. Ebey’s Landing is designated as a unit of the National Park System and is managed not by a governmental agency, but by a nonprofit organization without regulatory authority.
- 14 *Parks for a New Generation*, p. 230.
- 15 In October of 1987, the park’s authorization was raised to \$19.8 million and the commission’s to \$33.6 million.
- 16 National Park Service, *Illinois and Michigan Canal Heritage Corridor: A Concept Plan and Implementation Strategy* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1981).
- 17 More recently the formula for designated areas has been \$10 million over 15 years.
- 18 *Santa Monica Mountains Study*, p. 55.

**Brenda Barrett**, National Coordinator for Heritage Areas, National Park Service, 1849 C Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20240; [brenda\\_barrett@nps.gov](mailto:brenda_barrett@nps.gov)



# Evolution of the Heritage Areas Movement

## Introduction

**T**racing the evolution of heritage areas in the United States is a daunting and inherently leaky task that calls to mind D.W. Meinig's 1979 paper, "The Beholding Eye: Ten Versions of the Same Scene." Meinig said that "even though we gather together and look in the same direction at the same instant, we will not—we cannot—see the same landscape. We will see many of the same elements, but such facts take on meaning only through association; they must be fitted together according to some coherent body of ideas." According to Meinig, "Any landscape is composed not only of what lies before our eyes but what lies within our heads" (Meinig 1979).

Heritage areas are like a view of the landscape in that everyone sees them, and their origins, differently because those involved have different values, goals, and backgrounds. This description of the evolution of heritage areas is one view of the movement.

The heritage areas movement began, arguably, in a dozen different places and points in time. The approach that is being used in hundreds of places evolved from a number of separate but related conservation, historic preservation, land use and economic development movements. Without question, heritage areas have evolved as a result of the creation in 1949 of the National Trust for Historic Preservation and the passage in 1966 of the National Historic Preservation Act. Over more than fifty years community leaders have worked to first preserve and conserve individual buildings and structures, and then districts, and then landscapes, and now entire regions. However, the heritage

approach being used today is much more than historic preservation and cultural resource conservation.

The major influences that have created the first generation of heritage areas include evocative journalism, automobiles and the Interstate Highway System, cultural resource conservation, and innovative approaches in park protection, historic preservation, and economic development. The keystone philosophies that hold these elements together, and create the synergy that is a signature of these places, include advocacy and civic engagement, a place-based focus, interdisciplinary approaches to planning and action, interpretation, and heritage tourism.

Heritage areas, individually and as a movement, benefit from the work of writers—their research, books, and stories. They demonstrate the effectiveness of the historic preservation and parks movement in changing the way that Americans look at and man-



age their communities and landscapes. Heritage areas are an expression of the resurgence of democracy in America and the traditions of home rule. They illustrate the ability of economic leaders to broaden their focus to be able to integrate their goals with those of other interests and disciplines, thus creating a synergy with greater benefits to everyone.

Most importantly, the heritage area movement illustrates how the term “heritage” can be used as an organizing principle at all levels of the government and in the private sector. In hundreds of regions the heritage idea is the unifying force that is strengthening communities and helping them successfully plan for their environmental, cultural, and economic future. It unifies because all people have a heritage and it has meaning to them. Heritage gives people visions of the past, present, and future. Heritage areas have a heart, soul, and human spirit that many traditional master plans, land use plans, and zoning ordinances lack. Heritage areas allow people to claim these places and make our communities, landscapes, and regions relevant and special to the populations they serve.

### **Evocative Journalism**

Author Chuck Little has said that “behind every successful conservation movement is a writer” (personal communication, 1994). Writers, and their stories about places and people, have been important parts of the heritage areas movement. The origins of the movement are obvious in the Federal Writer’s Project state and place guides of the 1930s. The project, created in

1935 as one of the New Deal’s undertakings, was a “government-sponsored national self-portraiture.” The guides, which came before superhighways, television, and computers, included an enormous amount of research on an array of heritage topics and turned the untapped wealth of local history into a lasting treasure.

Across America talented local writers wrote more than 1,200 guides and pamphlets about landscapes and communities. The writers used the documents to capture the sense of these places in a readable, evocative, enduring, and endearing way. The early guides gave people information on their own areas as well as descriptions of other places.

### **Interstate Highway System**

As people became more aware of their own communities and others, the government was working on the federal Interstate Highway System, to give them access to these places.

In 1954 President Eisenhower formed a Committee on a National Highway Program to assess the transportation needs of the nation. The committee included representatives from the Teamsters Union, a large construction firm, the National Chamber of Commerce, and a road construction machinery manufacturer. These groups had key leaders with a strong interest not only in the road system, but in the outputs, products, and impacts of the 41,000 miles of road that were part of Eisenhower’s vision.

Although the president’s plan stressed solving safety, transportation congestion, and nuclear evacuation



issues, the impact on tourism—and access to the natural and cultural heritage—was profound. The new highways gave people access to travel and the ability to compare and contrast other communities, landscapes, and cultures with their own.

### **Special Places**

The highways fueled land development, and leaders became concerned about the adverse impact of land use change on special places. Between 1965 and 1977, as part of what has been called the “Quiet Revolution in Land Use Control” (Bosselman and Callies 1972), state governments recognized that portions of the landscape were “sensitive areas.” This view emphasized the importance and uniqueness of place and resulted in state legislatures adopting nearly 100 statutes creating minimum development control standards for sensitive areas that included floodplains, wetlands, historic sites, and scenic areas.

Congress acted to help governments and the private sector conserve important values and improve special place land use decision-making. Not surprisingly, the management of the land–water interface was a major focus of these initiatives as Congress enacted the National Wild and Scenic Rivers Act in 1968 and the Coastal Zone Management Act in 1972.

Both the coastal zone and scenic rivers legislation defined federal policies to help all governments and the private sector plan for the future uses and enjoyment of these special landscapes. While federal legislation created frameworks for coastal and river corridor place-based work, individual

efforts were acting as the incubators of new ideas.

In 1968 the federal Bureau of Outdoor Recreation concluded a heritage study to assess the feasibility of establishing the Connecticut River Valley as a national recreation area. The study report recognized “an outstanding array of historical, educational and cultural heritage, high quality scenic and recreational resources, and the need for a coordinated and interrelated program of public and private action” (Bureau of Outdoor Recreation 1968). New England’s views about “home rule” disagreed with the recommendations and Congress never acted on the study. However, the proposal outlined a multi-objective approach centered on heritage values and an integrated partnership for implementation.

### **Cultural Resources and Interpretation**

Heritage areas and people are inseparable and the combination is part of the intrinsic value of these places. This view wasn’t always the case, and in the late 1960s and mid-1970s historic preservationists, planners, and landscape architects began to change the way decision-makers looked at the relationship between people, the land, and the built environment.

Heritage areas benefited from work in cultural conservation, human ecology, and cultural anthropology. As the historic preservation community broadened its context for cooperation, technical and financial assistance, as well as outreach, were used to help people outside of the movement

understand the importance of the relationship between people and the built environment. Greater value was placed on traditional land uses, vernacular architecture, “working” and everyday landscapes, and the populations they serve.

In 1969 Congress created the Historic American Engineering Record (HAER) as a way to document America’s engineering, industrial, and technological heritage with measured and interpreted drawings, large-format photographs, and written histories. The work was used to promote awareness and recognition of industrial heritage and assist state and local historic preservation and heritage area efforts.

The HAER program was used to help create one of the earliest heritage area efforts in the USA, on the Lehigh Canal in Pennsylvania. Led by a team that included Alan Comp and Karen Wade, the Lehigh effort refined the heritage area idea and built support for collaborative action.

In 1974 the University of Pennsylvania’s (UPenn’s) Department of Landscape Architecture, under Professor Ian McHarg, brought in a team of human ecologists and cultural anthropologists to teach graduate-level ecological planning and design. The team was challenged to integrate the “other ecology” into the planning philosophy. Practical approaches for using human ecology to help make land use decisions, reflecting natural and cultural values and functions, were taught and demonstrated. Jon Berger and Dan Rose, two of the professors, published *Human Ecology and the Regional Plan* (Berger and Rose 1974) and trained a legion of

landscape architects who would become prominent leaders of the heritage areas movement within the National Park Service (NPS).

Congress reinforced this view of culture through the creation of the American Folk Life Center in 1976 to “preserve and present the heritage of American folk life” through programs of research, documentation, archival presentation, reference service, live performance, exhibition, publication, and training. The center includes the Archive of Folk Culture, which was established in 1928 in the Library of Congress, and is one of the largest collections of ethnographic material from the nation and the world.

In 1990 UPenn and the American Folk Life Center collaborated on a project in the New Jersey Pine Barrens. Mary Huffard of the Center, Berger, and Jonathan Sinton of Rutgers University used their human ecology methods to prepare a report for the New Jersey Pinelands Commission entitled “Planning the Use and Management of the Pinelands: An Historical, Cultural, and Ecological Perspective” (Berger 1980). More so than any other heritage planning document, the report identified, explained, and illustrated the link between people, nature, and heritage in a form suitable for land use management decisions.

### **Innovation in Parks, Preservation, and Development**

In the 1970s leaders were searching for new ways to conserve landscapes. Land development outpaced conservation and preservation, land use controls were increasingly unpop-

ular, the cost of conservation far exceeded available budgets, and conflicts between protection and development were commonplace.

People were changing the way they looked at parks and special places. The public wanted these places close to where they lived for recreation and education, and to improve the quality of life. This change from viewing parks and special landscapes, as places to live in rather than just visit, dramatically expanded definitions of what was important to conserve.

These changes had two impacts. One placed greater emphasis on quality of life and land use, and firmly established “sense of place” as a national and community goal. It also placed greater value on “living,” “working,” and everyday landscapes and vernacular architecture. The new perspective shifted interest from distant natural parks and landscapes to those close to large populations and with a diversity of natural, cultural, and economic uses.

The heritage movement evolved in special places and in Congress. In the early 1970s, in response to a depressed economy and an exodus of young people, the leaders of Lowell, Massachusetts, proposed a plan for revitalization. Educator Patrick J. Mogan insisted that any revitalization of the city should be based on its industrial and ethnic heritage. After study and debate on Mogan’s proposal, leaders decided to make Lowell a new kind of national park based on labor and industrial history, and partnerships with local and state governments and the private sector. In 1978 Congress established Lowell National

Historical Park and the Lowell Historic Preservation Commission, a decision that proved to be a keystone of the heritage areas movement.

Nationally, the movement was making a shift. In 1976 Congress directed NPS to conduct the *National Urban Recreation Study* to conduct a review and report on the needs, problems, and opportunities associated with urban recreation in highly populated regions, including the resources available for meeting such needs (National Park Service 1978). The reports recommended establishment of a system of national reserve landscapes based on a partnership between local, state, and federal governments; creation of a new urban recreation funding program; and a series of specific place-based heritage areas.

