



Cultural Heritage Management Practices: Evidence from the World Heritage Site of Lalibela, Ethiopia

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ABSTRACT

Heritage is regarded as part of the reflection of innovation and expression of identity over collective memories of the past. This study examines the cultural heritage management practices evidence from the World Heritage Site of Lalibela, Ethiopia. There is a growing concern about the current cultural heritage management practices in Ethiopia. However, concerned parties have given low attention to the practice. This concern includes with the management and preservation of significant cultural sites and physical architectural heritage assets, cultural value, aesthetic and religious value. Accordingly, this renowned UNESCO Site needs scientific investigations to develop a management scheme in an attempt to limit the damage to the church. Qualitative exploratory research designs were applied to conduct this study. The data collection methods were focus group discussion and follow-up interviews. Judgmental sampling techniques were also used to obtain sample data from the target population (heritage stakeholders). The finding of the study proved that the local community cultural heritage management effort remains to be a challenging task. For more than 900 years, the local community played an important role in protecting and preserving this cultural heritage. However, the historic and artistic heritages are often unwisely destroyed or irreversibly damaged. This is because of unwarranted assumptions and presumptions.

Key words: Cultural Heritage Management, Community Participation, Lalibela-sculpture, Rock-Hewn Churches

INTRODUCTION

Local communities perceive cultural heritage as a representation of identity. This is because heritage values are attached to the authenticity and the integrity of the historic fabric. The significance of cultural heritage reflects its ability to represent human history and its continuous adaptation to the personal, social and environmental changes occurring in the social context. In part, cultural heritage is the physical manifestation which links individuals and groups with past, present and future cultural landscapes, and is equally related to the intangible aspects of culture such as experience and knowledge (Munjari, 2004).

Churches of Lalibela were perhaps models for one of the earliest restoration projects sponsored by the World Monuments Fund (WMF) in the 1960s. Since then, many historic and artistic heritages have often been unwisely damaged. Consequently, many have been lost for good, superficially replaced or partially damaged. Since then, the process of deterioration and serious degradation of these priceless cultural

heritages are still a challenge with regard to the integrity of the cultural properties.

According to Del Monaco et al., (2009), the structure of the churches has changed due to the intervention of human and environmental factors. Currently, there are huge requirements to be followed with regard to the cultural heritage management approaches in order to make it more efficient. Since 2005, with the financial funds of UNESCO-Culture Sector and other international organizations like World Heritage Fund (WHF) through its convention programs grant financial support and built a protective shade to protect the Lalibela religious monolithic sculptures.

However, the current statuses of these World Heritage Site (WHS) churches are still under the process of damage and it requires human intervention. Scholars were also pointed out different reasons for the deterioration of heritage properties. In the WHS of Lalibela different studies have been conducted on archaeological aspects (Monti Della Corte, 1940; Buxton, 1947; Playne, 1954; Beckingham and Hunting Ford, 1961; Gerster, 1970;

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Mengistu, 2004; Philipson, 2005; Abebe, 2010) and cultural heritage problems. Ethiopia's past, and a new sequence, chronology and evaluation of the Lalibela rock-cut churches (Getatchew Haile 1988; Lepage, C. 2002; Asfawossen, A. 2011; Mercier, J. & Lepage, C. 2012; Phillipson, D.W. 2006.; Tadesse Tamrat, 1972; C. Bosc-Tiessé et al., 2012) have also been studied and reported. However, it is hardly possible to find a complete picture related to the Cultural Heritage Management (CHM) practices of the Medieval Rock-Hewn Churches of Lalibela.

The entire world heritage at the study site (structures, stories and traditions) were included. However, special emphasis and close investigation were given to thus purposively selected churches for further detailed analysis thereby contributing to the study topic and its relevant outcome. Moreover, evaluating the current status of the WHS of Lalibela can help to

bring feasible heritage management practices to historic churches. Given such issues of CHM, the research intends to collect, to document and analyze the items with the hope of contributing research-based solutions to management problems of the heritage. Hence, the objective of the study is to evaluate the cultural heritage management practices evidence from the World Heritage Site of Lalibela, Ethiopia.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Description of the study area

Lalibela town is located in the northern part of Ethiopia (Fig. 1). It is placed within the North-Wollo Zonal administration. The historic town of Lalibela is well known for the top to down excavated sculptures serving as a religious purpose for more than 900 years (ESTDP, 2019).

