DISSERTATION

HARMONIZING HERITAGE TOURISM AND CONSERVATION IN THE ROCK-HEWN CHURCHES OF LALIBELA, ETHIOPIA

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HARMONIZING HERITAGE TOURISM AND CONSERVATION IN THE
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Abstract

There is an apparent dichotomy between conserving cultural heritage sites and ensuring tourism development. The former is usually considered as an exorbitant luxury which developing countries can ill afford and hence is usually accorded low priority. Thus, developing countries are often characterized as indiscriminately pursuing mass tourism with little consideration for culture and social values. This exacerbates the sacrifice of cultural values for commercial gain, and cultural assets are presented as commoditized tourism products. On the other hand, there are situations when tourism is also compromised to ensure that cultural values are not sacrificed merely for the benefit of tourism. Therefore, the relationship between tourism and heritage conservation is often characterized by contradictions whereby one sector is antithetical to the other. Several studies have acknowledged the necessity for such contradiction to cease and, instead, call for the harmonization of tourism and conservation (Engelhardt, 2005; McKercher & du Cros, 2002). However, finding the possible ways or strategies to harmonize the two sectors has seldom been discussed in the literature.

This doctoral dissertation is aimed at harmonizing heritage tourism and conservation in one of the flagship world heritage sites of Ethiopia, the rock-hewn churches of Lalibela. We used local residents’ attitudes, tourists’ perceptions, and stakeholder collaboration as prominent parameters to harmonize the two sectors. Data were collected from 348 sample residents to investigate the attitudes, awareness, and commitment of local residents toward both heritage tourism and conservation. Data were also collected from 110 tourists to explore their perception about the tourism service facilities in Lalibela. Likewise,
interviews have been conducted with around 30 key stakeholders consisting of government officials, UNESCO officers, church owners, and other tourism business-oriented stakeholders so as to understand the extent of their collaboration for promoting tourism as well as conserving the church. Prior to examining these three major harmonization parameters, the dissertation examine how the heritage conservation system has evolved and been implemented in Ethiopia, by taking Lalibela as a case study. The findings show that despite Ethiopia having a well designed conservation proclamation, the acute lack of finances and expertise remains to be a bottleneck for its effective implementation. Failure to facilitate conservation efforts and the absence of specified site management plans as well as pre-determined carrying capacity limits exacerbate the deterioration of the churches.

This doctoral dissertation finds that local residents were deeply committed to the conservation of the churches in their daily life activities. However, without better awareness about the scientific ways to conserve cultural heritage sites, their commitment in some cases has negative impact on heritage values. In the case of residents’ support for tourism development, those residents who were less educated, resided away from the churches, and had no tourism-related jobs tended to be less interested in and committed to tourism development. Local administrators also performed weakly in both sectors, and provide little or no support to residents who would like to engage in the tourism industry, particularly in commercial activities. The negative impacts of tourism on the socio-economic spheres of Lalibela were also found to be not negligible.

On the other hand, to harmonize the two sectors through stakeholder collaboration, this dissertation examined the extent of stakeholder collaboration and commitment both to
promote tourism and conserve the rock-hewn churches. Hence, the results show that the relationships between stakeholders in Lalibela are often characterized by conflict and mistrust whereby the informal commission-based linkages among the few groups distort the tourism industry. In addition, tourism-oriented stakeholders have had no participation privileges in the decision-making processes of the town’s tourism and conservation issues. Finally, this dissertation also aimed at harmonizing the two sectors through analyzing tourists’ perception. Tourists perceived several negative features of Lalibela, such as; poor signage, the lack of restrooms, sanitation problems, begging and pestering, poor hotel amenities, and the lack of water supply.

To sustainably harmonize heritage tourism and conservation, we suggest that the government should start pre-conservation studies of the heritage as a first step in line with preparing a site management plan and carrying capacity limits. To do so, both financial and human resources have to be secured for conservation. The government should consider several conservation financing approaches by linking the tourism industry with the conservation sector. Tourists are also expected to share a part of these costs through many ways. At the same time, local residents’ commitment to conserve the church must be also maintained through enhancing their level of awareness, and protecting them from undesirable tourism influences. A mutually beneficial relationship free from undesirable conflict among stakeholders must also exist if one aims to harmonize the two sectors through stakeholder collaboration. Importantly, special attention must be also given to alleviate the unfavorable tourism service facilities of the town so as to boost tourists’ satisfaction and comfort at the destination.
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Chapter 1
Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Visiting historic sites, cultural landmarks, historic towns and settlements, attending festivals, and even visiting museums have always been a part of the grand tourism experience. Such experience of travelers seeing and experiencing built cultural heritage and contemporary culture is often regarded as heritage tourism (Timothy, 2011). Usually, heritage tourism uses the tangible and intangible past as tourism resources. Heritage tourism is one of the largest, most prevalent, and fastest growing sectors of the tourism industry today (Timothy & Nyaupane, 2009). Particularly in the developing world, this sector is often viewed as an important potential panacea for poverty alleviation and community economic development (UNWTO, 2005). In fact, the expansion of heritage tourism coincided with the advent of the need to conserve our dwindling cultural heritage resources.

There are several reasons for the need to conserve cultural heritage today. These include safeguarding artistic and esthetic values, maintaining environmental diversity, preserving collective nostalgia, and generating economic benefits (Timothy & Boyd, 2003). Furthermore, heritage conservation efforts appear to be a resource for development, while the tendency of weak conservation efforts may lead to marginalization and destruction of cultural heritage (Greffe, 2004). Likewise, heritage conservation is exercised to protect cultural heritage from the negative influences of tourism, as the throngs of tourists can create a paramount damage to the heritage sites. Heritage tourism is often regarded as a
double-edged sword, with economic benefits existing on the one hand and the problem of commodification on the other (McKercher & du Cros, 2002).

It is true that heritage tourism can be a powerful ally of heritage conservation and a powerful tool to achieve the true sustainable use of cultural heritage assets. The exposure gained by using cultural heritage assets for tourism consumption can raise greater awareness of the value of the heritage and of the need to conserve its unique attributes. Furthermore, heritage tourism can offer the financial wherewithal to conserve cultural heritage assets, either directly via entrance tickets or indirectly via tax revenue generated from the tourism industry. In doing so, heritage tourism can be regarded as a tool to achieve heritage conservation objectives.

Unfortunately, heritage tourism’s potential to support heritage conservation is not often being met. Oftentimes, tourism is regarded as a competitor and not as a collaborator to heritage conservation (McKercher & du Cros, 2002). Heritage tourism can lead to irreversible damage to the inestimable heritage resources as well as to the culture of the local community. This phenomenon is often exacerbated by the inauspicious relationship between heritage tourism and heritage management, especially heritage conservation in particular (Graham, Ashworth, & Tunbridge, 2000). As a result of their incompatible objectives (Boniface, 1998; Jansen-Verbeke, 1998), heritage tourism and conservation appears to be strange bedfellows (Engelhardt, 2005). Cultural values have often been sacrificed for commercial gain, and cultural assets have been presented as commoditized tourism products (Daniel, 1996; Pedersen, 2002; McKercher & du Cros, 2002). On the other hand, there are situations when tourism is also compromised to ensure that cultural values are not sacrificed for tourism benefits. For example, Hovinen (1995) argues that
tourism benefits can be compromised whenever there is a conservation attitude that sees any commodification of heritage as a corrupting influence.

Various reasons can be attributed to the tradeoff relationship between heritage tourism and conservation. One could be because of the fact that both sectors vie to use the same resource base (Bowes, 1994; Jamieson, 1994). They value cultural heritage assets for different reasons and seek to use it for different purposes. The other reason could also be as a result of the presence of many stakeholders who are involved with their diverse values in which the actions of one may interfere with the achievement of another (Jacob & Schreyer, 1980). Sustainable tourism development can occur only when the practice of compromising or trade-off ceases and, instead, the harmonization between both heritage tourism and conservation flourishes (McKercher & du Cros, 2002).

Several studies have argued that the undesirable tradeoff between the values of both heritage tourism and conservation is not necessary (Moscardo & Pearce, 1986; Silberberg, 1995; McKercher & du Cros, 2002). Rather, there has to be a true partnership formed between the two sectors (Du Cros, 2001; McKercher & du Cros, 2002). However, an effective means of harmonizing heritage tourism development and cultural heritage conservation is rarely achieved. Indeed, few studies attempted to harmonize tourism development and cultural heritage management in general through various ways (Du Cros, 2001; McKercher & du Cros, 2002; McKercher, Ho, & du Cros, 2004; Li & Lo, 2004; Aas, Ladkin, & Fletcher, 2005). Yet, the issue of harmonizing heritage tourism and conservation is still one of the main idiosyncrasies that have been overlooked in the existing literature. Hence, this doctoral dissertation is focuses on how heritage tourism development can be
harmonized with heritage conservation by taking one of the premier world heritage sites in Ethiopia, the rock-hewn churches of Lalibela, as a case study.

In fact, the challenge facing the heritage tourism sector today is how to find a balance between heritage tourism development and conservation (Elene & Assefa, 2012; McKercher & du Cros, 2002), as the consumption of extrinsic values by tourists overlaps with the conservation of the intrinsic values by cultural heritage managers or conservators. The challenge further stems from the fact that the harmonization of the two requires hard political choices, the collaboration of stakeholders, and an understanding of the local communities’ attitude towards both heritage conservation and tourism issues. Moreover, the paucity of studies in this area makes the task of integration between heritage tourism and cultural heritage conservation more challenging. Therefore, this dissertation seeks to dispel some of these challenges by introducing ways of harmonizing heritage tourism and cultural heritage conservation into the existing literature.

This study aims to harmonize the two sectors from the perspectives of local residents, stakeholders’ collaboration, and tourists’ perception. Such kinds of harmonizing strategies are rarely applied in the existing literature. The study intends to achieve a symbiotic harmonization of the two sectors through examining first, Lalibela residents perception and awareness of both heritage tourism and conservation; second, through analyzing the collaboration of various stakeholders both in promoting heritage tourism as well as conserving the rock-hewn churches of Lalibela; and finally, through examining the perception of tourists about the churches and the tourism service facilities of the town.

Considering the fact that Lalibela is one of the flagship world heritage destinations in Ethiopia, which attracts 90% of leisure tourists to Ethiopia (World Bank, 2006), the
researcher chose it as a case study for this dissertation by assuming its good representation of other destinations in the country. Three types of data-sets were collected to address the aforementioned three strategies of harmonizing heritage tourism and conservation. The first data-set was drawn from the local residents of Lalibela through a questionnaire survey from August to September, 2011. The second data-set was collected through in-depth interviews with several stakeholders consisting of government officials, a UNESCO officer, church owners, and other tourism business oriented stakeholders. Finally, to capture the perception of visitors, a questionnaire survey was also collected from tourists; who happened to visit Lalibela during August and September, 2011.

This doctoral dissertation is organized into six chapters. To build the groundwork for our analysis in chapters three through five, in chapter two, we discuss a brief review of the theoretical literature on the integration of heritage tourism and conservation from the perspectives of government, local residents, and stakeholders’ collaboration. Chapter 3 deals with issues pertaining to the heritage conservation system in Ethiopia using data from interviews with various governmental and non-governmental officials. This chapter attempts to provide a clear understanding of how cultural heritage conservation systems have evolved and been implemented in Ethiopia. Chapter 4 deals with harmonizing heritage tourism and conservation from the perspective of the local residents. In this chapter, we will analyze residents’ awareness of the importance of heritage tourism and conservation, residents’ evaluation of the government’s commitment to promoting tourism versus conserving the church, and also the positive and negative influences of tourism. These issues are one of the major idiosyncrasies which determine the harmonization of heritage tourism and conservation. Chapter 5 deals with the exploration of the roles which the
stakeholder collaboration and also tourists’ perception can play in harmonizing heritage tourism and conservation. Finally, Chapter six presents the main findings and provides the relevant policy implications.

1.2 Issues to be discussed

As noted earlier, harmonizing heritage tourism development and cultural heritage conservation remains a challenging task which is overlooked in the existing literature. Although absolute solutions are rarely possible, there are ways in which heritage tourism and cultural heritage conservation can happily co-exist (Kerr, 1994). According to Engelhardt (2005), a synergy between heritage tourism and conservation can be developed when tourism at heritage sites is properly managed. Yet, this dissertation follows different ways to integrate the two sectors. Analyzing local residents perceptions, stakeholder collaborations, and tourists’ perceptions are the major issues to be discussed throughout this dissertation, and these are the main parameters we use in order to blend heritage tourism and conservation.

In addition, the dissertation will also discuss issues related to the heritage conservation system of the country as it is important to understand the challenges and possible prospects of the heritage conservation sector in general. Hence, Chapter three of this dissertation deals with an exploration of the bottlenecks and issues preventing effective heritage conservation implementation in Ethiopia. Specifically, issues related to carrying capacity, financing the conservation sector, site management plans, and the role of international organizations will be addressed in Chapter three of this dissertation. Data for this specific analysis were drawn from governmental and non-governmental officials using in-depth interviews.
As already mentioned above, this study will take different avenues or strategies in order to blend heritage tourism development and conservation in the rock-hewn churches of Lalibela. These strategies are the main issues to be discussed in this dissertation, and hence, considered as specific objectives or research questions of this study. Thus, the major issues to be discussed in this dissertation are the following:

1) Examine local residents’ perception of the importance of heritage conservation and tourism development. We will assess residents’ commitment towards promoting tourism versus conserving the rock-hewn churches as their commitment discrepancy over the two sectors has implications for the integration of the two sectors. Most importantly, both the positive and negative impacts of tourism on their livelihood will also be assessed as the negative impact particularly will negatively affect the partnership of heritage tourism and conservation. Furthermore, issues related to residents’ evaluation of the performance of government officials in promoting tourism as well as conserving the churches will be used as a steppingstone to integrate the two sectors. Hence, to address these issues, data were collected from 348 Lalibela residents using a questionnaire survey from August to September 2011. Chapter four provides a detailed analysis of these issues.

2) Examine the role that stakeholder collaboration can play in harmonizing heritage tourism and conservation. We believe that for heritage tourism to grow sustainably, a symbiotic collaboration among various stakeholders is required as a lack of it may hamper the partnership of heritage tourism and conservation, and this may also undermine the local development which could be achieved through tourism growth. The stakeholders considered in this study are hotels, souvenir shops, Ethiopian
Airlines (Lalibela office), the Lalibela tourism bureau, and also the church owners. The healthy collaboration among these stakeholders can be a worthwhile endowment to harmonize heritage tourism and conservation. In-depth interviews with these stakeholders were also conducted in Lalibela from August to September 2011. Chapter five presents a detailed analysis of these issues.

3) The last main issue to be discussed in this dissertation is the role that tourist perception can play in harmonizing heritage tourism and conservation. Studies have argued that understanding tourists’ perception and their satisfaction is important to sustain tourism development (Dodds, Graci, & Holmes, 2010; Elene, 2010). Thus, this dissertation examines tourists’ perceptions about the robustness of the rock-hewn churches and tourism service facilities of Lalibela in general. Giving a thorough emphasis to visitors’ feedback is important to rejuvenate the tourism sector in a way that creates a favorable environment for the integration of heritage tourism and conservation. The data for this analysis were collected from a sample of 110 tourists, who happened to visit Lalibela during the survey time in August and September, 2011. Chapter five presents a detailed analysis of the tourists’ perceptions.

Hence, the plethora of this doctoral dissertation analysis has concentrated greatly on the aforementioned three major issues which we believe constitute the bridge to integrate heritage tourism and conservation. In this study, hence, we believe that achieving a symbiotic partnership between these two sectors helps sustainable heritage tourism development to prevail in Lalibela. This further has an extended effect in boosting the local economic development through creating sustainable employment opportunities and less tourism exploitation of local residents.
Chapter 2  
Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

The most noticeable contribution of cultural heritage to local development lies in its ability to attract tourists and the consequent positive effects on incomes, spending and employment (Greffe, Pflieger, & Noya, 2005). Unfortunately, this cultural contribution to local development may end up being unsustainable unless an effective harmonization is ensured between the use of the cultural heritage as its intrinsic value and as an economic resource. Therefore, the key issue to consider is how we can effectively harmonize heritage tourism and conservation so that we can sustainably benefit from the cultural contribution to local development through tourism expansion. It should be noted that, achieving harmonization between the two sectors requires addressing the subsequent questions.

How can the relationship between heritage tourism and conservation be explained? Can these two strange bedfellows successfully be integrated with each other? Does the government policy direction have implications toward the integration of the two sectors? To what extent are local residents committed to preserving their cultural heritage as well as to promoting tourism? What are the implications of the far-reaching positive and negative impacts of tourism toward the integration of the two sectors? What roles can stakeholder collaboration and tourist perception play in harmonizing the two sectors? This chapter of the dissertation provides an overview of the literature to address these listed questions within the context of harmonizing heritage tourism and conservation.

2.2 Integration of heritage tourism and conservation

Because different scholars have different views, it is worth noting that there is no common definition of the term heritage tourism in the field. The existing tourism literature
has not yet found a commonly accepted definition for the heritage tourism concept (Alzua, O’Leary, & Morrison, 1998). This could be attributed to the complex, versatile, and ubiquitous nature of the sector itself. However, in this dissertation, heritage tourism refers to tourists seeing or experiencing built and intangible heritage. We believe that heritage tourism is based upon antiquated relics; it tends to occur in rural areas and is more place-bound. Yet, contemporary art and living culture are also important constituents of heritage tourism because they are based upon the past creative and social values.

Likewise, definitions and understandings of heritage conservation can vary significantly in the existing literature. Conservation can be defined as all the processes of looking after the cultural heritage in order to retain its cultural significances\(^1\). Hence, in this dissertation, conservation refers to the sustainable management of the cultural significance of the site, not merely dealing with the physical structure but also of the social concern. Today, though heritage tourism and conservation have incompatible objectives, their partnership is both necessary and beneficial.

Because that many countries are blessed with a plethora of heritage sites, heritage tourism seems to be growing much faster than all other forms of tourism, particularly in developing countries (Timothy & Nyaupane, 2009). Yet, this growth signals conflict of convergence with cultural heritage management, and conservation in particular. The conflict line is drawn between those who seek the economic opportunity and development of the heritage site at whatever cost and those who would like to conserve the heritage site (Engelhardt, 2005). Hence, one of the main challenges in the existing tourism literature is

\(^{1}\)The term cultural significance was clearly defined under the Burra Charter article 1.2 as “aesthetic, historic, scientific, social or spiritual value for past, present or future generations” (The Burra Charter, 1999).
to find a balance between heritage tourism and conservation (McKercher & du Cros, 2002; Elene & Assefa, 2012).

Though there could be several factors attributed for their conflict, one of the main factors could be the sentiment that both sectors work toward mutually incompatible goals. Often times, the objectives of one sector are regarded as inimical with the attainment of the other sector’s objectives (Boniface, 1998; Jansen-Verbeke, 1998). The tourism sector is clamoring to boost the tourism benefit by promoting heritage sites for tourist consumption, often with little consideration of the impact of tourism on heritage sites. As a result, it is not uncommon to observe cases where cultural values have often been submerged, and also the commodification of heritage sites becomes almost fashionable (Daniel, 1996; Pedersen, 2002). On the other side of the aisle, however, tourism values can be also compromised in situations when a strong heritage conservation attitude exist (Hovinen, 1995). In fact, several international promulgations have been adopted to protect cultural heritage values from tourism influences. Hence, the fact that these two sectors stand at the two extreme edges results, in many instances, in one sector being compromised for the other.

To mitigate such compromise, some studies have proposed the importance of integrating heritage tourism and conservation (McKercher & du Cros, 2002; Engelhardt, 2005; Orbasli & Woodward, 2009; Elene & Assefa, 2012). Yet, finding an effective means of integrating the two sectors has rarely been examined in the literature. Indeed, few studies have attempted to integrate the two sectors through evaluating the tourism potential of the heritage site using the analysis of market appeal and robustness model (Du Cros, 2001; McKercher & du Cros, 2002; McKercher, Ho, & du Cros, 2004; Li & Lo, 2004). A model

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2 For instance, the protection of cultural values from inappropriate uses of tourism was the main bandwagon for the adoption of the Charter of Cultural Tourism in 1976 (ICOMOS, 1976).
called the Market Appeal-Robustcity Matrix which was developed by McKercher and du Cros (2002) is one the notable attempts to blend cultural heritage management and tourism. This model, which was applied on several Hong’s Kong heritage attractions, embraces various tourism and cultural heritage management variables in order to measure the tourism potential of the site and its robustness (mainly ability to withstand visitation). The model was aimed at reconciling cultural heritage management with tourism by analyzing whether the position of the heritage site is skewed to the tourism exploitation or to a better management side. In addition, Aas, Ladkin, and Fletcher (2005) argued that conducive stakeholder collaboration can also play a vital role in integrating the two sectors. A successful integration of heritage tourism and conservation is important in many ways. Among others, paving the way for sustainable heritage tourism is the fundamental one.

In this dissertation, the term “sustainable heritage tourism” should be defined as a partnership that satisfies both heritage tourism and conservation objectives. To make heritage tourism sustainable, both tourism and conservation stakeholders should acknowledge the mutual benefits that can accrue from the symbiotic partnership of heritage tourism and conservation. In fact sustainable heritage tourism requires not only the mutually beneficial partnerships amongst stakeholders, but also it requires the long-term protection of heritage assets, a high quality visitor experience, and respects for the wishes of local communities. Furthermore, as part of a sustainable heritage tourism principle balancing the needs of local residents and visitors is important to ensure that heritage tourism benefits everyone. It is important to understand the kind and amount of tourism that the local community can handle.
Though studies are agreed on the importance of integrating heritage tourism and conservation, the ways of their integration has received much less attention than it deserves in the foregoing strand of literature. In this dissertation, we may follow several strategies to successfully harmonize the two sectors, though it seems to be challenging. One can be through creating a symbiotic collaboration among different groups of stakeholders, as argued by Aas, Ladkin, and Fletcher (2005). Finding a common ground for the interests of several stakeholders paves the way for successful integration. The other strategy of integration can be through analyzing local residents’ perception towards both sectors, which is much less applied in the existing literature. The fact that local residents are affected by heritage tourism and conservation activities, their perception pertaining to these sectors has implications for the integration. As stated earlier, we believe that for sustainable heritage tourism to grow, considering residents view both on tourism and conservation is required. Likewise, incorporating tourists’ perception of the heritage site and the tourism service facilities in general is required for integrating the two sectors. Importantly, narrowing the government’s policy discrepancy between promoting heritage tourism and conserving cultural heritages can be a good strategy to harmonize the two sectors as well. A high government priority to one sector without due consideration to the other will hamper the partnership of the two sectors.

2.3 Government role in promoting tourism and conserving cultural heritage

It is clear that the government is the primary responsible body for both promoting tourism as well as conserving all the country’s cultural heritages. The government should take a leading role in both sectors through its legislative and policy frameworks. International conventions also require countries to take the primary responsibility towards
the two sectors, particularly on cultural heritage conservation issues. However, in many countries, particularly in several less-developed regions, greater priority is given to promoting tourism than preserving the cultural heritage (Tosun, 1998).

The contribution of international tourist arrivals to the economic growth of less-developed regions seems to be significant (Tosun, 1998). As a result, many governments in developing countries have adopted tourism as an alternative means to stimulate their economic growth (Jenkins & Henry, 1982; Tosun & Jenkins, 1996). Hence, the standard models of tourism promotion in these regions remain volume-oriented, driven by macroeconomic considerations, and by a private sector which indiscriminately promote mass tourism without due consideration to the impact of tourism growth (Engelhardt, 2005). On the other hand, however, governments of many less-developed countries assign little priority to the protection and conservation of cultural heritage.

At several levels of government, the conservation of culture and other cultural heritage are often seen as an excessive luxury, particularly when other public services are in short supply (Timothy & Nyaupane, 2009). Thus, in many less-developed regions conservation is considered as the last line-item to be included in the national budgets and the first line-item to be cut (ICOMOS, 1993; Timothy, 2011). While an endemic lack of funds is evident in developed countries (Kakiuchi, 2011), it tends to be more pronounced in the developing regions (Timothy & Boyd, 2006), and particularly in sub-Saharan Africa (Said, 1999). On top of this, various weaknesses of the government such as corruption have worsened the problem of heritage conservation in several developing countries (Timothy & Nyaupane, 2009). It is not uncommon to see in some places where rules and laws are disregarded for a fee. For instance, in Cambodia, state officials allowed Hollywood in 2000
to film a movie at Angkor Wat, and the movie later falsified the nature of Angkor Wat’s history and countered the image of the country’s culture in general (Winter, 2002). Such kinds of situations may pave the way for unsustainable heritage tourism to bloom.