Author Chuck Little, then of the Congressional Research Service, prepared a report for Congress that summarized the need for a new approach to urban park acquisition and management titled *Greenline Parks: An Approach to Preserving Recreational Landscapes in Urban Areas* (Little 1975). The concept of greenline parks (see also Corbett et al. 1983) was based on U.S. and international precedents, and suggested that special landscapes could be protected using a combination of federal, state, and local means under a coordinated regional plan.

Although Congress never enacted legislation for this approach, many government agencies and private groups, with the assistance of the National Parks Conservation Association and the American Land Forum, began to apply it in specific communi-

ties and landscapes.

In 1979 the National Wild and Scenic Rivers Act program, in response to public support, was modified to create a technical and financial assistance program to help states and local governments conserve and protect important river corridors. Using a philosophy of helping people help themselves, NPS created the Rivers & Trails Program. In testimony before Congress, William K. Reilly, then president of the Conservation Foundation, described the assistance as being “in the best tradition of federalism and local initiative and a prototype for the next generation of land and water conservation techniques in America, one that adroitly melds federal, state, local and private efforts into a cost-effective partnership” (Reilly 1985).

Working in response to public and private requests, and with other public and private assistance programs, NPS expanded the scenic rivers program to help communities design and implement plans and strategies for their special places.

The Rivers & Trails Program’s community-based view (Steiner 1986) was responsive to requests that didn’t fit neatly into existing federal programs. Requests came for places where community, and often congressional, leaders wanted to coordinate historic preservation, parks, and economic development into an integrated approach. As a result of this approach, NPS became a sought-after federal partner for many of the earliest heritage area efforts, including eight current federal areas.

Massachusetts and New York played a leadership role in heritage

areas. Massachusetts developed a strategy, based on the success of Lowell, for conserving and promoting the cultural resources of aging and declining cities to build community pride, enhance the quality of life, and stimulate economic revitalization. In 1979 the state created the Urban Cultural Park Program and designated 14 locally administered heritage parks located in 21 cities and villages.

Private-sector historic preservation interests also changed their heritage approaches. In 1980 the National Main Street Program worked with communities to revitalize their historic and traditional commercial areas. The Main Street approach was developed to save historic commercial architecture and the fabric of American communities’ built environment by partnering with development interests and using economic tools. With inspired leadership from such people as Mary Means and Scott Gerloff, Main Street brought historic preservation and cultural conservation into communities with an emphasis on empowerment, innovation, sustainability, and flexibility.

Heritage area elements also surfaced in the White House. In 1981 the Council on Environmental Quality (CEQ) issued a report called *Landscape Conservation and Development: An Evolving Alternative to Public Land Acquisition* to articulate the need to find a way to protect nationally significant landscapes faced with urbanization (CEQ 1981). The report built on greenline park philosophy and examined alternative ways to link protection and development, using appropriate federal roles. The effort

sent a signal from the office of the president that it was important to find ways to make land use decisions that would allow communities and regions to protect important values and prosper economically.

Over time these efforts laid the foundation for the heritage movement, shaping the principles that make it effective. These laws and projects proved to be important policy and place-specific testing grounds for new approaches to integrate different public objectives. The legislative and community initiatives also began to move government away from top-down, single-purpose approaches to conservation, historic preservation, park, and economic development assistance and decision-making.

### **First Generation of Heritage Areas**

The 1980s saw the arrival of the first generation of national heritage areas. The movement surfaced in 1984 with the designation of the Illinois and Michigan Canal National Heritage Corridor (I&M). The I&M initially was an educational and identification program undertaken by the Open Lands Project, a private not-for-profit organization that focused on a 25-mile segment of the corridor along the Des Plaines River (Figure 1). It began in 1980 and was unlike traditional state or national parks because it was located in one of the nation's most industrialized regions.

The I&M effort combined a diversity of land uses, management pro-



Figure 1. Roger Gasa Lock, Illinois and Michigan Canal National Heritage Corridor. Photo provided by National Park Service.



grams, and historical themes (Figure 2), blended with economic development and grassroots involvement. With leadership from Jerry Adlemaann and others, it was intended to encourage economic growth by preserving natural lands alongside industries and

historic structures within commercial centers. The concept envisioned that the federal government would provide recognition, technical assistance, and coordination through a corridor commission.

The I&M's goal for linking and

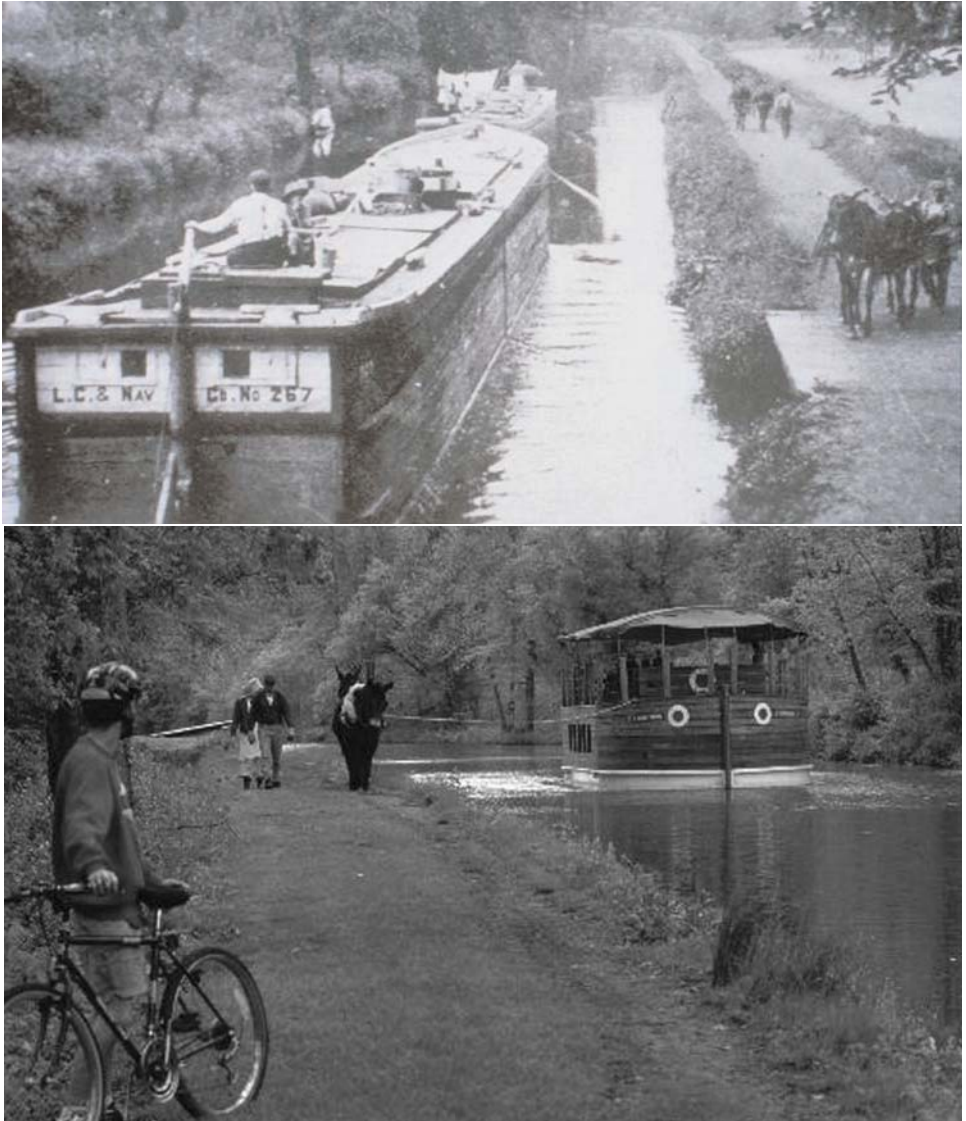


Figure 2a and 2b. Boats on the canal, then and now: Delaware and Lehigh National Heritage Corridor. Photos provided by National Park Service.

maintaining the balance between nature and industry, and encouraging economic regeneration, caught the attention of many states and communities within the eastern United States. In 1983 Congress directed NPS to assist Massachusetts and Rhode Island with a strategy for the future conservation, management, and use of the Blackstone River corridor. In addition, NPS was directed by Congress to assess whether the valley should be included in the National Park System.

The Blackstone study (NPS 1985) did not recommend traditional national park designation. However, the report indicated that "there may be a role for federal assistance in the area of resource interpretation," and that "federal recognition of the valley may be appropriate given its historical significance...." The report spoke to the need for shared responsibility by indicating that "such recognition should follow an increased commitment from state and local governments to environmental improvements, protection of the valley's cultural resources, and protection of its rural setting." Massachusetts had already designated its part of the Blackstone as a state heritage park, the Blackstone was Rhode Island's highest priority, and NPS had good relations with both states, so the study recommendations were supported. Federal legislation modeled after the I&M was enacted in 1986, creating the Blackstone River Valley National Heritage Corridor (now called John H. Chafee Blackstone River Valley National Heritage Corridor).

The heritage areas movement also surfaced in Pennsylvania. The com-

monwealth was well versed in integrating state-run environmental, cultural, and economic programs in cities and communities and had been exploring the state heritage park approach. In 1984 the commonwealth developed a framework for a Pennsylvania Heritage Parks Program "to preserve cultural resources in a manner which provides educational, recreational and economic benefits" (Commonwealth of Pennsylvania 1984). A partnership between the commonwealth and NPS formed and the two worked in tandem to collaboratively support a series of state and federal heritage designations.

Heritage area interest in Pennsylvania, as well as other eastern states, peaked when the population turned its interest—and disposable income—toward heritage tourism. In the late 1980s Americans were more educated, older, and willing to spend more money on travel and recreation than previously. The Baby Boomer "back-to-the-city movement" was beginning and public demand for shorter, less strenuous, and more authentic vacations was increasing. Heritage tourism expert Richard Roddewig described the situation by saying: "The U.S. was mature enough as a country to have a varied and rich architectural, cultural and social history that makes every corner of the country fascinating" (Roddewig 1989).

Heritage tourism increased the forces of fundamental demand and supply for heritage areas. As these forces were converging, the human spirit, public and political support, technical know-how, and legislative precedents were available to meet the demand. Heritage areas began to mul-



tively exponentially each year as this community-based movement became a publicly supported approach to

meeting environmental, cultural, and economic goals.

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**J. Glenn Eugster**, Assistant Regional Director, Partnerships Office, National Park Service, National Capital Region, 1100 Ohio Drive SW, Washington, DC 20242-0001; [glenn\\_eugster@nps.gov](mailto:glenn_eugster@nps.gov)



# Report from the Field:

## The Whole is So Much Greater Than the Sum of Its Parts

### Introduction

**A**n evolution occurs in any relationship as the parties to that relationship precipitate events, experience other events, react to them, and react to each other. This process of movement and interaction is critical to any partnership. A study of this partnership process in northwestern Louisiana yields elements that have led to the successful interactions between a park and a heritage area, the preservation of nationally significant resources, and the deep involvement of the community in the process.