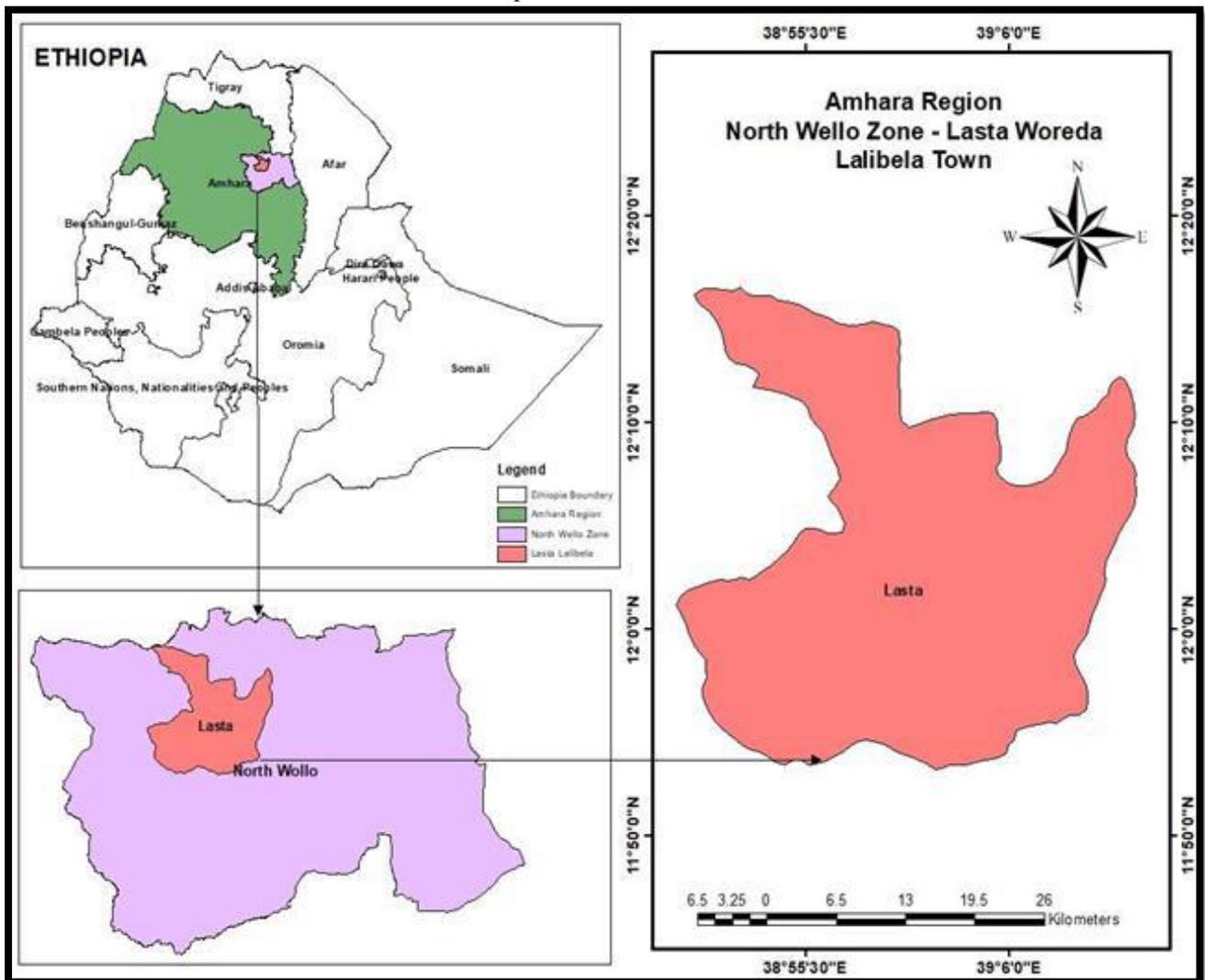


Figure 1: Map of the Study Area
Sources: LWCO, (2021)

Lasta woreda is located at a distance of 710 km from Addis Ababa. It is 181 km from Woldia and 356 km from Dessie. Lasta is one of 151 Woredas in the Amhara region. It has 21 village or kebeles. The Woreda is bordered to the North by Waghimera Zone

(Gazigibla Woreda), to the South by Meket Woreda, to the East by Gidan Woreda and to the West by Bugna Woreda (Lasta Woreda Communication Office, 2020).

