

博士論文（要約）

Bottom-up Approach to the World Heritage Conservation Mechanism:
Three-Layered Actors of the Historic Center of Mexico City
（世界遺産保全メカニズムにおけるボトムアップアプローチ：
メキシコ市歴史地区における 3 層のアクター）

宮崎 彩

The question of how to strike a balance between development and the conservation of cultural heritage is a universal issue that has become increasingly serious in a rapidly urbanizing world. An increasing number of conservation issues in cities undergoing development are being reported to the World Heritage Center even in countries that have effective legislative, regulatory, and financial protective measures in place. The international cultural heritage conservation regime, under the World Heritage Convention, was developed in the 20th Century by heritage experts to preserve the physical attributes of a heritage and its setting. For urban heritage, however, this approach to heritage conservation could be problematic considering that change is an innate characteristic of cities. While recent studies in heritage conservation have focused on finding a balance between the protection and usage of the heritage through the notion of local communities, not enough attention has been paid to the implications of the protection measures for the local communities that under this approach bear the burden of the long-term commitment to these conservation projects.

This dissertation argues that sustainable conservation is affected by both the process of balancing the usage and preservation of cultural heritage and specifying the responsibilities of all stakeholders, including the local authorities and communities; in other words, it is the issue of cultural heritage governance by multiple stakeholders. As long as the necessity of conserving a specific cultural heritage is decided and imposed in a top-down manner by governmental authorities and experts, it will lead to policies that are less than fair to the local stakeholders who are directly affected by these decisions. Conservation, as a matter of fact, is shifting from the traditionally expert-led, technical approach (based on the so-called Authorized Heritage Discourse (AHD)) to a more people-centered approach with a broader focus on living heritage and the involvement of multiple actors. Considering that heritage is a social construct, establishing a conservation system is only one side of the coin; the success of any conservation effort also depends on the participation of local stakeholders who are directly affected by regulations imposed by the authorities in a top-down manner.

Under such circumstances, two specific questions are addressed: How can the gap between the stated goals of the cultural heritage conservation mechanism and its actual implementation be reduced? Considering that the local stakeholders through their daily activities affect the cultural heritage greatly, how can they be incorporated in the process of management and conservation of cultural heritage? In order to clarify the roles of multilayered actors within the World Heritage conservation mechanism, this dissertation focused on the conservation mechanism and practices of the Historic Center of Mexico City (CHCM) as the primary case study. By applying the process-tracing method, global and local frameworks, and other multifaceted dichotomies such as conservation/urban development, created by international, national, and local actors within the context of urban heritage conservation, were analyzed. This dissertation takes an approach that could be considered a multi-sited ethnography to map out and analyze the multi-leveled actors within the complex World Heritage conservation mechanism. Between 2016 and 2018, semi-structured interviews, surveys, fieldwork, and participant observation were carried

out in Mexico, supplemented by follow-up online communications with the stakeholders. From 2019 to 2021, the author accumulated data, documents, and information on the policies and practices implemented by the World Heritage Center, UNESCO, especially on the implementation of the World Heritage conservation mechanism.

The dissertation consists of six chapters, including the conclusion.

In Chapters 1 and 2, the international actors—UNESCO, Advisory Bodies, and states—and the development of the World Heritage conservation mechanism were analyzed to explicate their impact on actual conservation practices when inscribed as World Heritage properties. Under the international regime, a universal standard for heritage conservation was established for all states to prepare long-term legislative, regulatory, and institutional protection measures upon ratification of the World Heritage Convention. Over the five decades since its ratification, the regime has been adjusted to adapt to the changing context of cultural heritage, such as the Historic Urban Landscape and the inclusion of the communities as stakeholders to enable sustainable conservation, while continuing to maintain its expert-led technical evaluation and conservation system.

In order to analyze how the communities are incorporated into the conventional, top-down conservation system, the author referred to Arnstein's eight rungs on the ladder of citizen participation, divided into three degrees of Non-participation, Tokenism, and Citizen Power, as a reference point to distinguish the level of community involvement in conservation practices. A handful of case studies revealed that, when local communities initiated a bottom-up conservation movement, followed by national and international heritage designation, the citizen-controlled conservation practice was maintained to a level that demonstrated the degree of Citizen Power. However, most of the World Heritage properties were inscribed by the authorities in a top-down manner, by imposing regulations on the communities. In such cases, the best practices referred to by international experts revealed the significant roles played by local authorities as mediators between local communities and governmental authorities. In this top-down conservation approach, communities remained on the receiving end, at the degree of tokenism, and they were forced to cope with the restrictions of the cultural heritage zone.

