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Conservation of cultural heritage for community socio-economic prosperity: The case of Lamu East and West Sub-Counties, Lamu County, Kenya

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Abstract

Worldwide, cultural heritage has become both an element and a tool for achieving socio-economic prosperity. This study assessed the contribution of conservation of cultural heritage as a resource for the development of Lamu County. A descriptive survey design was used to conduct the study. Proportionate and systematic random sampling procedures were used to sample key informants and households selected from a sampling frame obtained from Lamu West and East Sub-Counties. An interview schedule and a semi-structured questionnaire were used to collect data from key informants and households respectively. Data were analysed using descriptive statistics and narratives. The results revealed that cultural heritage conservation contributes to job creation both directly and indirectly. However, cultural barriers contributed to observed exclusivity in benefitting from income generated from tangible and non-tangible activities. Revenue gains from the cultural heritage are also limited by the poor state of sites such as Pate and Ishakani ruins. The study recommends development and implementation of training programmes in cultural heritage conservation activities to ensure the community is educated and empowered to utilize cultural heritage for socio-economic development. The Government should also institute proper revenue sharing mechanisms to enhance socio-economic development of the Lamu County community.

Keywords: community, cultural heritage conservation, socio economic prosperity

Introduction

Worldwide, cultural heritage has become both an element and a tool for achieving goals of social inclusion and cohesion (Loulanski, 2006). Cultural heritage preservation is becoming recognized as an inherent dimension of development in both 'developed' and 'developing' countries (European Union, 2014). Preserving and promoting cultural heritage is directly linked to job creation and growth, through the positive externalities and spill-over effects in areas such as tourism, construction or real estate. Consequently, the integration and transformation of cultural heritage as a "leading partner and a driving force" in development is advised (Rodwell, 2003). More specifically, in a new developmental context, cultural heritage is both an engine and a catalyst of promoting diverse livelihood activities to support better standards of living.

The potential contribution of cultural heritage to community development throughout the world is evidently very significant (Baycan and Girard, 2011). More specifically, at a global scale, it represents an estimated 7% of employment and Gross Domestic Product (GDP), with an estimated average annual growth rate of 10%. Cultural heritage is both an engine and a catalyst for promoting diverse livelihood activities to support better standards of living and can be an important asset for the community (Kakiuchi, 2000). Rehabilitation of cultural heritage such as old buildings and monuments for re-use has the potential to provide work opportunities as it is a labour-intensive activity. According to UNESCO (2012) and Hasan et al. (2008), rehabilitation costs constitute 60% for labour and 40% for materials. Further, rehabilitation of historic buildings creates more jobs than new construction projects. Jobs related to restoration and

conservation are often highly skilled and require rare skills, which are usually well paid.

The conservation of cultural heritage has been given major attention globally through development of legal frameworks to ensure local community participation (UNESCO, 2010). The legal framework for promoting and protecting cultural heritage comprises International Covenants on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ESCR), as well as the United Nations (UN) declaration on the rights of indigenous communities, as well as local legislation such as the National Museums and Heritage Act 2006 (The Constitution of Kenya (CK), 2010). These instruments are in turn executed globally by institutions such as the United Nations System (UN), International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), The World Bank (WB) Group as well as the European Union (EU). Regionally they are regulated by the African Union (AU), East African Community (EAC) and international delegations, and locally by line ministries. In Kenya for example, the institutions working in the area of heritage conservation in promoting and protecting heritage sites is guided by Kenya's Vision 2030, Kenya Coastal Development Project (KCDP) and County Integrated Development Plans (CIDPs) (UNESCO, 2012).

The developmental role of cultural heritage is explained further by Graham and Ashworth (2000) who suggested a theoretical framework, based on three main economic dimensions. First, they identify heritage as "an economic sector in itself" - often referred to as "the heritage industry" - "using resources, producing products, and generating returns in profits, [incomes] and jobs." Second, it is also considered "one element in economic development alongside others, frequently exercising a catalytic or integrating role in development projects" due to its capacity to attract economic activities and accommodate economic functions. Finally, it is looked upon as "an instrument in the management of economies at various spatial scales from the international to the local (UNESCO, 2012).

The 1972 World Heritage Convention, called for "a general policy aimed at giving the cultural and natural heritage a function in the life of the community and to integrate the protection of that heritage into comprehensive planning programs" in order to constitute a vital ingredient of sustainable local development (Grimwade and Carter, 2000). According to Grimwade and Carter (2000), the World Heritage Committee has

also been encouraging greater community involvement in the identification and management of heritage properties since the 1990s. However, studies around Africa have revealed that the application of participatory management in the field of cultural heritage conservation and its contribution to community development has had varied success depending on the context in which it has been applied. Most of the goals, particularly those aimed at involving local communities in decision making in heritage resources, still remain unfulfilled (Chirikure and Pwiti, 2008).