In 1994 Congress passed legislation enabling the creation of Cane River Creole National Historical Park and Cane River National Heritage Area, following the 1993 completion of a *Special Resource Study/Environmental Assessment* at the behest of the community and under the direction of Congress. As a result of that study, Congress concluded that the best approach for the preservation of the resources in the Cane River region was a combined program of national park and national heritage area, and wrote the legislation accordingly.

The Cane River region is in northwestern Louisiana midway between Dallas and New Orleans, and its history is culturally complex. In 1714 the French became the first Europeans to establish a permanent settlement at Natchitoches on the Cane River, formerly the main channel of Red River. Their intents were to revitalize trade with the Indians and more fully exploit the agricultural and commercial potential of the region. Under the

direction of Louis Juchereau de Saint Denis, the French gradually built up business interests in the area, much to the consternation of the Spanish who, concerned about French incursion into the interior of the North American continent, established their mission post of Los Adaes just a few miles to the west in 1717.

The formal transfer of the former French colony of Louisiana to Spain occurred in 1767, but despite Spanish rule French Colonial culture flourished for several reasons. The Spanish regime caused little change in daily life around Natchitoches, and the Spanish retained the services of French Commandant Athanase de Mezieres to maintain authority. Under his influence the Spanish adopted the French manner of dealing with the tribes through trade rather than through missionary control. French remained the primary language.

By the late 18th century commercial agriculture in the Cane River area replaced the trade in animal skins and

products as the primary economic base. French and Spanish land-grant farms produced indigo and tobacco, and farmers adopted the plantation system to work these large pieces of land with slave labor. Natchitoches, which had been a trade center prehistorically, remained an important crossroads of overland routes to the east, northeast and southwest, and a water route to New Orleans and the Gulf of Mexico. The area was a cultural nexus of French, Spanish, Indian, and African traditions, and out of this developed the anthropological definition of the term “Creole”: adaptations of French, Spanish, Indian, and African peoples to the New World and to each other (Figure 1).

French and Spanish legal traditions allowed, at least nominally, for various sorts of manumission. In the Cane River area the most famous instance was that of Marie-Therese Coin-Coin,

who began life as a slave and by the end of her life owned about 5,000 acres of land and held 99 slaves. Her 25-year liaison with an officer at the fort in Natchitoches resulted in 10 children, whose freedom she acquired. Considered the matriarch of the Cane River *gens de couleur libre* (free people of color), she founded a family that at one point in the 19th century owned 19,000 acres land, 16,000 of which remains in descendants’ hands today.

During the 19th century, cotton became the principal crop for the agricultural lands, and the plantations imported additional slaves from the southeastern United States. Although the 1803 Louisiana Purchase quickly brought about governmental changes, cultural changes lagged behind. French remained the primary language, and most people felt a cultural affinity to the French. The Red River



Figure 1. Creole women at the Badin-Roque House, Isle Brevelle, Louisiana. Photo courtesy of the Cammie G. Henry Research Center, Northwestern State University.

Campaign during the Civil War wreaked havoc on Cane River, and the area received heavy losses. Natural and human-caused changes on the Red River caused it to change its course, and as a result Cane River became a virtual oxbow, cutting it off from lucrative river trade. In addition, the development of Shreveport as a successful river port rang a death knell for the economic progress of Natchitoches and the Cane River region. The area and its peoples were left in relative isolation, and this lack of in-depth interaction with the outside world and lack of economic progress resulted in preservation of landscapes and buildings, but more importantly conservation of cultures. Descendents of the early peoples of the Cane River area—French, African, Spanish, and Indian peoples—were from families who had interacted with each other for more than 200 years, in some cases. Plantation owner, enslaved, free person of color, sharecropper, tenant farmer—all were related either through familial or geographic ties. Isolation had been an ally of preservation and cultural conservation.

### **Phase I: The Park as Catalyst**

When the National Park Service (NPS) undertook the *Special History Study* in the early 1990s, Natchitoches and Cane River had decades of experience with historic preservation projects, and the people connected with those efforts were the primary forces behind the legislation. Public Law 103-449 (16 U.S. Code 410) was enacted, creating the national park and the heritage area. The park included two former cotton plantations, both of

which had been in the ownership of the same families since the time of Spanish land grants, and both of which contained nationally significant architectural and landscape resources. The heritage area included 116,000 acres of land that made up the heart of Cane River's historic and scenic places, the national park, three state historic sites all tied to the historic roots of the area, and properties in the downtown National Historic Landmark district that would be subject to cooperative agreements. Within the heritage area was the homeland of the Cane River Creoles, descended from Marie-Therese Coin-Coin. Perhaps the most significant aspect of the heritage area was the continued use of the land in this small geographic area by the historic peoples who used it, combined with the highly visible, identifiable cultural landscape that gave this area an overwhelming sense of place.

The legislation for the park and the heritage area mandated the relationship between the two entities, and it specified the creation of a 19-member volunteer commission representing various community stakeholders. One purpose of the commission was to ensure that a "culturally sensitive approach" was used in the development of both the park and heritage area.

Funding came first to the park, which allowed us gradually to begin planning and preservation work (Figure 2), and to start park operations amid the on-going construction. For four years, however, funding never came through the appropriations process to the heritage area. Heritage area resources were in dire need of



Figure 2. Oakland Store, Oakland Plantation Unit, Cane River Creole National Historical Park. Courtesy of Jack Boucher, National Park Service.

funding, and this lack of financial backing for preservation of heritage area resources and programs created very high levels of frustration in the community. The heritage area had no funding, no staff, and a volunteer commission. Their hands were tied.

NPS began sponsoring or conducting ethnographic, archeological, and historical studies in the heritage area soon after the legislation passed. The law specifically mandated that the park would coordinate a comprehensive research program on cultural resource and genealogical topics, and this, along with a need to understand the cultural communities, provided the justification for studies completed for the park's general management plan. The research all included exten-

sive community involvement; often the team on a project included community members representing their own cultures. This project inclusion was a key factor in mobilizing some of the cultural groups in the heritage area.

The execution of a cooperative agreement between the park and the heritage area in 1998, and the subsequent transfer of funds from the initial appropriations, provided a jump-start to the heritage area, and its funding has remained in the president's budget since that time.

### **Phase II: Action and Reaction**

The second phase of development for the park and the heritage area occurred between 1998 and 2002, after the execution of the cooperative



agreement and the initial funds transfer. During this period, the heritage area commission was able to build on the groundwork laid by NPS through Cane River Creole National Historical Park.

Two important tasks characterized management of the park and the heritage area during this phase: building an identity in a region where many long-standing public and nonprofit organizations had prospered for decades, and expanding partnership relationships with those existing organizations. Both entities set out to accomplish these tasks in a number of different ways. The park continued to carry out its research mandate in conjunction with subject-matter experts and the community, and advanced the preservation and development of park resources. Importantly, the park also provided invaluable technical assistance to the community on a wide variety of projects. The heritage area commission began developing a stronger identity through the creation of a map brochure, moving the concept of the heritage area from an idea to a tangible article that could be distributed widely to both tourists and residents for the first time. Also, the commission received a Save America's Treasures matching grant through NPS to assist two local organizations in restoring two National Historic Landmark properties in the region. The park provided a historical architect to assist with both projects. The Save America's Treasures grant allowed the commission and the park to cement community partnerships in the process of preserving nationally significant resources.

In addition, the heritage area commission established a competitive grants program in which individuals, organizations, and businesses could receive grants to carry out projects in the categories of historic preservation, research, and development. Through this program, a committee composed of heritage area commissioners and community partners reviews grants annually, targeting projects that align with the park and heritage area missions as outlined in the enabling legislation. Begun in 1998, the grants program facilitates the process of moving federal seed money into the community to accomplish projects chosen by community. Furthermore, the grants program builds partnerships between the commission, the park (which provides technical assistance to grantees), and grant recipients. In some instances, heritage area grants serve as a catalyst for extensive partnership-building. The American Cemetery Association's preservation and restoration project provides an example in which a heritage area grant to a local non-profit organization initiated a project that today involves city government, a landmark district development organization, Cane River Creole National Historical Park, and the National Center for Preservation Technology and Training.

The Save America's Treasures award and the Cane River National Heritage Area grants program proved critical in raising awareness about the park's and the heritage area's existence and objectives, while at the same time accomplishing projects central to the missions of both entities. This progress was complemented by staff



development at both the park and the heritage area. With staff came the stability that is critical for long-term success in any organization.

### **Phase III: Symbiosis**

At present, the park and the heritage area are entering a new phase of development, one characterized by true joint effort. In 2003, both entities are moving into an operational phase, growing into the enabling legislation that set their paths in 1994. New visitor facilities are coming on-line in the park, and attendance has increased significantly from early days. Similarly, the heritage area commission is orchestrating a shift from smaller, identity-building projects to larger projects that contribute to infrastructural development of the region. Several projects in the development planning concept stage and a comprehensive signage initiative mark the transition to this third phase. Importantly, funding for the park, the heritage area, and other local partners is relatively consistent at this juncture. These factors allow both park and heritage area to build a solid foundation for joint management now and in the future.

A strong framework built of three primary elements characterizes this phase. First, both the heritage area and the park have succeeded in developing effective programs. This proven track record provides a solid base for future projects, programming, and partnerships for both entities. Furthermore, by now all partners have built strong relationships in which the way everyone interacts is defined, yet flexible. Clear roles exist for the park, the heritage area commission, and their many

partners. Such definition makes partnerships more effective without putting limitations on future innovation. Finally, a foundation for continued communication, built on openness, honesty, trust, and mutual respect, exists amongst the park, the heritage area commission, and their partners. This foundation of trust and mutual respect is critical to the past success of the partnership region; maintaining it is essential to all future success.

### **Cautionary Visions from the Crystal Ball**

Looking toward the future in Cane River and in other regions with heritage initiatives—existing national heritage areas and those that will come on-line in the future—there are some potential obstacles on the horizon. First, the National Park Service may be facing significant budgetary issues. Today, even flat funding for NPS represents operational and program decline due to the rising cost of doing business. In these uncertain budgetary times, the future may hold internal battles over available funding. In light of this knowledge, it is vital to maximize our partnerships and build support internally and externally for national heritage area programs.

More than most traditional park units, heritage areas often are very tied into local, state, and federal politics. Although politicization has some advantages regarding obtaining funding and bringing attention to important issues, politics can become overbearing. Managers must work to ensure that the resources remain the highest priority of heritage initiatives, and that politics remain supportive,

not directive.

Heritage development is at an important juncture in 2003. The concept of national heritage areas is growing rapidly in popularity, and interest in establishing general legislation for heritage areas is on the rise in Congress and in heritage regions across the United States. Heritage region managers, NPS, and all of our partners should not squander this opportunity to establish general standards for designation and criteria for best practices. Such standards and criteria will help to ensure that the designation and development of national heritage areas remains a productive strategy to protect important pieces of America's landscape.