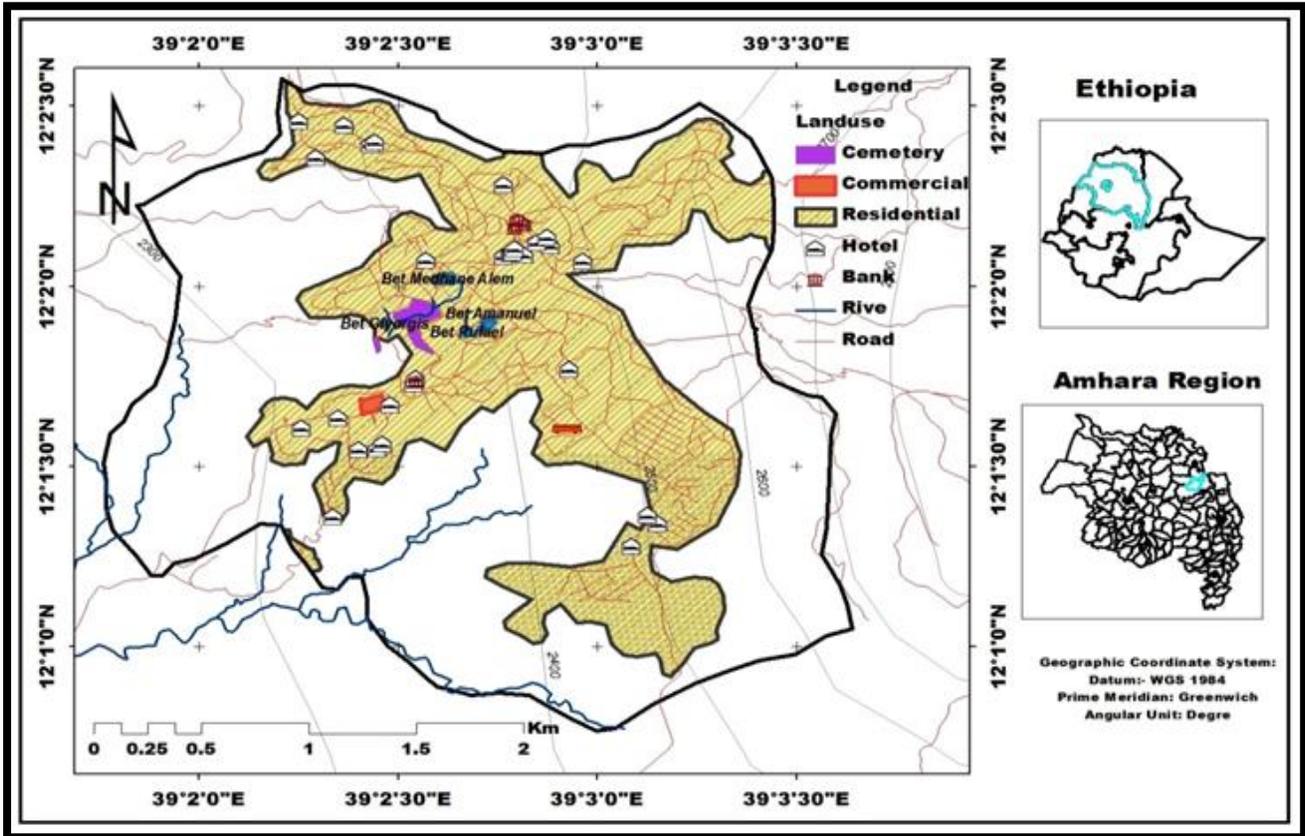


Figure 2: Study Site in Lalibela
Source: Author December (2020)

The Lalibela churches also represent a unique and superior craftsmanship and artistic works, in their execution from the rock of monolithic blocks during the medieval period.

Research Design

Qualitative exploratory research design was selected to conduct the research (Clarke & Braun, 2014). Such a method helps to create a deeper understanding of basic concepts to evaluate the cultural heritage management practices evidence from the WHS of Lalibela, Ethiopia. This study was designed to explore cultural heritage stakeholder's beliefs and perceptions to understand the CHM problems through comprehensive discussion with participants.

Sampling Techniques

A special emphasis and deep investigation were also given to thus purposively selected churches of Bete-Medhane-Alem (– a temporary light shelter church),

and Bete-Qeddus-Mercoreus (– without a temporary light shelter church) among the eleven rock-hewn churches. It is selected with non-probability sampling techniques purposively for further detailed analysis thereby contributing to the study topic and its relevant outcome. As a result, to evaluate the CHM practices a total sample size of 75 was determined that includes 51-individuals for follow-up interviews and 24 individuals for Focus Group Discussion (FGD).

Data Collection Methods

Data for this research were collected from heritage stakeholders in and around Lalibela town as a primary source. This includes, priest, clergy, monk, deacon and religious followers, religious group representatives, local government officials and professionals. Moreover, tourism experts, Federal-ARCC and UNESCO representatives, NGO workers, tourism related professionals, local tourism

information centers, and MoCT experts were also included. It was chosen by the researcher by judgmental sampling technique to strive to draw a representative sample. The primary data for this study were collected in the field using recording materials, photographs and written checklist for personal observation. Moreover, sample data was also collected through oral historical evidence using written and recorded responses.

Method of Data Analysis

The data gathered from the field (FGD, Interviews and Personal Observation) were analyzed using qualitative methods of data analysis. Interview and FGD results were analyzed in the form of systematic content analysis to obtain descriptive and narrative outcomes.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Cultural Heritage Management Practices

Managing the WHS of Lalibela churches is still a complex effort, it still requiring financial and well-trained human resource. For example, Bete-Qeddus-Mercoreus church is a living proof of impending deterioration from the physical and structural matters. At present, a number of pillars and the church walls appear to collapse and yet nothing has been done at all.

Regarding the assessment of the current situation of the cultural heritage sites of the rock-hewn churches of Lalibela, it is clearly shown that the cultural heritage sites are suffering from continuous threats. The town hotel association representative said that:

“The WHS are suffering from continuous threats. These threats can also include high physical damage threats and this is due to the limited systems of management at the national and local levels” (FGD24).

Participants' responses to questions about what were the types of local community participation and the church priest explained that:

“We remain participated by taking our own initiatives to change the system. The local administration also creates contacts with other institutions for resources and technical advice. Yet, the administration remains control over how resources are

used. If the government or local NGO provide an enabling framework, we can mobilize financial resources. However, local community remains participated by contributing resources, for example, cash or other material incentives” (LEC34).

If the appropriate mechanism is implemented, participation activities can be effective and valuable to a heritage community. In view of this, the essence of community participation lay in the processes and the protocols that support these processes. If the different parties with different interests work together, it can encourage more community stewardship in community based cultural heritage management (Nemaheni, 2003). Conversely, interactive participation needs people participate in joint analysis, development of heritage management plan and formation of strengthening of local institutions. As the local community takes control of local decisions, the type of participation can be considered as interactive participation. Local communities were also asked if there was a type of participation as a consultation towards community heritage management works.