However, it is prudent to note that conservation is one of the major debates in the modern world which is occasioned by the observed rapid deterioration of physical and social environments. Scholars have endeavoured to tackle the problem of the destruction of cultural environments after the realization that human beings are the chief agents of the destruction owing to their socio-economic activities such as tourism, agriculture, mining and fishing (UNESCO, 2012).

In Kenya, South Africa and Zimbabwe, where there were large populations of Europeans settlers, heritage management developed as the preserve of the few. It was pursued as a highly academic subject not meant for popular consumption. Management of archaeological sites was the responsibility of museums and universities. These institutions existed in order to research and apply scientific principles. In carrying out these studies very little was done in the way of linking up with local communities, who were themselves seen as objects of study (Nodoro, 2001). The rich cultural heritage that Kenya is endowed with in various parts of the country was majorly used for academic purposes and as tourist destinations. This cultural heritage which includes sites and monuments have played a major role in contributing to socio-economic development by serving as tourist destinations and sources of employment; and is recognised as an economic pillar in the Country's Vision 2030 (Adam, 2012).

Lamu County is rich in cultural heritage and is unique for its aesthetic cultural heritage collection and the old town that was inhabited by the Arabs and other immigrant groups, and has remained largely unchanged over the centuries. Lamu County is recognised for its tangible cultural heritage and was designated as a World Cultural Heritage Site by UNESCO in 2001. It is a tourist destination and serves as a source of livelihood for the community (Abungu and Abungu, 2009; UNESCO, 2012). However, it is not

Table 1. Proportionate distribution of sample size of households.

Sub county	Households	Proportionate percentage	Sample size (n)
Lamu East	3,562	0.16	16
Lamu West	18,622	0.84	84
Total	22,184	100%	100

clear to what extent Lamu County has fully utilized its assets to transform the community's economic status, despite the devolved management of most of the services initially carried out by the central government. The inscription of Lamu as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in December 2001 has failed to bring significant economic benefit to the area due to lack of proper promotion and of a concrete Management Plan. Lamu Old Town, a typical predominant Swahili settlement that thrived on marine resources, faces an uncertain future. Development projects have added to the effects of changes that might impact on Lamu's culture and consequently influence the community's livelihoods (Wanderi, 2019). The purpose of this study was to establish to what extent the tangible cultural heritage of Lamu County contributes to socio-economic development.

Methodology

Research design

A descriptive survey research design was used in this study. The design was suitable because it allows for not only the collection of descriptive data but also the use of qualitative and quantitative methods in data collection (Kothari, 2004). The design was appropriate for the study's intention as it allowed for observation of the environment in its natural setting. It also allowed the use of an interview schedule suitable for probing, as well as a questionnaire to collect information. The design was also useful in that it allowed for analysis of data using descriptive statistics. Randomised sample selection was used to overcome the problem of chance differences that are known to give biased results, and increased the validity and reliability of collected information.

Study site

The research was carried out in Lamu County. The County has a total area covering 6497.7 km² and a population of 101,539 residents (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (KNBS), 2009). Lamu County has been able to maintain its social and cultural fabric for over 700 years with more than five hundred

stone buildings standing within its boundaries, representing 30 % of the total number of structures in the town (KNBS, 2009). Lamu Old Town is part and parcel of the community and houses over one third of Lamu's population. Indigenous culture forms part of the cultural heritage as outlined in the cultural criteria of values/influences and associations. The main livelihoods for the community living in Lamu are agriculture and fishing. Lamu County, through the Department of Tourism and Culture, is playing a vital role in creating awareness in the community on the need to conserve cultural heritage as a resource for socio-economic development (Lamu County, 2013).

Sample size and sampling procedure

The sample size was selected from the accessible population of 18,622 and 3,562 households from Lamu West and Lamu East Sub-County, respectively. A sample of 10 key informants and 100 households was used in the study. According to Roscoe (1975) a sample of 100 or more is appropriate for a survey study. The unit of analysis for the study was a household, while the unit of observation was the head of the household. The households' sample size for the selected sub-counties was proportionately distributed to each sub-county as shown in Table 1.

Proportionate random sampling, systematic random and purposive sampling were used to select the sample size. First, proportionate random sampling was used to select households from Lamu West and East sub-counties. After the proportionate assignment of households, systematic random sampling was used to select the household respondents from a sample frame obtained from the Lamu County Government for the two sub-counties. The sample was obtained by picking every n^{th} individual after a random start (Bordens and Abbot, 2011). Purposive sampling was then used to select the key informants. The latter were people with extensive knowledge on cultural heritage, community participation and conservation in Lamu County.