Therefore, it is important to understand that unbiased treatment of both tourism development and heritage conservation by the government is important. If the integration of heritage tourism and conservation is to flourish, the government should pursue a balanced policy direction towards the two sectors, and priority of one sector over the other must end.

2.4 Local residents, heritage tourism, and conservation

We believe that evaluating local residents’ attitudes and perceptions toward both tourism development and heritage conservation and incorporating them in the planning process is an important step in achieving sustainability. The existing literature does not offer a satisfactory account of the residents’ attitudes toward heritage conservation and, hence, we have only partial knowledge as to how local residents react or are involved in cultural heritage conservation missions. On the other hand, however, a plethora of research undertakings has concentrated much attention on debunking the local residents’ attitudes toward tourism development (Perdue, Long, & Allen, 1987; Perdue, Long, & Allen, 1990; Smith & Krannich, 1998; Tosun, 2000; Mason & Cheyne, 2000; Sheldon & Abenoja, 2001; Zamani-Farahani & Musa, 2008; Vargas-Sanchez, Porras-Bueno, & Plaza-Mejia, 2011).

It is obvious that any tourism development that does not included the local residents’ perception may bring social, cultural, environmental, and economic damage to host communities (Sheldon & Abenoja, 2001). Hence, if tourism is to remain sustainable within a community framework, there must be community-wide participation as well as continuous assessment of resident perceptions to ensure tourism development remains
consistent with the local culture (Johnson, Snepenger, & Akis, 1994). It is also worth considering that residents’ perception toward tourism can affect tourists’ enjoyment at the destination (Johnson, Snepenger, & Akis, 1994). Therefore, policymakers should identify residents’ concerns and sentiments to minimize friction between visitors and residents (Sheldon & Abenoja, 2001). On the other side of the aisle, as noted earlier, the existing literature has overlooked the importance of examining resident perceptions of cultural heritage conservation, which can be an endowment for achieving sustainable tourism development.

Residents’ attitudes toward heritage conservation differ according to the economic status of the country. In the developed world, heritage conservation is often exercised for the sake of gaining the esthetic, educational, or other socio-psychological benefits of the heritage rather than only gaining the economic benefit (Timothy & Nyaupane, 2009). In less-developed regions, however, the economic benefit dominates over the others, and few people appreciate the need for heritage conservation (Cohen, 1978; Henson, 1989; Myles, 1989). Many residents of these regions are less committed to preserving their heritage as they connect it with backwardness and it is antithetical to modernization (Timothy & Nyaupane, 2009; Timothy, 2011). After all, this may lead to residents’ actions of scrapping the old cultural heritages and replacing them with new ones (Gazaneo, 2003). Hence, such kinds of phenomenon together with the negative impacts of mass tourism might lead to the unsustainable tourism development, and hence, it inhibits the harmonization of heritage tourism and conservation.
2.4.1 Impacts of heritage tourism

Many of the tourism studies highlight the negative and positive impacts associated with heritage tourism. Heritage tourism can have far-reaching negative as well as positive impacts, which have often been divided into physical, environmental, socio-cultural, and economic impacts (McKercher & du Cros, 2002; Timothy & Nyaupane, 2009). In countries where the growth of heritage tourism is starting to take-off and an ethos of conservation has not been established, ignorance of the negative impacts of tourism exists (McKercher & du Cros, 2002). Oftentimes, in many less-developed regions, considerations of tourism benefits outweigh any adverse costs as a result of that development.

Indeed, it is axiomatic to understand that tourism can bring far-reaching benefits to host communities. Tourism is often regarded as a creator of new employment opportunities for the host communities (Haralambopoulos & Pizam, 1996; Elene & Assefa, 2012). Furthermore, tourism can pave the way for the local infrastructure to improve as well as for the economies to be more entrepreneurial and self-reliant (McKercher & du Cros, 2002). Most importantly, tourism can contribute to social and cultural well-being by reviving the cultures which were lost or on the verge of being lost (Timothy, 2011). As a result, tourism has provided the justification for preserving cultural heritages that might otherwise have disappeared. It is also worth noting that societal esteem may also be a result of heritage tourism as in many countries, when communities realize their culture is of interest to outsiders, it incubates a sense of pride over their cultural heritage (Timothy, 2011). However, despite all these benefits, heritage tourism has also negative physical or environmental, socio-cultural, and economic consequences for the host communities.
The impact of heritage tourism or tourists on the physical fabric of the environment is one of the profound impacts of heritage tourism (Timothy, 2011). Various studies have noted that excessive numbers or careless visitors cause serious damage to historic artifacts and ancient monuments (Fyall & Garrod, 1998; Austin, 2002; Timothy & Boyd, 2003). The rampant problems associated with the physical heritage environment includes wear and tear, vandalism, excessive litter, erosion or soil compaction, air pollution, and illegal trade in artifacts (Timothy & Nyaupane, 2009; Timothy, 2011). Not all the impacts of heritage tourism are physical in nature. Socio-cultural impacts also arise when tourists reach the destination. The most deplorable socio-cultural impacts includes forced displacement, tension between residents and tourists, cultural commodification (Timothy & Boyd, 2003; Timothy & Nyaupane, 2009), and the expansion of prostitution (Nyaupane, Morais, & Dowler, 2006). In addition, the expansion of drug addiction, physical assaults, and crime levels are also often considered with the negative impacts of heritage tourism (Haralambopoulos & Pizam, 1996). Regarding the negative economic implications of heritage tourism, despite its overwhelming economic benefits, heritage tourism is often associated with the problem of inflating the price of goods and services at the destination. The expansion of tourism makes everyday life more expensive not only for tourists but also for residents as well (Timothy, 2011).

Hence, if the integration between heritage tourism and conservation has to be possible, one should be able to mitigate these tourism challenges and protect local residents from any form of tourism exploitation (McKercher & du Cros, 2002). To attain sustainable tourist flows in the long-run, it is vital to explore ways to maximize the merits and minimize the demerits of tourism for local residents (Kakiuchi, 2008). Yet, there is a
paucity of studies that show how the government should advocate a balanced approach to heritage tourism by acknowledging both its beneficial and detrimental effects on local communities and their cultures. Some studies have indicated that if an ignorant attitude to the negative impacts of heritage tourism coupled with high attention only on its benefits existed, and this will exacerbate the tendency of moving to the edge of unsustainable heritage tourism development (Tosun, 1998; McKercher & du Cros, 2002).

2.5 Stakeholder collaboration

A stakeholder can be defined as any person, group, or institution that positively or negatively affects or is affected by a particular issue or outcome (World Wildlife Fund, 2000). A synthesis of the grand literature on stakeholder theory shows to what extent it is important to consider the relationship with diverse constituents, so as to attain a predetermined objective (Friedman & Miles, 2002). The concept of stakeholder integration has been widely used in a number of contexts mainly in improving the effectiveness of organizations (Heugens, Van Den Bosch, & Van Riel, 2002). In the tourism context, however, the application of the stakeholder integration theory is relatively limited (Nicholas, Thapa, & Ko, 2009).

A stakeholder in the tourism and conservation sector is deemed to be anyone who either positively or negatively affects or is affected by a particular tourism and conservation related issue (World Wildlife Fund, 2000). The partnerships or collaborations of these stakeholders are now often seen as having a vital role in bringing together users and conservers of a particular heritage site (Bramwell & Lane, 1999). Achieving integration, however, is regarded as a challenging task as it requires mollifying many stakeholders in the sector (McKercher & du Cros, 2002).
Likewise, achieving partnerships or collaborations among stakeholders has failed to materialize as a result of lack of cross communication and elusive common goals among the various stakeholders. According to McKercher & du Cros (2002), this lack of cross communication paves the way for the lack of cross-fertilization of ideas and the lack of an understanding of the legitimate needs of each stakeholder. Thus, partnerships or collaborations are most likely to emerge when stakeholders understand one another’s interest and appreciate that all stakeholders have a legitimate interest over the heritage site which is being used by tourism.

In fact, the key issue to consider here is why the stakeholder collaboration is so important. Some studies have indicated that such collaborations or partnerships are important for the diffusion of sustainable tourism development (Berry & Ladkin, 1997; Godfrey, 1998; Dabphet, Scott, & Ruhanen, 2012). The lack of effective communication and understanding among stakeholders remains problematic for the achievement of sustainable tourism development (McDonald, 2009). Though sustainable tourism can be defined in different ways, in this dissertation we consider sustainable tourism as a partnership that satisfies both tourism and heritage conservation. Thus, if one able to find a common ground among the various stakeholders, it will have a tremendous contribution to the achievement of sustainable tourism development in the particular destination.

Developing a symbiotic harmonization between heritage tourism and conservation requires the involvement of all stakeholders in both tourism and conservation-related issues. In addition, such harmonization requires establishing effective channels of communication amongst stakeholders, as their absence provides a pathway towards unsustainable tourism development (McKercher & du Cros, 2002). However, most studies in the tourism
literature discuss stakeholder involvement and collaboration only within the framework of planning for tourism in general (Bramwell & Lane, 1999; Jamal & Getz, 1995; Hall, 1999). We believe that the existing literature has overlooked the importance of stakeholder collaboration for the purpose of integrating heritage tourism and conservation. In fact, few studies such as Aas, Ladkin, & Fletcher (2005) have aimed at harmonizing heritage conservation and tourism through stakeholder involvement. Therefore, the issue of integrating heritage tourism and conservation through stakeholder involvement and collaboration should warrant more research.

2.6 Tourists’ perceptions

There is a diverse definition for the term ‘tourist’. According to Cohen (1974), a tourist is a voluntary and temporarily traveler who is travelling in the expectation of pleasure from the novelty on a non-recurrent trip. Though there are several kinds of tourists, cultural tourists are the main focus of this dissertation. Cultural tourists are those who visit a cultural or heritage attraction, a museum, or attend a performance sometime during their visit (McKercher & du Cros, 2002). McKercher (2002) identified five types of cultural tourists: the purposeful tourist, sightseeing tourist, serendipitous tourist, casual tourist, and the incidental tourist. Irrespective of their type, understanding tourists’ perceptions of heritage sites would at least help in the management of the heritage site with respect to various issues (Yankholmes & Akyeampong, 2010).

As a result of growing competition in the global tourism industry, examining tourists’ perception and satisfaction has become prevalent (Barutcu, Dogan, & Unguren, 2011). Tourist satisfaction is considered as one of the crucial features for a distinctive image of the destination, as it greatly influences the decision to return (Yoon & Uysal,
Furthermore, tourist satisfaction not only influences intentions to return but also increases revenues and profits for service providers. The intention of this dissertation is not to examine tourist satisfaction per se but to use it as a basic parameter to evaluate the tourism performance of Lalibela. Evaluating the tourism performance of a site is one of the ways to harmonize heritage tourism and conservation (McKercher & du Cros, 2002).

Thus, because recognizing and understanding tourist perception and satisfaction have important implications for site management (Dmitrovic et al., 2009), their role in integrating heritage tourism and conservation is also undeniable. For instance, Coghlan (2012) has argued that visitor satisfaction is regarded as a particularly important variable in order to integrate tourism with protected area management. After their visit, tourists will be able to provide feedback both on tourism service facilities and the conservation status of a particular site. Later, this feedback will be used as a parameter to evaluate the performance of destination products and services (Yoon & Uysal, 2005). Moreover, understanding tourist perception and enhancing their satisfaction plays a vital role in providing better reservation, better signage, new customer care ways, and the installation of other information provision (Augustyn & Knowles, 2000).

The existing tourism literature reveals an abundance of studies on the motivation and satisfaction of tourists (Yoon & Uysal, 2005), but reconciling the elusive goals of heritage tourism and conservation through considering tourists’ satisfaction has not been thoroughly investigated. Indeed, some studies have emphasized tourist satisfaction and perception in order to strengthen the link between tourism and protected areas (Jamal & Stronza, 2009; Coghlan, 2012). Hence, the topics related to harmonizing heritage tourism and conservation through tourists’ perception should warrant more research.
2.7 Conclusion

This chapter reviewed several studies focused on issues related to the harmonization of heritage tourism and conservation with respect to the government, local residents, tourists, and other stakeholders. These studies considered tourism as a double-edge sword because of the fact that it has both threats and benefits. It benefits the local community in various ways and also threatens their livelihood. Likewise, tourism also puts the conservation sector under stress as it brings potential damage to the cultural heritage site.

Hence, as a result of the dual facet nature of heritage tourism, there is a common understanding among scholars on the importance of harmonizing heritage tourism and conservation as it paves the way for sustainable tourism development. Studies have argued that sustainable heritage tourism cannot occur unless the goals of both tourism and conservation are integrated. However, the question of how these two sectors should be harmonized has rarely been answered in the existing literature.

This chapter has demonstrated that one of the main idiosyncrasies that has been overlooked in the tourism literature until recently is the integration of heritage tourism and conservation from the perspectives of local residents, tourists, and other stakeholders. Thus, this dissertation aims at filling this literature gap by harmonizing heritage tourism and conservation in the rock-hewn churches of Lalibela from the perspectives of local residents, tourists, and other tourism business and non-business oriented stakeholders. We believe that heritage tourism can survive only if its resource base is conserved in a sustainable manner, and this sustainability can be accomplished only if tourism and conservation work in collaboration.
Chapter 3

Issues Pertaining to the Heritage Conservation System in Ethiopia

3.1 Introduction

Since the Athens Charter\(^3\) was adopted in 1931, the importance of heritage conservation has increasingly been recognized throughout the world (Vecco, 2010), and heritage conservation systems, including legal frameworks, have been developed in many countries. Various studies have been conducted about the intrinsic value and socio-economic importance of cultural heritage (Greffe, 2001; Throsby, 2010; Timothy, 2011; Torre, 2002) and also how cultural heritage is conserved (Elsorady, 2011; Joffroy, 2005; Techera, 2011). The failure to have strong conservation efforts and the great gap between the goal of the conservation system and the actual implementation may pave the way for the deterioration of cultural heritage (Greffe, 2004).

The most important resource for cultural heritage conservation would be public funding. However, it seems in short supply in many developing countries (Timothy & Nyaupane, 2009). It is unlikely for governments to allocate more funds for heritage conservation, especially in places where health care and education are in short supply as well as where people are starving (Norton, 1989; Feilden, 1993)\(^4\). Even in developed countries, regardless of the expansion of cultural protection systems, the amount of public funding assigned to culture is very small (Kakiuchi, 2011). Besides this common financial


\(^4\) These studies were as cited by Timothy & Nyaupane, 2009.
issue, each country has its own specific problems which worsen the situation. There is a paucity of research that clearly identifies and mitigates these specific challenges.

This chapter aims to identify the bottlenecks and issues preventing effective harmonization of heritage tourism and conservation in Ethiopia, taking the case study of the rock-hewn churches in Lalibela, the flagship World Heritage Site. First, we will clarify how the heritage conservation system of the country developed. We will examine the forces and rationale behind this evolution, addressing its historical background and changing political regimes. Then, we will analyze perceptions and attitudes of various organizations related to heritage conservation through interviews. Finally, we will discuss the possible and realistic ways to reverse the present unfavorable situation.

3.2 Country Overview

Ethiopia is one of the oldest countries in the world and is often regarded as a cradle of humankind\(^5\) (Gillespie, 2003). It is located in the eastern part of Africa, bordered by Djibouti, Somalia, Eritrea, Kenya, Sudan, and recently South Sudan. Basic information is shown in Table 3-1. Regarding Ethiopia’s economic configuration, as of 2010/11 the service and agricultural sectors had been estimated to be 45.6% and 41% of GDP, respectively, while the industrial sector had been estimated at only 13.4% of GDP (Ministry of Finance and Economic Development of Ethiopia, 2010). Agriculture is the backbone of the Ethiopian economy as it absorbs around 85% of the employment (Access Capital, 2011).

Ethiopia maintained its freedom without being colonized. For more than a thousand years the country was under a monarchy system, which is believed to have started with

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\(^5\) Archaeologists excavating sites in Ethiopia discovered 3.5-million-year-old fossil skeletons, and they named these remains *Australpithecus afarensis*, Lucy, and also Denkenesh (Gillespie, 2003).
King Menelik I in 950 BC, the son of King Solomon of ancient Israel and Queen Sheba of Ethiopia (Marcus, 2002). This monarchic system had continued up until 1974, when it was toppled by a military junta (socialist state). With continuous economic and political trouble, the military regime had been in power for seventeen years. In 1991, a coalition of rebel forces (Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front; EPRDF) replaced the military regime, and since then Ethiopia has been a federal republic.

The country has a splendid geographic diversity ranging from its high and rugged mountains with an altitude of 4,620 meters above sea level to the lowest place on earth, about 148 meters below sea level (Ministry of Information, 2004) with diverse cultural, historical, and natural heritage. Ethiopia has a treasure of cultural resources, ranging from medieval castles, monasteries and ancient churches, monuments and historical towns, traditional performances, to several mesmerizing landscape features (Elene & Assefa, 2012). Today, the nine registered World Heritage Sites and the three tentatively listed Sites makes Ethiopia a place with the highest number of World Heritage Sites in Africa.

Ethiopia’s cultural heritage is predominantly viewed through a highland, Orthodox Christian prism. Most of Ethiopian cultural heritage motifs are belong overwhelmingly to the Christian context: rock-hewn and ancient churches; monasteries; stone paintings; and other frescos (Finneran, 2012). Many of these heritages are elements of a living faith, which are still in use as a site of worship. Despite the fact that Ethiopia is home to diverse cultural, natural, and religious heritages, it is underperforming in the tourism market (World Bank, 2006; Elene & Assefa, 2012).

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6 Currently this ministry is called the Ministry of Communication and Information Technology.
### Table 3-1 Basic facts about Ethiopia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic Facts</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Area</td>
<td>1,104,300 km²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population (2011 estimate)</td>
<td>82,101,998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government type</td>
<td>Federal republic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religions</td>
<td>Christian, 62.8% and Muslim, 33.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GDP (PPP) (2011 estimate)</td>
<td>$94.76 billion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GDP per capita (PPP) (2011 estimate)</td>
<td>$1,100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


### 3.3 Evolution of a heritage conservation system in Ethiopia

Heritage conservation efforts in Ethiopia date back to the 18th century. Although Ethiopia is a country of rich and diverse culture with more than 80 ethnic groups, as noted above, many of the heritages at that time emanated from the Ethiopian Orthodox Christian Church. In addition to building churches, the Ethiopian Orthodox Church administration restored movable cultural heritage related to Christianity in the monasteries which were purposely built for safeguarding their cultural heritage from civil wars and/or Muslim attacks (Solomon, 2010). Kings7 of the imperial regime also played a vital role in heritage conservation, mainly through providing financial resources.

Though the churches and monasteries contributed toward the protection of cultural heritages, it was in the absence of an organized cultural institution. It was during the last Ethiopian imperial regime that the first initiatives took place to modernize the heritage conservation system in Ethiopia through the creation of cultural institutions in the country (Solomon, 2010). It is because of this reason that from the long existence of the imperial

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7 As Solomon (2010) quoted from Wright (1971), though it was in a traditional manner, Emperor Yohannes I (1667-1682), Emperor Tewodros (1855-1868) and Emperor Yohannes IV (1872-1889) were regarded as prominent Emperors who significantly contributed to heritage conservation during the imperial regime.
period in Ethiopia, we chose to discuss only the last imperial period in this dissertation. The genesis of these cultural institutions during the last imperial regime can be regarded as a pioneer for the cultural institutions and promulgations that were established both during the military and even the current political regimes.

3.3.1 The last imperial regime (1930-1974)

It was during the mid-20th century under the last imperial regime (1930–1974) that the heritage conservation system was modernized and institutionalized, by two main apparatuses: the Institute of Archeology (hereinafter referred to as the “Institute”), the Ethiopian Antiquity Administration (hereinafter referred to as the “Administration”) later, and the Heritage Conservation Proclamation.

The Institute was the first of its kind in Ethiopia, established in 1952 with objectives of archeological excavations, antiquities research, and conservation based on a bilateral agreement between the French and Ethiopian governments (Solomon, 2010). It should be noted that the establishment of the Institute was initiated by the French government, as requested by French archeologists who had been working on Ethiopian heritage sites for a long time until then. For the Institute, the French government provided specialists and the Ethiopian government provided financial resources, including facilities in return. The director of the Institute was directly appointed by the King of Ethiopia. The operation was based on two-year contracts, which were renewed several times. The Institute operated for twelve years in total.
In 1955, the Constitution was revised, and for the first time, the antiquities were entitled with legal protection\(^8\). Yet, in actual implementation, only research was conducted by the Institute, which faded out in 1964. It was in 1966 that the Ethiopian Antiquity Administration was established, pursuant to the “Antiquity proclamation” (hereinafter referred to as the “first proclamation”) which was enacted based on the Constitution. The Administration had objectives of taking measures to promote the discovery, study, and protection, of Ethiopian antiquities. Though the Administration was established to enforce the first proclamation, most of the activities had remained only on paper as a result of lack of adequate budget and professional human resources. Yet, the first proclamation opened a new chapter in the history of heritage conservation in the imperial regime.

The first proclamation defined “Antiquities” much more narrowly than the present one. Article 2 sub-article (a) of the first proclamation defines “Antiquities” to be protected as follows: “Antiquity shall mean any construction or any product of human activity, or any object of historical or archaeological interest, having its origin prior to 1850 E.C.”\(^9\) This proclamation (attached in appendix II) had twelve articles that dealt with the system of ownership, legal status, and mechanisms for the conservation of cultural heritages.

Several serious problems were pointed out about this first proclamation; cultural heritage was named as “Antiquities,” the definition of which was too general, too vague, and too narrow, failing to include the artistic values and historical landscapes of the country (Gasiorowski, 1981). The most pressing problem was the nationalization of these

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\(^8\) Because the first Ethiopian constitution was written in 1931, the 1955 constitution is often referred as ‘the revised constitution’.

\(^9\) E.C stands for Ethiopian Calendar. The reason to make fixed 1850 E.C (1858 G.C) as a base year was mainly for the purpose of protecting cultural heritage with more than 100 years of history. In fact, as a result of this, many cultural heritages were not encompassed under this proclamation.
antiquities. Even the constitution which was adopted in 1955 stipulated regarding the state’s ownership of antiquities in its article 130 sub-article (a) as, “all the property in the sub soil of the Empire including those beneath water [are] state domain.” Likewise, article 3 sub-article (a) of the first proclamation declared the state ownership of antiquities as follows:

“All antiquities, whether movable or immovable, existing within Ethiopia on the date of coming into force of this proclamation, are hereby declared to be the property of the state, to be administered in the manner hereinafter set forth…”

The newly established Administration, a part of the Ministry of Education, had a conservation department in charge of heritage conservation policy including nationalization of privately owned antiquities. However, in actual implementation, the Ethiopian government could not afford to secure any funding for compensation to nationalize antiquities of private owners, which paralyzed nationalization as well as the heritage conservation system as a whole. In fact, no single item was nationalized under the last imperial regime. Rather, this nationalization policy had a serious negative impact on the nation: people lost their feeling of ownership of heritage, and they were even engaged in looting and illicit trafficking of antiquities (Solomon, 2010).

3.3.2 The military regime (1974-1991)

In 1974, following the popular revolutionary outburst, a military junta overthrew the imperial regime and established a socialist state. This new regime was not interested in heritage, while it heavily prioritized education and arts. Music, paintings, and literature were utilized as tools to educate the nation in socialism and as instruments to elevate anti-imperialist and anti-bourgeoisie sentiments (Alem, 1982).
However, things changed in the 1980s. It was UNESCO this time which took the initiative for heritage conservation. Ethiopia was considered for receiving support under the UNESCO program called “Programme of Participation in the Activities of Member States for 1979-1980.” As a part of this international program, UNESCO sent a consultant mission in 1980 to assist Ethiopia in elaborating a draft of a national law for safeguarding cultural heritage. As a result, 15 years after the military regime took power, another conservation proclamation was enacted in 1989 (hereinafter referred to as the “second proclamation”), and the first proclamation was formally repealed\textsuperscript{10}.