### **The Secrets of Our Success**

In the Cane River region, both the park and the heritage area commission are on track to heed these cautionary visions and continue our successful partnership. Our success is built of many components. First, we have a clear understanding of the mission of all partners and the way we interrelate. This understanding derives from the structure and concepts set forth in our enabling legislation, the guiding force in our development. Also, all partners share trust and mutual respect. The park and the heritage area commission work hard to ensure the fair treatment of all partners and the inclusion of all voices. As organizations that are new to the region, the park and the commission are in a unique position to build bridges between diverse local organizations where none have existed before.

The status of the park and heritage

area as "outsiders" or "newcomers" however, is only effective when we recognize the value of local community knowledge. Over 200 years of wisdom and existing understanding of the sense of place in the region can guide park and heritage area efforts and contribute to a solid foundation for the future. In conjunction with local knowledge, it is important to involve subject-matter experts early and often. Whether dealing with historic preservation, history, interpretation, archeology, or any number of disciplines, subject-matter experts can help advance critical dialogue in heritage areas.

Finally, nonfederal national heritage area management entities and other partners have the opportunity and flexibility to communicate needs of the region to legislators, benefiting both federal and nonfederal partners in our endeavors to conserve living American landscapes.

### **Conclusions**

From the park's standpoint, our partnerships raise awareness. They help us preserve our geographic buffers. Preserving geographic buffers helps, in turn, to preserve the "scenery and wildlife therein" that lie inside park boundaries. Partnerships help us preserve the natural and cultural context. Partnerships increase staff understanding of the resources and their inherent meaning. Partnerships increase our stewardship capabilities.

From the standpoint of the heritage area, it preserves lands and resources that may not meet national park criteria but that do contain critical pieces of the American landscape. These are pieces that help us define our national

character.

For all partners involved in this venture—for management, communities, and visitors—we all share a deeper understanding of the cultures, places, and stories that make this region significant.

At the first national heritage area commission meeting in Natchitoches, National Park Service Deputy Director Denis Galvin read a quote from artist and conservationist Alan Gusow's 1972 book *A Sense of Place: The Artist and the American Land*:

A place is a piece of the whole environment that has been claimed by feel-

ings. Viewed simply as a life support system, the earth is an environment. Viewed as a resource that sustains our humanity, the earth is a collection of places. It is always places we have known and recall. We are homesick for places. We are reminded of places. It is the sounds and the smells and the sights of places which haunt us, and against which we often measure our present.

The business of parks and heritage areas is the business of places. It is our business to ensure that each national heritage area remains that kind of place, by combining the best of resources and partners.

**Laura Gates**, Superintendent, Cane River Creole National Historical Park, 400 Rapides Drive, Natchitoches, Louisiana 71457; [laura\\_gates@nps.gov](mailto:laura_gates@nps.gov)

**Nancy I. M. Morgan**, Executive Director, Cane River National Heritage Area, P.O. Box 1201, Natchitoches, Louisiana 71457; [nmorgan@caneriverheritage.org](mailto:nmorgan@caneriverheritage.org)



# A Vehicle for Conserving and Interpreting Our Recent Industrial Heritage

*Industry—the source of every evil and every good—  
becomes the true protagonist in the transformation of the city.*<sup>1</sup>

## Introduction

**T**he U.S. National Park Service (NPS) has served, for the last century, as the lead agency for the conservation and interpretation of America's natural and cultural heritage. While the NPS has addressed 18th- and 19th-century industry, our more recent industrial heritage presents unique challenges because of the scale of the resources and the inherent conflicts of the stories—the societal and environmental impacts generated, both positive and negative. This nationally and internationally significant heritage moves beyond textile mills and canals to include basic and manufacturing industries, such as steel, automotive, and mining—industries that employ millions of Americans, and have changed the face of the nation and the world.

My central thesis is that 20th-century industry has left an indelible mark on the American consciousness, identity, heritage, and landscape; and that our nation, NPS, and its partners have not yet done an effective job in conserving and interpreting the nation's nationally and internationally significant industrial resources. This, despite the presence of resources that meet NPS designation criteria for significance, stories that are directly relevant to tens of millions of Americans and international visitors (NPS's constituents), and the potential for revitalization partnerships with the nation's largest corporations. Fortunately, several national heritage areas (NHAs)

are attempting to address industrial themes and resources that convey this transcendentally important heritage. America's 20th-century industries—particularly the automobile and steel industries—transformed not only America, but also the entire world. These resources and their embedded stories are a source of pride, community identity, innovation, and beauty for our nation (Figure 1). The opportunities are ripe and time is of the essence, as we are losing significant resources to the inevitable march of technological evolution, industrial modernization, and abandonment, and an entire generation of Americans has grown up without knowledge of



Figure 1. Above: *Criss Cross Conveyors*, by Charles Sheeler, 1932 (The Henry Ford, Benson Ford Archives). Below: *Sheeler Redux*, by Jett Lowe, 2001 (Historic American Engineering Record, Library of Congress).

the role of manufacturing.

### **Context**

The industrial landscape is constantly becoming obsolete. Each era brings another paradigm shift in manufacturing techniques and technologies, manifesting themselves physically and geographically in the world. This is increasingly true in the 20th and 21st centuries, as technological advancements and the globalization of industries accelerate. But the industrial landscape is a wellspring of memory, and therefore a powerful force for learning and change. The heritage of such sites, and their associated architecture and infrastructure, can and have been utilized as a basis for revitalization, both in an economic and cultural sense, regaining valid meaning for contemporary society. Beyond their infrastructure and location value, these sites contain tremendous information and cultural value, as I argued in my master's thesis, "Rethinking the Industrial Landscape: The Future of the Ford Rouge Complex,"<sup>2</sup> and represent, as Spiro Kostof said, "benchmarks of an excelling vision."<sup>3</sup>

### **European Trends and Precedents<sup>4</sup>**

Europe provides over 30 years of experience in projects dealing with the recent industrial past, characterized by partnerships and investment by both the public and private sectors. As the U.S. was celebrating its bicentennial, Europe was already conserving and interpreting their 20th-century industrial heritage. It may seem natural for countries that live with thousands of years of built heritage to easily

embrace their industrial resources, as they do with their historic residential infrastructure. But the European conservation and re-use ethic cannot merely be explained by its being confined to a limited geographic area. It represents an entrenched ethic of putting the cultural landscape into a continuous cycle of use. European nations have also actively sought international recognition of their industrial resources. UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization) recognizes the significance of industrial heritage as an important aspect of world civilization, stating: "Industrial sites are important milestones in the history of humanity, marking humankind's dual power of destruction and creation that engenders both nuisances and progress. They embody the hope of a better life, and the ever-greater power over matter."<sup>5</sup> To date, 33 industrial sites have been designated as World Heritage Sites in Europe, South America, and Asia. Despite the obvious international significance of our recent industrial heritage, none have been nominated by or designated in the United States.

The United Kingdom is credited as the first country to celebrate and invest in industrial heritage. Since the 1970s, the U.K. has established the Heritage Lottery Fund and the SITA Environmental Trust to provide grants to support a wide range of local, regional, and national heritage projects.<sup>6</sup> The project that launched the movement in the U.K. was Ironbridge Gorge, Coalbrookdale, England, significant as the site of the world's first iron bridge, the birthplace of the industrial revolution, and designated as a World Heritage



Site in 1986. Since 1971, nine sites have been developed along the Severn River, and over £20 million have been raised for preservation and interpretation. European examples of conservation of 20th-century industrial resources are identified in Table 1.

**North American  
Trends and Precedents**

In the 1980s, the Canadian government, through Parks Canada, began embracing industrial heritage with the

Welland and Lachine canal projects. Since then, the Canadian government has invested millions in restoration and interpretation, including the creation of linear parks and adjacent neighborhood revitalization.<sup>8</sup> The trend began later in the United States, a nation whose citizenry did not embrace historic preservation until its bicentennial in 1976. Fewer than 10% of the 2,400 national historic landmarks (NHLs) in the U.S. relate to industrial production processes, busi-

Table 1. European precedents addressing 20th-century industry.

Project / Location	Year Initiated/Lead	Significance	Conservation of Resources
<b>Fiat Lingotto</b> / Turin, Italy	1988–1995. Fiat SPA initiated an international design competition, and provided investment	Fiat's main factory, built in 1914, and modeled on Henry Ford and Albert Kahn's Highland Park Plant	The Lingotto, redesigned by Renzo Piano, now serves as a university, offices, auditorium, hotel, and retail center
<b>La Halle Tony Garnier</b> / Lyon, France	1988. The city of Lyon, the owner, decided to rehabilitate	1909 slaughterhouse and World War II ammunition factory was part of a larger complex that was demolished in the 1970s	The remaining facility (700 feet long, 200,000 square feet in area) to host concerts, exhibits, conventions, and sports events, similar to Halle de la Villette in Paris
<b>Emscher Park—The International Building Exhibition (IBA)</b> / Ruhr Valley, Germany	1989. IBA was established by the state of North-Rhine-Westphalia to coordinate the ecological and economic renewal of the then-depressed Ruhr district, with 2 million residents	The Ruhr Valley has long been the industrial heartland of Germany, fueling the country's military and economic prowess through the 1970s	Seven master plans have been developed, linking 19 sites. Close to 100 projects are currently underway, from re-use of industrial buildings to land reclamation and neighborhood and housing development
<b>Volklingen Ironworks</b> / Saarland, Germany	1986. In that year, furnaces went out of production, and in 1992 Saarland began redevelopment	A World Heritage Site, Volklingen is the only intact example in Western Europe and North America of an integrated ironworks built and equipped in the 19th and 20th centuries	In 1999, the European Center of Industrial Art and Culture opened on site
<b>Tate Modern (art museum)</b> / London, England — south bank of the River Thames	1981. In that year, the power station closed. In 2000, the U.K. Millennium Commission publicly funded the rehabilitation	Former Bankside Power Station, built in two phases from 1947–1963	The building has been adaptively re-used to house the Tate Modern Collection. In 2001, the museum drew over 5 million visitors

ness, energy, or extraction/mining themes.<sup>9</sup> In addition, only 4 of 388 National Park System units deal with 20th-century industrial or labor themes.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, recent efforts to gain designation for industrial sites have been met with NPS resistance—largely due to issues of feasibility and cost.<sup>11</sup>

The Historic American Engineering Record (HAER) was established in 1969 by NPS, the American Society of Civil Engineers, and the Library of Congress. HAER reflects “the Federal Government’s concern for the destruction of American’s industrial and engineering heritage, and the need for a well-informed assessment as a basis for deciding what should be preserved.”<sup>12</sup> Since 1969, HAER has documented close to 2,000 buildings, sites, and structures, though a large percentage of the resources documented have been since lost. Both the Rouge Complex and Homestead/Carrie (described below) have been documented by HAER.