Data collection instruments

Data collection was carried out using semi-structured questionnaires, an interview and observation schedule, and document analysis. One set of semi-structured questionnaires was administered to the households in Lamu East and Lamu West Sub-Countries. The questionnaire was used to collect information that pertained to the demographic characteristics of the respondents. An interview schedule was administered to the key informants who were mainly professionals in the Cultural Heritage field, employees of the National Museums of Kenya, officers in the department of Tourism and Culture in Lamu County, and the old men and women in Lamu County. The interview schedule allowed the interviewer to probe further and gave greater freedom to ask supplementary questions, or at times omit certain questions if the situation so required, and allow for change in the sequence of questions and greater freedom in recording the responses to include some aspects and exclude others (Kothari, 2004). Documentation was used in the collection of secondary data that complemented primary data and to supplement information collected through the social survey and in-depth interviews (Cohen *et al.*, 2007). Sources of secondary data included national population census records, demographic and health survey reports, books, theses, dissertations, journals, web-based publications as well as private records of government. An observation schedule was used to help in gaining insights and validation of information collected using other tools and methods of data collection.

Validity and reliability of the instruments

The determination of validity of the instruments in terms of content and construct which was carried out before being used for data collection in the field was undertaken by experts in the field of social sciences. Internal consistency and reliability of the questionnaire was determined prior to its administration for data collection through use of the Cronbach Alpha Coefficient. The calculated coefficient for inter-item correlation that was used as the acceptance threshold was 0.87.

Data analysis and presentation

The collected qualitative data were coded according to emerging themes. The coding started from the onset of data collection since the analysis of qualitative data was a continuous process which started when entering the field (Mugenda and Mugenda, 2003). The type of data collected comprised of categorical nominal and ordinal statements. With the help of Minitab software,

the collected quantitative data were analysed using descriptive statistics which included frequency distributions. Findings for all the objectives were presented using charts, graphs, percentage frequency tables and narratives from the respondents.

Results and discussion

Demographic characteristics of the households

Data on the characteristics of households was collected using a semi-structured questionnaire. The collection of data was guided by the need to know how their socio-economic characteristics influence the extent of their participation and benefits that may be accrued from cultural heritage conservation. Table 2 presents the results of the study on age and gender of respondents, level of education, and their occupations.

Results in Table 2 reveal that over half (55 %) of the primary respondents were aged between 18 and 37 years. The age of the respondents may have an impact on the knowledge of cultural heritage in that the older people have a lot of experience and knowledge of history. However, over one half of the respondents, who were within the middle age category, could potentially benefit from capacity development around cultural heritage and contribute to related economic activities (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), 2016). The results also show that over 72 % of the respondents were male. This high percentage is probably explained by the fact that the study targeted household heads that are predominantly male as is usual in African culture. This implied that more men are engaged in cultural activities than women. Women may engage in intangible cultural heritage such as henna painting, dances and songs but may not engage as much in activities such as restoration of historical sites and tourism. Women have to do all the domestic and child-caring work and they have little time for relaxation or rest, or to participate in community activities (Tuyet, 2007).

Table 2 further shows that over one third (47 %) of the respondents reported to have attained primary level of education. This low level of education reflects the situation among the majority of residents in the Republic of Kenya (H Shauri, pers. comm., April 19, 2016). According to Chimombo (2005), education is the route to participation in social, economic and technological development. Important for this study is that the finding on low levels of education may not have implications on the community's understanding and participation in cultural heritage conservation

Table 2. Socio-economic characteristics of the primary respondents.

Variable	Category	Frequency	Percent (%)
Age	18-37	55	55
	38-52	39	39
	Above 52	6	6
Gender	Female	28	28
	Male	72	72
Level of Education	Not gone to school	12	12
	Tertiary	9	9
	Primary education	47	47
	Secondary Education	32	32
Occupation	Tour guide	5	5
	Wood curving	6	6
	Fishing	11	11
	Formal sector	16	16
	Farmer	26	26
	Boat business	7	7

activities in Lamu County. Informal education on cultural heritage has been passed down from the elderly since days immemorial. Accordingly, the low level of education was not considered to have an influence on knowledge of cultural heritage and conservation.

Table 2 also shows that over one quarter (29 %) and (26 %) of the 100 respondents were working in small-scale business and farming, respectively. More critical for this study is the observation that there is no mention of respondents working in the conservation of cultural heritage among the sampled residents. This finding is not surprising as the cultural industry has not been given prominence in Kenya and most people working in this industry are likely to wrongly identify themselves with other industries, especially tourism, than to the cultural heritage industry *per se*.