The second proclamation (attached in appendix III) proposed a broader and clearer definition of antiquities, which was strongly suggested by UNESCO experts. The definition of antiquities by the “second proclamation” included works of architecture, ethnographic implements, paleontological objects, remains of ancient towns and also other religious properties. Both the age factor of the antiquities defined by the first proclamation as well as nationalization of these antiquities was abolished. Under the second proclamation, a registration process for antiquities was introduced for the first time. This second proclamation stipulated that not only the owners but also the government and every citizen as well are all responsible for heritage conservation. However, despite the fact that this the second proclamation was more comprehensive than the first proclamation, due to the political unrest between the military government and the then rebel forces, the actual implementation of the second proclamation was effectively suspended

\textsuperscript{10} The first proclamation was repealed when the military regime took over, but UNESCO insisted on using the proclamation as a basis for the second antiquities proclamation (Gasiorowski, 1981).
3.3.3 Current regime (1991–present)

The military regime was toppled in 1991 by a coalition of rebel forces, the Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF). The country was changed into a federal republic, and a new constitution was adopted at end of 1994. Adoption of the 1994 constitution can be marked as another turning point in Ethiopian history in general and cultural heritage management in particular, as it is the period during which the bitter long-standing civil war was came to an end. Regarding cultural issues, this constitution stipulated that the federal government should devise national standards and policies to protect cultural heritages\textsuperscript{11}.

For the first time in Ethiopian history, a cultural policy was endorsed in 1997. This policy was adopted not only for the sake of conserving cultural heritage but also to enhance the role of cultural heritage in the development endeavors of the country; ensuring citizen participation in cultural activities, creating favorable conditions for artists and researchers who are working in the cultural sector, promoting the culture of the different nations, nationalities and peoples of the country, and abolishing harmful traditional practices\textsuperscript{12} are amongst the major objectives of the policy (Cultural Policy of Ethiopia, 1997). Cognizant to the fact that culture was narrowly envisaged by the previous two regimes, the current government indicates the importance of giving due consideration to the sector. In addition, the current government recognizes in its cultural policy the equal consideration of cultures of the nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia.

\textsuperscript{11} As indicated in article 51/3 of the constitution the federal government “shall establish and implement national standards and basic policy criteria for health, education, science and technology as well as for the protection and preservation of cultural and historical legacies” (Constitution of Ethiopia, 1994).
\textsuperscript{12}Women in Ethiopia are often subject to a variety of harmful traditional practices such as early marriage, abduction, female genital mutilation and forced marriage (Pathfinder International, Ethiopia , 2007). http://www2.pathfinder.org/site/DocServer/PI_WE_paper_final.pdf?docID=10202
As a part of this cultural policy, a more comprehensive heritage conservation proclamation was adopted in 2000 (hereinafter referred to as the “third proclamation”). In the same year, the Authority for Research and Conservation of Cultural Heritage (hereinafter referred to as “ARCCH”) was established for collecting, registering, and conserving cultural heritages. ARCCH replaced the Administration.

3.4 Present heritage conservation system and general issues

3.4.1 Cultural heritage conservation proclamation

Article 3 (4) of the current Conservation Proclamation of Ethiopia (adopted in 2000) defines cultural heritage as “anything tangible or intangible which is the product of creativity and labor of man in the pre-history and history time, that describes and witnesses to the evolution of nature and which has a major value in its scientific, historical, cultural, artistic, and handicraft content.” This proclamation deals with several issues such as research, excavation, registration, subsidy, and technical advice for heritage conservation.

This third proclamation (attached in appendix IV) is different in its content compared to the preceding first and second conservation proclamations. It is more comprehensive, clearer, and richer in content than the previous two proclamations. In this third proclamation, the wording of “antiquities” was changed to “cultural heritage,” and the definition of cultural heritage became more specific and clearer. This indicates to what extent the scope of cultural heritage has expanded over time in Ethiopia. There are three classifications of heritage: intangible, and movable and immovable tangible heritage (Figure 3-1). This third proclamation also stipulated the repatriation of heritage that was looted during the imperial regime.\footnote{According to Pankhurst (1999), Ethiopia suffered from extensive foreign looting both by British expeditions in 1868 and by the fascist Italians during their occupation of 1936-1941.}
3.4.2 ARCCH

Now ARCCH is solely responsible for heritage conservation and is an independent government office, receiving its budget directly from the government. However, its director is nominated by the Minister of Culture and Tourism, who is in charge of supervising cultural affairs in general. ARCCH works closely with the Ministry; execution and implementation of heritage conservation are done by ARCCH, and ARCCH activities are reported to the Ministry.

As stated in article (4) of the third proclamation, ARCCH was established to achieve four fundamental objectives. First, to protect cultural heritages of the country against natural and man-made disasters; second, to activate the economic and social benefits of cultural heritage and contribute towards the development endeavor of the country; third, to discover as well as study the country’s cultural heritages; and finally, to
carry out a scientific registration and supervision of cultural heritages so as to ensure the passing of cultural heritages from generation to generation. As a result of several bottlenecks, however, many of ARCCH’s objectives remain on paper. The small number of registered cultural heritages (Figure 3-2) of the country is attributed to this fact.

**Figure 3-2 Registered cultural heritages from 1978-2012 by region**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Movable heritage</th>
<th>Immovable heritage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amhara</td>
<td>11,339</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tigray</td>
<td>1,983</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oromia</td>
<td>935</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somalia, Harari, and Dire Dawa</td>
<td>672</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Nations, Nationalities, and People's</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benishangul</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gambela</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afar</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Addis Ababa</td>
<td>2285</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>17,327</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: This figure was made by the author based on data provided by ARCCH. Intangible heritage is not included in this figure, as no data are available.

Figure 3-2 shows the number of registered cultural heritages by ARCCH listed by region. From 1978–2012, a total of 17,327 movable and 251 immovable cultural heritages were registered. The number of registered heritages in Amhara, Addis Ababa, and Tigray areas outnumbers the registered cultural heritages of other regions of Ethiopia. These areas are often referred to as highland Ethiopia, which has been dominant in Ethiopian history and most of the cultural heritages came from these areas (Finneran, 2012). However, the small number of registrations or zero registrations of other regions does not mean that they do not have any heritage of importance, but rather that those regions did not report their cultural heritage to ARCCH. These regions, composed of minor ethnic groups, are afraid that once registrations are done, ARCCH will take a control over their cultural heritage,
which might lead to restriction of its use. We will come back to this issue later in Section 3.4.4.

In the third proclamation, it is stated that any individual who possesses a cultural heritage should preserve and protect the cultural heritage at his own expense. In fact, the same proclamation declared that the necessary subsidies to heritage owners for conservation will be given, and this is stipulated under article 19, Sub-article (2) as: “Where the expenses required for conservation and restoration are beyond the means of the owner, the government may grant the necessary assistance to cover part of such expenses.”

Once the privately owned cultural heritage is registered by ARCCH, the owner of the heritage will be entitled to receive this necessary grant from the government to cover conservation expenses. However, in actual implementation, ARCCH will decide whether they will provide grants and the grant amount will be decided within the budget and at the discretion of ARCCH.

Over time, the scope of both cultural heritage and conservation measures have expand in Ethiopia. Today, even though Ethiopia has a better conservation proclamation that mostly meets international standards, its effective implementation remains to be a challenging task somehow as a result of the issues stated in the following sections.

3.4.3 **General issues - Scarce resources and biased policy directions**

Currently, Ethiopia’s most glaring problem in the cultural sector, including heritage conservation, is an endemic lack of funds. In 2012, the government allocated 0.019%\(^\text{14}\) of the national budget to ARCCH (23.1 million Birr, 1.3 million USD). Looking at breakdowns, roughly 40% of the ARCCH budget goes to support services, of which 28%

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\(^{14}\) As of 2012, the national budget was around 117.8 billion birr (6.82 billion USD).  
goes to the salaries and per diems of around 300 employees (Figure 3-3). The rest is used as a recurrent budget for items such as office supplies, utilities, communication costs, and so on. Another large portion of its budget (34%) is a capital budget for building a laboratory for heritage conservation, which will be finished in several years. In other words, the resources available for heritage conservation tasks are only less than 30% of this small budget.

**Figure 3-3 Budget allocation of ARCCH (as of 2011/2012)**

![Budget Allocation Diagram](source)

Source: ARCCH (July, 2011)

The cultural heritage development budget (9%) is used for improving the accessibility of the heritage sites, cleaning the environment surrounding heritage sites, setting up signage, and so on. The conservation budget (7%) is allocated for subsidies to heritage owners and inventory (4%) for registration.

Two percent of ARCCH’s budget was allocated to world-heritage sites. The too-small budget led the government to depend on external funds for issues related to world-heritage sites. Indeed, many world-heritage conservation projects are funded by UNESCO and other international organizations.

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15 The amount is in terms of Ethiopian currency (Birr). 1 USD was equivalent to 17.23 birr, as of 2011.
On the other hand, the government launched a five-year plan (2010/11–2014/15), called the Growth and Transformation Plan (hereinafter referred to as “GTP”), aiming at broad and sustainable development in the country (Table 3-2). In this very important plan, such economic sectors as agriculture, industry, and infrastructure as well as education and health are all included with specific goals and benchmarks to be attained. On the other hand, as for heritage conservation, its importance is only vaguely referred to in the main text of the GTP, and no benchmarks are mentioned.

### Table 3-2 GTP’s main priority sectors and their indicators

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sectors</th>
<th>Some of the indicators</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>• Agriculture value added</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Expand coffee export</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industry</td>
<td>• Increase sugar production</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Increase cement production</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Textile and garment industry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infrastructure</td>
<td>• Road</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Railway</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Hydroelectric power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Telecom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Urban development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>• Increase primary school enrollment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Increase higher institution intake capacity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>• Improve primary health service coverage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Reduce mortality rate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Reduce maternal mortality rate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: GTP (Sep, 2010)

#### 3.4.4 Issues - Fragile coordination among central and regional governments

Another glaring issue facing Ethiopia is weak cooperation between the federal and regional governments. Under the federal system, Ethiopia is divided into nine ethnic-based regions and two chartered cities. These regional governments are endowed with autonomy in many aspects in their territory by the constitution. However, the third proclamation stipulated that ARCCH has the authority with regard to cultural heritage issues. Thus, there
is some confusion over the responsibility of regions for heritage conservation, registration in particular. Without proper registration, private owners of heritage will not be able to receive any grants from ARCCH, which may cause a financial crunch for heritage conservation.

There seems to be a fragile cooperation between ARCCH as a federal government and regional governments in the sphere of cultural heritage management. The unbalanced number of ARCCH’s registration of cultural heritage (as indicated in Figure 3-2) in Ethiopian regions can be the result of their fragile cooperation mainly with those regions with small cultural heritage registrations. This haphazard situation could be triggered by the feelings that the regional governments have claims to historic artifacts and places of their area. However, such kind of fragile coordination seems not to exist in the case of managing world heritage sites as the international conventions outweigh the domestic proclamations in this regard.

3.5 Case study of the rock-hewn churches of Lalibela

Despite the general issues mentioned in the previous section, world heritage sites are treated much more than non-world heritage sites in Ethiopia. Regional governments have to cooperate with ARCCH concerning the conservation of world heritage sites, as the World Heritage Convention clearly stipulates the responsibility of the national government (Article 4 of the 1972 World Heritage Convention\(^\text{16}\)). Also, ARCCH provide a relatively

\(^{16}\)“Each State Party to this Convention recognizes that the duty of ensuring the identification, protection, conservation, presentation and transmission to future generations of the cultural and natural heritage referred to in Articles 1 and 2 and situated on its territory, belongs primarily to that State. It will do all it can to this end, to the utmost of its own resources and, where appropriate, with any international assistance and cooperation, in particular, financial, artistic, scientific and technical, which it may be able to obtain” (UNESCO, 1972). (http://whc.unesco.org/archive/convention-en.pdf).
large portion of its scarce budgets for world heritage sites, and international organizations such as UNESCO, ICOMOS and others have greatly supported such heritage sites.

However, even these world heritage sites, which are the most protected in Ethiopia, are deteriorating. In this section, we will examine the situation and the reason why, taking the world heritage rock-hewn churches of Lalibela as an example.

3.5.1 The rock-hewn churches of Lalibela, overview

These splendid and architecturally important rock-hewn churches were built in the 12th century by the then king, King Lalibela. According to Mengistu (2004), the King built these churches as a deliberate attempt to create a second holy land in Ethiopia and to discourage the journey of Ethiopian pilgrims to Jerusalem. They are located in Lalibela, a small town [around 166 km²] in the northern part of Ethiopia about 645 km away from the capital city, Addis Ababa. The town’s landscape is characterized by rugged, mountainous scenery at an altitude of 2,630 meters above sea level (Mengistu, 2004). The area is surrounded by high plateaus and by some of the highest mountains of Ethiopia. In this small picturesque village, many of the houses are very small, circular, made of stone, and with conical thatched roofs. Agriculture is the backbone of the town, as around 54%\(^\text{17}\) of the residents depend on it.

Lalibela has always been a place of pilgrimage largely known in Ethiopia. An uninterrupted stream of worshipers has come and gone throughout the centuries (Batistoni, 2008). The architectural features of the churches are very amazing but difficult to understand easily. According to the manner of their construction, these churches can be classified into three main categories, namely, built-up cave churches, rock-hewn cave

\(^{17}\) This figure was found from the mayor of the town during an interview which was held in August, 2011.
churches, and rock-hewn monolithic churches (Mengistu, 2008). Among these three categories, the monolithic rock-hewn churches are the most amazing and surprise many visitors as these churches are completely freestanding, separated from the surrounding rock and attached to the main rock only at the base.

There are eleven churches in total, which are divided into three clusters separated by the Jordan River\textsuperscript{18}. The first group of six churches lies north of the Jordan, while the second group of four churches is located south of the Jordan River. The third cluster contains only one giant monolithic rock-hewn church called \textit{Bete Giorgis}, which is situated to the southwest of both the first and the second group of churches. In almost all the churches there is a wide open space where people can pray, attend ceremonies and listen to preaching. The well designed interior of the churches attract the interest of many visitors as well.

Lalibela is the premier tourist attraction in the country. Among nine world-heritage sites in Ethiopia, the rock-hewn churches are the flagship heritage-as-tourism destination, attracting roughly 90\% of Ethiopia’s leisure tourists (World Bank, 2006). Lalibela world heritage sites received more than 35,000 overseas visitors in 2011, a number which has been increasing by more than 10\% annually in recent years\textsuperscript{19}. The churches do not solely serve as a tourist attraction for international tourists; they are also an important destination for many Ethiopian pilgrims. For instance, around 140,000 pilgrims visited Lalibela for the Ethiopian Epiphany celebration in 2008, whilst around 21,000 international tourists visited during the same period (Mitchell & Coles, 2009). Likewise, the number of hotels and shops

\textsuperscript{18} Most of the names in Lalibela mirror names in Jerusalem, including the river Jordan. This river is a passage which connects all the churches and tunnels cut out of the pink tuff.

\textsuperscript{19} Lalibela Tourism Bureau
has also been increasing. Churches collect entrance fees of 350 birr (around 20 US dollars) per overseas visitor.

Today, most of the churches are in a fragile situation and the rock walls of these church buildings have serious cracks. Temporary shelters are built over the churches (Figure 3-4) so as to preserve them from natural disasters. To investigate issues concerning the conservation status of the rock-hewn churches, interviews were conducted with officials in charge of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, ARCCCH, UNESCO in Addis Ababa and with the church administrators in Lalibela in August and September, 2011.

Figure 3-4 One of the rock-hewn churches with cracks on the wall

3.6 Interviews

3.6.1 Ministry of Culture and Tourism

The Ministry of Culture and Tourism (hereinafter referred to as the “Ministry”) was established in 2005\textsuperscript{20}. The Ministry is responsible for the promotion of culture and tourism, promoting international tourism in particular, improving tourism service facilities, holding

\textsuperscript{20} Prior to its establishment, the then-Ministry of Information and Culture was in charge of all cultural affairs, while tourism was administered by the then-Ethiopian Tourism Commission.
exhibitions, and so on. An interview was conducted with Mr. Tesfaye Getahun, who is an official at the division of Tourism Development and Marketing Directorate. His office is responsible for promoting the tourism industry through pursuing market research, promotional activities, and also through enhancing the tourism service facilities.

There are three fundamental themes which the Ministry is working hard on: making the country a top-five destination in Africa by 2020\textsuperscript{21}, conserving cultural heritage, and improving the quality of tourism service facilities. Currently, Ethiopia is underperforming in attracting tourists (the 468,000 tourist arrivals in 2011 rank Ethiopia 18\textsuperscript{th} among 47 Sub-Saharan African countries).\textsuperscript{22} The scarcity of resources seems to be a serious bottleneck in conserving cultural heritage in Ethiopia. “Lack of finance and educated manpower in the field of conservation remains one of the prominent challenges for heritage conservation” (Tesfaye, 2011, interview).

To accomplish the aforementioned goals, collaboration with international agencies and strong conservation awareness of the public is critical. Mr. Tesfaye emphasized in the interview that “as many cultural heritages are in the hands of both individuals and religious institutions, enhancing conservation awareness is very important” (Tesfaye 2011, interview). In addition, heritage conservation measures including heritage registration and management should be effectively conducted first, and then heritage can be used for development purposes, the official stated.

According to Mr. Tesfaye, although Lalibela is one of the flagship destinations in Ethiopia, it is underperforming in terms of attracting a large number of tourists. Poor

\textsuperscript{21} Interview with official at the Ministry
\textsuperscript{22} Kenya, for example, received more than 1.3 million visitors annually, with six world heritage sites. Ethiopia has only a 1.5% share of Sub-Saharan Africa tourist arrivals (UNWTO, 2012). (http://dxtq4yw60xqpw.cloudfront.net/sites/all/files/docpdf/unwtohighlights12enhr_1.pdf).
infrastructure such as transportation, the paucity of tourist information, and poor tourist service facilities are the fundamental problems to which the underperformance of the site is attributable.

Despite Lalibela being one of the marvelous world treasures, I doubt that many people know about it. So currently we are working hard to get the attention of many tourists throughout the world and achieve as many tourist arrivals as possible in Lalibela (Tesfaye 2011, interview).

Finally, as a director of the Tourism Development and Marketing Directorate, Mr. Tesfaye highlighted the necessity of promoting the rock-hewn churches of Lalibela to the world, and at the same time mitigating all the challenges pertaining to the tourism sector in Ethiopia in general.

3.6.2 ARCCH

As already stated above, ARCCH is the only autonomous institution in charge of overall issues related to cultural heritage in Ethiopia. ARCCH has the authority to make final decisions concerning the conservation issues of the Lalibela churches, although they are owned and administered by the Ethiopian Orthodox Church.

An interview was conducted with a senior architect-conservator, Mr. Nigussu Damtew, in the division of Heritage Conservation Directorate of ARCCH. The main roles of ARCCH in the conservation of the rock-hewn churches of Lalibela include conducting independent pre-conservation studies and/or cooperating with international organizations, initiating conservation campaigns for domestic and external stakeholders, and searching for financial sources to meet conservation objectives. ARCCH’s budget was too small, which forced ARCCH to seek funds from outside the country.
As far as the current status of the rock-hewn churches is concerned, both the interior and exterior of the churches are deteriorating, Mr. Nigussu stated in the interview. A number of factors have contributed to the deterioration of the churches. In addition to natural factors such as rain and sunlight, human factors have undeniably contributed to the deterioration. “As part of religious activities, worshipers receive blessings by touching and kissing the church’s wall, these activities, hence, exacerbate the deterioration of the buildings, as the exterior is faded” (Nigussu 2011, interview). Figure 3-5 shows the walls of the church, where the color of the rocks has changed from the original brown to dark brown due to being touched and kissed by local worshipers. The senior-architect conservator of ARCCH, Mr. Nigussu stated that, excessive numbers of local worshipers are visiting the churches too frequently, as these churches are living heritages and this seems to contribute to the deterioration of the churches.

**Figure 3-5 One of the rock-hewn churches showing faded color near the gate**
On the other hand, slow conservation efforts have also worsened the situation. He indicated that, “the nature of the rock requires a very detailed study by professionals of various fields, which will cost a considerable amount of financial resources, and as a result a successful conservation task has not been done yet” (Nigussu 2011, interview). To tackle the paucity of financial resources, Mr. Nigussu stated that ARCCH proposed a rule, not yet implemented, to collect at least 25% of the churches’ revenue from the entrance fee for conservation purposes. However, he added “The church administration seems unhappy with this proposal” (Nigussu 2011, interview).

As both the cultural policy and proclamation clearly specify, cultural heritage should be maintained by the owners of the heritage, national and local governments, and the nation as a whole. Hence, the conservation of these churches is not the sole responsibility of either the government or UNESCO but the church administration should also participate in conservation, Mr. Nigussu said in the interview.

In some situations the church administration has a tendency to assume that conservation is not their responsibility, instead they thought it is solely the responsibility of ARCCH and UNESCO. This perception has to be changed (Nigussu, 2011, interview).

The last issue that this senior-architect conservator touched upon was the carrying capacity. Similar with many other world heritage sites of Ethiopia, the rock-hewn churches of Lalibela do not yet have any pre-determined carrying capacity limit. However, determining a carrying capacity limit for the Lalibela site would not be an easy task as the churches are a living heritage, which the local residents have strong spiritual attachment to.

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23 Carrying capacity addresses the question of how many people can be permitted into an area without risk of degrading the site (Pedersen, 2002).
it. As he indicated, “I think, determining a carrying capacity limit on Lalibela churches may bring a very serious issue because these churches are living religious heritage sites” (Nigussu 2011, interview). Hence, it will be very difficult to restrict local residents from entering churches, as their sentimental attachment is strong.

3.6.3 The church administration

An interview was also conducted with Priest Mengeste Worku, who assumes the position of secretary in Lalibela church administration. The Priest had similar views with the ARCCH expert (Mr. Nigussu) on the point that the church buildings are in a very fragile situation. However, Priest Mengeste thought that the deterioration was mainly caused by natural factors, instead of human-made factors. Regarding the role of the Church in conservation affairs, the Priest said, “Although the major part of the conservation cost is covered by international agencies and the Ethiopian government, the church is contributing daily necessities to clean up the surrounding environment, and perform small repairs” (Priest Mengeste 2011, interview).

In fact, the church mobilizes many local volunteers who would like to engage in cleaning the vicinity of the church on a daily basis. The church is also helping beggars who are residents of Lalibela community by providing food and shelter services, the Priest added. He stated in the interview why the church is unable to re-invest the entrance fee for conservation purposes as follows:

The revenue earned from the entrance fee is being paid for the 675 employees of the church and 50 beggars who used to hassle tourists to get some money from them. There will be no financial resources left to re-invest the entrance fee for conservation purposes (Priest Mengeste 2011, interview).
Many other stakeholders around the church, such as hotel owners and tour guides in Lalibela, are unwilling to donate money for conservation purposes, as they think the church has enough financial capacity. Hence, the church administration has a somewhat unfavorable relationship with those stakeholders. “There is no financial support emanating from these stakeholders for conservation of the churches” (Priest Mengeste 2011, interview). This shows there is a lack of symbiotic relationships between the church administration and other stakeholders in Lalibela.

Furthermore, the Priest seems not to have considered the carrying capacity of the church buildings and is not aware of the possible influence of the large number of local worshipers who visit the church at least once per day. Rather, the church administration is eager to attract as many tourists as possible.

3.6.4 UNESCO Office, Addis Ababa

International assistance for the conservation of Ethiopia’s cultural heritage is not a recent phenomenon. There are various international agencies working for Ethiopia. Amongst them, UNESCO is dominant. Its involvement goes back to 1967, just one year after the adoption of the first proclamation, when UNESCO sent its expert to advice on the organization and operation of the Administration (Aalund 1985). Since then, UNESCO has been supporting Ethiopia in heritage conservation, and it now has a joint office in Addis Ababa that does work for both Ethiopia and Djibouti.

An interview about the conservation status of the rock-hewn churches of Lalibela was conducted with a cultural program officer of UNESCO, Mr. Getu Assefa, at the Addis Ababa office. Mr. Getu stated that in the eyes of UNESCO, the commitment of the
Ethiopian government is not bad, despite the fact that financial and human resources remain a bottleneck.