“We were participated by being consulted or by answering different questions. Most of the cultural heritage management problems were identified by external agents and information gathering processes, and so control analysis. However, it still requires external funds to save [our heritage]; from damage... the money is not big enough, though... it still depends on external support” (LEC48).

Such a participatory type does not concede any share in the decision-making process, and international organizations are entirely consistent with a political view. The external organization defines the cultural heritage problems to create diplomatic relation than to take in to consideration the local community's views. Likewise, there is also a passive participation approach where local community only told what has been decided, without listening to people's responses. According to Spennemann (2006) & Hampton (2005), the governments are still viewing the top-down administration as their main cultural heritage management system.



Figure 3: Bete-Qeddus-Mercoreus South -West Direction -Source: Author December (2020)

Bete-Qeddus-Mercoreus church is the most damaged church of all. As a result, the structural matters of this particular WHS cannot receive more attention in the face of real threat that is still requiring urgent action to solve such structural damage. The south frontage of Bete-Medhane-Alem -House of the Savior of the World church is deteriorated less, whereas the north facade has been significantly affected by the alteration. As far as the alteration is concerned, UNESCO reported that, the northern face is the most deteriorated and the southern face seems to be least affected.

According to UNESCO (1995), various parts of the monument reveal losses of material through crumbling and granular disintegration. Furthermore, the face - to - face interview and audio recorded data proved that, there is a wide range of criticisms which were originated from the local community regarding the current status of Lalibela Churches. The research survey participant was asked if they have a clear understanding about the overall CHM effort, only a few local community members specify their view:

The temporary roof-shelters are necessary as a short-term protection of the churches from weathering process. It improves the water collection system to avoid the effects of the direct water fall and humidity in the proximity of the monuments (LCOM2).

This shows that, community members have been aware of only with one advantage of the installed temporary light shelters. However, shelters are one main element of an integrated project that includes understanding the causes of deterioration and providing appropriate remedial measures. On the contrary, participants from the Government office pointed out that the temporary light roof-shelters have a number of advantages:

The installed light shelter was used with surface foundations [movable] instead of cast foundations [permanent], and by replacing micro piles with

anchors whenever possible. There was an effort to minimizing the environmental impact of the construction site by reducing the weight of the construction elements. As a result, whenever possible, the use of heavy machinery was reduced that may produce vibrations in the proximity of endangered churches (LGEO4).

This indicates that the dismantling of the temporary shelters is the definitive aim of the management initiatives in Lalibela. However, the impact of the construction work equipments and machinery on the landscape, historic and cultural resources and the stone bedrock and in particular the impact of the foundations is not yet identified and investigated. Likewise, the maintenance plan of the new roofing and its durability is under dispute. Equally, the effects of the micro-climate created by the shelters on the historic resources and the risk presented by elements of the shelters if, in case, it dropped on the historic churches, during the dismantling of the shelters or in any other days need an inspection of steel cables and protective membrane. Similarly, a priest from the local community expressed how the installed light roof-shelter partly adulterated the church service:

In the past, a large community meeting and expression of spiritual prayers used to happen in the square of the churches. Now, there is a visual impact on the site and its surroundings. Moreover, the new roads created to transport construction materials to the site still used and will have [a negative] impact on the heritage (LCCP1).

Similarly, following the carrying capacity concerns the maximum number of the individuals who can be accommodated within a specific site is not yet resolved. This is due to the continuous religious practices and daily worships at the study site. In addition to the installed shelter, the other important concerns are the carrying capacity of the site. Thus far, heritage conservationist from the regional state Culture

and Tourism Bureau suggests only the importance of maintenance plan of the temporary shelters, as it is crucial to prevent risks of damage to the site and to its user's inspection of steel cables and protective membrane.

Bete-Medhane-Alem -House of the Savior of the World Church

The Roof, Aisle and Bays Pillars

The ridge is a flat, rectangular frame that runs in the direction from east to west or vice versa. Irregular groove longitudinal divides the imitation ridge pole into two bands, which allows rain-water to flow in the required direction. The decoration of the outer and upper surface of the roof is outstanding. There are eight entrances to the south of the ridge and eight similar designs to the north of the ridge.