The NPS began embracing U.S. industrial heritage with the designation in 1978 of the Lowell National Historical Park in Lowell, Massachusetts. Lowell commemorates America’s industrial revolution, 19th-century industrialization through the early textile industry, and themes of immigration and urbanization.<sup>13</sup> Over 4 million square feet of vacant mill space and 5.6 miles of canals have been revitalized since designation—both as NPS visitor sites and through other public and private institutional, residential, and commercial development. Lowell, the Blackstone River Valley in Rhode Island and Massachusetts, and

several other NPS units interpret U.S. 18th- and 19th-century industrial heritage. During the 1990s, NPS began to consider 20th-century and World War II-era industrial resources for inclusion in the system. NPS units and affiliated areas that address 20th-century industrial and labor history are identified in Table 2.<sup>14</sup> In 1991, Congress authorized NPS to conduct a NHL theme study on American labor history. The purpose of the *Labor History Theme Study* was to identify key sites in American labor history; nominate as NHLs those districts, sites, buildings, and structures that best illustrate or commemorate that history; and prepare a list of most appropriate sites for “possible park units.” Twelve years later, the study is in Phase IV and has yet to be submitted to Congress for further direction.<sup>15</sup>

In 1984, U.S. Congress designated the first NHA—the Illinois and Michigan Canal near Chicago. NHAs were conceived of as being a partnership between NPS and the local community to extend the NPS mission of resource preservation and interpretation without direct ownership and management.<sup>16</sup> While many of the twenty-three NHAs designated to date deal with pre-20th-century industrial resources and stories, there are currently only two nationally designated NHAs that are defined by 20th-century industrial and labor heritage and focus on the re-use and interpretation of resources of national importance.<sup>17</sup> These NHAs still possess, intrinsic to their cultural landscapes, 20th-century “living industries.” Two of the best examples of this are within the boundaries of the MotorCities–Automobile

Table 2. NPS units addressing 20th-century industry and labor.

Park Unit / Location / Year Designated	Significance	Conservation of Resources
<b>Wrangell-St. Elias NP&amp;Pres (Kennecott Mines)</b> / Kennecott, Alaska / 1980 (Kennecott NHL 1986)	Kennecott Mines are one of the largest and most intact abandoned copper mining enclaves in the United States	The dilapidated state of resources has limited public access, interpretation, and conservation efforts
<b>Keweenaw NHP</b> / Calumet and vicinity, Michigan / 1992	Interprets copper mining and processing and its effects on settlement in Michigan's Upper Peninsula. The period of significance for its resources runs from 1840 until 1968	Keweenaw is a partnership park and virtually all land and buildings within the park boundary remain privately owned. Calumet & Hecla Library and General Office buildings have been adaptively re-used to serve as park headquarters; Quincy Mine Pay Office serves as office space; Quincy Mine Shafthouse #2 is operated by park partners as a historical attraction
<b>Rosie the Riveter / World War II Home Front NHP</b> / Richmond, California / 2000	Former Henry Kaiser Shipyards, buildings and sites associated with the industrial, governmental, and citizen efforts that led to victory in World War II. None of the resources within the park are NHLs, though several are on the National Register	Rosie is a partnership park; most of its 14 sites are city- or privately owned, and will remain so, coordinating adaptive re-use with the NPS. The park includes a 561,000-square-foot, Albert Kahn-designed Ford Assembly Building. This structure and its oil house are undergoing adaptive re-use by local partners. Many park resources will retain their original uses
<b>Port Chicago Naval Magazine National Memorial</b> / Concord Naval Weapons Station, California, on the Sacramento River / 1992	Site of an explosion on July 17, 1944, that killed 320 men, 202 of whom were African American enlisted men. The incident sparked protests that led to the military's end to racial inequality after World War II	Port Chicago is an affiliated area of the National Park System and remains an U.S. Naval base. Visits must be arranged in advance and require an U.S. Navy escort for entry to the site, making it of limited interpretive value to the general public

NHA (MotorCities-ANHA) and Rivers of Steel NHA, respectively: Detroit, still the capital of the global automobile industry on which one in seven U.S. jobs depends; and Pittsburgh, still the headquarters of the U.S. steel industry.

### The Ford Rouge Complex

MotorCities-ANHA was designated by Congress in 1998, and is located

in a 10,000-square mile, 13-county area in southeastern and central Michigan. Telling the nationally significant story of the American automobile industry, the Automobile National Heritage Area Partnership, Inc., manages MotorCities-ANHA through a cooperative agreement with NPS. MotorCities-ANHA's mission is to preserve, interpret, and promote Michigan's rich automotive and labor

heritage in ways that are meaningful and relevant to contemporary society. Within the MotorCities–ANHA boundaries lie over 1,200 documented 20th-century industrial and labor history resources, 16 of which are NHLs. A key resource and NHL, the Ford Rouge Complex, serves as a case study.

**The story and significance of the Rouge.** The Ford Motor Company (FMC) Rouge Complex is located on 1,200 acres along the banks of the Rouge River<sup>18</sup> in Dearborn, Michigan. The dense urban context of the Rouge is metropolitan Detroit, home to 4.6 million residents, and a historically mixed industrial, residential, and commercial district—including the extensive FMC campus. Throughout its 86-year history the Rouge has served as the centerpiece of the regional automotive economy in southeastern Michigan and automotive manufacturing in the U.S. From modest begin-

nings on remote farmland and marsh in 1917, Henry Ford and architect Albert Kahn’s joint vision for the Rouge quickly eclipsed their revolutionary Highland Park facility, inherited its assembly line, and grew to become the largest manufacturing complex in the world, with, at its peak, 15 million square feet under roof (Figure 2). The self-proclaimed “industrial city” was admired, imitated, portrayed, and visited by millions of industrialists, dignitaries, artists, designers, architects, and tourists from every corner of the world. By the 1930s, artists such as Diego Rivera and Charles Sheeler captured Ford’s immense facility and Kahn’s architectural innovation, their images published and communicated around the world. There are few other sites in the world that are so charged with historic and cultural meaning; which are of significance at a local, national, and international level; and where the juxtapo-



Figure 2. Ford Rouge Plant, circa 1930 (Ford Motor Company Archives).

sition of 20th- and 21st-century industrial landscape and technology meet.<sup>19</sup>

The Rouge grew out of Ford's personal obsession with industrial self-sufficiency. Here he perfected the "vertical manufacturing" approach, bringing in raw materials—iron ore, coal, limestone, sand—via water, road, and rail, then converting them into steel, parts, components, and, ultimately, automobiles at a rate of 10,000 per day. Hourly employment at the Rouge rose to over 98,000 in 1929.<sup>20</sup> But at the time, employment with FMC was not all privilege, and the Rouge became the site of several significant labor actions, including the 1932 Ford Hunger Strike and the 1937 Battle of the Overpass, which catapulted labor leader Walter Reuther and the United Auto Workers into the national spotlight and led to the unionization of FMC by 1941. The NHL district designation of the Rouge occurred in 1978, concluding "the Rouge signally worthy because of its unique nature and its vital contributions to improved manufacturing techniques."<sup>21</sup> By the 1980s, the globalization of the auto industry and national recession caused FMC to re-evaluate the central role of their historic facility. In 1985, Ford Land Development created a plan entitled *Rouge Complex: An Outline for Orderly Evolution*, based on the assumption that a number of plants within the complex would be phased out for reasons of obsolescence or as a result of the company's approach to bringing products to the market.<sup>22</sup> In 1989, a consortium of four companies purchased Rouge Steel, separating the site

and its utilities along Road 4. In the early 1990s, community advocacy for the conservation of the Rouge NHL began, and it became a key resource in the community's argument for the designation of the Automobile National Heritage Area.

**Plans for re-use and interpretation.** FMC began its "Rouge Heritage 2000" master plan on May 3, 1999, when FMC Chairman and Chief Executive Officer William Clay Ford, Jr., announced at the National Earth Day celebration, "If there is a symbol of the Ford Motor Company, it's the Rouge. For us to walk away would have been an absolute crime.... [W]e just can't keep moving on and building new sites."<sup>23</sup> Since that time, FMC has committed \$2 billion to transform the icon of 20th-century industrialism into an icon of 21st-century sustainable manufacturing. The project has a clear environmental agenda, with improvement of the site's natural and work environments taking precedence over the Rouge's nationally significant cultural resources. In 2000, FMC retained William McDonough<sup>24</sup> and subconsultants to create the five-year master plan, which includes the construction of a new 1.6-million-square-foot Dearborn Truck Plant (DTP), featuring flexible manufacturing, energy and waste efficiency, roof-top monitors for natural sunlight, a 10.4-acre living roof (the world's largest), and greatly improved working conditions on the plant floor. The DTP will replace the historic Dearborn Assembly Plant (DAP) on site, producing F-150 series pick-up trucks. Other site features include a new 735,000-square-foot body shop, porous pave-



ment, stormwater cleaning swales to mimic the natural action of wetlands, and a 1.5-mile greenbelt along Miller Road.<sup>25</sup> All site improvements will greatly benefit the water quality of the Rouge River watershed, once named the largest point-source of pollution in the Great Lakes basin.

The Ford Rouge Center project has evolved into a partnership for the interpretation of the Rouge and its nationally significant 20th-century industrial heritage. A partnership has been legally contracted between FMC and The Henry Ford (THF; formerly known as the Henry Ford Museum & Greenfield Village) in Dearborn, Michigan. According to Patricia Mooradian, chief operating officer at THF, the objective of a planned two-hour Ford Rouge Factory Tour (FRFT) is “to focus on the history of manufacturing—manufacturing in America and the world.”<sup>26</sup> Visitors will begin the FRFT at THF, boarding buses equipped with video monitors to watch a presentation en route to the Rouge that highlights key landmarks in Dearborn, including the FMC campus. Once at the Rouge, visitors get a brief site tour, with a video highlighting significant locations on site. Visitors then arrive at a new “state-of-the-art” Rouge Visitor Center next to the DTP, which FMC has specifically designed and built for this purpose.<sup>27</sup>

The visitor center features two film experiences: “The Legacy Theatre,” showing an 11-minute film that highlights the history of the Rouge, labor, and manufacturing, and the “Art of Manufacturing,” an overview of contemporary auto manufacturing. This 10-minute, multi-sensory experience

is intended to be “completely immersive, enveloping the visitor with all the visual and sensory effects of the manufacturing floor.”<sup>28</sup> Visitors then take an elevator to a roof-top observation deck where, surrounded by glass, they view the DTP green roof, a panorama of the entire plant, the Detroit skyline, and interpretive displays on the environmental features which make the Rouge a model for sustainable manufacturing. Returning down the elevator, visitors traverse a walkway to the new DTP where they enter on the mezzanine level 18–24 feet above the plant floor and look down on the operations of the plant. Along the mezzanine walkway, interactive video monitors explain what workers are doing on the plant floor below. Visitors then return to the visitor center and experience a timeline of vehicles that have been made at the Rouge, including the Model A and Mustang. On the return bus trip, visitors view a closing video with additional information on what they can see to round out their experience. According to Mooradian, “The objective is to give visitors enough to whet their palate, then tell them where they can get more information and detail, through books, web site links, etc.”<sup>29</sup>