As for the rock-hewn churches of Lalibela, UNESCO carried out various restoration attempts, though some of these attempts are considered to have damaged the structures of the churches buildings as a result of lack of a detailed pre-conservation study. In 1989, UNESCO and the Ethiopian government constructed temporary shelters made of timber and corrugated iron sheets over five of the churches, which damaged the visual image of the heritage. Later, in 2007, upon the request of the Ethiopian government, UNESCO constructed new shelters to replace the old ones using more than five million dollars provided by a European Union fund (UNESCO, 2006). In the interview, Mr. Getu mentioned that these shelters (Figure 3-6) are a temporary solution until a proper conservation study can be done. “After a detailed conservation study is done, these shelters will be safely dismantled, as they are somehow against the authentic value of the churches” (Getu 2011, interview).

Figure 3-6 One of the monolithic churches under the EU-built shelter

![Photo provided by the author.](image-url)

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24 The construction of these temporary shelters over five churches in Lalibela was officially started on Feb. 12, 2007 by the Italian company Terpin Associati (UNESCO, 2006).
According to Mr. Getu, there are several issues to consider if the sustainable conservation of the rock-hewn churches is to flourish. Among others, addressing the issue of sanitation and the conservation awareness problem are the major ones. “The sanitary problem of the town\footnote{Garbage dumping near the church is the main problem.} and the poor conservation awareness of the church owners are among the major elements which have to be improved quickly” (Getu, 2011, interview). Hence, to solve such problems, he suggested that a site management plan\footnote{A site management plan for a World Heritage site is an integrated planning and action concept that lays down goals and measures for the protection, conservation, use and development of World Heritage sites (Ringbeck, 2008).} for the churches be prepared by the Ethiopian government as soon as possible.

We believe that the establishment of a management plan is a compulsory requirement for World Heritage Sites under the World Heritage Convention. The Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention stipulates that ‘Each nominated property should have an appropriate management plan or other documented management system which must specify how the Outstanding Universal Value of a property should be preserved, preferably through participatory means’ \cite{UNESCO, 2012, para No 108}.\footnote{In this Operational Guidelines management systems of cultural heritage are clearly stated from paragraph 108 to 118 \url{http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide12-en.pdf}.} Despite this fact, not only the rock-hewn churches of Lalibela but also many of other Ethiopia’s World Heritage sites lack management plans today.

\section{3.7 Conclusion}

Ethiopia, with thousands of years of history, has many cultural heritage sites, many of which are religious. Churches, monasteries and kings played a vital role in conserving cultural heritage prior to a modern conservation proclamation (see appendix I to understand the chronicle of conservation system in Ethiopia). Since the first proclamation was adopted
in 1966, legal provisions for the conservation of cultural heritage have been developed by the military and the current federal republic political regimes. Today the country has clear cultural policy guidelines and a comprehensive conservation proclamation which seem to meet general international standards. In the actual formation of a heritage conservation system, international initiatives, UNESCO in particular, played a vital role.

The Ethiopian government has the primary responsibility for heritage conservation. However, the government is confined to sectors which are believed to bring quick development in the country, and it cannot afford to allocate enough budget for the cultural sector. Even in the flagship world-heritage sites of Lalibela, heritage is technically supported and financially funded by various international organizations. There is no site management plan for the Lalibela churches, and little attention is paid to their fragile condition and the carrying capacity of church buildings. They have been deteriorating due not only to natural factors but also to human-made factors. The large number of local worshipers has certainly affected the fragile rocks. Nevertheless, there are serious perception gaps among specialists and administrators which thwart mutual cooperation. Effective conservation has not been done yet mainly due to the lack of resources, as the nature of the rock causes it to require extensive pre-conservation studies.

ARCCH, the national Ethiopian government institution responsible for cultural heritage conservation, is now trying to introduce a tax on revenues of churches generated from entrance fees, which is strongly opposed by the church administration. Without detailed pre-conservation studies and proper site management plans, it is highly unlikely that churches would cooperate with ARCCH.
On the other hand, the longstanding and deep involvement of UNESCO in Ethiopia’s heritage conservation has made a valuable contribution in many ways. At the same time, it should be pointed out that their efforts have resulted in increasing the dependency of the government and heritage owners on UNESCO.

In principle, Lalibela churches are national and international treasures, and the maintenance cost should be shared by stakeholders: international societies, national government, owners (churches), those who enjoy the visits to the churches, worshippers, and shops and restaurants who benefit from visitors as well as residents. In fact, the cultural policy of the country stated that the conservation and preservation of cultural heritage are the duties and responsibilities of governmental and non-governmental organizations, religious institutions and all Ethiopian nationals (Cultural Policy of Ethiopia, 1997). However, its implementation is easier said than done.

In order to hand over this outstanding heritage to the future generations, it is critical to break the current bottlenecks. To create a virtuous cycle for desirable heritage conservation, several issues should be considered. First, new financial resources should be secured. The most realistic resource under the circumstances would be tourism revenues, which are growing significantly. The introduction of such measures as a hotel tax, area entrance fees, and other possible measures should be examined. Second, a possible site management plan should be made and agreed upon by the stakeholders, and in order to do so, the appropriate platform for consensus building should be prepared by the government. However, the most important and urgent measure to be taken would be a scientific pre-conservation study of the present condition of the heritage. This is the first step that should be taken in order to facilitate cooperation among stakeholders.
To secure revenue for conservation from the significantly growing tourism industry of Ethiopia, it is necessary first to ensure a symbiotic integration between heritage tourism and conservation. If such integration prevails in Lalibela, it would pave the way for a sustainable tourism benefit to flow towards conservation of the rock-hewn churches. The issue to consider here is how possible is to integrate this sector? Hence, the successive two chapters of this dissertation will deal with how heritage tourism and conservation can be integrated in Lalibela from the perspectives of local residents, tourists and other stakeholders.
Chapter 4
Harmonization of heritage tourism and conservation from the perspectives of local residents’

4.1 Introduction

The development of a vibrant heritage tourism industry can be either sustainable or unsustainable. To end up in the sustainable spectrum, a partnership that satisfies both tourism and conservation objectives should exist (McKercher & du Cros, 2002). Many have argued that the harmonization of heritage tourism and conservation creates a sustainable tourism development, which further contributes to the development of local community (Aas, Ladkin, & Fletcher, 2005; Engelhardt, 2005). However, achieving harmonization between these two sectors remains a challenge as both have incompatible objectives (Boniface, 1998). This challenge seems highly pronounced in developing regions, where the consideration of tourism benefits outweigh its costs (Timothy & Nyaupane, 2009).

It is not uncommon to observe a compromise of values between heritage tourism and conservation. Often times, cultural heritage values are compromised for the sake of earning a commercial gain through commodification of cultural products (Daniel, 1996; Pedersen, 2002). Although less frequent, tourism values have also been compromised in situations when there is a strong heritage conservation commitment (Hovinen, 1995). Hence, as a result of this, there is a growing interest in integrating heritage tourism development with conservation requirements to mitigate such kinds of tradeoffs (McKercher & du Cros, 2002; Engelhardt, 2005; Aas, Ladkin, & Fletcher, 2005; Elene & Assefa, 2012).
Despite this growing interest, however, there is a wide lacuna in the existing tourism literature regarding how these two sectors can be integrated so that such tradeoffs may be eradicated. In fact, few studies have attempted to harmonize the two sectors by analyzing the potential of the heritage sites (Du Cros, 2001; McKercher & du Cros, 2002; McKercher, Ho, & du Cros, 2004; Li & Lo, 2004), as well as the collaboration of stakeholders (Aas, Ladkin, & Fletcher, 2005). However, no much studies have been found on harmonization of heritage tourism and conservation from the perspectives of analyzing local residents’ perceptions toward the two sectors.

Thus, this chapter explores how heritage tourism and conservation can be integrated through analyzing the perceptions of Lalibela residents toward both the conservation of the rock-hewn churches and tourism development in their town. Studies have argued that residents of less-developed regions tend to be highly tourism oriented and shy away from the responsibility of heritage conservation (Gazaneo, 2003; Henson, 1989). Such kinds of scenarios are unfavorable and may even inhibit the integration of the two sectors. Hence, the parallel participation of local residents in both sectors is hailed as one of the most promising avenues toward the integration of the two sectors. In addition, understanding the local residents’ awareness about heritage conservation as well as tourism development is also vital for the integration of the sectors.

In this chapter, by assuming the gap in awareness has implications to the harmonization of heritage tourism and conservation, we will examine Lalibela residents’ awareness of both the importance of conserving the rock-hewn churches as well as promoting heritage tourism in the town. Their commitment to participating both in the sphere of conservation and the promotion of tourism will also be examined in this chapter.
Likewise, this chapter will explore residents’ attitudes on the performance of their town administrators (government officials) both in promoting tourism and church conservation as this helps to clarify the relationship of the local residents with the government both on tourism and conservation issues.

In addition, assessing whether the local residents are being exploited by tourism development is a fundamental issue to consider in the process of harmonizing heritage tourism and conservation. Nyaupane (2008) argues that conserving heritage is not merely confined to preserving the structure of the heritages but also to culture and social values, which are dynamic and evolving. Local residents may lose their culture and values as a result of the unnecessary influence of tourists flocking to their place of residence (Tosun, 1998). Hence, for conservation to sustainably be integrated with tourism, the negative impacts of tourism on local residents have to be mitigated. Considering this fact, this chapter will thoroughly analyze the positive and negative impacts of tourism on Lalibela residents.

4.2 Study objectives and questions

The foremost concern of this chapter is to reconcile heritage tourism and conservation from the perspectives of local residents. The study intends to examine Lalibela residents’ awareness and commitment towards both heritage conservation and tourism development so as to understand their priority over the two sectors. As indicated above, some have argued that residents of less-developed regions tends to provide little support for the heritage unless they can connect to it economically (Cohen, 1978; Timothy, 1999), and as a result not many people appreciate the need for heritage conservation in general (Henson, 1989). However, in another study, which was done to examine public
awareness of heritage properties in Arizona, USA, Timothy and Nyaupane (2010) found that those residents who were aware of and visited their heritage sites had more positive attitudes towards heritage conservation than other types of residents. In fact, it seems obvious that the awareness of local residents has something to do with their commitment to support heritage conservation as well as tourism development.

We believe that the harmonization of heritage tourism and conservation can fail to materialize in situations where little resident support for heritage conservation is accompanied with high priority for tourism benefit. Likewise, harmonization is unlikely to emerge in a situation when the far-reaching negative impacts of tourism inhibit the livelihood of local residents. Some studies such as McKercher and du Cros (2002) have considered the potential negative impact of tourism on the local community as an important variable in evaluating the robustness of heritage sites.

Therefore, harmonization can be achieved when the negative influences of tourism are minimized as well as when the ideas, perceptions, and attitudes of residents are incorporated into both tourism and the conservation related planning processes of the government. In addition, harmonization will likely be achieved in situations where the government starts to consider both tourism and conservation as equally important sectors.

This chapter will address the aforementioned issues using Lalibela resident survey data which were collected from August to September 2011. The chapter mainly addresses the following research questions within the realm of achieving integration between heritage tourism and conservation.

- What is the residents’ level of commitment towards conserving the churches and promoting tourism in Lalibela?
What is the level of residents’ awareness of the importance of conservation and tourism development?

According to residents, what is the performance level of town administrators on church conservation versus tourism promotion?

What are residents’ attitudes towards the impact of tourism on Lalibela?

4.3 Methodology

Considering the fact that Lalibela is regarded as a flagship destination in Ethiopia, the researcher chose residents of Lalibela as a case study for this study. Through a questionnaire survey, this study ascertains residents’ awareness, concerns and behaviors toward both tourism and heritage conservation. Respondents were asked in particular about the positive and negative impacts of tourism on their daily life. An on-site survey of the residents in Lalibela was undertaken for this study from August to September 2011. Using a stratified random sampling technique, a total sample size of 348 was determined. Because residents are administratively categorized into five kebeles, the researcher used these kebeles as a stratum and selected a total of 348 samples disproportionately on the basis of their size in each kebele.

The researcher together with four other local enumerators went to the residents’ houses in all five kebeles and filled out the questionnaires. In an attempt to increase the effectiveness of the data collection, respondents who are 18 years or older were selected for this study. Prior to a full-scale survey, the questionnaire was pre-tested with 35 respondents to check its clarity and effectiveness. After the pre-test, some adjustment and rephrasing of a few questions was conducted accordingly.

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28 A kebele is the smallest administrative unit in Ethiopia and is similar to a neighborhood or ward.
In the questionnaire, respondents were asked about their awareness, attitudes, commitment and priorities toward both church conservation and tourism development in their town. Questions related to the role of administrators (including officials of the Lalibela tourism bureau) in church conservation and tourism promotion were also included. In addition, residents were asked to specify to what extent they are benefiting and also suffering from the flow of tourism to their town. The ultimate goal of these questions was to acquire residents’ attitudes and to enable the researcher to understand ways of harmonizing heritage tourism and conservation through analyzing the community’s view.

To measure residents’ awareness about conservation and heritage tourism development, the researcher asked residents to rate their own level of awareness using a five-point scale from “very high” to “very low.” Using the same scale, residents evaluated the administrators’ roles in church conservation and tourism development. Similarly, questions related to the positive and negative impacts of tourism were measured by means of a five-point Likert-type scale, one being “strongly disagree” and five being “strongly agree.” Respondents were asked about nine items related to the positive impacts of tourism and thirteen items pertaining to negative impacts. In addition, open-ended questions were also asked to acquire deep information from the residents. The data were analyzed qualitatively, whereas the statistical software package STATA version 10.1 was used for numeric data presentations mainly to produce frequencies and descriptive statistics, such as mean, median and standard deviation. In addition, this software was used to run a series of t-statistic and chi-square tests so as to assess the perceptions of local residents. A 95% confidence interval was used for all tests of significance.
4.4 Findings

4.4.1 Sample characteristics

According to the town administration office, the population of Lalibela was 35,472 as of 2011. As mentioned earlier, these residents are settled into five kebeles, of which the first two are located in the urban area of the town, and the remaining three are rural. The residents’ geographic settlement is indicated in Figure 4-1 below.

Figure 4-1 Map of Lalibela

Figure 4-1 shows that Lalibela town is divided into five administrative kebeles. Using these kebeles as stratum, a sample of 348 respondents was selected for this study on the basis of their number in each kebele. The number of samples that was drawn from each kebele is profiled in Table 4-1 below.

Table 4-1 Sample selection from each Kebele

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kebeles</th>
<th>Sample size</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kebele 01</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kebele 02</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kebele 03</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kebele 04</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kebele 05</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>348</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4-1 shows the number of sample size that was drawn from each *kebele* proportional to the population size of each *kebele*. A proportionate allocation was determined by using a sampling fraction in each of the strata that is proportional to that of the total population. Table 4-2 summarizes the demographic characteristics of these sample respondents.

**Table 4-2 Demographic characteristics of respondents (n=348)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demographic Variables</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gender</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>63.51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>36.49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Religion</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orthodox Christian</td>
<td>343</td>
<td>98.56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Marital Status</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>36.21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>54.31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>6.61%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widow</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2.87%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Education</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University undergraduate</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>8.91%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diploma</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>8.62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocational</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5.17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary level</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>21.56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary level</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>18.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No schooling</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>23.28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others(^29)</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>14.36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Employment</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>19.83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>25.86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>21.84%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stay at home</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>10.06%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5.46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others(^30)</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>16.95%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As indicated in Table 4-2, the majority (98.56%) of sample respondents were Orthodox Christians in Lalibela. This is consistent with a survey undertaken in 2009 for the

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\(^{29}\) Respondents under this group are those who attended basic schooling (just for writing and reading) and religious schooling.

\(^{30}\) This group consists of students, daily laborers, and retired respondents.
whole town of Lalibela by *Wub Consult*, which reported that 96% of the residents were followers of the Orthodox Christian faith (Wub Consult, 2010). In fact, this is not surprising given the foundation of the town with ancient rock-hewn churches and its subsequent role as a place of pilgrimage which has continued to this day. Regarding the educational level, only a few respondents had a first degree and diploma from higher institutions. A majority (39.66%) of the respondents had a lower education level (primary and secondary level). At the same time, the percentage of uneducated respondents was not negligible (23.28%). Most of these less-educated and uneducated respondents were farmers by occupation. For instance, out of the 90 farmers, 48.89% (44) of those belonged to the no-schooling category. On the other hand, around 21.84% (76) of respondents were self-employed in various businesses, mainly in selling a local brew called *tella*\(^{31}\).

As we can see from Table 4-3 below, the respondents’ level of education seemed to vary with respect to their place of residence.

### Table 4-3 Respondents Education level by their residing Kebele

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education</th>
<th>University</th>
<th>Diploma</th>
<th>Vocational</th>
<th>Secondary</th>
<th>Primary</th>
<th>No Schooling</th>
<th>Others (Basic schooling and religious schooling)</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Undergraduate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kebele</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>11 (35.48%)</td>
<td>12 (40%)</td>
<td>9 (50%)</td>
<td>26 (34.67%)</td>
<td>15 (23.81%)</td>
<td>7 (8.64%)</td>
<td>1 (2%)</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>7 (22.58%)</td>
<td>11 (36.67%)</td>
<td>6 (33.33%)</td>
<td>12 (16%)</td>
<td>13 (20.63%)</td>
<td>10 (12.35%)</td>
<td>9 (18%)</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>4 (12.90%)</td>
<td>3 (10%)</td>
<td>2 (11.11%)</td>
<td>17 (22.67%)</td>
<td>17 (26.98%)</td>
<td>22 (27.16%)</td>
<td>17 (34%)</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>6 (19.35%)</td>
<td>2 (6.67%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>11 (14.67%)</td>
<td>12 (19.05%)</td>
<td>12 (14.81%)</td>
<td>4 (8%)</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>3 (9.68%)</td>
<td>2 (6.67%)</td>
<td>1 (5.56%)</td>
<td>9 (12%)</td>
<td>6 (9.52%)</td>
<td>30 (37.04%)</td>
<td>19 (38%)</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>31 (100%)</td>
<td>30 (100%)</td>
<td>18 (100%)</td>
<td>75 (100%)</td>
<td>63 (100%)</td>
<td>81 (100%)</td>
<td>50 (100%)</td>
<td>348</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Fisher’s exact (p) = 0.000*

\(^{31}\) Tella is a traditional Ethiopian home-brewed beer.
Table 4-3 shows Fisher’s exact test of the respondents’ level of education and their place of residence. The results indicate that there is a statistically significant relationship between the level of education and the place of residence. Those who are residing in *kebeles* 1 and 2 (near to the church) tended to have more educated number of residents compared to the rest of the *kebeles’* residents. Among respondents with no schooling status, around 79% of them were from *kebeles* 3, 4, and 5.

We also conducted another Fisher’s exact test in order to examine the relationship between the respondents’ employment status and their place of residences. The result of this test summarized in Table 4-4 below.

**Table 4-4 Respondents Employment status by their residing Kebele**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kebele</th>
<th>Employed</th>
<th>Self-employed</th>
<th>Farmer</th>
<th>Stay at home</th>
<th>Unemployed</th>
<th>Others (students, daily laborers and retired)</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>18 (26.09%)</td>
<td>34 (44.74%)</td>
<td>1 (1.11%)</td>
<td>3 (8.57%)</td>
<td>6 (31.58%)</td>
<td>19 (32.20%)</td>
<td>81 (23.28%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>17 (24.64%)</td>
<td>22 (28.95%)</td>
<td>2 (2.22%)</td>
<td>10 (28.57%)</td>
<td>4 (21.05%)</td>
<td>13 (22.03%)</td>
<td>68 (19.54%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>21 (30.43%)</td>
<td>9 (11.84%)</td>
<td>34 (37.78%)</td>
<td>5 (14.29%)</td>
<td>1 (5.26%)</td>
<td>12 (20.34%)</td>
<td>82 (23.56%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>3 (4.35%)</td>
<td>5 (6.58%)</td>
<td>19 (21.11%)</td>
<td>7 (20%)</td>
<td>3 (15.79%)</td>
<td>10 (16.95%)</td>
<td>47 (13.51%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>10 (14.49%)</td>
<td>6 (7.89%)</td>
<td>34 (37.78%)</td>
<td>10 (28.57%)</td>
<td>5 (26.32%)</td>
<td>5 (8.47%)</td>
<td>70 (20.11%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>69 (100%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>76 (100%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>90 (100%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>35 (100%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>19 (100%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>59 (100%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>348 (100%)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Fisher’s exact (p) = 0.000*

The results of Table 4-4 show that there is a statistically significant relationship between respondents’ types of employment and their place of residence. Among those respondents who depend on farming, more than 96% of them were from *kebeles* 3, 4, and 5.
(kebeles that are far from the site). On the other hand, among those respondents who had a self-employed status, about 74% of them were from kebeles 1 and 2. This could be attributed to the fact that the first two kebeles are urban areas where both tourism and non-tourism related businesses are concentrated.

In addition, Table 4-5 shows the distribution of respondents on the selected socio-demographic characteristics with respect to the kebeles where they live.

Table 4-5 Descriptive Findings (n=348)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kebele</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Stats</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Income/month (By Birr &amp; USD)</th>
<th>Family size</th>
<th>Length of residence (in years)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>mean</td>
<td>29.54</td>
<td>966.60 ($54.13)</td>
<td>3.98</td>
<td>21.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>median</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>300 ($16.8)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>12.39</td>
<td>3197.64 ($179.07)</td>
<td>2.11</td>
<td>10.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>mean</td>
<td>35.54</td>
<td>752.54 ($42.14)</td>
<td>4.01</td>
<td>22.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>median</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>350 ($19.60)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>14.29</td>
<td>1360.96 ($76.21)</td>
<td>1.65</td>
<td>12.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>mean</td>
<td>38.41</td>
<td>454.66 ($25.46)</td>
<td>4.62</td>
<td>36.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>median</td>
<td>31.5</td>
<td>195 ($10.92)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>17.34</td>
<td>1167.63 ($65.38)</td>
<td>1.82</td>
<td>18.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>mean</td>
<td>34.63</td>
<td>182.44 ($10.21)</td>
<td>4.17</td>
<td>33.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>median</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>75 ($4.2)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>14.10</td>
<td>240.88 ($13.48)</td>
<td>1.80</td>
<td>14.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>mean</td>
<td>43.32</td>
<td>321.18 ($17.98)</td>
<td>4.61</td>
<td>33.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>median</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>250 ($14)</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>15.57</td>
<td>317.34 ($17.77)</td>
<td>1.54</td>
<td>22.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>348</td>
<td>mean</td>
<td>36.26</td>
<td>568.41 ($31.83)</td>
<td>4.29</td>
<td>29.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>median</td>
<td>30.5</td>
<td>225 ($12.60)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>15.55</td>
<td>1772.04 ($99.23)</td>
<td>1.82</td>
<td>17.41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Because that most of the tourism-related businesses such as restaurants, hotels, small supermarkets and souvenir shops are concentrated around kebeles 1 and 2, the average monthly income of these kebeles respondents seems higher than respondents from the rest of the kebeles. In particular, the majority of the respondents from kebeles 4 and 5 were earning far less than their counterparts in the other kebeles, and they heavily depend
on subsistence agriculture. However, there were no significant differences among respondents of the five kebeles regarding their age, family size and length of residence. As far as length of residence is concerned, respondents had lived 29.16 years on average in Lalibela. In fact, many of the respondents were born in Lalibela, which indicates that most of the residents in Lalibela were not transient but rather permanent residents.

4.4.2 Residents’ attachment with the churches

Our questionnaire survey asked questions that are believed to be helpful to understand the residents’ level of attachment with the heritage. The descriptive findings of some of these questions are listed below on Table 4-6.

Table 4-6 Respondents’ views about the churches (n=348)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questions (Q=question, B=parts in the questionnaire)</th>
<th>Freq.</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>QB1. How much do you like to reside in Lalibela town?</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very little</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>7.47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Much</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>15.52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very much</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>75.29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>QB2. Do you have a sense of ownership over the churches?</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>344</td>
<td>98.85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>QB3. Do you think the churches have an importance for you?</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>341</td>
<td>97.99%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.01%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>QB3.1. If yes, what kinds of importance do they have for you?</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic importance</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>9.09%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious importance</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>29.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural &amp; historical importance</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>28.15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All of the above</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>33.43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>QB4. Do you think the church holds an unscheduled event or services for the purpose of showing them to tourists per se?</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>10.63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>58.91%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am not sure</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>30.46%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As stated above, the majority of the residents was born and still resides in Lalibela. This might have influenced their level of intimacy not only with the churches but also with their town in general. Our survey finding shows that more than 90% of the sample respondents mentioned that they are happy with residing in Lalibela town. We believe that their religious affiliation as well as the fact that Lalibela is the place of sacred site could be attributable to their happiness with residing in Lalibela town.