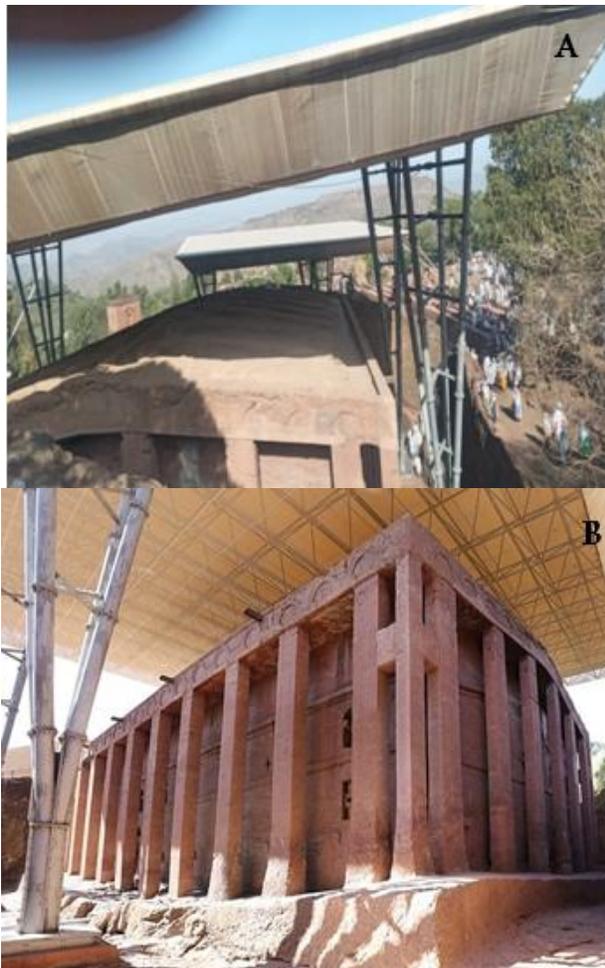


Figure 4: The Roof (a) and Installed Shelter (b) of Bete-Medhane-Alem – church -Source: Author December (2020)

Sixteen thick square freestanding columns support the arcades. There are two freestanding pillars in the

sanctuary. The total number of freestanding columns in the interior is around 18 including the two freestanding pillars of the sanctuary. Absence of bases for the columns makes the floor spaces less cluttered the 24 large pillars dividing the church in to four aisles and nave.

Derbies - Collapsed Columns

A number of columns has been collapsed and new built have replaced. Many of the Bete-Medhane-Alem columns have collapsed and only two of them have been replaced. Some of the collapsed columns have broken into pieces of rock. The church priest explains that during the region of emperor Yohannes IV (1871-1889), earthquake had brought serious damage.

Moldings, Pit Tombs and the Barrel Vault

Nature itself has decorated the slop of the rock and molding carved from the surface rock walls. According to Gedele Lalibela (ገድሉ-ላሊበላ), God have the plan to hewn the rock church to Lalibela and did that. The central part of the church is dividing in to five transversal and five longitudinal naves by four rows of pillars connected by round arches.

There are 3 empty and pit graves (tombs) which symbolically represent Isaac, Jacob and Abraham. Four arches support the barrel vault both in the Eastern and Western edges. Beam arches the end of which are in alignment with the corresponding freestanding pillars.



Figure 5: Pit Graves (Tombs) Inside Bete-Medhan Alem Church
Source: Author December (2020)

Trenches, the Wear and Tear

The typical trench system consisted of a series of one line running parallel to each other and being at least 2 meters in depth. Each trench was dug in a type of zigzag constituting one of the outstanding features of

the site. The trenches can also serve to drain rain-water coming from the upper part of the rock to prevent flooding of the church courtyards and also serve as subterranean channel access to each courtyard. Moreover, the front-line trench holds important religious significance for the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Christians in conjunction with rock-hewn churches. It forms a pilgrimage site with particular spiritual and symbolic value.

However, some of the trenches remain filled with sand deposits and debris and solicit for removal and clean-up. Some of the stone blocks out of which the steps are built are worn-out. The weather is not the only reason for such kind of damages but also human feet climb up and down each day friction between the upper surface of the stone blocks and the heels and soles of human shoes. The pressure of the weight, the church has been carrying for years have an impact for it. The steps, floors and pathway of the church suffer from human feet's and however, it is not easy to repair, renovate or rebuild structures in the same way it was before. The freedom of believers or pilgrims to worship also contributes to its damage.

Tunnels, Routes and Pathways

Underground passages have long been exercised as a fascination over the local people in Lalibela, bringing stories of buried treasure, secret escape routes, and passages for nuns and priests. Local elders in the town of Lalibela have the following explanation: Within the church complex, there are tunnels used for entrance to the monolithic churches of Bete-Mariam, Bete-Amanuel and Bete-Giorghis. Additionally, there are tunnels used as subterranean accesses from one church to another (LCOE5). Even church priests refer to the tunnels that connect a group of churches. Concerning the other types of tunnels, it was explained by the elders and that has also identified the tunnels providing an open access to the Bete-Amanuel, Bete-Gabriel and Bete-Golghota churches.

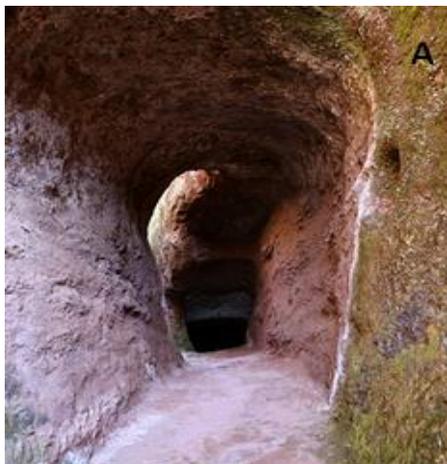


Figure 6: Tunnels (a) supposed to connect to multiple churches - Tunnels (b) Believed to connect to the secret cave

Source: Author December (2020)

Different routes within the sculptured churches of Lalibela allow access throughout the two church complexes. Such route comprises of trenches that connect one courtyard with another and form of tunnels connecting the three church groups, which were purposely designed. Local community believed that almost all the rock-hewn churches of Lalibella are connected via complicated tunnels and pathways. The route consists of footpaths that provide common access to the public and church attendants. The central trench divides the approximately round space into two parts. Pathways also are present to lead to Saturday market area around the medieval Rock-Hewn-Churches of Lalibela. The pathways are used by people using vehicles and domestic animals to cross the site from north to south. Such a tradition also negatively affects the rock structures by causing vibration, sound and visual pollution. The local community members have been focusing on issues of CHM and it seems that the problems are well-identified. A Lalibela tourism office participant explains that:

“Trenches, tunnels and pathways require proper conservation. Some of these tunnels were used as a secret route. It is only for church priests to use. The mysterious tunnels still used for a secreted passageway” (FGD16).