Status of existing cultural heritage

The study sought to find out the status of cultural heritage in Lamu. Information with regard to respondents' awareness of cultural heritage, types of cultural heritage and different conservation activities was collected using an interview schedule.

Awareness on tangible cultural heritage

To establish awareness of the tangible cultural heritage in Lamu County, the questionnaire and interview schedule were administered to heads of household and key informants, respectively. The respondents were asked questions pertaining to the extent of awareness of individuals to the existence of different tangible cultural heritage, types of cultural heritage conservation methods used in the study site. These findings are captured in Table 3.

Table 3. Extent of awareness on the existence of cultural heritage among the residents.

Variable	Strongly Agree (%)	Agree (%)	Neutral (%)	Disagree (%)	Strongly Disagree (%)
Awareness on the existence of cultural heritage	42	50	8	0	0

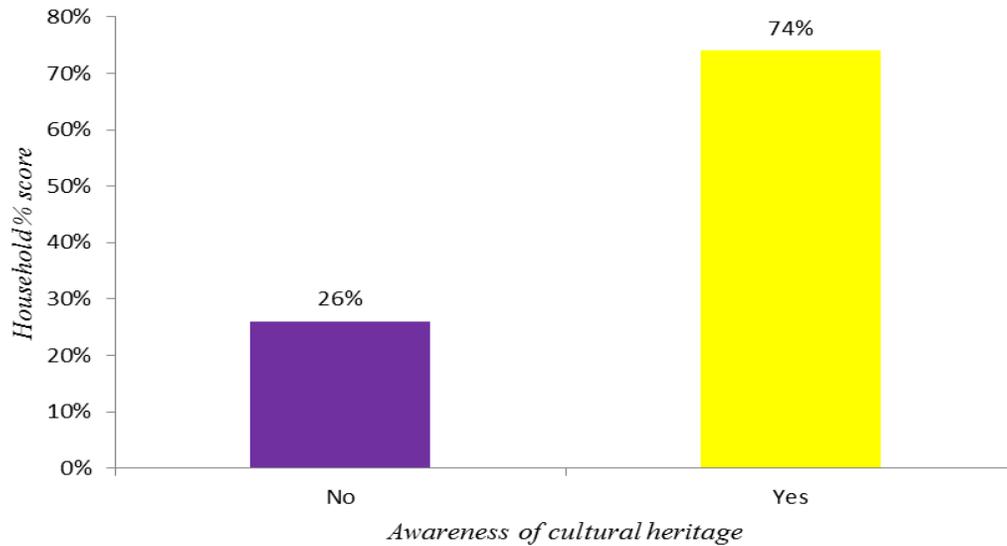


Figure 1. Awareness of existing cultural heritage.

From Table 3 it is clear that half (50 %) of the respondents agreed with the statement that many residents of Lamu County were aware of the existence of cultural heritage, with over one third (42 %) strongly agreeing to the statement. The implication of this finding is that most (92 %) of the respondents were aware of the existence of cultural heritage. This overwhelming level of awareness may be attributed to the importance of cultural heritage, manifested by the annual cultural festival that is celebrated by community which is given much recognition by the Lamu residents, as it is during this period that they showcase their rich heritage. The fact that Lamu is a world cultural heritage site has allowed many residents to survive on promotion and sale of cultural heritage as a means of living.

When the respondents were asked whether they knew about the status of cultural heritage in the county, the responses were overwhelmingly favorable as shown in Fig. 1. Almost three quarters (74 %) of the respondents were aware of the of tangible cultural heritage that exists, such as the existence of old buildings and monuments and the unique Lamu carved doors. One of the key informants attributed the community awareness of the existing cultural heritage to the cultural festivals and the 'Maulid' festival that are held annually. The implication of this finding is that the community is well informed on the cultural heritage conservation in Lamu despite not listing them among their respective occupations. However, findings by Wiggins (2010) during informal discussions and formal interviews, established

Table 4. Tangible cultural heritage in Lamu.

Tangible
Siyu Fort
Lamu Fort
Lamu curved doors
Lamu Museum
Tawa ruins
Lamu Old town
Pate ruins
Old Mosque
Archaeological sites
Wood carvings

that most of the residents lacked an understanding of what it meant for Lamu to be a World Heritage Site. Whether this was due to lack of effort on their part, or whether it was due to a lack of promotion of community awareness by the County Council and the National Museums of Kenya is unclear. What is clear however, is that effective community involvement in cultural heritage management is necessary for the integrity and authenticity of the site to be maintained.