At the same time, to understand their level of attachment with the heritage, respondents were asked whether the churches have any value for them or not. Our findings indicate around 97% of sample respondents believed that the rock-hewn churches have economic, religious, cultural and historical values for them. Furthermore, such values may incubate their sense of ownership over the rock-hewn churches. As indicated in Table 4-6, more than 98% of the sample respondents replied that they have a sense of ownership over the rock-hewn churches. Hence, this shows to what extent the local residents tend to have a profound sentimental attachment to the heritage. Our survey findings regarding Lalibela residents’ level of attachment with their heritage seems to be inconsistent with previous studies such as Timothy’s (1999) and Myles’s (1989) study, which argued residents of developing countries seems have few sentimental attachments to historic and other heritages.

We also examined residents’ frequency of visits to the churches as it can be one of the indicators for their fond attachment to the churches. Table 4-7 summarizes the average number of days that respondents visited the rock-hewn churches and the commuting time (one way).
Table 4-7 Residents’ visits to the churches and the distance from their home

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kebele</th>
<th>Average number of days of visit per-week</th>
<th>Average minutes of commuting to the churches (one way)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>17.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>82.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>125.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>47.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2.54</td>
<td>52.35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To measure residents’ affinity with the churches, respondents were asked how many times they visited the churches per week. Regardless of their residing locality, respondents visited the church on average 2.54 days per week. Except respondents of kebeles 3 and 4, the rest tended to visit the church quite frequently because of the churches’ proximity to their villages. In fact, although kebele 5 is far from the rock-hewn churches, however, its residents go frequently, comparable to kebele 1 residents. The reasons why they often visit the rock-hewn churches are summarized in Table 4-8 below.

Table 4-8 Respondents reason to visit the rock-hewn churches (n=281)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QB5. If you are visiting the churches, then what is your reason?</th>
<th>Freq.</th>
<th>percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>For worshiping</td>
<td>267</td>
<td>98.22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To meet tourists</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.78%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>281</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The sample size is lower because out of the total respondents (348) around 19% (67) of them replied that they do not visit the rock-hewn churches throughout the week.
From Table 4-8 we can understand that local residents’ spiritual attachment to the churches is very strong, as more than 98% of the sample respondents visit the church merely for worshiping purposes. In fact, this is not surprising given the fact that visiting the churches to receive blessings is fact of daily life for many Orthodox Christian adherents of Ethiopians. In addition, similar to other churches in Ethiopia, the rock-hewn churches of Lalibela also provide several religious and social services such as preaching, requiem mass and holy matrimony. As some studies have argued that residents with higher attachment to their heritage tend to have a positive interest to conserve their heritage (Nicholas, Thapa, & Ko, 2009), we believe that Lalibela residents’ deep physical and spiritual attachment to the churches may influence their commitment to conserve the heritage site. Hence, in the following section we will see to what extent local residents are committed to conserving the rock-hewn churches as well as to promoting tourism development in the town.

4.4.3 Residents’ commitment for conservation and tourism development

As noted above, because Lalibela is a living heritage, the local population tends to associate itself with the heritage in a spiritual sense. The church buildings, religious festivities, ecclesiastical objects and others constitute the local residents’ daily lives (Elene & Assefa, 2012). Hence, residents’ determination to support the church in conservation objectives is expected to be strong. Table 4-9 shows the descriptive results of survey findings on residents’ commitment and willingness to support the conservation missions of the rock-hewn churches of Lalibela.
Table 4-9 Respondents support for church conservation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QC1. Do you think you have the responsibility of conserving the churches? (n=348)</th>
<th>Freq.</th>
<th>percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>345</td>
<td>99.14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I don’t know</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.29%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QC2. Have you ever supported the church in conservation efforts? (n=348)</th>
<th>Freq.</th>
<th>percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>65.80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>34.20%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QC2.1. If yes, what was your support? (n=229)</th>
<th>Freq.</th>
<th>percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Financial</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>21.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>41.92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both financial and physical</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>34.93%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.75%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QC2.2. If no, what is your reason? (n=119)</th>
<th>Freq.</th>
<th>percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Because no one has asked me to do so</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>85.71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>14.29%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QC3. Are you willing to provide support for conservation activities of the church in the future? (n=348)</th>
<th>Freq.</th>
<th>percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>344</td>
<td>98.85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am not sure</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.86%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QC3.1. If yes, what would be your main reason to do so? (n=344)</th>
<th>Freq.</th>
<th>percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To gain salvation</td>
<td>255</td>
<td>74.13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To keep its historical and cultural value</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>21.80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4.07%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As shown in Table 4-9, almost the entire sample of respondents accepted that conservation of the rock-hewn churches is also their responsibility. As a result, they seem to be willing to contribute whatever is necessary to protect the churches according to their capacity. Local residents have shown their willingness and cooperativeness when they were...
asked by the government to voluntarily resettle to other localities from the church vicinities. Around 2022 inhabitants had been voluntarily resettled to other localities in order to protect the churches from the influence of the congested settlements nearby the churches (Wub Consult, 2010). Persons affected by this settlement were residents of kebele 1 and 2 who were living within the Church compound.

The residents’ settlement around the core zone has been recognized as detrimental to the physical environment of the churches and opposed to the belief system that advocates separation of mundane and spiritual activities. Hence, the fundamental reasons of resettling local residents were to make the church compound clean, free from worldly activities, such as musical performances that provoke sexual behavior, drinking and getting intoxicated, among others. According to the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, these activities are incompatible with religious functions. Another fundamental reason for the need to resettle local residents from the core zone is the improperness of the drainage and sanitation system. This is basically causing erosion as well as the washing down of rock surfaces. The main point we would like to emphasize here is that the local residents’ willingness to be resettled indicates their unanimous support for church conservation activities.

As indicated in Table 4-9, we found that more than 65% (229) of our sample respondents have supported the church in conservation missions in the past. Out of those who provided conservation support, about 98% of them provided physical and/or financial support to the churches. Their physical support is mainly focused on several preservation tasks such as voluntarily cleaning the church buildings and its vicinity. Many residents voluntarily removed fungus from some of the church buildings (Figure 4-2), though some of their efforts might have indirectly damaged the building.
Many of the church buildings are covered by fungus usually after the rainy season. This ultimately changes the authentic brown color of the churches buildings into green. Hence, many local residents have voluntarily attempted to remove the fungus using some materials such as sandpaper. However, it should be noted that such kinds of preservation efforts might exacerbate the deterioration of the buildings as their effort is not scientifically supported. On the other hand, as Table 4-9 shows, around 34% of the sample respondents replied that they have never supported the rock-hewn churches for conservation purposes. However, their reason did not originate from lack of interest rather they claimed that it was because no one has asked them for their support.

In addition, more than 98% of the sample respondents were willing to continue providing their support for conservation in the future. However, it seems that their willingness to provide conservation support was highly associated with their religious beliefs, as more than 74% of our sample respondents stated receiving salvation as their prominent reason to do so. Whatever their reason could be, it is necessary to maintain their willingness and commitment, as local residents are the ultimate guardians of the heritage.

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33 Mr. Nigussu Damtew, senior architect conservator at ARCCH also affirmed this phenomenon in the interview. He stated that most of residents lacked awareness on how they should take care of the churches.
is valuable to address the importance of mobilizing local residents’ participation and commitment in conserving built-heritages (Chan & Yung, 2011).

We also conducted a chi-square test for question C2 in Table 4-9 so as to examine whether respondents’ place of residence has a correlation with their support for the conservation of the rock-hewn churches. The main rationale of including distance as a base variable is to understand to what extent residing either near or far from the site can influence residents’ commitment toward church conservation. A study by (Jurowski & Gursoy, 2004) has verified that the distance residents live from a destination has effects on residents’ attitudes towards not only heritage conservation but also tourism development. Hence, Table 4-10 below shows the statistical chi-square test results of the variable distance with respect to residents’ support for heritage conservation.

**Table 4-10 Respondents support to church conservation and their place of residence**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QC2. Have you ever supported the church for conservation?</th>
<th>Respondents place of residence</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Near the church</td>
<td>Far from the church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>109 (73.15%)</td>
<td>120 (60.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>40 (26.85%)</td>
<td>79 (39.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>149 (100%)</td>
<td>199 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$X^2 = 6.2551, df = 1, p=0.012$

For analysis purposes, we categorized respondents’ place of residence as near the church or far from the church. Respondents of *kebeles* 1 and 2 were regarded as residents who are near to the site as they are living less than 18 minutes distance (on foot) away from the site. However, residents of *kebeles* 3 to 5 are far from the churches as they are living between 50 to 120 minutes away from the site. Based on this categorization, we found that there is a statistically significant relationship between respondents’ support for church
conservation and their place of residence. Residents nearer to the sites are more active in conservation than their counterparts.

On the other hand, our survey questionnaire collected several thoughts of respondents on the tourism industry in general and about their contribution to the development of tourism in the town in particular. The descriptive findings of these questions are summarized in Table 4-11 below.

**Table 4-11 Respondents support for tourism development and their thoughts**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QD1. Do you meet tourists in and around the churches? (n=348)</th>
<th>Freq.</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>34.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>65.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QD2. Do you want to see further increases in tourist numbers in Lalibela? (n=348)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QD3. Will you provide support for further tourism development initiation in Lalibela? (n=348)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am not sure</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QD3.1. If yes, what kind of support are you willing to provide? (n=258)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Financial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both Financial and Physical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QD4. Are you happy to see tourists in Lalibela? (n=348)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QD5. Have you ever invited tourists to your home and served them traditional food and drink? (n=348)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4-11 summarizes the local residents’ involvement in the tourism industry as well as their contribution to promote the industry. Local residents seemed to have positive attitudes toward tourism development in the town, as more than 98% of the respondents wish to see further increases in the number of tourist arrivals. About 74% of the sample respondents were also willing to contribute their support to the tourism development initiation of Lalibela town. We will see later whether residents’ willingness to provide tourism development support varies with respect to some of their demographic variables.

Table 4-11 shows that out of those respondents who wish to provide tourism development support, around 93% of them specified their support as physical and/or financial\textsuperscript{34}. Likewise, we found that Lalibela residents are ‘tourist-hungry’ residents who would like to see as many tourists as possible. More than 97% of the sample respondents replied that they are happy to see tourists in Lalibela. Despite their interest, however, the interaction between local residents and tourists seemed small, as more than 80% of sample respondents replied that they have never had the chance to invite tourists to their home. This could be because of the fact that many tourists spend much of their time visiting the churches per se.

Coming back to the findings on residents’ support for both church conservation and tourism development, we conducted a statistical t-test analysis in order to examine the deviation of respondents’ responses with respect to some variables such as distance, education, and tourism-related jobs. Thus, Table 4-12 shows the variation in respondents’ responses on their willingness to provide support both for tourism development and church

\textsuperscript{34} Regarding the physical support, we found from the questionnaire interviews that most of respondents were willing to provide physical assistance to alleviate the sanitary problems of the town, as they acknowledged it is the most problematic for tourists.
conservation with respect to their place of residence. The findings show that there is no deviation of respondents’ responses on the basis of their residence place as almost the entire sample of respondents replied ‘yes’ to the question of whether they will support the church or not in the future. However, respondents’ responses of their willingness to provide support for tourism development seem to deviate according to their place of residence. Residents who are residing near the rock-hewn churches tend to be more willing to support promoting tourism in Lalibela than residents who are far from the rock-hewn churches.

**Table 4-12 Respondents willingness to support tourism development and church conservation**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statements</th>
<th>Residents far from the church</th>
<th>Residents near the church</th>
<th>Mean difference (1)-(3)</th>
<th>t-value</th>
<th>p-value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>QD3. Will you provide support for tourism development in Lalibela?</td>
<td>1.48 0.62 199</td>
<td>1.08 0.38 149</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QC3. Will you provide support for conservation of the church?</td>
<td>1.02 0.19 199</td>
<td>1.03 0.18 149</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
<td>0.99</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Coded item 1=Yes, 2=No, 3=I am not sure*

Table 4-12 shows, the independent sample t-tests that were performed in order to compare the means of respondents’ responses about their willingness to provide support for church conservation as well as tourism promotion with respect to whether they are residing near the site or not. The results indicate that there is a statistically significant difference between the mean score of willingness to support for tourism development for residents far from the church and near (t=6.8, p=0.00). Because the answers for the questions were coded and arranged from positive to negative (1=Yes, 2=No, 3=I am not sure), the lower
the mean score, the higher respondents’ answer would be counted as positive. Hence, residents living near the churches are more willing to provide support for tourism development than their counterparts as those who are residing near the rock-hewn churches have a statistically significantly lower mean score on their support for tourism (1.08) than residents far from the site (1.48). This finding is consistent with the study of Jurowski and Gursoy (2004) that found that residents who lived closest to the site were more supportive of tourism than more distant residents.

On the other hand, there is no statistically significant difference between the mean score of supporting the church in conservation objectives by residents who lived far away from the site and near (t=-0.01, p=0.99). Rather, this result shows that almost the entire sample of respondents was fully willing to provide support for church conservation in the future, unlike support for tourism development. As stated earlier, this finding is inconsistent with previous studies that have argued that not many people in less-developed regions are committed to preserving their heritage, and there is less appreciation for the need for heritage conservation (Cohen, 1978; Myles, 1989; Timothy, 1999; Gazaneo, 2003; Timothy & Nyaupane, 2009). In the case of Lalibela, however, residents had a high commitment for the conservation of their heritage. The reason for such an inconsistency could be the fact that Lalibela churches are a living religious site to which everyone has an attached spiritual value.

We conducted another t-test analysis in order to see whether there is a difference in respondents response about support for tourism development between those who have tourism related job and their counterparts. Table 4-13 shows the results of this test.
Table 4-13 Respondents’ willingness to support tourism development and their affiliation to the tourism industry

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Do you have a tourism-related job?</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Mean difference (1)-(3)</td>
<td>t-value</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statement</td>
<td>Mean (1)</td>
<td>SD (2)</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Mean (3)</td>
<td>SD (4)</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QD3. Will you provide support for tourism development in Lalibela?</td>
<td>1.02</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>1.36</td>
<td>0.59</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Coded item 1=Yes, 2=No, 3=I am not sure*

Table 4-13 shows the results of the t-test that was performed to determine whether there is a statistically significant difference between the mean values of those who had tourism related job and not for their response of providing support to tourism development. The results show that there is a statistically significant (both at 5% and 1% significance level) difference between the mean values of these groups. Those who had tourism-related jobs tend to be more willing to provide tourism development support than their counterparts. This is consistent with previous studies that have found that residents’ support for tourism development is positively related with the residents’ benefit from the tourism industry (Perdue, Long, & Allen, 1987; Perdue, Long, & Allen, 1990).

Likewise, a Fisher’s exact test was also performed to analyze the relationship of residents’ support for tourism development and their level of education (Table 4-14). For analysis purposes, we categorized respondents’ level of education into three groups. The first one is the educated group, which consists of respondents with secondary, vocational, diploma, and first degree levels. The second one is the less educated group, which consists of respondents with primary, basic schooling, and religious school levels. Finally, the third
one is the uneducated group, which consists of those who cannot read and write. Table 4-14 shows that among respondents who belonged to the educated group, around 85% of them were willing to provide support for tourism development. Whereas, among respondents who were categorized as less educated and uneducated about 67% and 62%, respectively, of them were willing to provide support for tourism development in Lalibela.

Table 4-14 Respondents’ willingness to support tourism development and their level of education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QD3. Will you provide support for tourism development in Lalibela?</th>
<th>Respondents level of education</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Uneducated</td>
<td>Less educated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>51 (62.96%)</td>
<td>76 (67.26%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>26 (32.1%)</td>
<td>30 (26.55%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am not sure</td>
<td>4 (4.94%)</td>
<td>7 (6.19%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>81 (100%)</td>
<td>113 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fisher’s exact \( p = 0.000 \)

As the Fisher’s exact test shows in Table 4-14, the association between respondents’ response on the question regarding support for tourism development and their level of education is statistically significant both at the 5% and 1% levels of significance. Educated residents tended to be more in favor of tourism development; as we can see from Table 4-14, more than half of the respondents who would like to provide support were from the educated group.

35 Unlike the chi-square test, the Fisher’s exact test is suitable when either of the cells in the contingency table has an expected frequency of five and less.
In sum, respondents’ interest or commitment to conserve the rock-hewn churches seems strong and does not vary with respect to various demographic characteristics of respondents. As noted earlier, more than 98% of the sample respondents were willing to provide support for future church conservation missions. We believe that such willingness of residents emanates not from the fact that residents theoretically understood the scientific ways of conserving cultural heritage. Instead, it is because of their religious influence that made them fully committed to offer their unreserved support for the conservation of the rock-hewn churches, as the religion of local residents and the rock-hewn churches are inseparable. Our survey supported this argument to some extent as around 74% of sample respondents stated their reason to provide support for conservation as being to gain salvation in their religious faith. However, regardless of their intention, the most important thing is residents’ willingness to provide support in conservation objectives. This would be a great endowment to the mission to integrate heritage tourism and conservation, as the conservation sector secures great support from the local community, who are the ultimate guardians of the heritage.

However unlike their unreserved support for church conservation, respondents were somehow reserved in providing full support for tourism development in Lalibela. Their interest or willingness to offer support varied with respect to their demographic characteristics. As stated above, those respondents who lived near the churches, have tourism-related jobs, and are educated tended to be more in favor of tourism development than other groups of respondents. In fact, the total percentage of respondents who were determined to be willing to provide support for tourism development was not negligible. Around 74% of respondents agreed to give tourism development support in the town.
4.4.4 Residents’ awareness both on conservation and tourism

In this dissertation, awareness about heritage conservation was defined as the extent to which residents have cognizance of the scientific ways of conserving cultural heritage. In addition, during the interviews, awareness was also defined to respondents as being to what extent they are conscious about the effect of their physical interaction with the church toward the deterioration of church buildings. Awareness about tourism means the knowledge that residents have regarding the importance of the tourism industry and to what extent residents understand the benefits of engaging in tourism-related businesses in particular.

There could be many ways of measuring awareness\(^{36}\), however for this study, respondents were asked to rate their own level of awareness. They were given a five-point scale from very low (1) to very high (5) to rate their level of awareness of heritage conservation and the importance of tourism. Figure 4-3 indicates the comparison of respondents’ awareness pertaining to church conservation and the importance of tourism.

**Figure 4-3 Respondents' awareness of conservation and tourism**

\(^{36}\) In some studies, residents are given a list of heritage conservation functions and they are asked to agree or disagree with these functions (Timothy & Nyaupane, 2010).
The above figure indicates that the average value of the awareness level toward church conservation and tourism is 2.83 and 3.56, respectively. This shows residents’ awareness of the benefits of engaging in the tourism industry seems higher than their awareness of church conservation. About 58% of the respondents rated their level of awareness of tourism importance as high and very high, whereas around 31% of the sample respondents rated themselves as having a high or very high level of awareness on the issues of church conservation. As noted earlier, the majority of the respondents were deeply committed to the conservation of the churches in their daily life, though their level of understanding of the essence of heritage conservation is limited. Figure 4-3 shows that about 50% of sample respondents determined their level of understanding about conservation as low and very low. That means around 50% of the sample respondents were unaware about the scientific ways of conserving the heritage; at the same time, they were not sure whether their interaction with the churches affects the existence of the churches. Thus, it should be noted that without awareness of the essence of conservation and proper understanding of the values of the heritage, their commitment in some cases may have negative impacts on heritage values. Studies often consider a lack of awareness as an impediment to heritage conservation. For instance, Timothy and Nyaupane (2009) argue that the lack of awareness of locals is one of the challenges that often thwart heritage conservation objectives, particularly in less-developed nations.

We performed statistical tests in order to examine whether respondents’ level of awareness in both sectors varies with respect to some variables. The statistical testing indicates that there is a difference in the level of awareness among respondents of various
groups. Table 4-15 below shows the difference in mean values of the level of awareness with respect to whether respondents are residing near the site or not.

**Table 4-15 Differences in awareness between respondents who live near the site or not**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statements</th>
<th>Residents far from the church</th>
<th>Residents near the church</th>
<th>Mean difference (1)-(3) (5)</th>
<th>t-value (6)</th>
<th>p-value (7)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>QC7. How do you rate your awareness of heritage conservation?</td>
<td>Mean (1) SD (2) N</td>
<td>Mean (3) SD (4) N</td>
<td>Mean difference</td>
<td>t-value</td>
<td>p-value</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.78 1.10 199</td>
<td>2.89 1.18 149</td>
<td>-0.11</td>
<td>-0.87</td>
<td>0.380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QD6. How do you rate your awareness about the importance of tourism for Lalibela?</td>
<td>3.32 1.01 199</td>
<td>3.99 0.87 149</td>
<td>-0.67</td>
<td>-5.48</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Scale: 1=very low to 5=very high)

Unlike the previous t-test tables (Table 4-12 and Table 4-13), the interpretation of Table 4-15 is different. Because the scales are now coded and arranged from negative to positive (1=very low to 5=very high), the higher the mean value, the higher the level of awareness would be. Based on this criterion, the results of Table 4-15 indicate that living either near or far from the churches does not have that much statistically significant difference on the level of awareness of respondents on church conservation, as its mean values are more or less the same. Though it seems that there is a little variance (-0.11) in means of the awareness level of conservation between residents living near and far the site, its variance is not statistically significant (t=0.87, p=0.38). However, on the other hand, there is a statistically significant (both at 1% and 5% significance level) difference on the mean level of awareness of tourism importance between respondents who live near and far from the rock-hewn churches. As indicated in Table 4-15, residents who live near the
churches have a statistically significantly higher mean score on the awareness about the importance of tourism (3.99) than residents who live far from the churches (3.32).

In general, as indicated in Table 4-15, we can understand that the respondents’ level of awareness of tourism importance and conservation is different. Regardless of their place of residence, respondents’ awareness of the importance of tourism is higher than their awareness of heritage conservation. This may strengthen our previous argument that residents’ willingness to provide support for conservation highly likely emanates from their religious faith, rather than from an understanding of the essence of scientific ways of conservation. Hence, for effective harmonization of heritage tourism and conservation, the necessity of enhancing local residents’ awareness on heritage conservation is undeniable.

Further statistical testing was also performed to analyze the differences in respondents’ awareness on the basis of other variables. Table 4-16 shows the mean difference of the residents’ level of awareness in both sectors with respect to their level of education. We found that there is a large difference in means between ‘less educated/uneducated’ and ‘educated’ groups with regard to their awareness on the importance of tourism and heritage conservation. The result shows that educated group of respondents tended to have higher levels of awareness both in tourism and conservation.

**Table 4-16 Differences in awareness among different education levels of respondents**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education levels</th>
<th>Summary of awareness on conservation</th>
<th>Summary of awareness on tourism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>SD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uneducated</td>
<td>2.45</td>
<td>0.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less educated</td>
<td>2.88</td>
<td>1.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educated</td>
<td>2.98</td>
<td>1.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>2.83</strong></td>
<td><strong>1.14</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*(Scale: 1=very low to 5=very high)*
Based on the results of Table 4-16, we can conclude that the mean score of the respondents’ awareness on the importance of tourism is highly varied with respect to education level compared to their responses on the awareness of the importance of heritage conservation. There is an increase in the mean value when we move from ‘uneducated’ to ‘educated’ groups of respondents in both types of awareness, though the variation for the mean value of conservation awareness is miniscule. Generally, by looking at the total row of Table 4-16, the respondents’ awareness on tourism importance has a higher mean score than the mean score of the respondents’ awareness on heritage conservation. This finding is consistent with previous studies that have found that a higher level of education is significantly related with a higher level of awareness of heritage conservation (Timothy & Nyaupane, 2010). Hence, this indicates how important education is to enhance local residents’ awareness pertaining to tourism and conservation, and this further may pave the way for the integration of the two sectors.