For proper rain-water management, the trenches still require comprehensive removal of debris. In addition, rainwater infiltrates the trenches and typically captures a small amount of runoff water inside the church. The

water damage calls for urgent conservation work. Based on this, an attempt has been made to explore the level of local community involvement towards successful cultural heritage management works on the World Heritage Site of Lalibela. LEC7 explained that “We [the elders], mostly play a major role under the traditional cultural management system” (LEC7).

The locals believe that a combination between involvement and place attachment is important for effective cultural heritage management. This has shown a clear argument that the core concept of place attachment is strongly associated with people’s attitudes towards the place. Hence, there is a necessity to conduct new approaches, particularly for community based CHM practices.

Bete-Qeddus-Mercoreus Church

A church priest called Melaka Birehan Genete Alemu provided detailed information about the Bete-Qeddus-Mercoreus church and its overall function for the last 900 years. FGD3 further explains that:

"ቤተ መርቆሬዎስ ቅዱስ ላሊበላ ካሳነጻቸው አስራ አንድ አብያተ ክርስቲያናት አንዱ ነው። ቤት ክርስቲያኑ በቅዱስ ላሊበላ ስም ከመሰየሙ በፊት የፍትህ አግልግሎት ይሰጥበት እንደነበር አሁን የተገኙ መረጃዎች ይጠቁማሉ። ከነዚህ መረጃዎች መካከል የእግር ብረቶች ቋሚ ምስክር ናቸው። ህንጻው ብዙ ጊዜ ፈርሶ የነበር ሲሆን የአካባቢው ህዝብ በ1982 ዓ.ም በአደረገው የገንዘብ ማሰባሰብና መልሶ በመገንባት ስራ ተሰራ፣ ታቦቱ እንደገና ወጥቶ ከነበረበት ቤተ አማኑኤል እንደገና ሊገባ ችሏል።" (FGD3)

"Bete-Qeddus-Mercoreus church is one of the eleven churches that King Lalibela constructed. Current findings proved that before naming it as a church, it was a House of judicial services. For example, the finding hand-chains by the church priest support such an argument. The building was partially damaged for several times and the local people raised funds and rebuilt it again in 1982." (FGD3)

Local community further explains that Bete-Qeddus-Mercoreus church is the most seriously damaged rock-hewn church of all in Lalibela. The church was carved from natural rock mass. Trenches were also excavated to link the individual rock-hewn structures. The trench system was designed to allow water or runoff to be diverged and is one of the most outstanding features of this particular church. However, due to aging factor, the trenches cannot drain rain-water. The level of damage is high and, as a result, it is difficult to

identify and locate the subterranean walkway channels. Currently, the trenches are used as a security barrier. For proper rain-water management, the trenches require comprehensive removal of debris. In addition, rainwater infiltrates the trenches and typically captures a small amount of runoff water inside the church. The water damage calls for urgent conservation work. A Lalibela tourism office participant explains:

Because of partial damage, the drainage system requires immediate fixing to block the water that seeps/leak into the church complex (FGD2).

This shows that local community members have been focusing on issues of cultural heritage management and it seems that the problems are well-identified. Thus, part of the structural problem is addressed and conservation work ought to follow.

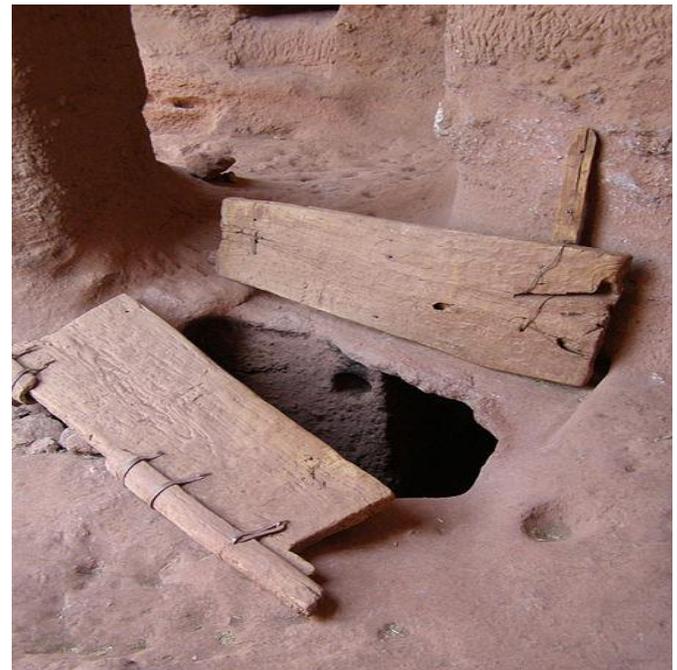


Figure 7: Underground Hidden Passage (Symbol of Hail) takes to the Church
Source: Author December (2020)