Adaptive re-use and interpretation of the historic buildings and infrastructure of the Rouge has been secondary to the development of FRFT. The McDonough master plan shows much of the most significant and intact fabric being demolished for new construction, surface parking lots, and wetland swales. Last year, perhaps the most seminal industrial building of the 20th century—Albert Kahn’s 1923



glass plant—was partially demolished to make way for construction of the new body shop. However, under the leadership of Timothy O'Brien, vice president of corporate relations, FMC is currently restoring the glass plant façade and remaining 570,000 square feet. FMC is being meticulous with this remnant, recreating the plant's four signature "stacks," and identifying the original manufacturer of the glass in the façade (Crittle) to recreate the single-pane steel sash details, but does not yet have a program for the facility. O'Brien's hopes that "once people within the company see how fantastic the building is, someone will want it."<sup>30</sup> O'Brien has also led the recreation of the historic Road 4 overpass, site of the 1937 Battle of the Overpass and named by NPS as one of the top ten labor history sites in the nation.<sup>31</sup> A new brick entryway is also planned where FMC will site an interpretive park with waysides to honor the decades of workers at the Rouge and serve as a memorial to the Battle of the Overpass and the 1999 power house disaster that claimed six lives.<sup>32</sup>

Over the next five years, O'Brien hopes to increasingly address the historic buildings on site, stating that "the biggest challenge is getting the corporation to appreciate that the Rouge is something of significance, intrinsic to American culture, and convincing operating divisions that adaptive re-use can be of value to them."<sup>33</sup> Buildings on his list include the historic 1922 power house<sup>34</sup> and the historic 1917 DAP.<sup>35</sup> O'Brien reminds us that the Rouge is not a museum, but a functioning manufacturing plant—and the company will

have to make "tough but conscious decisions as they work their way through the site."<sup>36</sup> Under directive from the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), FMC has been remediating approximately 30 acres of the Rouge Steel site, south of Road 4 and west of Miller Road. In coming years, FMC and Rouge Steel will address taking down the now-obsolete coke ovens and other steel infrastructure and reprogramming the land.

The MotorCities-ANHA general management plan (GMP) includes an optimistic vision for the Rouge's historic infrastructure, proposing that the core of the site—with its most significant buildings and infrastructure—could be reclaimed through adaptive re-use for an on-site interpretive experience. The GMP advocates using the "historic core of the Rouge site to enhance the visitor experience ... making use of the dramatic 'cultural landscape' of the Rouge Plant" to create an industrial interpretive park in the manner of Emscher Park in Germany.<sup>37</sup> The proposal features visitors arriving via boat or bus, then being "processed" through the site in the same way that raw materials were processed into a finished vehicle (Figure 3). The GMP also suggests that "visitors could be safely guided through the massive sculptural elements of the early Rouge Plant where the blast furnaces, the high line, the foundry and the old coking tower might be used to expose visitors to the massive scale of this landmark plant and provide interpretive content."<sup>38</sup> The GMP also emphasizes the Rouge as an important resource and visitor services point in proposals for local

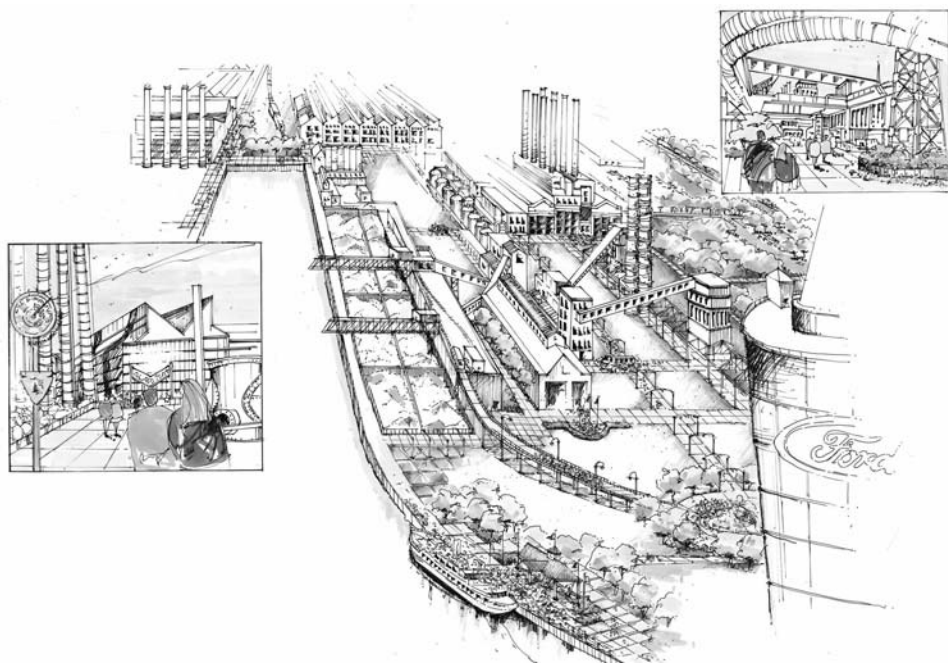


Figure 3. Interpretive potentials at the Rouge, 2001 (MotorCities-ANHA).

and regional land and water linkages, interpretive waysides, and a heritage ranger program.

The GMP also called for a special resource study to evaluate all of the region's resources for NPS involvement, identifying the Rouge is a key focus, given its national significance. However, the GMP suggests that a more innovative designation be explored. A learning center, as identified in a recent National Park System Advisory Board publication,<sup>39</sup> is also a role recommended for the Rouge, given its planned sustainable rebirth and enormous educational value. Community advocacy for the Rouge and its nationally significant resources comes primarily through MotorCities-ANHA, with several board members who work for FMC, THF, and

Wayne County involved with deliberations on the site. To date, MotorCities-ANHA has not requested Congress to authorize NPS to conduct a special resource study. Recently, US/ICOMOS (U.S. Committee for the International Council on Monuments and Sites) staff suggested that MotorCities-ANHA pursue World Heritage Site designation for the auto industry through either FMC's Highland Park or Rouge plants, "before the Germans, French or Italians beat us to it."<sup>40</sup>

**Partnerships in planning and implementation.** FMC has led and borne the cost of the master planning and all new construction and renovation at the Rouge, though Wayne County partnered on the reconstruction of Miller Road. FMC turned to its

close ally THF to create, operate, and manage the interpretive experience at the Rouge. Though separate entities, a Ford family connection remains. Henry Ford founded the Edison Institute (which became THF) in 1929 to house his extensive collection, and the board still includes several family members. THF will operate the entire interpretive experience, and revenues generated through ticket and merchandise sales go back into the institution.

To assist THF and FMC to reduce the Rouge's immense history into a concise story and create the visitor and interpretive experience, THF hired a consultant to lead concept, design, and production. FMC contracted separately with a team of local architects to build the visitor center. Prior to funding the design, an economic consultant was contracted with to conduct a management resources feasibility and operations analysis. The study determined capacity, flow, operation needs, pricing, and target attendance. THF is estimating 125,000–250,000 visitors per year for the FRFT. FMC plans to open the visitor center as part of the corporation's centennial celebration in June 2003, though public tours are not scheduled to begin until the spring of 2004.

### **Homestead Works/Carrie Furnaces**

The Rivers of Steel NHA was designated by Congress in 1996, and is located in a seven-county area in Pittsburgh and southwestern Pennsylvania. Telling the nationally significant story of "Big Steel" in the U.S., the Steel Industry Heritage Corporation

(SIHC) manages Rivers of Steel through a cooperative agreement with NPS. SIHC's mission is to conserve, interpret, promote, and manage the historic, cultural, natural, and recreation resources of steel and related industries in Rivers of Steel and to develop the use of these resources so that they may contribute to the revitalization of the region. Within the NHA boundaries lie several hundred documented 20th-century industrial and labor history resources, perhaps the most significant of which is the Homestead/Carrie site.

**The story and significance of Homestead/Carrie.** The former Homestead Works (Homestead/Carrie) is located in Allegheny County on the banks of the Monongahela River in southwestern Pennsylvania. Homestead/Carrie was the site of some of America's most significant labor history: the "Battle of Homestead" in 1892 and the 50-year non-union period in the steel industry which followed. First established by Andrew Carnegie and later acquired by U.S. Steel Corporation (USX), the operation of the integrated plant was pivotal in the development of the American iron and steel industry from 1892 to 1951, making Pittsburgh the capital of "Big Steel" and influencing steel-making locally, nationally, and internationally. The site was the hub of industrial development and major technological advances within the steel industry, including the "hard driving" method of steel-making and the development of techniques for smelting Mesabi ores.<sup>41</sup> A primary armor-producing facility, Homestead/Carrie and the workers of the Monongahela Valley

produced the steel that helped win World Wars I and II.

Homestead/Carrie is located in and adjacent to some of greater Pittsburgh's most severely depressed communities, places that have been affected by the downsizing of the steel industry and its attendant permanent job losses. Operations at Homestead/Carrie ceased in 1979 and the SIHC has been leading efforts to secure both NHL district status and the establishment of a national historical park since 1990. Since closure, the integrity of the Homestead/Carrie resources has been affected, with its context of abandoned industrial sites along the Monongahela undergoing dramatic redevelopment. Park Corporation recently purchased the Homestead site, demolished the steel mills, and created a major 360-acre mixed-use development called the Waterfront, covering 80% of the former works. The nearby Nine Mile Run/Summerset residential development reclaims a former slag dump, and Frick Park, owned by the city of Pittsburgh, plans expansion into the residential area.

**Plans for re-use and interpretation.** The Rivers of Steel GMP proposes conservation and interpretation of the Homestead/Carrie resources, addressing 35 acres of the 160-acre site. Portions of the Homestead/Carrie site from the 1892–1900 period remain intact, and a number of projects identified in the GMP have been implemented. The Bost Building, former headquarters of the Amalgamated Associated Iron and Steel Workers during the 1892 Homestead lockout and strike, also housed the newspaper

reporters who covered the strike. In 1999, the Bost Building was designated the district's only NHL to date, and has since been renovated to serve as SIHC headquarters, housing archives and exhibits interpreting the building and events of 1892, and providing information on the NHA. SIHC plans to expand the Bost as a welcome center and gateway to the proposed national historical park and the region, and as the launching point for Monongahela River tours.