Types of tangible cultural heritage in Lamu County
The study also sought to establish the diversity of cultural heritage in Lamu County. From the responses given, the analysis listed the diversity of tangible cultural heritage in Lamu as shown in Table 4.

Tangible heritage ranged from archaeological sites to pathways, drainage systems, mangroves, to Lamu carved doors. Explanation from one of the respondents revealed that *“Some of the archaeological sites are sold to foreigners who are renovating them using modern technology and materials that are destroying the cultural heritage valued by tourists. The ancient buildings should be protected from vandalism and dynamics of today’s developers”*. This indicates that the study area is rich in cultural heritage, although this is being destroyed by developers. The results are in agreement with what UNESCO (2004) found that Lamu Town has inherent values and an almost undisturbed authenticity, and made it possible for Lamu to be declared a world cultural heritage site. The narrative is supported by the findings of Abungu and Abungu (2009), cited in Wanderi (2019) who established that the use of modern technologies such as replacing the use of lime with cement has negatively impacted livelihoods and cultural heritage.

Contribution of cultural heritage to community development

Respondents were asked whether they were aware of any benefits the community accrued directly and indirectly from conservation of cultural heritage, and to name some of these A Likert scale was further used to achieve the study objective.

Benefits of cultural heritage conservation to community development

Respondents were asked whether they were aware of benefits accrued from cultural heritage conservation. The results are shown in Fig. 2. It is evident that the majority (63 %) of the respondents were not aware of the contribution of cultural heritage. This may be attributed to the community not being conversant with how to utilize the existing heritage to spur development, especially if they are not fully involved as observed in the findings of this study.

It was important to establish the extent to which cultural heritage has been of benefit to the community. Findings are captured in Table 5 which show that contribution of cultural heritage to community development is still low in Lamu County. Sixty-one percent of the respondents disagreed with the statement that ‘the existing cultural heritage has benefitted the community as a source of employment’, while 13 % agreed with the statement and 10 % strongly agreed. When asked about the statement that ‘cultural heritage has not brought development to the community’, 54 % of the respondents agreed, 21 % strongly agreed, while 9 % disagreed. When the respondents were asked to give their responses on the statement that ‘cultural heritage brings about social cohesion and cultural integration, over half (55 % and 53 %) strongly agreed, and over two fifths (42 % and 40 %) agreed. The implication



Figure 2. Awareness of the contribution of cultural heritage conservation.

Table 5. Contribution of cultural heritage to community development.

Statements	Strongly agree	Agree	neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
	<i>f</i> (%)	<i>f</i> (%)	<i>f</i> (%)	<i>f</i> (%)	<i>f</i> (%)
The existing cultural heritage has benefitted the community as a source of employment	10 (10)	13 (13)	16 (16)	61 (61)	0(0)
Cultural heritage has not brought development to the community.	21(21)	54(54)	16(16)	9(9)	0(0)
Cultural heritage brings about social cohesion	55(55)	42(42)	0(0)	3(3)	0(0)
Cultural heritage bring about cultural integration	53(55)	40(42)	2(0)	5(3)	0(0)

of this finding is that cultural heritage has not fully contributed to the economic development of Lamu community. This could be attributed to the residents not being aware of the different activities related to cultural heritage such as the repair and restoration of historical monuments. According to Wiggins (2010), Lamu residents have been unable to reap benefits from tourism and the designation of Lamu as a World Heritage Site. In order to improve the economic prospects in the area, the government of Kenya plans to develop a new mega port within the district (now County) bringing the possibility for alternative employment and economic prosperity.

Indirect benefits of cultural heritage to community development

Respondents were further asked whether they were aware of any revenue accrued indirectly from cultural heritage conservation in Lamu County. From the results shown in Fig. 3 it is clear that the majority (60 %) of the respondents were aware of the revenue accrued

from cultural heritage. This implies that the community is informed of the extent to which cultural heritage in Lamu contributes to national revenue.

It was observed that the revenue from cultural heritage was from gate fees collected at the cultural sites and monuments in Lamu town. On further probing to establish the source of revenue, the respondents stated various sources. The results in Table 6 reveal that most (40 %) of the respondents are not aware of any indirect revenue from conservation of cultural heritage. However, 26 % of the respondents indicated that there is indirect revenue for the museum from conservation activities related to cultural heritage in Lamu. This implies that the community indirectly benefits from these activities. A study by Barillet *et al.* (2005) found that heritage has today become a powerful instrument in the economic and territorial development of a community, when properly valorized and promoted, often in the context of tourism related activities.