Figure 8: Trenches Filled with Gravel and Debris That Requires Removal
Source: Author December (2020)

This church is believed to have been one of the largest before the cave root/basis fell in. One of the neglected church and pillars outside are exhibited as its damage. Other kind of saving methods and shelter have not yet been provided. Only metal belts were carried out by the local community as an effort to save further damages. It also clearly demonstrates that the level of heritage deterioration is due to aging factors followed by the absence of meaningful CHM practices. The wall of the church has 3 mural decorations. It is attached with the rock surface by aid of a thick layer of loam, straw and ox-blood. Regarding the church of Qeddus-Mercoreus the chief priest acting as a religious leader provides the following explanation:

ሰማዕቱ ቅዱስ መርቆሬዎስ ቅዱስ
ላሊበላ ካሳነጻቸው አስራ አንዱ አብያተ
ክርስቲያናት አንዱ ነው። ቤት ክርስቲያኑ
ለሰማዕቱ ቅዱስ መርቆሬዎስ መታሰቢ ሲሆን
ሐገሩም ሮም-አስሌጥስ ነው። አባት እና እናቱ
አለማዊያን ነበሩ። ቅዱስ መርቆሬዎስ ከተወለደ
በኋላ መልዕኩ የተናገረው ቃል ሁሉ
እንደተፈጸመ ሲያውቅ አባቱ ከእነ ቤተሰቡ
አምነው ተጠምቀዋል። የሰማዕቱ ስም ጥምቀቱ
ፕሉፓዴር ሲሆን ጅርጉምም ገብረ
እግዚዓብሔር ማለት ነው። በጥበብና በፈሪዓ
እግዚዓብሔር አድጎ አባቱ ሲሞት የአባቱን
ሹመት ወረሰ። በወጣትነቱ ከክሀዲው ንጉስ
ኤሊያስ ላቆመው ጣዖት አልሰግድም ብሎ
የሰው ልጅ ሊሸከመው የማይችለውን መከራ

ተቀበለ። በመጨረሻም ህዳር 25 ቀን አንገቱን
ቆረጠው ሰማዕትነትን ክብር ተቀዳጀ።
ከሰማዕቱ ቅዱስ መርቆሬዎስ እረፍት በኋላ
ፈረሱ ለሰባት ዓመት ወንጌልን አስተምረዋል።
(LCCP5)

"Being one of the eleven church constructed by King Lalibela, the church is named and dedicated after the Martyr St. Mercoreus from Rome-Asalet. His father and mother were secular. After St. Mercoreus was born, when his father found out that all the words spoken by the angel had been fulfilled, his father and all hos families believed and were baptized. The martyr's baptismal name is Ploupader, which means Lord God. He grew up with wisdom and fear of God and inherited his father's position when his father died. When he was young, he refused to bow to the idol set up by the renegade king Elianos, and he suffered hardships that no human being could bear. Finally, on November 25, he was beheaded and martyred. After the martyr Saint Mercureus rested, the horse taught the gospel for seven years." (LCCP5).

According to Mengistu Gobeze (2004), the churches were carved and sculpted and present architectural elements typical of the period of the reign. However, a number of legends surround the creation of this particular church, one of which related to the time taken to build sacred sites.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study examines the cultural heritage management practices of the World Heritage Site of Lalibela, Ethiopia. The finding proved that the community CHM effort remains to be a challenging task. The result also verified that the churches of Lalibela have been suffered serious deterioration. Such endangered cultural testimonies are only preserved so far by installing temporary light shelters. This is also strongly predisposed by the interests and perceptions of cultural heritage stakeholders. Yet, the current status of the Lalibela churches portrays that intervention was limited only by funding. As a result, the CHM practices of Lalibela churches are extremely tied to the institutionalization and legislative control.

Furthermore, the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church remained the traditional custodian of monuments. Due to the high risk of conflicting interests in relation to the legal guardian of the churches, both the government and the Church administration are responsible for providing effective CHM leadership. Hence, there is a need for legal

arrangements in relation to the legal guardian of the churches.

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APPENDIX

Table 1: Profiles of Research Participants (FGDs)