Carrie furnaces 6 and 7 across the Monongahela also retain integrity (Figure 4). Built in 1906–1907, they are the only remaining pre-World War II blast furnaces in the Pittsburgh district. A docking area is planned at the Carrie site. The Hot Metal Bridge linking the two sites retains basic integrity from 1900–1901 and is currently interpreted from afar. In the future, the bridge, one of six of its type remaining in the world, is envisioned as a multi-modal link in the regional greenway system. The landing site where the battle of 1892 occurred still includes the retaining wall and pump house, currently undergoing renovation for basic visitor amenities. The pump house, where SIHC hopes to interpret the battle and the rest of site, is currently a venue for lectures, with new exhibits planned to open in 2003. It is also a stop on the Rivers of Steel bus tour, and included in a digital driving tour planned for summer of 2003.<sup>42</sup>

Any individual who has visited an operating steel mill knows that it is an extremely visceral and memorable experience. There has been “no heat” at Carrie since 1979, so Rivers of Steel



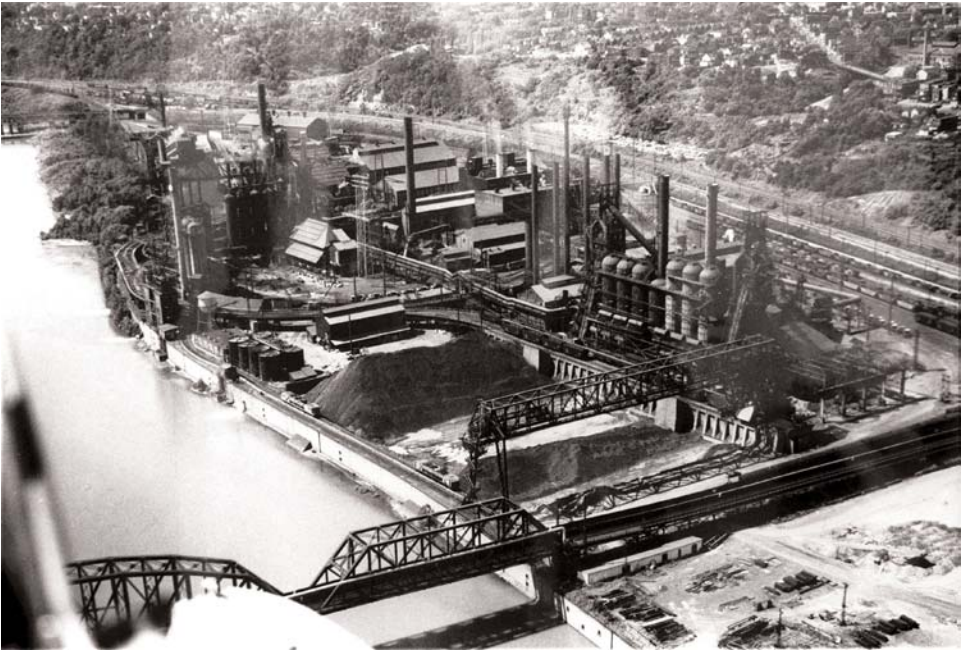


Figure 4. Carrie Furnaces, circa 1965 (SIHC).

has focused on interpreting the landscape and the physical remains of the site. The GMP planners proposed a “virtual reality” film so visitors might feel the “heat and the fury” of steel-making, without putting people in harm’s way. There remains the possibility of offering visitors a separate tour of USX’s nearby Edgar Thompson Works, which are still operating. However, interpretive planning has yet to begin in earnest. Once the Homestead/Carrie park unit is designated, NPS will have to generate another GMP, including an interpretive approach to the site.

**Partnerships in planning and implementation.** SIHC leads implementation efforts with strong local, county, and state support. The Rivers of Steel GMP suggested a special resources study for Homestead/Car-

rie, but SIHC’s route through the application and designation process with NPS has not been smooth. In 1998, SIHC submitted an NHL district nomination for Homestead/Carrie,<sup>43</sup> and in 1999 Congress authorized NPS to conduct a special resources study to determine whether Homestead/Carrie meets NPS criteria for national significance, suitability, and feasibility in order to be designated a unit of the National Park System.

When the special resources study began, SIHC Chief Executive Officer August Carlino was told by tNPS that Homestead/Carrie “will not fit at least one category, and that category will likely be feasibility. Because of the scale of the site and the costs associated with taking it on—it would likely be turned down.”<sup>44</sup> While the NPS special resources study continues, the

designating legislation is going to congressional committee. Carlino remains confident SIHC will gain designation, noting that whatever NPS says or does, Congress is the ultimate determinant in getting an NPS unit. According to Carlino, “If you think merit will win out, you are naïve. You need the political support—not only in Washington, it has to be something the region supports.”<sup>45</sup>

SIHC projects implementation costs at approximately \$100 million. SIHC recently secured commitments from USX and International United Steel Workers of America to lead a capital campaign.<sup>46</sup> Park Corporation has committed to donating the land on the condition that SIHC gains federal government involvement through NPS designation, but has limited access to the site due to liability concerns. The Union Railroad (part of USX) donated the Hot Metal Bridge to SIHC in 2001. SIHC now owns the Bost Building, the pump house, the water tower, and the Hot Metal Bridge. But, according to SIHC staff, the “big fish is still in the pond.”<sup>47</sup>

### Challenges

History demonstrates that conservation and interpretation of the United States’s recent industrial past has been challenging and not wholly successful. The time and resources devoted to date have yielded little in terms of national recognition and public use and enjoyment of these significant resources and stories. I propose three primary challenges to success in conserving our recent industrial past:

- **Appreciation of significance.** U.S. society<sup>48</sup> must recognize that

industrial resources do indeed embody significance. Such resources must first be accepted as intrinsic to American culture—as important to the shaping of the American experience as Plymouth Rock or Gettysburg. But a history that is too close is not always held dear. Attitudes, policies, and programs must change at the federal, state, and local levels to encourage appreciation among our citizens. As the nation’s lead “heritage” agency, NPS should play a leading role in raising awareness and making a credible case for significance. The interest and advocacy of preservation and cultural professionals alone have proven to be not enough. NPS must become a proactive advocate for and steward of our industrial heritage, identifying ways to meaningfully incorporate these resources and stories into the National Park System. Theme study, NHL, and special resources study determinations for industrial and labor heritage should not take a decade or more. NPS feasibility assessments, particularly their costs, seem to be the chief impediment to the agency playing a leadership role, ultimately prompting local political and congressional intervention. Imagine a future proactive NPS approach to three other significant 20th-century industries: aerospace, oil, and computer/web. Such a structured and proactive approach on the part of NPS might limit political initiatives that force the inclusion of sites and resources of questionable significance, further reinforcing NPS’s



role in making such determinations.

- **The nature of industry.** All industry is in a constant state of evolution and technological advancement. Such “living” industries and “living” landscapes will, by their very nature, evolve. As Fred Mueller observes, industrial areas “cannibalize themselves” in the name of progress. The history of industry is the history of technological evolution, and in the productivity cycle, the old is taken away and new is put in place. Often, 20th-century industrial buildings and infrastructure were designed and built with the capacity for evolution, given the enormous investment involved. Fortunately, the ideal conservation and interpretation strategy for industrial resources is to put them into a continuous cycle of use, retaining the opportunity to tell not only the story of how technology originated, but how it continues to evolve. Embracing this evolutionary nature is the next step in embracing our 20th-century industrial heritage. As the two case histories reveal, “freezing” industry and technology at a specific time is not appropriate for large-scale industrial sites, particularly those that remain intrinsic to the economies and cultures of communities. The Homestead/Carrie special resources study addressed this phenomenon, describing site integrity as “commensurate with the ever changing nature of industry.”
- **The culture and missions of NPS, history museums, and corporations.** The capacity to deal with

20th-century industrial re-use and interpretation is not intrinsic to the missions of these major U.S. institutions. As suggested by Randall Cooley, NPS is, by definition, an “iconic” interpretive agency, focusing only on those resources that are icons of the American landscape and experience. If too many similar resources survive to tell a nationally significant story—such as steel mills or auto factories—NPS is inclined to wait to preserve the last example left. NPS’s focus is not on the evolution of resources, but on capturing a resource at a specific period of significance. For industrial resources, this evolution coexists on one site.<sup>49</sup> NPS creates a catch-22 by arguing a lack of integrity for an evolved industrial site. However, if such sites were fully intact, NPS would likely be even more resistant on issues of feasibility and cost.

History museums focus on the interpretation of artifacts in controlled environments, and are not equipped to address context. Most interpretive approaches employ traditional methods of interpretation—film and video, virtual reality, interpretive panels, bus tours—all of which are sequenced, packaged, and contained experiences. These methods tend to “sanitize” and “prettify” the resource and the story, catering to the mass consumer tastes of a nation accustomed to a Disneyland experience of the urban landscape. All while the authentic resource and experience are just outside the bus or vis-

itor center window.

Many 20th-century industrial resources are owned by global corporations with billions in assets. Unless abandoned, these facilities are still in productive use. Generally, conservation and interpretation are not in the “DNA” of these corporations. Most businesses do not see beyond the next quarter’s financial statements, let alone the ten or twenty years needed for an adaptive re-use project to come to fruition. However, corporations often need to keep resources in productive use as a business strategy, which is also the best conservation strategy. For resources of such scale, strategies for single-purpose use are generally unrealistic, as is transforming all industrial resources into museums. Twenty years ago, a corporation’s first instinct was to abandon the site and put a fence around it, but increasingly, with pressure from municipalities to replace losses in their tax base, corporations have focused on demolition and redevelopment—still posing a challenge to conservationists.

Each of these sectors can and must play critical roles if we are to conserve and interpret our recent industrial heritage. NHAs play an important role in advocating for an ethic of re-use and interpretation within each, bringing all parties to the table, identifying the strengths of each, and allowing the surrounding community to provide the context. NHAs are also an important vehicle for expertise in large-scale

landscape interpretation, but the role and presence of NPS cannot be underestimated. Success in conservation and interpretation is generally evident in NHAs with strong NPS recognition, presence, and technical assistance.

### **A Cooperative Way Forward**

NPS has a unique opportunity to embrace our recent industrial heritage by partnering with and recognizing the local leadership of NHAs, corporations, and public-sector partners while reinforcing the importance of park units as part of the agency’s “seamless national network.” Partnerships are logical, but to gain legitimacy strong local support must also be coupled with federal recognition. Few communities would mount such long-range investments without the hope of gaining NPS recognition, which remains critical to gaining support, participation, and funding from public and private sectors.

- **Seizing new opportunities and agendas.** The case studies in this paper illustrate various motivations for the conservation of industrial resources beyond education and interpretation: business opportunities, enhancing a corporation’s environmental profile, executives’ interest in history and legacy. In order to succeed in the conservation and interpretation of industrial resources, cultural resource professionals must be innovative—tell the story, find an ally, appropriate an agenda! But there also must be balance. An agenda which focuses only on natural resources can be of

detriment to the cultural. Still, there is a wealth of opportunities to partner with the private sector on cultural resources, while continuing to expand the NPS definition of “partnership.” The corporate community has already proven their interest and willingness to be associated with NPS on environmental issues.<sup>50</sup> NPS and NHAs should explore how these motivations can be transformed into an equally enthusiastic conservation ethic addressing cultural resources.