Likewise, we can also analyze the respondents’ level of awareness with respect to whether they have tourism-related jobs or not. Table 4-17 shows that respondents who have tourism-related jobs tended to have a higher level of awareness both about heritage conservation and tourism compared to their counterparts. This indicates how engaging in the tourism industry shapes residents’ knowledge of the importance of tourism and conservation in a positive manner.
Table 4-17 Differences in awareness level between respondents who have tourism jobs or not

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statements</th>
<th>Respondents with tourism-related jobs</th>
<th>Respondents without tourism-related jobs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mean (1)</td>
<td>SD (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QC7. How do you rate your awareness of heritage conservation?</td>
<td>3.36</td>
<td>1.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QD6. How do you rate your awareness about the importance of tourism for Lalibela?</td>
<td>4.08</td>
<td>0.83</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Scale: 1=very low to 5=very high)

The results of Table 4-17 indicate that there is a statistically significant difference between the mean awareness score for residents with tourism-related jobs and those without tourism-related jobs. Respondents who have tourism related jobs have a statistically significantly higher mean value on the awareness of heritage conservation (3.36) than respondents who have no tourism-related jobs (2.74). This difference in mean is statistically significant both at the 1% and 5% significance level. From this finding we can understand that residents’ engagement in the tourism industry influences their level of awareness of the importance of heritage tourism and conservation.

Likewise, the mean values of the respondents’ awareness of both the importance of tourism and conservation were varied based on their level of income. As indicated in Table 4-18 below, the more we approach the higher income category, the higher their level of awareness would be.
Table 4-18 Respondents’ income level and differences in awareness

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income category (Eth. Birr)</th>
<th>Summary of awareness on conservation</th>
<th>Summary of awareness on tourism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>SD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200 and under</td>
<td>2.59</td>
<td>1.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>201-500</td>
<td>2.94</td>
<td>1.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500 and above</td>
<td>3.20</td>
<td>1.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2.83</td>
<td>1.14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Scale: 1=very low to 5=very high)

From Table 4-18 we can see that respondents in the higher income category have the highest mean awareness values in both the conservation and tourism sectors. In other words, this indicates that respondents in the lower income category have the lowest awareness level both on tourism and conservation compared to their counterparts. This finding is consistent with a previous study that found that higher income groups tend to be more aware compared with the lower income groups (Timothy & Nyaupane, 2010).

However, regardless of any of the above categories of respondents, the total mean value for awareness on heritage conservation (2.83) is lower than the mean value for awareness on heritage tourism. Hence, if we aim to harmonize heritage tourism and conservation through the local community, boosting their level of awareness on both sectors must be given due attention.

4.4.5 Residents’ attitudes toward town administrators commitment

To sustainably harmonize heritage tourism and conservation, the local government must induce local residents’ participation in various conservation and tourism-related issues.

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37 The income category is listed in Ethiopian currency (Birr). To exchange it into US dollar, the exchange rate for 1 USD was around 17.7421 Birr during the survey time in August and September 2011.
The local government can play significant roles in conserving heritage sites and also in promoting tourism with the participation of the local residents. However, because developing countries encounter various challenges, their roles in the conservation sphere seem to be minimal (Timothy & Nyaupane, 2009). As a result, for many developing countries, heritage conservation is often not a high priority.

In this dissertation, respondents were asked to assess the performance of officials at Lalibela town administration, the office which is responsible for administrating the town and supporting the Lalibela tourism bureau in conservation as well as tourism development-related affairs. Likewise, respondents were also asked to assess the performance of officials of the Lalibela tourism bureau, the bureau which is responsible mainly for promoting tourism as well as conserving the rock-hewn churches at the same time. A detailed overview of these two offices will be discussed in chapter five of this dissertation. Arranging public discussions and efforts to enhance residents’ awareness were among the main criteria given for respondents to assess these two offices’ official roles in church conservation and tourism development. Table 4-19 summarizes the respondents’ responses regarding the performance of the officials of these two offices on conservation related issues, while Table 4-20 shows the respondents’ responses about these officials’ performance on tourism development-related issues. According to the respondents, officials of both offices seemed to have performed weakly in both sectors.
Table 4-19 Respondents’ attitudes toward local officials’ effort in conservation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QC4. Have you ever been invited to public discussions regarding church conservation in the past three years? (n=348)</th>
<th>Freq.</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>17.53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>287</td>
<td>82.47%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QC4.1. If yes, did you attend at least one of such meetings? (n=61)</th>
<th>Freq.</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>18.03%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>81.97%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QC5. Do you think the local government has taken adequate measures to inform the community about the concept of conservation in the past three years? (n=348)</th>
<th>Freq.</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>22.99%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>77.01%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QC6. How do you rate the overall efforts of the conservation practices by the local government officials in Lalibela? (n=348)</th>
<th>Freq.</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very low</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>30.75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>32.18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>21.84%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>12.36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very high</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2.87%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4-19 shows the respondents’ attitudes toward both town administrators and tourism bureau officials on their efforts to mobilize local residents for conservation practices. The findings show that more than 82% of the sample respondents claimed that they had never had discussions on any conservation-related issues in the past three years. Out of those who had a chance to be invited for the discussions related to church conservation, more than 81% of them did not attend the meeting. This indicates the ineffectiveness and disorganized features of the discussions. In addition, about 77% of the
sample respondents indicated that the two offices have never taken adequate measures to inform the local community on how they should preserve the churches. As a result, more than 62% of the sample respondents regarded officials of the two offices as low performers as far as the efforts of church conservation are concerned. This may indicate the low priority and commitment allotted to church conservation by officials of both the town administration and the tourism bureau.

Table 4-20 Respondents’ attitudes toward local officials effort in tourism development

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QD7. Have you ever been invited to public discussions regarding how to develop tourism in Lalibela in the past three years? (n=348)</th>
<th>Freq.</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>31.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>68.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QD7.1. If yes, did you attend at least one of such meetings? (n=111)</th>
<th>Freq.</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>29.73%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>70.27%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QD8. Do you think the local government has taken adequate measures to support local residents to engage in pro-tourism activities in the past three years? (n=348)</th>
<th>Freq.</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QD9. How do you rate the overall efforts of the local government officials to develop tourism in Lalibela? (n=348)</th>
<th>Freq.</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very low</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>9.48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>43.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>19.25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>21.26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very high</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>6.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4-20 profiled the respondents’ attitudes toward the efforts of officials of both the town administration and tourism bureau to develop tourism in the town through local
residents’ participation. Around 68% of the sample respondents replied that they had never had discussions on any of tourism development issues in the past three years. Though about 32% of them replied that there were discussions, the level of participation was low as only 29% of respondents were able to attend the meeting. At the same time, the majority of the respondents (75%) claimed that officials of these two offices had never encouraged residents to engage in pro-tourism related activities. As a result, about 50% of the sample respondents labeled officials as low performers in developing tourism in Lalibela through local residents’ participation. According to the respondents rating, officials seemed to perform a little bit higher in tourism-related efforts compared to church conservation practices (Figure 4-4).

Figure 4-4 Officials’ overall performance of church conservation and tourism development in Lalibela

Figure 4-4 shows the descriptive graphical representations of question C6 and D9 of Table 4-19 and 4-20, respectively. On the basis of the five-point scale from “very Low” (1) to “very High” (5), respondents rated the two offices officials’ overall performance on
conserving the rock-hewn churches as well as promoting tourism in the town. Figure 4-4 also shows that the average value of officials’ performance related to church conservation was 2.24 with a standard deviation of approximately 1.10. Conversely, 2.72 was the average value of officials’ performance on tourism development, with a standard deviation of 1.10. As noted above, government offices in Lalibela tend to held few or no discussions with local residents on issues related to tourism development and church preservation.

However, since few respondents (in Table 4-19 and 4-20) claimed that they had discussions with officials in both tourism and conservation issues, we believe it is important to conduct a correlation analysis between respondents’ place of residence and discussion invitations by officials.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4-21 Public discussions on church conservation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>QC4. Have you ever been invited to public discussions regarding church conservation in the past three years?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[X^2=6.41, df=1, p=0.011\]

The results of Table 4-21 indicate that there is a statistically significant relationship between the respondents’ invitation to the public discussions on church conservation and their place of residence at the 5% level of significance. As we can see from the frequency of the responses in Table 4-21, residents who are away from the site tends to be less informed about public discussions on the issues of church conservation. It should be noted
that, as the principal guardians of the churches, local residents’ participation in the realm of conservation issues would be necessary.

Likewise, another chi-square test was performed to examine the degree of relationship between respondents’ place of residence and invitation to the tourism development related discussions. Table 4-22 shows the results of this test.

### Table 4-22 Public discussion announcements on tourism development

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QD7. Have you ever been invited to public discussions regarding tourism development in the past three years?</th>
<th>Respondents’ place of residence</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Near the church</td>
<td>Far from the church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>64 (42.95%)</td>
<td>47 (23.62%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>85 (57.05%)</td>
<td>152 (76.38%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>149 (100%)</td>
<td>199 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[X^2 = 14.66, df = 1, p = 0.000\]

Respondents’ place of residence has a statistically significant relationship with their answers for the question whether they have been invited to the discussions related to promoting tourism in Lalibela both at the 1% and 5% level of significance. The test results of Table 4-22 show the chi-square with one degree of freedom equal to 14.66 and a p-value 0.000, which indicates responses for the above question is significantly associated with the fact that they reside near the churches or away. Again, those residents who live near the heritage site seemed to be more informed about such discussions compared to their counterparts.

In sum, from the perspectives of our sample respondents, it seemed that the town administrators, including tourism bureau officials, perform less actively in arranging public
discussions and mobilizing local residents’ participation both regarding church conservation and tourism development topics. This may further create a fragile relationship between these government offices and local residents in various conservation and tourism affairs. Though there were some discussions, they did not widely cover the entire town, rather they centered on those residents who live near the churches.

**4.4.6 Residents’ attitudes towards tourism’s impact**

In this section of the dissertation, we examine the local residents’ perceptions of tourism impacts on Lalibela for the sake of harmonizing heritage tourism and conservation. As stated earlier, in this dissertation conservation can be considered beyond the preservation of the physical structure of the heritage and includes protection of local residents’ from undesirable tourism influences. Much research has examined the perceptions of local residents on the positive as well as negative economic, social and environmental impacts of tourism development in several areas (Korca, 1996; Cohen, 1978; Tosun, 2002; Haley, Snaith, & Miller, 2005). However, there has not been much research on analyzing residents’ attitudes on tourism impacts for the purpose of harmonizing heritage tourism and conservation. A few exceptional studies have considered the impacts of tourism as an important variable in order to examine the tourism potential of heritage sites, and hence, to harmonize tourism and cultural heritage management (McKercher & du Cros, 2002; McKercher, Ho, & du Cros, 2004; Du Cros, 2001). Hence, this study aims at filling this gap by harmonizing the two sectors through analyzing and suggesting ways to mitigate the impacts of tourism on Lalibela.

To examine the benefits of tourism for local residents, respondents were asked whether they are benefiting from the tourism industry in Lalibela. Table 4-23 shows the
direct economic benefits of tourism on the livelihoods of the respondents. However, further tourism benefits are also listed in Table 4-25.

**Table 4-23 Direct benefits of tourism to residents**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QE1. Do you have a tourism-related job? (n=348)</th>
<th>Freq.</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>14.08%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>299</td>
<td>85.92%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QE2. Do any of your family members have tourism-related jobs? (n=348)</th>
<th>Freq.</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>14.08%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>299</td>
<td>85.92%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QE3. Do you think you have personally benefited from the presence of tourists in Lalibela? (n=348)</th>
<th>Freq.</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>22.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>77.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4-23 shows that more than 85% of sample respondents had no tourism-related jobs in Lalibela. Only 14% of the respondents’ jobs were related to the tourism industry. Our survey also found that the median income of those respondents who had tourism-related jobs was around 350 birr (20USD). In addition, about 14% of the sample respondents replied that some of their family members had tourism related job. As a result, around 77% of the respondents believed that they had not personally benefited from the tourism industry in Lalibela. In fact, this may indicate to what extent the industry is less vibrant in Lalibela.

On the other hand, respondents were also asked about the direct negative consequences of tourism on their livelihood. Some of the direct negative influences of
tourism on local residents are profiled in Table 4-24, and detailed negative impacts are also listed in Table 4-25.

Table 4-24 Direct negative impacts of tourism on residents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QF1. Has tourism in Lalibela disturbed your daily life? (n=348)</th>
<th>Freq.</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>342</td>
<td>98.28%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QF2. Has tourism introduced adverse practices or cultures to the community? (n=348)</th>
<th>Freq.</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>41.95%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>58.05%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QF2.2. If yes, do you think these practices have negatively affected the community’s culture? (n=146)</th>
<th>Freq.</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>93.15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6.85%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QF3. Have you ever observed the delinquent behavior of tourists either inside or around the churches? (n=348)</th>
<th>Freq.</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>18.97%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>282</td>
<td>81.03%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As we can see from Table 4-24, adverse practices seemed to be a serious negative influence of tourism in Lalibela as around 42% of sample respondents claimed that tourism had brought adverse practices to the town. The most noticeable types of these adverse practices are shown in Figure 4-5 below.

Figure 4-5 Adverse practices brought by tourism to Lalibela
As indicated in Figure 4-5 more than 35% of respondents who think tourism has brought adverse practices to Lalibela put homosexuality as the most serious problem followed by acculturation. In fact, it is not only residents of Lalibela but also the majority Ethiopians in general who are against the practice of homosexuality as it is against the culture, norms and religion of the majority Ethiopian people. Moreover, amid the conservative communities of Lalibela, such a practice which is currently exacerbated by the flow of tourists is extremely prohibited. The other serious influence of tourism is acculturation, particularly in terms of dressing and hair style. Erosion of the women’s local dressing and men’s hair styles as a result of tourism are of high concern to many Orthodox Christian adherents of Lalibela residents. In addition, as indicated in Figure 4-5, about 11% of the sample respondents indicated that tourism has brought other types of adverse practices. Among others, inappropriate dressing of tourists inside the church, tourists chewing gum inside the church, and the romantic action of couple tourists (mainly kissing) were repeatedly stated by respondents.

Table 4-25 shows the descriptive findings of respondents’ overall perceptions toward the positive and negative impacts of the tourism industry on Lalibela.
### Table 4-25 Residents’ responses to tourism impacts (n=348)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statements</th>
<th>mean</th>
<th>P50</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Perceived positive impacts</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism increases employment opportunities</td>
<td>3.33</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.15%</td>
<td>35.63%</td>
<td>6.9%</td>
<td>41.67%</td>
<td>14.66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism increases the quality of life</td>
<td>2.44</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.93</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8.33%</td>
<td>58.33%</td>
<td>18.68%</td>
<td>10.34%</td>
<td>4.31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism increases pride in the rock-hewn churches</td>
<td>4.28</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.74</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0.57%</td>
<td>3.45%</td>
<td>3.74%</td>
<td>51.15%</td>
<td>41.09%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism creates a positive attitude in the minds of the community</td>
<td>3.65</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.81</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toward innovative works</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0.86%</td>
<td>10.06%</td>
<td>21.26%</td>
<td>58.33%</td>
<td>9.48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism fosters the acquisition of new skills for the community</td>
<td>3.53</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.77</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0.57%</td>
<td>9.48%</td>
<td>31.61%</td>
<td>52.3%</td>
<td>6.03%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism increases investment for the town</td>
<td>3.56</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.02</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.44%</td>
<td>21.55%</td>
<td>10.92%</td>
<td>51.44%</td>
<td>14.66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism improves the infrastructure facilities</td>
<td>3.21</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.14</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.87%</td>
<td>36.78%</td>
<td>8.05%</td>
<td>40.8%</td>
<td>11.49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism improves the physical appearance of Lalibela town</td>
<td>2.51</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.11</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>13.51%</td>
<td>53.74%</td>
<td>4.31%</td>
<td>25.29%</td>
<td>3.16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Perceived negative impacts</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism unfairly increases the cost of living</td>
<td>3.52</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.27</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4.6%</td>
<td>28.16%</td>
<td>3.74%</td>
<td>36.78%</td>
<td>26.72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism disrupts the peaceful ways of life of the community</td>
<td>2.02</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.66</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>263</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>14.08%</td>
<td>75.57%</td>
<td>4.6%</td>
<td>5.17%</td>
<td>0.57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism increases the level of litter</td>
<td>1.73</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.61</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>32.76%</td>
<td>62.93%</td>
<td>2.59%</td>
<td>1.15%</td>
<td>0.57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism increases the amount of crime</td>
<td>2.15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.85</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>19.54%</td>
<td>55.17%</td>
<td>16.09%</td>
<td>8.62%</td>
<td>0.57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism increases the level of prostitution</td>
<td>3.43</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.11</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5.17%</td>
<td>17.53%</td>
<td>22.99%</td>
<td>37.36%</td>
<td>16.95%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourists are not considerate of local people</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.88</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>28.45%</td>
<td>52.87%</td>
<td>10.06%</td>
<td>7.47%</td>
<td>1.15%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=neutral, 4=agree, 5=strongly agree. SD= Standard Deviation, p50=median
The above table shows respondents’ level of agreement with the selected assertions about the impact of tourism in Lalibela. Higher mean values (basically mean > 3.0) show stronger respondent agreement with the statement, whereas lower mean values (mean < 3.0) show weaker agreement/stronger disagreement with the statement. As for opinions regarding the positive impacts of tourism, respondents tended to agree on many of the statements. Notably, there was a high level of agreement with the statement, ‘tourism increases pride in the rock-hewn churches’. A vast majority (92%) agreed/strongly agreed with this assertion. Similarly, about 69% of sample respondents agreed that tourism creates a positive attitude in the minds of the community toward innovative works.

In addition, residents agreed that tourism brings benefits through employment in tourism-related business, such as in hotels, bars, shops, and so on. Despite this many Lalibela residents are agrarians; few of them depend on tourism-related businesses. Hotels, restaurants, tour guiding, transportation, and renting mules are the main tourism-related businesses in the town. Some individuals even opened their hotel by getting direct sponsorship support from individual tourists. Such kinds of one-to-one linkages between tourists and some individuals have become common in Lalibela town.

Conversely, though respondents’ tended to agree with many of the positive statements mentioned in Table 4-25, surprisingly a vast majority (66.6%) disagreed with the statement that ‘tourism increases the quality of life.’ This may indicate that the level of tourism penetration in Lalibela is too small to change the residents’ quality of life at the moment. In addition, the tourism industry is too small to rejuvenate the town’s physical appearance as more than 66% of the sample respondents disagreed with the statement that tourism has improved the physical appearance of the town.
On the other hand, respondents also agreed with some of the statements listed in Table 4-25 about the negative impacts of tourism on Lalibela. High levels of inflation and prostitution appear to be the most serious negative impacts of tourism in the town. Around 63% of the sample respondents agreed with the statement that tourism has unfairly increased the cost of living for locals in Lalibela. In fact, in many studies, inflation is found to be a common consequence of tourism development (Korca, 1996; Lepp, 2007). Similarly, a significant number of respondents (54%) agreed that the level of prostitution has also been increasing in Lalibela because of tourism. Most of those who engaged in the prostitution business in Lalibela were from other big cities of the country with the expectation of better financial earnings from tourists. Yet, because Lalibela is a sanctified site, the majority of the local residents condemn such practices unconditionally. Other studies such as Park and Stokowski (2009) have argued that in many tourist destinations, increased high alcohol consumption and tourists who are visiting a destination for a ‘good time’ are ingredients that leads to increased prostitution.

Finally, respondents indicated in the open-ended question that tourism exacerbates local problems such as hassling, begging, and youth school drop-outs. Oftentimes, teenage students skip school to get money from tourists to buy a local drug called ‘khat’. This drug is widely condemned by the Ethiopian Orthodox Church and by many of its adherents as the stimulant pushes consumers to engage in several unlawful acts. However, we believe that the problem of drug addiction, hassling, and school drop-outs may not be directly associated with tourists. Rather, these impacts are aggravated by those who seek to gain

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38 “Khat refers to the leaves and shoots of the Catha edulis - a flowering shrub native to the Horn of Africa and Arabian Peninsula” (Harper, BBC 28 January 2012 http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-16756159). Khat is a legal and widely consumable stimulant plant in many parts of Ethiopia.
short-term benefit from the tourism industry. This finding is consistent with previous studies which have argued that tourism can expose the local community to various problems such as crime, brawls, sexual harassment, vandalism, drug abuse and so on (Belisle & Hoy, 1980; Haralambopoulos & Pizam, 1996; Timothy, 2011).

We conducted independent sample t-tests to assess the respondents’ perception differences of tourism impacts with respect to some of their characteristics. In this statistical test, two characteristics of respondents were used as a base category, namely, distance of respondents from the churches and whether or not their jobs were related to the tourism industry. Table 4-26 shows the influence of residents’ place of residence on their perceptions of tourism’s impacts.

Table 4-26 Perceptual differences between residents who reside near or far from the churches (n=348)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statements</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Near (n=149)</td>
<td>Far (n=199)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Perceived positive impacts</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism increases employment opportunities</td>
<td>3.71</td>
<td>3.04</td>
<td>5.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism increases investment for the town</td>
<td>3.22</td>
<td>3.81</td>
<td>-5.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism improves the infrastructure facilities</td>
<td>3.03</td>
<td>3.34</td>
<td>-2.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism improves the physical appearance of the town</td>
<td>2.17</td>
<td>2.75</td>
<td>5.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Perceived negative impacts</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism unfairly increases the cost of living</td>
<td>3.83</td>
<td>3.29</td>
<td>4.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism disrupts the peaceful ways of life of the community</td>
<td>2.18</td>
<td>1.91</td>
<td>3.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism increases the level of litter</td>
<td>1.82</td>
<td>1.67</td>
<td>2.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism increases the level of prostitution</td>
<td>3.85</td>
<td>3.11</td>
<td>6.49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Scale: 1=strongly disagree to 5=strongly agree)
Of the fourteen variables listed in Table 4-25, only eight of them which were statistically significant for the t-test result were presented in Table 4-26. Table 4-26 shows that except for two variables the rest were statistically significant at the 1% level of significance. There is a significant difference in perception between those who reside near and far from the site particularly in relation to the negative impacts of tourism. Compared to those who live far away from the site, the respondents who live near the site tended to feel more strongly about the negative impacts of tourism. Regarding the positive impacts of tourism, except for the perception on employment opportunities, those who live far away from the church had higher mean values than their counterparts.

A similar perceptional test was performed among respondents who had tourism-related jobs or not. Table 4-27 shows that only two perceptual variables had mean values which were statistically significantly differs between the two groups.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statements</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes (n=49)</td>
<td>No (n=299)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived positive impacts</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism increases employment opportunities</td>
<td>3.89</td>
<td>3.23</td>
<td>3.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived negative impacts</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism unfairly increases the cost of living</td>
<td>3.14</td>
<td>3.59</td>
<td>-2.29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Scale: 1=strongly disagree to 5=strongly agree)

Unlike the findings in Table 4-26, Table 4-27 shows there is little variation in the perception of the respondents with respect to their engagement with the tourism industry. Only the two perceptual variables were found to be significantly varied between the two groups. The difference in the mean regarding tourism’s positive impact on job opportunities
was significant both at the 5% and 1% level of significance between those who had tourism-related jobs and those who did not. Those respondents who had tourism-related jobs tended to be agree more with this assertion. Whereas, regarding the increase in inflation because of tourism in Lalibela, those who had no tourism-related jobs tended to agreed more, though the mean difference was only significant at the 5% level of significance. Previous studies have often argued that residents who are economically connected to the tourism industry tend to have more positive attitudes toward tourism than those who are not connected (Lee, Li, & Kim, 2007; Chazapi & Sdrali, 2006).

To sum up, in this section we assessed the local residents attitudes towards the impacts of tourism in Lalibela. We found that tourism brings benefits through employment in tourism industries and expanded the number of small-scale businesses. Restaurants, bars, shops, and the number of tour guides have been increasing as a result of the growth in tourism. However, at the same time, tourism brings negative impacts mainly from the socio-economic point of view. Thus, in order to attain harmonization between heritage tourism and conservation, quick measures must be taken to combat the negative impacts of tourism on local residents and enhance the positive ones.

4.5 Conclusion

It would not be an exaggeration if we consider the rock-hewn churches and residents of Lalibela as inseparable. Inconsistent with previous studies, this research study has found that Lalibela residents seemed to have a high attachment to the churches with a full sense of ownership. The majority of the residents visits the churches for worshiping purposes at least two times per week and considers them living treasures. In addition, the church’s several social services such as requiem-mass and holy matrimony heavily attributed to the
residents’ profound sentimental attachment with the church. At the same time, residents’ fond attachment influenced their willingness to preserve the heritage site. More than 98% of our sample respondents were unconditionally willing to provide their support for the conservation activities of the churches. For instance, many residents who used to reside nearby the site have shown their willingness to voluntarily resettle to other localities for the purpose of protecting the churches from influence of congested settlements when they were asked by the government. In addition, several residents are willingly engaged in various preservation tasks such as cleaning the church buildings and the vicinity.