Pseudonym	Stakeholder type	Gender	Age	Residence	Role
FGD 1	Local Community Participant	Female	48	Lalibela	Local Community Elder
FGD 2	Advocator	Male	44	Lalibela	Representative
FGD 3	Church Priest	Male	76	Lalibela	Local Community Participant
FGD 4	Local Community Elder	Female	81	Lalibela	Religious Followers
FGD5	Office Representative	Male	55	Lalibela	Head
FGD 6	Travel Agent/ Tour Operator	Female	41	Lalibela	Focal Person
FGD 7	Historian	Female	73	Lalibela	Local Community Participant
FGD 8	Religious Followers	Male	51	Lalibela	Church Priest
FGD 9	Consultant	Female	37	Lalibela	Expert
FGD 10	Church Deacon	Male	44	Lalibela	Church Deacon
FGD 11	Heritage Planner	Male	33	Lalibela	Vice Head
FGD 12	Conservator	Male	44	Lalibela	Local Community
FGD 13	Heritage Manager	Male	29	Lalibela	ARCCH Representative
FGD 1 4	Architect	Male	41	Lalibela	Expert
FGD 1 5	Office Representative	Female	56	Lalibela	Head of Mayor Office
FGD 16	Vice Head	Female	48	Lalibela	CTO Expert Representative
FGD 1 7	Church Priest	Male	79	Lalibela	Church Priest
FGD 1 8	Local Community Elder	Male	81	Lalibela	Local Community Elder
FGD 19	Local Community Participant	Female	45	Lalibela	Local Community Participant
FGD 20	Focal Person	Female	49	Lalibela	Expert
FGD 21	Church Deacon	Male	55	Lalibela	Church Deacon
FGD 22	NGO worker	Male	35	Lalibela	NGO worker
FGD 23	Local Community Elder	Male	68	Lalibela	Local Community
FGD 24	Hotel Asson-Representative	Male	51	Lalibela	Hotel Asson- Representative

Source: Author computation (2021)

Table 2: Profiles of Research Participants (Interviewees)

Pseudonym	Stakeholder type	Gender	Age	Residence	Role
LEC 1	Mayor	Male	55	Lalibela	Mayor
LEC2	Site Manager (By ANRSCTO)	Male	29	Lalibela	Site Manager (By ANRSCTO)
LEC3	Expert- Branch Office	Female	31	Lalibela	Expert- Branch Office
LEC4	Local Community Participant	Female	56	Lalibela	Local Community Participant
LEC5	Church Deacon	Male	48	Lalibela	Church Deacon
LEC6	Church Priest	Male	61	Lalibela	Church Priest
LEC7	Local Community Elder	Female	67	Lalibela	Local Community Elder
LEC8	Religious Followers	Female	38	Lalibela	Religious Followers
LEC9	Heritage Professional	Female	34	Lalibela	Heritage Professional
LEC10	Historian	Female	85	Lalibela	Historian
LEC11	Conservator	Female	54	Lalibela	Conservator
LEC12	Advocator	Male	44	Lalibela	Advocator
LEC13	Office Representative	Female	47	Lalibela	Office Representative
LEC14	Travel Agent/ Tour Operator	Male	39	Lalibela	Travel Agent/ Tour Operator
LEC15	Heritage Planner	Male	40	Lalibela	Heritage Planner

LEC16	Site Manager (By ARCCH)	Male	36	Lalibela	Site Manager (By ARCCH)
LEC17	Consultant	Male	45	Lalibela	NGO
LEC18	Heritage Manager	Male	34	Lalibela	Heritage Manager
LEC19	Architect	Male	36	Lalibela	Architect
LEC20	Planner -North-Wollo Zone	Female	45	Lalibela	Planner -North-Wollo Zone
LEC21	Tourism Expert	Female	43	Lalibela	Tourism Expert
LEC22	Heritage Professional	Female	37	BDR	Heritage Professional
LEC23	Heritage Conservator	Male	42	ARCCH	Heritage Conservator
LEC24	Higher Expert-ARCCH	Male	36	BDR	Higher Expert-ARCCH
LEC25	Higher Expert-ANRSCTB	Female	38	BDR	Higher Expert-ANRSCTB
LEC26	Heritage Professional	Male	36	ARCCH	Heritage Professional
LEC27	Heritage Professional	Female	34	ARCCH	Heritage Professional
LEC28	Local Community Participant	Female	48	Lalibela	Local Community Elder
LEC29	Church Deacon	Male	44	Lalibela	Church Deacon
LEC30	Church Priest	Male	76	Lalibela	Local Community Participant
LEC31	Local Community Elder	Male	81	Lalibela	Religious Followers
LEC32	Office Representative	Male	55	Lalibela	Head
LEC33	Travel Agent/ Tour Operator	Female	41	Lalibela	Focal Person
LEC34	Religious Followers	Male	51	Lalibela	Church Priest
LEC35	Historian	Female	73	Lalibela	Local Community Participant
LEC36	Conservator	Male		Lalibela	Local Community Participant
LEC37	Advocator	Female	44	Lalibela	Local Community
LEC38	Heritage Planner	Male	44	Lalibela	Representative
LEC39	Consultant	Male	33	Lalibela	NGO
LEC40	Architect	Female	37	Lalibela	Expert
LEC41	Heritage Manager	Male	29	Lalibela	ARCCH Representative
LEC42	Office Representative	Female	41	AA	MoCT Expert
LEC43	Vice Head	Female	56	Lalibela	Head of Mayor Office
LEC44	Church Priest	Male	48	Lalibela	Representative
LEC45	Local Community Elder	Male	66	Lalibela	Community Elder
LEC46	Local Community Participant	Male	79	Lalibela	Church Priest
LEC47	Focal Person	Female	81	Lalibela	Local Community Elder
LEC48	Church Deacon	Male	45	Lalibela	Local Community Participant
LEC49	Architect	Female	49	Lalibela	Expert
LEC50	Local Community Elder	Female	55	Lalibela	Church Deacon
LEC51	Guide	Male	35	Lalibela	Guide

*Note: LEC - Local community

Source: Author computation (2021)