- **New view of standards and incentives.** The designation and conservation of industrial resources poses a challenge to NPS management standards, preservation procedures, and technologies. NPS evaluation of integrity will likely always fail if the site is in a continuous cycle of use. A more flexible approach is required if the ultimate objective is to conserve resources. All stakeholders must arrive at a reasonable definition of what is required to retain integrity and status. The secretary of the interior’s standards currently stipulate “new use that requires minimal change” and “each property recognized as a physical record of its time.”<sup>51</sup> These standards need to evolve to address industrial scale and conditions, particularly the secretary’s rehabilitation standards, which seem most relevant to industrial conservation.<sup>52</sup> In addition, NPS should take a proactive lead in coordinating among federal agencies, particularly with the EPA, which is often the “first on the

scene” at historic industrial sites and whose environmental mitigation requirements often result in the loss of cultural resources.<sup>53</sup> We need to creatively leverage state-level programs, such as brownfield and obsolete buildings legislation. But perhaps the most important factor in alleviating NPS’s resistance to such large-scale resources is addressing the agency’s lack of financial resources and staff expertise. Congress must provide NPS with adequate funding to support such designations and additions to the National Park System.

- **Innovative approaches for big scale and contested stories.** Our recent industrial heritage presents unique challenges because of the scale of the resources and the inherent conflicts of the stories. We must not be overwhelmed by scale. As these resources were conceived by minds of a previous generation, so can they be reconceived by the minds of this generation. We require viable strategies that focus on innovative approaches and resist “assembled or imagineered heritage landscapes,” as Richard Francaviglia has categorized them.<sup>54</sup> Identifying the essence of their inception can inform our reuse strategies. If innovation defined them 100 years ago, then whatever defines innovation today can guide their future use. We must embrace difficult stories, and continue to tell the whole story, finding ways to make them relevant to contemporary society. Still vital to most communities, 20th-century industrial

sites offer rich opportunities for civic engagement in under-served urban areas, connecting NPS to a more diverse constituent base.

I hope this history has established the argument for the significance of recent industrial heritage in the United States and shone a light on the important role that national heritage areas are playing, and the challenges they face, in attempting to conserve and interpret the resources and stories that

compellingly convey this heritage. I close my paper with a call to action. The opportunities are ripe and time is of the essence if we are to address this transcendentally important heritage. The potential benefits are great for current and future generations—if we as a nation can come together to successfully conserve and interpret our recent industrial heritage, using that heritage as a transformative force for change, learning, and growth.

## Endnotes

- 1 Aldo Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*, trans. Diane Ghirardo (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1982).
- 2 Constance C. Bodurow, “Rethinking the industrial landscape: The future of the Ford Rouge Complex” (master’s thesis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1991).
- 3 Spiro Kostof, *America by Design* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).
- 4 My focus here is on projects that include re-use and interpretation. There are hundreds of projects in Europe and North America that have a more conventional approach to re-use, but do not attempt to leverage embedded information value or educational opportunities. While there are examples across the U.S. of the successful adaptive re-use of 19th-century mill and warehouse buildings for residential, loft, commercial, and retail space, but only a few examples of large-scale 20th-century industrial sites have been adaptively re-used through private-sector initiative and public-sector incentives. Higher-profile examples include the Monterey Aquarium (Monterey, California; a former canning factory), Stroh RiverPlace mixed use development (Detroit; the former Parke Davis Laboratories—though the complex lost its NHL designation because of adaptive re-use), and the Briggs–Courttyard by Marriott hotel (Omaha, Nebraska; former warehouses).
- 5 At <http://whc.unesco.org/sites/industrial.htm>.
- 6 Jerome Hugron, *Industrial Heritage in Europe: Preservation and Revitalization Initiatives* (Lyon, France: Université de Bourgogne, 2002).
- 7 Sources of information for European projects: Bodurow, “Rethinking the industrial landscape”; Hugron, *Industrial Heritage in Europe*.
- 8 Hugron, *Industrial Heritage in Europe*.
- 9 In the NHL system, there are currently 12 theme categories potentially relating to industrial resources. NHL research, NPS Washington Cultural Resources Office staff.
- 10 Author’s research of current National Park System. I have excluded sites such as Los Alamos National Laboratories, which deal primarily with 20th-century military history.
- 11 This was the experience of Rivers of Steel NHA in attempting to gain designation for the Homestead/Carrie site; see below.
- 12 Historic American Engineering Record informational brochure, undated.
- 13 At <http://www.nps.gov/parks>.
- 14 Though not an NPS initiative, Bethlehem Steel in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, merits inclusion as the largest brownfield project the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) has undertaken with private industry, the future site of a new National Museum of Industrial History (NMIH), and a unique partnership approach led by high-level Bethlehem Steel executives. Located on the Lehigh River, the plant served from 1904–2002 as the headquarters of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, and is also a key site in the Delaware and Lehigh National Heritage Corridor (DLNHC). Steel-making ceased in 1995,

and over the last 10–15 years, a master plan was developed for the re-use and interpretation of the 160-acre site as a mixed-use complex. The plan incorporates three-fourths of the existing historic structures, effectively preserving the historic core of operation. The most significant resources on site are the five furnaces, illustrating over 50 years in steel-making technology. The proposed program includes museum and interpretive uses, community recreation, and commercial areas. In 1997, a memorandum of understanding was signed with the Smithsonian Institution for a new affiliate museum, the NMIH, to be located in the plant's No. 2 machine shop. Planning and implementation has been managed by the nonprofit BethWorks, working in conjunction with the Delaware County Development Corporation. Unfortunately, plans have recently stalled due to Bethlehem Steel's recent bankruptcy and purchase by a Cleveland-based corporation, though the NMIH project is expected to proceed. Interview with C. Allen Sachse, executive director, DLNHC.

- 15 Interview with Robie Lange, National Historic Landmarks Survey, April 9, 2003; National Park Service, *Labor History Theme Study: Phase III* (Denver: NPS Denver Service Center, 1997). Phase I of the labor history theme study was a reconnaissance survey by qualified scholars of labor history. During Phase II, historians at the Newberry Library in Chicago, under contract to the NPS, identified a list of 52 sites, including the Schloss Blast Furnaces in Birmingham, Alabama (now owned and operated by the city of Birmingham and open to the public as a museum of industry), the Ford Rouge Complex, and the Butte–Anaconda Mining and Smelting Complex in Montana. The initial study did lead to some NHL designations. Phase III was initiated in 1995 at the George Meany Conference, reducing the list to 11 sites. NPS, now in phase IV, has revised the study and further reduced the list of eligible sites. Currently under internal review, the study may lead to a multiple-property designation.
- 16 See the papers in this issue by Eugster and Barrett for discussions on the origins and evolution of the heritage area movement in the United States.
- 17 To some extent, other NHAs deal with 20th-century industrial heritage. Silos and Smokestacks NHA deals with agricultural themes and includes the John Deere Works, and Augusta Canal NHA deals with textile production and power generation. However, neither deals with industrial re-use and interpretation at the scale of the two case studies selected for this paper.
- 18 The factory gets its name from the river on which it was built. La Riviere Rouge (Red River) was named by the region's French settlers in the early 1700s for its rich red clay soil and, therefore, its distinctive color.
- 19 Bodurow, "Rethinking the industrial landscape."
- 20 Allan Nevins and Frank Ernest Hill, *Expansion and Challenge* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1957), p. 687.
- 21 Ralph J. Christian, Rouge NHL nomination, May 1977.
- 22 Bodurow, "Rethinking the industrial landscape," p. 189.
- 23 *Detroit News*, May 4, 1999.
- 24 McDonough is known as the "green dean" for his innovative sustainable design practice and status as former dean of the University of Virginia School of Architecture.
- 25 Ford Centennial Operations/Rouge Communications 6-02.
- 26 Interview with Patricia Mooradian, THF, March 17, 2003.
- 27 Ford Centennial Operations/Rouge Communications 6-02.
- 28 Mooradian interview.
- 29 Ibid.
- 30 Interview with Timothy O'Brien, FMC, February 25, 2002.
- 31 National Park Service, *Labor History Theme Study: Phase III*.
- 32 O'Brien interview.
- 33 Ibid.
- 34 The power house was damaged in the 1999 explosion and its landmark stacks and precipitators were recently removed because of safety and environmental concerns.
- 35 Albert Kahn's first building on site was originally known as the B-Building because it was built to produce Eagle boats for the U.S. Navy in World War I.
- 36 O'Brien interview.
- 37 *MotorCities–Automobile National Heritage Area General Management Plan* (N.p., November 2001), pp.

- 233-235.
- 38 Ibid.
- 39 National Park System Advisory Board, *Rethinking the National Parks in the 21st Century* (Washington, D.C.: National Geographic Society, 2001).
- 40 Conversation with Gustavo Araoz, executive director, US/ICOMOS, October 11, 2003.
- 41 National Park Service, *Battle of Homestead and Carrie Furnaces 6 and 7 Special Resources Study* (Boston: NPS Northeast Region, August 2002).
- 42 Interview with Ron Baraff, SIHC staff historian, April 11, 2003.
- 43 The NHL district nomination for Homestead/Carrie was drafted in 1998 by Michael Bennett, research historian at the University of Vermont. According to SIHC staff, NPS has repeatedly reviewed and returned the document, which is now in its third iteration. The NPS Washington staff has expressed concern about integrity of the site, and, absent a national context study, has instructed Bennett and SIHC to complete a comparative analysis of blast furnaces in the area, particularly now that Bethlehem has expressed intent to acquire NHL status. Bennett's latest conclusions focus on the fact that no other extant furnaces are (1) tied to Andrew Carnegie and (2) linked to Pittsburgh district. The newly revised NHL is still in the process of review, but is moving forward.
- 44 Interview with August R. Carlino, chief executive officer, SIHC, April 13, 2003.
- 45 Ibid.
- 46 Ibid. Local foundations made it clear to SIHC that without visible industry support, it would be impossible for them to raise money for the project.
- 47 Baraff interview.
- 48 Citizens, private property owners, government servants.
- 49 Interview with Randall Cooley, executive director, Southwest Pennsylvania Heritage Preservation Commission, March 28, 2003.
- 50 FMC partnership with NPS on the Glacier National Park "red buses" alternative fuel conversion project, and THINK! electric vehicle donations throughout the National Park System.
- 51 *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties*, 1995.
- 52 FMC chose not to use historic tax credits at the Rouge, believing that the secretary's standards would hold them up for years, but then still decided to painstakingly recreate the single-pane glass windows of Kahn's historic Glass Plant.
- 53 An example of this can be found at the Rouge, where environmental remediation is resulting in the demolition of the historic coke ovens.
- 54 Alanen and Melnick, 2000.

**Constance C. Bodurow**, 2900 East Jefferson Avenue, A-200, Detroit, Michigan 48207; [cbodurow@earthlink.net](mailto:cbodurow@earthlink.net)





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☎ 1-906-487-9722. Fax: 1-906-487-9405. E-mail: [info@georgewright.org](mailto:info@georgewright.org)



P. O. Box 65  
Hancock, Michigan 49930-0065  
USA

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