However, despite residents’ commitment, their preservation attempts lack a clear understanding of the scientific knowledge of heritage conservation. It seems that many residents are less aware about whether their way of cleaning the churches will lead to the deterioration of the church buildings. For instance, many residents tended to use sandpaper to remove the fungus from the churches buildings. In addition, residents seemed less aware about the effects of their physical religious interaction with the churches that may harm the buildings. As part of the religious activities, it is a common practice for many Ethiopian Orthodox adherents to kiss and touch the church buildings in order to receive blessings. However, such practices are currently worsening the fragile status of the church buildings. In general, as far as respondents’ heritage conservation awareness is concerned, our survey found that the lack of awareness is exponentially severe among those residents who are uneducated, reside far from the site, have no tourism related jobs, and have a lower level of income.

As for residents’ support for tourism development, this study found that the majority of the respondents have shown their interest in being part of the vibrant tourism industry of
Lalibela. More than 74% of the sample respondents would like to provide both physical and financial support to the growing tourism industry of Lalibela. Residents who have tourism-related jobs, are educated, and reside near the site have shown significantly higher willingness to provide tourism development support than their counterparts. In general, the majority of the respondents want to see a further increment in tourist numbers and engage in tourism-related businesses. However, it seems that residents lacked the necessary information and knowledge that are required to start up tourism-related businesses.

The town administration and tourism bureau could be responsible for local residents’ limited knowledge both regarding church conservation and tourism development issues, as these offices’ commitment to enhancing residents’ awareness was minimal. Around 77% of the respondents argued that these offices have never taken adequate measures to inform the local community about the basic essence of heritage conservation. In addition, according to the respondents, public discussions were hardly held to discuss what residents should do in order to sustainably preserve the rock-hewn churches. In fact, there was no available data that show how often the town administration and tourism bureau organizes public discussions with local residents. Likewise, officials’ effort to mobilize residents’ participation in the tourism development arena is also substantially limited. Even the tourism bureau, which is supposed to work in close collaboration with local residents to promote tourism, seemed not to be very supportive of residents who wish to engage in tourism-related businesses. As a result, majority of the respondents labeled officials as weak performers in both conservation and tourism development affairs.

Regarding the impact of tourism in Lalibela, the questionnaire survey found that residents tended to strongly agree that tourism has increased employment opportunities,
pride of the churches, investment, infrastructures, and innovative attitudes in the minds of many local residents. The increase in the number of residents who were proud of the churches was one of the most significant positive influences of tourism development as more than 92% of the respondents agreed that tourism incubated a sense of cultural pride when they see their church is of interest to many tourists around the world. Apart from its benefit, tourism development has also had several negative socio-economic impacts as well.

Amongst others, the high cost of living and prostitution were found to be the most serious negative impacts of tourism in Lalibela. As tourism grows in the town, the prices for goods and services has also been skyrocketed and made everyday life more expensive for local residents. The other major negative impact to local residents was the expansion of prostitution as a result of tourism. More than half of our sample respondents agreed that tourism has exacerbated the level of prostitution in Lalibela. The respondents indicated in the questionnaire interview that because prostitution practices are heavily condemned among the majority of the conservative residents of Lalibela, most of those who engaged in this business come from other big cities with the expectation of good earnings from tourists. This can be true because of the fact that residents can easily recognize who is alien to their town as the social network amongst the community is strong.

In addition, tourism has also aggravated the begging, youth drug addiction, youngsters dropping out of schools, and erosion of local culture and traditions through acculturation. The increase in acts of homosexuality is also the most prevalent negative impact of tourism in Lalibela. This act is highly condemned among many of the Ethiopian Orthodox Christian adherents in Ethiopia in general and Lalibela in particular. Hence, since these are the main seeds of unsustainable tourism development, quick measures should be undertaken to
protect local residents from the undesirable influences of tourism. Those residents who are residing near the heritage site are the most vulnerable to these negative impacts of tourism.

In sum, to sustainably harmonize heritage tourism and conservation in the rock-hewn churches of Lalibela, the existing commitment of local residents’ to conserve the heritage should be maintained in line with enhancing their awareness about the scientific ways of conserving the church. The local government can play a vital role in enhancing local residents’ awareness and participation in both the conservation and tourism development arenas. Frequent discussions between the local government and community can be a way to narrow the broad gap between them. On the other hand, in addition to local residents, we should also not forget the role of several other stakeholders, including tourists, in harmonizing heritage tourism and conservation in Lalibela. In the following chapter of this dissertation we will examine the role of stakeholder collaboration and tourists’ perception in linking heritage tourism and conservation in Lalibela.
Chapter 5
Linking heritage tourism and conservation through stakeholders’ collaboration and tourists’ perceptions

5.1 Introduction

The integration of heritage tourism and conservation can be materialized through the collaboration of various stakeholders as well as by considering tourists’ perceptions of the site and its surroundings. A limited number of stakeholders and similar values among them help to materialize such integrations (McKercher and du Cros, 2002). Conversely, conflict, or the potential for conflict, is more likely to emerge when many stakeholders are involved and the actions of one interfere with the achievement of another stakeholder’s goals (Jacob and Schreyer, 1980). If a common ground between different stakeholders can be found, heritage tourism can be developed in a way that is responsible for heritage conservation (Aas, Ladkin, and Fletcher, 2005).

Ideologically, most tourism and conservation stakeholders acknowledge the mutual benefits that can accrue from finding a common ground among themselves (Robinson, 1999). In practice, however, finding such a common ground between stakeholders is a challenging task because of the fact that the objectives of heritage tourism and conservation often seem incompatible (Bowes, 1994; Boniface, 1998; Jansen-Verbeke, 1998; Garrod and Fyall, 2000). Tourism stakeholders consider cultural heritage as raw material for their products to generate tourism revenues, while conservation stakeholders value the same heritage for their intrinsic merits. If the harmonization between heritage tourism and conservation can be found, then these trade-offs between stakeholders should be minimized.
On the other hand, understanding the perceptions of tourists (Dodds, Graci, and Holmes, 2010), as a prominent stakeholder group, and their level of satisfaction (Elene, 2010) is also important to ensure the sustainability of heritage tourism. Though there is an abundance of studies on tourist perception and satisfaction (Hui, Wan, and Ho, 2007; Kozak, 2001; Pawitra and Tan, 2003), the usage of tourist perception as a parameter to harmonize heritage tourism and conservation has not been thoroughly investigated. Understanding tourists’ perceptions of the site’s ability to withstand visitation and of the market attractiveness of the site can pave the way for the integration of heritage tourism and conservation. Tourists may able to provide feedback not only about the sites they have visited but also about several issues such as the town, amenities, fragility of the asset, local residents, and so on. Considering this feedback will help to harmonize heritage tourism and conservation from the perspectives of tourists. In addition, for sustainable tourism development, it is important to know what attracts visitors through conducting market research (Kakiuchi, 2006).

Limited research exists that focuses on the integration of heritage tourism and conservation from the perspectives of stakeholders’ collaboration and tourists’ feedback as well. Hence, this chapter concentrates on stakeholder collaboration as well as tourists’ perception as a contributing factor to harmonize heritage tourism and conservation. Using the case study of the rock-hewn churches of Lalibela, this chapter will address how the collaborations of various stakeholders as well as tourists’ perceptions of Lalibela can contribute to the integration of heritage tourism and conservation. This study uses “stakeholder” to refer to people, institutions, or social groups that are involved or affected by decision making pertaining to heritage tourism and conservation issues in Lalibela.
Interviews were held with 29 key tourism and conservation stakeholders both in Lalibela and Addis Ababa from August to September 2011. Likewise, to capture tourists’ perceptions of the rock-hewn churches and its surrounding a tourist survey was conducted during the same period. We will come back to these details later in the methodology section of this chapter.

5.2 Study objectives and questions

The rationale for undertaking this study emanates from the need to accomplish a feasible relationship between heritage tourism and conservation. As noted earlier, stakeholders of heritage tourism and conservation view each other with suspicion because they share little in common apart from their resource base. Their relationship is often characterized by contradictions and conflicts whereby conservationists consider heritage tourism as compromising conservation goals for profit (Nuryanti, 1996). In order to integrate heritage tourism and conservation sustainably, there is a need to minimize these threats and enhance cooperation, dialogue, and collaboration among the various stakeholders involved. At the same time, there is a need to embrace tourists’ perceptions of the site and its vicinity to harmonize heritage tourism and conservation in a sustainable manner. Therefore, this chapter will examine how stakeholders’ collaboration as well as tourists’ perceptions will contribute to the integration of heritage tourism and conservation.

Thus, the purpose of this chapter is twofold; first, it will examine how the various stakeholders of the rock-hewn churches of Lalibela are collaborating on many tourism and conservation related issues. The degree of their relationships and communication also will be examined. Second, this chapter aims to examine tourists’ perceptions of the rock-hewn churches and its surrounding. Considering tourists’ perceptions and feedback about the
conservation status of the churches and the tourism service facilities of Lalibela town will play a vital role in harmonizing heritage tourism and conservation. Thus, to achieve the aforementioned study objective, this chapter will answer the following research questions:

- Do stakeholders collaborate with each other for the purpose of both the conservation of the rock-hewn churches and tourism development in Lalibela?
- What is the role of the stakeholders both in conserving the rock-hewn churches and promoting tourism in Lalibela?
- What are tourists’ perceptions of the rock-hewn churches and tourism service facilities in the town?

5.3 Methodology

The foremost objective of this chapter of the dissertation was to reconcile heritage tourism and conservation through examining stakeholders’ collaboration as well as tourist perceptions in Lalibela. A qualitative research method was used to examine stakeholders’ collaboration and tourist perception. As interviews often yield rich insights into people’s opinions, attitudes, aspirations, and experiences (May, 1997), the main source of data for this chapter was from in-depth interviews. Data were collected via face-to-face interviews with a total of 29 key tourism and conservation stakeholders of the rock-hewn churches of Lalibela. However, since the role of some of these key stakeholders such as UNESCO, ARCCCH and the Ministry has been already discussed in chapter 3 of this dissertation, this chapter will fundamentally focus on other stakeholders that are believed to have a firm linkage with tourism and conservation issues in Lalibela. These stakeholders include Hotels (coded H), Souvenir shops (coded S), Lalibela Tour Guide Association, Ethiopian airlines (Lalibela office), Lalibela Tourism Bureau, and the Church Administration. Hotel and
souvenir shop owners have been coded with letter codes throughout the analysis of this chapter because they asked not to be identified by name.

In-depth interviews were conducted with 10 hotel owners, 15 souvenir shop owners, 1 church administrator, 1 tourism bureau official, 1 official from the tour guide association, and 1 official from Ethiopian airlines (Lalibela office). These stakeholders were selected as a sample for this study by using a non-probability convenience sampling technique. Thus, the researcher selected stakeholders on the basis of convenience who were believed to provide ample information for this study. Interview questions were focused on stakeholders’ communication, collaboration, and their support to promote tourism and conserve the rock-hewn churches. The questions were open-ended with the aim of probing further into the topic. All the interviews were recorded and lasted from 40 minutes to one hour.

Tourists who visited Lalibela constituted the second target population in this research. To capture their perception and level of satisfaction of the rock-hewn churches and its surrounding, a survey was collected from a total of 110 tourists who visited Lalibela during the survey time (in August 2011). The questionnaire was pilot tested with 15 tourists and some alterations were made accordingly. In order to increase the chance of obtaining their deep insights, the questionnaire constituted of a mix of both open and close-ended questions. Apart from the bio-data questions, the questionnaire was basically focused on examining the perception of tourists about the churches, tourism service facilities, church facilities, and the market appeal of the town in general. The findings were analyzed qualitatively except for the presentation of few tables on the descriptive statistics for demographic variables.
5.4 Findings of stakeholder interviews

The analysis of this chapter is classified into two sections. The first section investigates the contribution of stakeholder collaboration and communication to the integration of heritage tourism and conservation. As noted earlier, this chapter profoundly considers the collaboration of tourism-oriented business stakeholders. On the other hand, the second section focuses on addressing tourist’s perception and satisfaction of the site, as it has implication to harmonize heritage tourism and conservation. Prior to a detailed analysis, it is necessary, first, to provide an overview about every stakeholder in this study.

5.5 Stakeholder overview

5.5.1 Hotels

As a result of increasing tourist arrivals in Lalibela, the number of hotels has been increasing over time. For instance, there were a total of 9 hotels in 2009 (Mitchell & Coles, 2009), compared to 15 hotels during the survey time for this research study in 2011. Though the researcher intended to conduct interviews with all the hotel owners in Lalibela, the interviews with 5 hotel owners failed to materialize. Thus, in this chapter, all the discussions regarding hotels are based on the interview findings from 10 hotels.

All the hotels interviewed were owned and managed by Ethiopian nationals. This indicates that foreign investors are not involved in the hotel business in Lalibela. The problem of leakage, therefore, is not an issue to consider at this point in time. These hotels contained 379 rooms and employed around 310 employees\(^\text{39}\). Depending on their class and season, the per-night price of hotel rooms in Lalibela ranges from $13 to $70. Some of the

\(^{39}\) According to the survey collected by Overseas Development Institute, the number of rooms and employees was 261 and 222, respectively, in 2009 (http://www.odi.org.uk/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/5848.pdf). Thus, excluding the 5 non-interviewed hotels, the number of hotel rooms and employees has been increased by 31 and 28 per cent, respectively, during this survey time in 2011.
hotels were opened as a result of the direct financial support from individual tourists to the owner. Some tourists by establishing a voluntary charity association took the initiation to improve the town’s hotel industry.

Regarding hotels’ benefits to the community, all the hotel owners stated in the interview that local residents are the main beneficiaries from the hotels both in terms of employment and selling their products to the hotels. Local residents supplied various agricultural products to the hotels during the general market, which is held once a week, on Saturdays.

5.5.2 Souvenir shops

Similar to hotels, the number of souvenir shops has also been expanding in Lalibela. Currently there are around 53 souvenir shops in the town that are selling various handicraft products to tourists\(^{40}\). The researcher selected and interviewed 15 souvenir shop owners whose shops were open during the survey time in August and September 2011. Most of the souvenirs are ecclesiastical objects, such as crosses, religious paintings on animal hides, scarves, wood-crafts, and so on. Most of these souvenirs are procured from Addis Ababa and other big cities in Ethiopia\(^{41}\).

Foreign tourists are the target customers for many of the souvenir shops in the town. Though their number is limited compared to foreign visitors, Ethiopian tourists also buy particular souvenirs. Most souvenir shops charge foreign tourists a higher price compared to Ethiopian tourists. The price of souvenirs usually varies from $1 to $40 depending on the season and type of tourist.

\(^{40}\) Lalibela tourism bureau

\(^{41}\) According to the study by Overseas Development Institute in 2009, around 90% of the handicraft items in Lalibela are obtained from Addis Ababa (http://www.odi.org.uk/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/5848.pdf).
5.5.3 Ethiopian Airlines, Lalibela office

Ethiopian Airlines has been wholly owned by the Ethiopian government since its foundation in 1945. The airline is currently executing its 15-year strategic plan called “vision 2025” with the aim of becoming the most competitive and leading aviation group in Africa. A member of the Star Alliance, Ethiopian Airlines, flies to 70 international destinations and 17 domestic ones.

By expanding its domestic flights and flights to the main tourist destinations, Ethiopian Airlines plays a vital role in Ethiopia’s tourism industry. For instance, there are three flights per day to and from Lalibela, connecting with Addis Ababa and other destinations in the north. Around 98% of the passengers to and from Lalibela are foreign tourists, and of these, Europeans make up the vast majority.

5.5.4 Lalibela Tour Guide Association

Lalibela Tour Guide Association was founded in 1996 by the initiation of some individual tour guides and has been operating as a sole association in Lalibela. Currently the association has a membership of around 96 tour guides who are certified by the regional tourism bureau. Though the association was established more than 10 years ago, its competitiveness with other tour operators in the country is very weak. In fact, currently the association is working in close collaboration with tour operators in Addis Ababa.

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42 In spite of the fact that the airline is owned by the state, Ethiopian government officials pay for their flights on Ethiopian Airlines—unlike other African countries whose officials are using the national carriers as their personal jets (http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/8478290.stm).
43 The Star Alliance homepage (http://www.staralliance.com/en/about/airlines/ethiopian_airlines/)
44 Interview (Ethiopian airlines Lalibela office).
45 This regional tourism bureau is in charge of all the tourism and cultural related affairs under the Amhara State government. The bureau is working in close collaboration with the Ministry of Culture and Tourism in tourism affairs, as well as with ARRCH cultural heritage conservation issues.
There are different channels of contact between the association and tourists. The first one is direct contact through email prior to the arrival of the tourists. In such contact, the association responds to tourists with detailed itineraries and hotel reservations. This channel, however, is not often used by tourists. The second channel of contact is through the airport. Immediate after tourists arrive at Lalibela airport, the association approaches them and asks them whether they need a tour guide during their stay in Lalibela. However, the researcher observed that this channel of contact created confusion and inconvenience for tourists at Lalibela airport because tourists felt that everyone approaches them for money. We will discuss the tourists’ perception later in this chapter.

5.5.5 Lalibela Tourism Bureau

The Lalibela Tourism Bureau is working in close collaboration with the regional tourism bureau, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, and ARCCH. The bureau is responsible not only for Lalibela tourism issues but also cultural heritage, including heritage conservation. The bureau in cooperation with the Town Administration engages in various tourism development activities, which are directly related to hotels, souvenir shops, and tour guides. To maintain the comfort of tourists, the tourism bureau is also responsible for mitigating the begging and hassling problems in Lalibela which tourists are facing. On the other hand, the bureau is also working with the Church Administration in some church-related issues. For instance, the tourism bureau mobilizes local residents to clean the church and its vicinity. An interview was held with Mr. Habtamu Tesfaw, Head of Heritage Conservation and Tourism Development Directorate at the Lalibela Tourism Bureau. As his post indicates, Mr. Habtamu is in charge of both heritage conservation as well as tourism development issues in Lalibela.
5.5.6 The Church Administration

As noted in chapter three of this dissertation, these splendid rock-hewn churches of Lalibela were believed to have been built in the 12th century by King Lalibela. These are eleven churches, cut from living volcanic rock and literally anchored in the earth. For many decades, the Church and State have been mutually responsible for the management of these churches. Later, after its inscription in the world heritage list in 1978, the role of the international community in managing the site has been significant.

The rock-hewn churches are owned and administered by the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, which is credited with protecting a large portion of the country’s movable and immovable cultural heritage, as stated in chapter three of this dissertation. The rock-hewn churches have more than 670 staff members consist of deacons, priests, monks, and religious students, who earn their living from the entrance fee. The Church with its head and secretary deals with several administrative issues of the church such as managing priests and administering salaries in direct communication with the Ethiopian Orthodox Church head office in Addis Ababa. As far as the church conservation is concerned, the Church Administration is working in cooperation with ARCCH and UNESCO. It seems, however, there is a fragile relationship between the Church Administration and tourism-oriented business stakeholders in Lalibela. This will be discussed in detail in the subsequent sections.

5.6 Collaboration among stakeholders

This section investigates the extent of stakeholder collaboration in Lalibela for the objective of integrating heritage tourism and conservation. Under this section, we will assess the summary of stakeholders’ responses with regard to collaboration among
themselves for the sake of promoting tourism as well as conserving the rock-hewn churches of Lalibela.

Although there was a general recognition of the importance of good collaboration among the 29 interviewed stakeholders, practically, there has been no such collaboration in Lalibela, the interview results showed. Various reasons can be found for the weak collaborations among stakeholders in Lalibela, according to the interviewees.

I am always blaming the Town Administration and Tourism Bureau for us not to collaborate with them. They never invited us to any discussions about tourism and conservation related issues [H05].

Souvenir shops are often cut-off from discussions in Lalibela. The contact is highly concentrated among the Town Administration, the Church Administration, and Tourism Bureau [S01].

In addition, the interview results indicate that the absence of training provisions to the locals influence the souvenir shops to procure most of the handicrafts from other places.

I bought all the souvenirs from retailers in Bahir Dar and Addis Ababa. If we had given training from the tourism bureau on how to make handicrafts, we could have produced all handicrafts here in Lalibela [S02].

Around 66% (10) of shop owners stated in the interview that most of their handicraft products are procured from Addis Ababa and other big cities in Ethiopia. The remaining shops are procuring souvenirs both from the local market as well as from those big souvenir shops that have procured handicrafts from Addis Ababa.

The collaboration of other stakeholders with Ethiopian Airlines is also weak. Although Ethiopian Airlines, Lalibela branch, is one of the major beneficiaries of the
tourism industry in Lalibela, the Airline office has never been consulted by any authorities to collaborate for the mission of conserving the churches as well as promoting tourism in the town, Mr. Alemu Debissa, Sales and Traffic Manager at Lalibela branch, stated in the interview. He added that;

We have never collaborated with other stakeholders so far in Lalibela. However, if any request for collaboration come up from other stakeholders we are more than happy to collaborate with them [Alemu Debissa 2011, interview].

Around 16 tourism business-oriented stakeholders, particularly hotel and souvenir shop owners believed that their collaboration with other stakeholders (particularly with the local tourism bureau) failed to materialize as a result of a lack of participation chances in several discussions. This finding is consistent with a study done by Aas, Ladkin, and Fletcher (2005) which found that the lack of stakeholders’ participation exacerbated weak collaborations among them in the case study site of Luang Prabang, Laos.

The relationship between stakeholders in Lalibela is not only characterized by weak collaboration but also by a full and open conflict among themselves. It seems there was a full-scale conflict between tour-guides and souvenir shops, tour-guides and hotels, and the Church Administration and hotels. The reason for their conflict basically emerged from the feeling that one stakeholder sought a benefit at the direct cost of the other. For instance, around 6 souvenir shop owners mentioned in the interview that some tour-guides persuade tourists not to buy from their shops.

Some tour-guides take tourists away from my shop and sent them to others whom they are friend with and related to. Besides, some shops have informal agreements with tour-guides to bring tourists to their shop on a commission basis [S08].
I am not happy with Lalibela tour guides because they are distorting the tourism market. They confuse tourists by disseminating wrong information so that they take them to their desired shops [S04].

In fact, the researcher observed this scenario during the survey time. In addition, most of the souvenir shop interviewees mentioned that after visiting the rock-hewn churches, tourists were directed to visit shops which tour guides have made a commission contract with. Such connections oftentimes resulted in tourists paying a higher price so that the commission for the tour guide would be bigger. In addition, tourists were exposed to hassling as a result of such informal linkages between tour-guides and shops. This finding is closely consistent with the study of Tosun (1998), that found tour guides and hotels in Urgup, Turkey, cooperating each other against the locally-owned small shops.

Likewise, there are some tour guides who have an informal contract (commission based) with selective big hotels so that they influence where tourists stay in those hotels. The researcher observed that tourists who arrive in Lalibela without reserving a hotel will be approached by these tour guides at the airport. They often feed tourists wrong information in order to persuade them not to stay in other hotels.

I know that there are some tour guides who advise tourists not to stay in my hotel simply because I don’t have contracts with them. Sometimes they even tell a lie to make tourists happy so that they would give them better tips [H08].

Actually I don’t mind that some big hotels are working with these tour guides on a commission base. What I really do care is the lies and negative information disseminated by these guides about other hotels [H07].

Though tour guides are member of the Lalibela tour guide association, it seems that the association has not attempted to solve the aforementioned conflicts. The interview with
Mr. Stalu, Chairman of the Lalibela tourist guide association, indicates that the guide association operates under the rules and regulations which every tour guide should abide by. According to the Chairman of the association, these rules and regulations of the association prohibit the tour guides’ action of confusing tourists by providing incorrect information. However despite these rules, some tour guides continue to maximize their benefit at the expense of other stakeholders.

We give our guides the full responsibility to take care of tourists both before and after their visit. Using this opportunity some tour guides might abuse their responsibility so that they hassle tourists [Stalu 2011, interview].

Though the association has a predetermined price for a particular tour, tourists tend to give an extra tip to tour guides after the tour. I think this incentive might make tour guides do unnecessary things [Stalu 2011, interview].