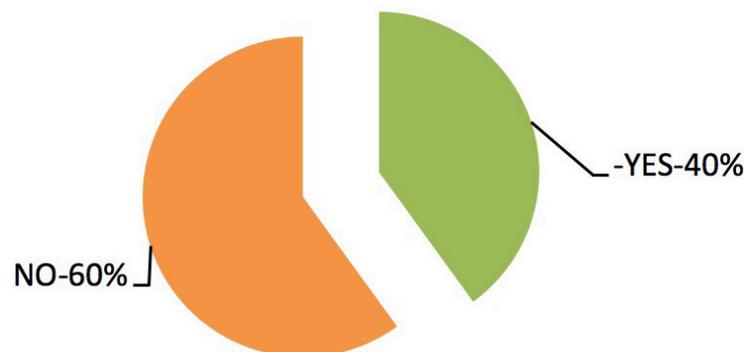


Figure 3. Community awareness of revenue accrued indirectly from cultural heritage conservation in Lamu.

Table 6. Sources of indirect benefits from cultural heritage in Lamu County.

Sources of Indirect Benefits	Frequency	Percent (%)
Revenue from Tourism	34	34
Revenue for museum	26	26
None	40	40
Total	100	100

These authors assert that the development of tourism is a potential source of many types of financial gain including the entrance fees to sites and museums, guided tours and visits, sales of handcrafts, documents and photos, and the development of the craft industry. It is also a source of more important financial repercussions in areas such as the hospitality industry, transportation and restaurant services. For local governments, tourism is also a potential source of revenues through taxes.

Intervention strategies for utilization of cultural heritage

This study sought to establish appropriate intervention strategies for enhanced utilization of cultural heritage in Lamu County. The assumption was that enhanced community participation through the utilization of cultural heritage can spur livelihood diversification and community development. The respondents provided several suggestions as explained in the subsequent subsections on community participation and utilization.

Strategies to promote participation in conservation of cultural heritage

The respondents were asked about strategies that can promote participation in conservation of cultural heritage in Lamu County. Findings shown in Fig. 4 indicate clearly that over half (51 %) of the respondents were of the view that there is a need to involve the community more in conservation. In fact, field observations showed that the community want the government to engage them actively on matters of heritage preservation. This finding is supported by that of the National Museums of Kenya (1993) where they noted that a carefully designed approach for public relations should be a shared concern with the local community on matters of heritage conservation.

The results also show that over one fifth (24 %) of the respondents stated that there should be more emphasis on the promotion of cultural festivals. Additionally, 13 % of the respondents wanted the government to engage the youth more in cultural activities as a way of creating employment, while 7 % asserted that the

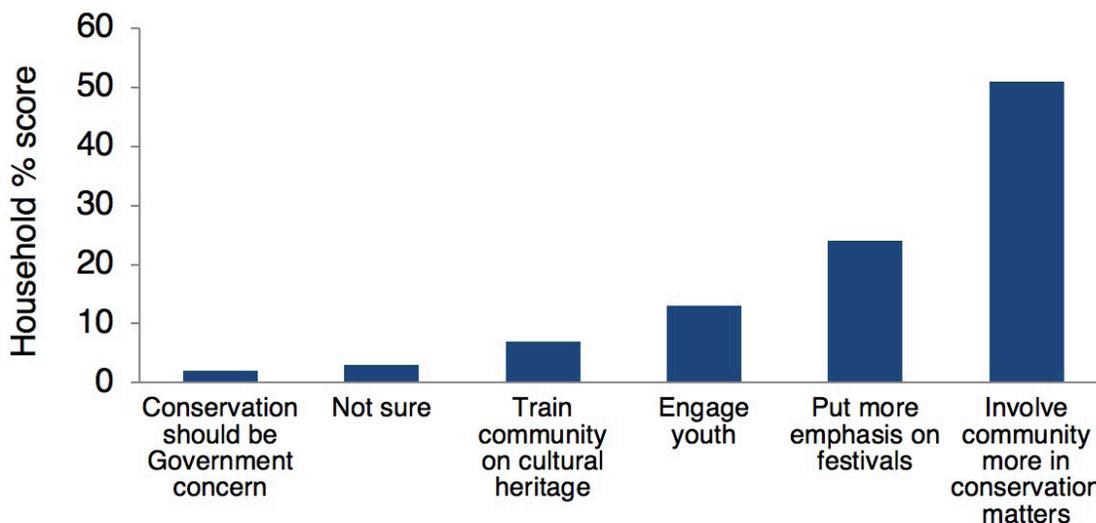


Figure 4. Strategies to promote participation in conservation of cultural heritage.

government needs to train the community in heritage preservation. Only 2 % reported that conservation matters should be entirely a government affair, with 3 % stating that they were not sure.