In Chapters 3 to 5, the national conservation approaches at the federal and city levels were analyzed in depth, with a focus on the CHCM in Mexico, which is a typical case in which historic monuments were registered in a top-down approach without consultation with the citizens at the time of their inscription. Already affected by the lack of maintenance, both direct and indirect impacts of urban development of Mexico City, and natural hazards, the CHCM was in a derelict state with a decreasing population of vulnerable communities—a common case seen in historic centers, especially in Latin America.

Chapter 3 discusses the federal conservation mechanism in Mexico and the applied logic of the AHD. At the national level, cultural heritage—especially pre-hispanic culture—has been used as a tool for nation-building and for controlling culturally and socioeconomically diverse groups in Mexico, ever since its independence from Spain. The AHD applied to build the nation of Mexico underlies the

establishment of federal institutions and legislations, creating the solid foundation for a government-led, top-down conservation system. However, changes in governmental policies to recognize monuments as cultural resources since the 1960s started to create a gap between the ideology of cultural heritage and its practice.

Chapter 4 discusses the official conservation mechanism of the CHCM by the Mexico City government. The so-called democratization of the 1990s gave the local government a degree of power over public services and urban planning, including cultural heritage management, and created a rather complex conservation mechanism of cultural heritage with multiple actors making decisions in the CHCM. Two local authorities were installed to manage and implement conservation and rehabilitation projects of the CHCM, in close cooperation with other federal, city-level, and district-level authorities in charge of cultural heritage conservation and development in the CHCM. The analysis revealed that one of the tools of the World Heritage conservation mechanism, the Management Plan, was applied by local authorities as a tool to balance the normative evaluation and technical restoration by federal institutions and local-level urban development programs but with a stronger focus on the latter.

Chapter 5 analyzes bottom-up conservation practices, initiated or participated by local communities of the CHCM. Local communities only came into the picture of cultural heritage conservation after the democratization of Mexico City in the 1990s, instigated by the lack of federal governmental support in the rehabilitation of the CHCM due to the 1985 earthquake. Two types of communities—the private sector and marginalized communities—played significant roles in actual conservation practices with different degrees of impact. The first group, consisting of economically and politically powerful figures, paved the way for the Mexico City government to invest in the rehabilitation of the central 40 blocks of the CHCM in 2000s and improved their infrastructure, security, and historic buildings.

The Citizen School, organized by the CHCM Trust (FCHCM), was created as a means to introduce and explain governmental projects to marginalized communities who were impacted by the public projects, and falls into the degree of tokenism on the ladder of citizen participation. An unexpected outcome for the local authority was that this school became a device to produce community leaders and community-led projects in the marginalized areas of the CHCM and neighborhoods, just outside of the applied Historic Monument Zone. Having acquired applicable information and tools from the Citizen School, some students became community leaders and initiated projects to rehabilitate their neighborhoods and protect their livelihoods. The analyses of such community-led projects revealed that their actions were attached to personal history, rather than the AHD values of the CHCM, and that they themselves became the mediators between the local authorities and observers or skeptics in their neighborhoods when implementing these projects. Their bottom-up conservation projects in marginalized neighborhoods converted areas not prioritized in the governmental investment and ultimately changed the cityscape of the CHCM. With the right type of information and network provided by local authorities, this generated a bottom-up conservation projects, moving the degree of citizen participation to Citizen Control

within their neighborhoods. One thing that is significant is that it may well not be “conservation” that the community is aiming for but rather “rehabilitation” of their personal and neighboring spaces and buildings to live better and safer lives. While the incentives and objectives are different, the actions taken by local, national, and federal governments appear to be converging as a single act of “cultural heritage conservation.”

Based on the above considerations, the final chapter concluded that local stakeholders play significant roles in the actual implementation of the national and international conservation mechanisms. While local authorities play an intermediary role among the different leveled governmental authorities, they also mediate between governmental authorities and local communities. Similarly, when given the opportunities and means for citizen participation, local communities can also serve the role of mediator between local authorities and the rest of the communities to implement community-led conservation projects. The gap between AHD-based cultural heritage conservation and its implementation can be reduced when local authorities and communities take the initiative in preserving their cultural heritage. An analysis of the three-leveled authorities and communities involved in the conservation process in a top-down system of conservation revealed that, unlike traditional ways of thinking about conservation, local actors also play an important role in generating conservation projects and their successful outcome even when they are imposed from above. In recognizing that this is a single case analysis, further research may be needed to consider the applicability of the top-down and bottom-up conservation models beyond the context of the CHCM and Mexico, which could yield other types of local stakeholders that were not included in the analysis of this dissertation.