Community empowerment is observed by various authors (Burns *et al.*, 1994; Wilson and Wilde, 2003) as one of the main ingredients to effective participation. In fact, the community must be able to influence decisions, and have the capacity and a communications network created by partners to ensure its voice is incorporated in heritage conservation. This study revealed that local community members lacked skills and adequate knowledge on World Heritage Site management. As expressed by one respondent (a 29-year-old male) *“Lack of commitment from the locals is due to the challenge of non-involvement by heritage managers, lack of empowerment and inadequate capacity building on importance of cultural heritage”*.

The findings further indicate that the respondents recommended training the community on cultural heritage. On further probing to establish the specific group that would require training, it was suggested that the focus should be on women. The study revealed that lack of empowerment varied with gender. More precisely, it is higher among women than it is in men. Field observation showed that all (women interviewed were 28 % of the total sample) of the women interviewed did indeed lack capacity to be empowered. One respondent stated that *“women lagged behind on matters of heritage conservation because of the limitation from their local beliefs and traditions”*.

Furthermore, the study indicated that the community traditions restrained women from speaking to strangers or attending events without their husband's consent. It is for this reason, as reported by one key informant, that the Museum delivered a tailor-made sensitization programme targeting women empowerment on issues of heritage conservation. The programme was reported to have been initiated by one of the staff members in the Museum but became moribund after the staff member got transferred. This problem is further expounded by a 43-year-old woman key informant who narrated that:

“The museum has failed especially in involving women, long time ago education officers used to go door to door to educate or even bring awareness to the locals on issues to do with heritage conservation. That initiative is forgotten because the pioneer is no longer with them. Nevertheless, women in this community are so conservative due to their cultures and so without the museum or the stakeholders support they will continue lagging behind in development. This is unfortunate situation as the women have so much information on the heritage and they would play a great part in transferring knowledge to their children. This would help fill in the gaps created by institutions especially on youths training. It is very sad however these women do not enjoy any involvement because of the limitations set by their cultures”.

The narrative implies that the conservative nature of the women encourages them not to be actively involved in cultural conservation activities. Lack of, or passive, participation may hamper the economic benefits they could accrue to women from activities or services related to conservation of cultural heritage.

Table 7. Intervention measures for utilization of cultural heritage.

Themes	Frequency	Percent (%)
Formation of new heritage management body	3	3%
More emphasis on traditional craft	4	4%
Training and community board	5	5%
Introduction of home stay for visitors	6	6%
Creation of awareness on importance of cultural heritage	7	7%
Provide scholarship and bursaries for community education in conservation studies	8	8%
Involve youth and women in heritage matters	10	10%
Community training on importance of heritage conservation	20	20%
Actively involve community in matters of conservation	37	37%
Total	100	100%

Although culture is recognised as a powerful instrument for economic development and social inclusion in the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals of 2015, it can also lead to exclusion from decision-making and representation in heritage Serageldin and Martin-Brown (1999).

Intervention measures for utilization of cultural heritage

This study sought to determine the intervention measures for cultural heritage conservation. Table 7 presents the results where it is clear that over one third (37 %) of the respondents suggested that community involvement should be improved for better utilization of cultural heritage as a community development strategy. This suggestion is supported by the recommendation of the National Museums of Kenya (1986), that each restoration or rehabilitation of project should start with a targeted programme of community development activities, such as discussions in meetings, interviews and surveys. They further recommended that community participation should be considered in order to involve and commit the community.

In addition, 20 % of the respondents were of the opinion that community training on heritage conservation should be a key strategy for utilization of cultural heritage. Other strategies suggested by the respondents included: youth and women involvement (10 %); revenue collected to remain in Lamu for education in heritage conservation (8 %); awareness creation on the importance of cultural heritage (7 %); and introduction of home stays (6%) for visitors instead of hotels so that the community benefits directly from heritage as indicated in Table 5. One key informant stated that *“Investment in festivals and cultural programmes should be done so as to maintain the intangible heritage and promote the welfare of the community”*.

In addition, a female respondent said that *“Our people should be allowed to organize and plan for the cultural activities without interference by outsiders and maybe this will change the mindset of members of the community towards preservation of the heritage”*.

Another 44 year old key informant stated that: *“I think heritage conservation should be included in the curriculum starting probably from primary level because the young generation is not aware of their heritage and they are the leaders of tomorrow. Nevertheless, the youth should be empowered more by either training them or*

creating jobs for them and specific beneficial roles in the management. This will not only improve their living standards, but will foster responsibility and enable them to focus on the participation process”.

The results further show that there is a need to establish a management body as an intervention measure to ensure effective utilization of cultural heritage. Field observations further revealed that there was no management body in charge of cultural heritage conservation in Lamu County, even though Lamu hosts a World Heritage Site and is very rich in cultural heritage. When the respondents were probed on what the situation was like before the coming of the recent county governments, it was reported that there used to be a body called the Local Planning Commission (LPC). The LPC was established by the then District Physical Planning Liaison Committee (DPPLC) to make legally binding decisions on the management of World Heritage property in Lamu District. The LPC's main mandate was to give advice to the local authority on salient issues pertaining to the protection and preservation of Lamu as a cultural heritage and to review proposals for the alteration, extension and construction of new buildings within the protected area of Lamu town and its buffer zones, with a view to maintaining its authenticity. However, the LPC has ceased to operate creating a gap in cultural heritage management in the area. This creates a gap explaining the confusion witnessed during field work with regard to cultural heritage conservation in the county. Further field observation revealed that some of the residents have actually participated in these activities in one way or the another but did not know that what they are doing actually constituted heritage conservation. It emerged from all these findings that appropriate intervention measures are needed for utilization of cultural heritage to enhance community development. According to Wiggins (2010), the inscription of Lamu town as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in December 2001 has failed to bring significant economic benefit due to the lack of proper promotion and the lack of a concrete Management Plan. Wiggins asserts that the current state of the town combined with the impact of the proposed port upon the county could further marginalize the local population and serve as a barrier to overall prosperity.

The process of community education in Lamu had begun in earnest in the past where, for example, community education specialists working under a Ford

Foundation Programme were involved in a campaign of community education in 1984 (National Museums of Kenya, 1993). According to the National Museums of Kenya (NMK), the results of these campaigns were encouraging and the message of the Museum's goodwill reached the community to such an extent that house owners went to the Museum to seek for financial assistance to restore their houses. NMK further records that a conservation week was held with lectures, audio-visuals, round tours, brochures and cultural activities in 1988. Later, in 1992 the discussion on community development was given more priority. After sensitizing the NMK staff, a consultant was selected to assist with the setting up of a community development programme based on heritage.

According to ICCROM (2009), universities as training institutions of higher learning need to play a direct role in capacity building and knowledge production in heritage matters. However, ICCROM notes that even though universities have played significant roles in a number of African countries in training and executing research in cultural heritage, many African countries still lack local experts in archaeology, museum training, architectural conservation, and management planning, among others. ICCROM further notes that the absence of such professional and expertise further hampers cultural conservation efforts not only in Lamu County, but for the entire nation. This may be the reason for the poor state of cultural heritage in the country. In fact, this poor state of assets has seen a number of heritage sites acquiring a new label of 'ruins' such as Pate and Ishakani ruins, to mention but a few.

Conclusions

The value of a cultural heritage conservation strategy largely depends on the strength of its links to the local economy and involvement of the community. These linkages are important for the longer-term sustainability of the heritage programme and of the asset itself. A good heritage conservation strategy should contribute to overall developmental goals such as poverty reduction and job creation or income generation. The goal of job creation is particularly important, either directly in the cultural heritage programme itself in terms of activities such as construction or archaeological work, or indirectly through support services in shops, restaurants and hotels for visitors. Job creation can be tourism-related; for example, hospitality and transportation, creation of handicraft and in the marketing of handicraft items or other types of jobs. However, the exclusion of women due to cultural barriers can

hamper community inclusiveness in access to benefits such as income from handcrafts, festive activities such as dances, the tourism industry, and in the holding of management positions. Also, the poor state of assets such as at Pate and Ishakani, affects their contribution as a source of revenue for the development of the County. Appropriate intervention measures to ensure enhanced revenue for socio-economic benefits which are currently not adequately in place in Lamu County are necessary for full utilization of cultural heritage for community development.

Policy recommendations

It is recommended from this study that:

County government and other stakeholders such as the NMK should sensitize the community members on the importance of conservation of cultural heritage so that community members can own and take responsibility of their tangible cultural heritage and thus participate in conservation of Lamu cultural heritage.

The study recommends that appropriate intervention measures necessary for utilization of cultural heritage be developed and implemented to ensure enhanced socio-economic gains and full contribution to Lamu County's community development. The interventions should include community empowerment through capacity building in cultural heritage conservation activities. Further, it is recommended that proper revenue sharing (benefit sharing) should be instituted in order to enhance socio-economic development for the community. The community must be at the centre of this new paradigm to ensure measures taken are successful and sustainable. Benefits of Lamu cultural heritage conservation depends very much on the acceptance and positive response of the local people. Accordingly, efforts need to be made to explain the benefits and responsibilities associated with the idea of natural heritage conservation.

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