However, on the other hand the Lalibela Tourism Bureau does not seem to recognize the existence of such conflict among these stakeholders, and, hence does not, attempt to resolve it. The head of Lalibela tourism bureau, Mr. Habtamu, indicated that;

Tour guides in Lalibela are well-educated and certified by the regional government. I don’t think they engage in hassling or confusing tourists in cooperation with hotel and souvenir shop owners [Habtamu Tesfaw 2011, interview].

The stakeholder conflict in Lalibela is not only confined to the aforementioned groups but has also spread to the Church Administration. The Church Administration does not seem to have a conducive working relationship with some stakeholders particularly hotels in Lalibela. This could be related with the fact that the Church is involved in the hotel business. The Church became involved in the hotel business after it built its own hotel
which has 49 bed rooms in 2009. Around 6 interviewed hotel owners were not happy with the Church’s involvement in the hotel business.

For me, a religious institution like Lalibela Church should not be engaged in the hotel business. Instead, it would be appreciated if they could use the money for sanctified activities. For instance, there are many other churches in Lalibela suffering from a lack of resources; at least they could support them [H10].

The health facilities in Lalibela are very poor and inadequate. I am wondering why the Church could not invest in building a hospital instead of building a hotel [H09].

On the other hand, the interview with Megeste (a Priest), the secretary of Lalibela Church Administration shows that the Church’s involvement in the hotel business was the right decision.

There is nothing you can criticize about the Church’s decision to be involved in the hotel business. It should be appreciated, instead, because we are expanding the employment opportunity and also reducing the problem of the lack of hotels in the town [Priest Mengeste 2011, interview].

At the same time, the church supports local residents to withstand the problem of the high cost of living in the town by providing daily consumable items at a very low price.

The church is supporting Lalibela residents in terms of distributing consumable items such as salt, sugar, oil, and others at a very low price [Priest Mengeste 2011, interview].

In addition, the Church provides a mill service for residents who wants to grind their wheat, teff\textsuperscript{46}, and other grains at a very low price, the priest added in the interview. Hence, the Church Administration believes that everything the Church does is to the

\textsuperscript{46} Teff is an annual grass with a very small seed native to Ethiopia. The teff flour is used to make one of the national dishes in Ethiopia called Injera (a flatbread with a slightly spongy texture).
benefit of the local residents. This, however, could not be accepted by some stakeholders, particularly hotels, as indicated above.

To sum up, such kinds of relationships among all these stakeholders in Lalibela seem to be against the principle of sustainable heritage tourism development. It is unlikely to imagine sustainable heritage tourism development in a situation when the majority of the stakeholders are preoccupied with their own tourism benefits at the expenses of others. Hence, a healthy collaboration and relationship among stakeholders is desirable for heritage tourism to be integrated with heritage conservation. Previous studies have argued that conflict among stakeholders is most likely to occur when real differences in objectives exist among stakeholders (McKercher, 1992), or differences in activity styles (Jacob & Schreyer, 1980). Conflict is also likely to emerge as a result of differences in stakeholders’ role of promoting tourism and conserving heritage sites.

5.7 Stakeholders role in promoting tourism and conserving the churches

The importance of considering the role of various stakeholders in promoting tourism as well as conserving heritage sites is undeniable. In this section, we will examine to what extent stakeholders can contribute to the conservation of the rock-hewn churches and also to the development of tourism in Lalibela. Except for the Tourism Bureau and Church Administration, all the interviewed stakeholders were tourism business-oriented stakeholders. In fact, it is natural that business stakeholders focused on their profitability. Hence, they tend to be inclined towards the development of tourism rather than supporting the Church in conservation affairs. In addition, the lack of stakeholders’ awareness about their role toward conservation and their unfavorable relationship with the Church
Administration could also be another reason for the tourism business-oriented stakeholders to focus only on tourism development.

As far as their awareness is concerned, the majority of tourism business oriented stakeholders in Lalibela seem to believe that contributing to the conservation of the rock-hewn churches is not their core responsibility. Notably, hotel and souvenir shop owners tend to estrange themselves from the responsibility of supporting the Church in conservation affairs. Around 7 hotels and 9 souvenir shops argued in the interview that the conservation of the rock-hewn churches of Lalibela is the primary responsibility of both ARCCH and UNESCO.

Since Lalibela is a world heritage site, the international organizations, especially, UNESCO should take the lion’s share to protect these treasures [S15].

We are financially incapable of supporting the church for conservation. Hence, UNESCO and ARCCH should assume a prominent role in this regard [H06].

As mentioned in chapter three of this dissertation, the current conservation proclamation and cultural policy of Ethiopia specifies that every citizen must be responsible for protecting the cultural heritages of the country. There seem to be, however, some discrepancies between these principles and the existing reactions of Lalibela tourism business oriented stakeholders on church conservation. Hence, this discrepancy could be as a result of stakeholders’ low awareness of heritage conservation.

The other reason why the tourism business-oriented stakeholders do not provide support for church conservation is because of their unfavorable relationship with the Church Administration. In particular, as noted earlier, hotels were in a full-conflict with the Church Administration.
I don’t think the Church needs any financial support from us for conservation objectives. They are actually far richer and better organized than us. [H03].

I won’t support the church simply because they have enough revenue. Can you imagine? The entrance fee is around 350 birr [$20] per tourist [S08].

Conversely, the Church Administration criticizes these views of stakeholders who think the Church is rich enough to finance everything. Priest, Mengest stated that;

All priests’ salaries are being paid from the revenues of the entrance fees. Hence, it is very wrong to consider the Church as an extremely rich institution to finance everything by itself [Priest Mengeste 2011, interview].

We hope that more tourists are yet to come to Lalibela. We need more tourists in the future [Priest Mengeste 2011, interview].

In spite of the absence of a pre-determined carrying capacity limit in Lalibela, not only the tourism business oriented stakeholders but also the Church owners wish to have more tourist arrivals. As stated in chapter three of this dissertation, an excessive dependence on government and UNESCO creates negligence in church conservation missions not only in the minds of business stakeholders but also in the minds of the Church owners as well. These kinds of stakeholder behavior could be counted as a blatant violation of one of the fundamental articles of the 1972 UNESCO convention, which stipulates that nations are the primary responsible actors in the stream of heritage conservation. This implies that every domestic stakeholder should equally be responsible for the protection of Lalibela’s treasures.

On the other side of the spectrum, tourism business stakeholders were actively participating in promoting tourism in Lalibela. In fact, every stakeholder was in favor of
high tourist arrivals in Lalibela. Among others, hotel owners and tour guides played a vital role in promoting the tourism industry in the town.

As you may know, one of the major tourism challenges in Lalibela is tourists’ do not stay longer in Lalibela. The average tourist stay is about 2 days. So we are currently working on extending tourists stay by adding some tourism products to their visitation list. These days many hotels are sponsoring various religious festivities so as to keep the tourists staying longer days [H02].

We don’t hesitate to contribute to the development of tourism in Lalibela. For instance, our hotel has been providing free accommodation to those government and other officials who come to Lalibela for a tourism-related discussions [H05].

Likewise, the Lalibela tour guide association has also been supporting the tourism sector in various ways, according to Mr. Stalu. In this regard, the association has been cooperating with the Church Administration so as to purge the begging and hassling problems in the town.

We want to see tourism to grow in Lalibela. Therefore, our association members are providing support for those who engage in begging and hassling activities as they are one of the main obstacles for the tourism sector [Stalu 2011, interview].

However, Ethiopian Airlines, who is one of the main beneficiaries from the tourism industry in Lalibela, has not made any significant contribution both to the tourism development and church conservation. At the same time, as stated in chapter four of this dissertation, it seems that the tourism bureau is underperforming in its role to promote tourism as well as to conserve the rock-hewn churches, the majority stakeholders stated in the interview. Around 6 hotels and 9 souvenir shop owners indicated that the bureau has never consulted with them regarding tourism development issues.
Hence, as far as the intention of stakeholders is concerned, all tourism business-oriented stakeholders tend to be inclined towards tourism development support and overlook their role in the conservation of the rock-hewn churches. Previous studies have showed that it is obvious that the tourism-oriented business stakeholders observe things from the perspectives of maximizing their benefit through exploiting the use value of the heritage sites (McKercher & du Cros, 2002; Aas, Ladkin, & Fletcher, 2005). Hence, because of the existing fragile collaborations of stakeholders as well as their biased roles and priorities, it seems to be unfavorable to foster harmonization between heritage tourism and conservation in Lalibela through stakeholder collaboration.

5.8 Findings of the tourist survey

In this section, we will investigate the implications of tourists’ perceptions of the Lalibela site to the integration of heritage tourism and conservation. As noted in the methodology section of this chapter, a total of 110 questionnaires were collected from tourists who happened to visit the churches during the survey time. However, it should be noted that a one-time tourist survey of this kind might provide biased information, and hence, either a yearly or monthly basis tourist survey would be necessary to understand the overall tourist features in Lalibela. Prior to discussing the findings of our survey, it would be useful to begin with a discussion of the overall tourism situation of the town in general.

5.8.1 Tourism in Lalibela

The number of tourist arrivals in Lalibela has been increasing over time (Figure 5-2). For instance, the tourist flow grew nearly by 45% from 2006 to 2011\(^\text{47}\). Several factors could be attributed to its increment, among others, the sense of a living heritage and the

\(^{47}\) Lalibela Tourism Bureau
uninterrupted use of the churches as sacred places of worship leads most visitors to visit Lalibela these days (Elene, 2010). Despite this fact, however, the site attracts very few tourists’ compared to other similar destinations in other countries such as Petra in Jordan, the Slave Forts in Ghana, Angkor Wat in Cambodia and Machu Pichu in Peru (World Bank, 2006).

In fact, when we begin to compare with other destinations, it is not only Lalibela but also Ethiopia in general that seems to be underperforming in terms of attracting tourists. Ethiopia’s tourism industry had suffered up until 1991 from prolonged civil war, recurrent drought and strained government relations with tourist-generating countries (World Bank, 2006). Even today, in spite of the political stability in Ethiopia, the sector still appears to be at the same level it was in its infancy. Figure 5-1 shows the number of international tourist arrivals in Ethiopia for about more than three decades.

**Figure 5-1 International tourist arrivals in Ethiopia, 1963-2008**

![Graph showing international tourist arrivals in Ethiopia from 1963 to 2008](image)

Source: Ministry of Culture and Tourism (2010)
Though Ethiopia is a melting pot of diverse cultures and embraces an enormous heritage including the splendid rock-hewn churches of Lalibela, the share of tourism in the GDP still remains small. For instance, as of 2008 the sector had only a 0.07 percentage share of GDP (Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2010). Figure 5-1 shows the vivid picture of Ethiopia’s tourism industry. There was a rising trend of international tourist flows from 19,215 in 1963 up to 73,662 in 1973, an approximately more than three-fold increase in 10 years. This increment was not sustained, though. Mostly because of the political unrest and the subsequent government change, the number of international tourist arrivals went down to 50,220 in 1974 and to 30,640 in 1975.

Because the country was in a continued upheaval with Eritrea and Tigray region, the tourist numbers could not jump beyond 45,000 up until 1981. Later, even though the rate was low, the tourist arrivals started to grow to more than 60,000 in the coming years. However, as a result of the 1984 famine in the country and the wide media coverage on it, the world had a famine-related image of Ethiopia. This exacerbated the decline of tourist arrivals from 64,240 in 1983 to 59,552 in 1984. In general, the tourism industry growth during the military regime was very sluggish and unstable.

However, since the current government (EPRDF) came to power in 1991 the tourist arrivals have started to grow. The flow increased steadily to 139,000 in 1997 mainly due to the political stability that attracted many business, conference and vacation tourists. Unluckily, the country had a war with Eritrea in 1998 that led to a fall in tourist arrivals in 1998 and 1999. Yet, from 2000 onwards the country has witnessed a large number of tourist arrivals that has doubled in seven years. Despite the steady increment of tourist flows, Ethiopia’s tourism share of the African tourism market remains miniscule.
To understand Ethiopia’s share of the African tourist market, Figure 5-2 shows the international tourist arrivals in the Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) region as of 2011. The Figure indicates to what extent Ethiopia’s tourism industry is miniscule compared to many SSA countries.\footnote{Based on the above figure, nearly 468,000 tourists visited Ethiopia in 2011.}

**Figure 5-2 International tourist arrivals in SSA in 2011\footnote{In this figure, all the Sub-Saharan African countries were included except those whose data were not available and others that attracted fewer than 200,000 tourists per year.}**

Despite the fact that Ethiopia has the highest number of World Heritage Sites in Africa, along with Morocco, its number of tourists is far behind. Several reasons can be attributed to the weak features of the tourism industry in Ethiopia. One could be except for the periodic upgrades of infrastructure (airports and roads), there has been little investment...
and the government has largely overlooked improving the tourism service facilities. In addition, the lacks of marketing and promotional strategy in line with the low awareness of tourism by local communities have also stifled the growth of the sector.

As far as Lalibela is concerned, though it is underperforming as compared to other countries’ destinations, locally, it is considered as one of the flagship destinations in terms of attracting a relatively large number of tourists. World Bank (2006) stated in its study that Lalibela is one of the premier destinations in Ethiopia that is able to attract around 90% of the leisure tourists who visit Ethiopia. In particular, during the main Ethiopian religious festivities such as Ethiopian Christmas and Epiphany, a large number of domestic and foreign visitors visit Lalibela (Elene & Assefa, 2012). The international tourist arrivals have increased in Lalibela from about 5,000 in 1999 (Mitchell and Coles, 2009), to 35,000 in 2011. Figure 5-3 shows the international tourist arrivals in Lalibela.

**Figure 5-3 International tourist arrivals in Lalibela**

![Graph showing international tourist arrivals in Lalibela](source: Lalibela Tourism Bureau (Interview, 2011).)

Figure 5-3 indicates the international tourist arrivals in Lalibela collected based upon visitors ticket passes to visit the churches. Hence, these numbers are fairly accurate to
estimate the extent of international tourism in Lalibela. However, the data are not available for domestic visitors because the entrance is free for Ethiopian nationals, hence, they could not track the number of domestic visitors.

The other main issue to consider about tourism in Lalibela is its seasonal pattern. There is a noticeable seasonality to tourist demand in Lalibela. According to the interview findings from the Church Administration, for about five months, from October to February, international tourist arrivals are comparatively higher. Within these high season months, December and January are the clear peak seasons in the year. On the other hand, the low season ranges from June to August, as it is basically the rainy season in Ethiopia.

In the subsequent sections, using the survey findings, we will analyze the type of tourists who visit Lalibela and their perceptions of the town in general.

### 5.8.2 Profile of the respondents

Based on the survey findings of the 110 sampled tourists, the majority (86.36%) of them were from Europe, followed by North America (7.27%), and from other different continents (6.37%). Among these European travelers, Spanish, British and French travelers takes the top three positions. The socio-demographic characteristics of the foreign visitors to Lalibela are profiled in Table 5-1.
### Table 5-1 Socio-demographic profile of respondents (n=110)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Freq.</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gender</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>45.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>54.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Marital Status</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>64.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-19</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-29</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>19.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>36.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>20.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-59</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 and above</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>15.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Educational status</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incomplete secondary</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complete secondary</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>16.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University undergraduate</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>37.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postgraduate</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>45.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Employment status</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Company employed</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>61.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>13.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Monthly Income (n=84)</strong>&lt;sup&gt;50&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$1000 and below</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>34.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$1001-$2000</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>16.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$2001-$3000</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>23.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$3001-$4000</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$4001 and above</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11.91</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>50</sup> This variable was calculated based on 84 respondents because the remaining 26 respondents were not willing to declare their monthly income on the questionnaire.
The results of Table 5-1 indicate that though there is not that much significant difference, more females were found in the sample. Regarding their marital status, the sample consisted of a large number (64.55%) of single respondents, followed by 30% married respondents. The survey also found that more than half (56.36%) of the respondents were aged below 40. Likewise, more than half of the respondents had a good educational and employment status. As indicated above, around 82.69% of the respondents had undergraduate degrees and above. The majority of sample respondents were working adults, employed in companies (61.82%) and running their own businesses (13.64%).

In terms of their financial status, many of them (34.52%) earned less than $1000 a month, followed by 20 (23.81%) respondents who earn from $2001 to $3000 per month. Most of the tourists to Lalibela are considered as ‘budget travelers’ who tend to spend little for their stay\textsuperscript{51}. Many tourists even complain about the entrance fee to the churches. In this study, for example, as indicated in Table 5-2, we found that 47.27% (52) of the respondents describe the entrance fee as expensive, while 42.73% (47) regarded it as reasonable.

Prior to examining the tourists’ perceptions about the rock-hewn churches of Lalibela and the tourism service facilities, Table 5-2 below presents the descriptive findings about the tourists’ visit to Lalibela, including the purpose of their trip and source of information.

\textsuperscript{51} Interview with an official at the Lalibela Tour Guide Association
Table 5-2 Tourists visit to Lalibela

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QA1. Have you ever been to Lalibela before? (n=110)</th>
<th>Freq.</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9.09%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>90.91%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QA2. What is the main purpose of your current trip? (n=110)</th>
<th>Freq.</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To visit the church</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>84.55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To worship</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To visit friends and relatives</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11.82%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QA3. How did you first hear about Lalibela? (n=110)</th>
<th>Freq.</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Friends or colleagues</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>27.27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7.27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspaper/magazine</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14.55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TV</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>13.64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tour company</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9.09%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internet</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5.45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guide book</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>21.82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.91%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QA6. Are you willing to donate money for the conservation of the churches? (n=110)</th>
<th>Freq.</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>25.45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>74.55%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| QB1. How would you describe the entrance fee to the churches? (n=104)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cheap</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4.81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reasonable</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>45.19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expensive</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Around 90% of the respondents were on their first trip to visit the rock-hewn churches of Lalibela. The majority of the respondents came to Ethiopia mainly to visit the rock-hewn churches after they got information mainly from their friends and colleagues. Regarding the entrance fee, 50% of the sample respondents regarded it as expensive. Currently the entrance fee per overseas tourist is around $20. As a result, more than 74% of the respondents were not willing to donate extra money for conservation purposes. Regarding tourists’ overnight stay in Lalibela, Table 5-3 shows a descriptive summary of the findings.

52 The remaining 6 respondents had no idea how much the entrance fee was because they were on package tours in which case the tour company pays the entrance fee.
Table 5-3 Number of nights tourists spent in Lalibela

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Median</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>Min</th>
<th>Max</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>QA5. How many total nights did you (or will you) stay in Lalibela</td>
<td>2.49</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.08</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5-3 shows that the mean and standard deviation of tourists’ length of stay in Lalibela, about 2.49 and 1.08 nights, respectively. This can be interpreted as being due to the fact that the town’s tourism product is limited to the churches only; tourists did not stay more than 2 nights. Many stakeholders, hotels in particular, claim that the tourists’ average stay of 2.49 nights is very too short.

In the survey, tourists were asked to state their perception regarding both the churches and the market appeal of the site in general. Their perception was measured through a five point Likert-scale method as 1 ‘strongly disagree’ and 5 ‘strongly agree’. Hence, in the following section, tourists’ perception and the role of incorporating their perception in the process of integrating heritage tourism and conservation will be addressed.

5.8.3 Tourists’ perception

In the survey, tourists stated their positive and negative impressions about the rock-hewn churches as well as the tourist facilities in the town. Most of their positive impressions were focused on the features of the churches. For instance, for around 60% of the sample respondents, the history, authenticity, architectural features, and the interior paintings of the churches were the main factors for their positive impressions. On the other hand, most of their negative impressions were directly linked to the poor quality of the tourist service facilities in general. In fact, few negative perceptions were also attributed to the facilities of the site in particular. For further analysis, the means and standard deviations
of the tourists’ perceptions toward several elements are profiled in Table 5-4. A higher
mean value indicates higher respondents’ agreement on the given statement and vice versa.

Table 5-4 tourists’ perception on several issues in Lalibela (n=110)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>mean</th>
<th>p50</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>There were adequate signage to various parts of the church</td>
<td>2.06</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.96</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The story board and guidebooks about the church were clear</td>
<td>2.59</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.13</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The number of public restrooms was adequate</td>
<td>2.18</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.94</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public restrooms were clean</td>
<td>2.31</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.09</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paintings, artifacts, and other heritages inside the church are well preserved</td>
<td>2.99</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.04</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tour-guides had sufficient knowledge about the church</td>
<td>3.55</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.21</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The number of trash bins in and around the church was adequate</td>
<td>2.74</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.19</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotels are comfortable and attractive to visitors</td>
<td>2.46</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.08</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The transportation from and to the airport was convenient</td>
<td>2.53</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.06</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There are variety shops that offer quality products</td>
<td>2.82</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.71</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local residents are friendly to visitors</td>
<td>3.99</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.79</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The trip to the church has increased my knowledge about the church</td>
<td>4.18</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.66</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=neutral, 4=agree, 5=strongly agree. SD= Standard Deviation p50=median

Despite the fact that tourists were amazed by the creature of these splendid
monolithic rock-hewn churches, the majority of the tourists had negative impressions of the
current management of the church, for instance, the lack of clear signage and guidebooks of

53 This statement was answered by 103 sample respondents, as the remaining 7 did not choose to have a tour-
guide with them.
the church. As indicated in Table 5-4, more than 65% of the sample respondents encountered a lack of adequate and clear signage as well as guidebooks during their visit to the rock-hewn churches. The problem of the lack of signage influenced many tourists to have a tour guide with them even if they did not necessarily want one. Absence of adequate and clean public restrooms was the major compliant of a majority of the tourists in Lalibela.

Similarly, respondents were less likely to agree with statements related to hotel comfort and transportation facilities in the town. Of the total sample respondents, around 61% of them disagreed with a statement that Lalibela has comfortable hotels. Likewise, Lalibela has no town transportation services except from and to the airport. Around half of the respondents disagreed that the transportation service from and to the airport was convenient. The absence of paved roads from and to the airport could be the cause of this.

Of the statements listed in Table 5-4, the statement about the knowledge of the tour-guides, the friendly behavior of local residents, and tourists’ knowledge about the church had the highest mean values (high level of agreement). Out of those respondents who were accompanied by a tour guide during their visit, around 65% of them agreed that their guide had sufficient knowledge about the church. In relation to this, after their visit, more than 88% of visitors believed that their level of knowledge about the rock-hewn churches had increased. Hence, the sufficient knowledge of tour guides could have a role in enhancing tourists’ understanding of the rock-hewn churches well. Conversely, Table 5-5 below shows tourists’ perceptions of beggars and the safety of the town.
Although the majority of the tourists highly agreed about the friendly behavior of local residents, around 59% of the sample tourists stated that they felt uncomfortable visiting the church in a situation where many beggars assemble around the church affect the quality of their visit. With the expectation of alms from tourists, begging and pestering have become a day to day activity for many adults and children in Lalibela. Although the Church provides food and shelter to those residents who engage in begging and pestering activities, the support is insufficient to mitigate the problem from its base. On the other hand, unlike some studies which argued tourists felt very unsafe at attraction sites in some developing countries (Boakye, 2012), Lalibela was considered by most respondents as a safe attraction site to visit. It is very common to observe many tourists enjoying the night view of the town without fear of their safety.

Besides the statements listed in Table 5-4, respondents were given open-ended questions so as to capture their perceptions on several issues in Lalibela. Respondents repeatedly mentioned three main problems in the town. First, as noted earlier, the harassment of tourists by beggars is the fundamental one. A large number of children, adults, and elderly peoples beg and pester tourists on the street. In particular, the begging phenomenon tends to be higher during peak seasons such as Ethiopian Christmas and Epiphany celebrations. This finding is exactly consistent with findings of World Bank
(2006), which concluded that begging is considered as a normal and accepted way of life in Lalibela. Second, visitors were uncomfortable with the hotel facilities in the town. Respondents repeatedly mentioned that they suffered from mosquito bites, and fleas, at the hotel. It seems that the poor sanitation system both in and around the hotels exacerbated the problem. In addition, hotels provided poor hotel amenities, notably, poor water supply and dilapidated hotel room furniture. The third major concern to tourists as indicated on Table 5-4, were the lack of clean and adequate restrooms in the town. In fact, this is a critical problem not only for tourists but also for the local residents, as the general public lacks restroom facilities in the town.

Not a negligible number of respondents also complained about several other issues such as the absence of credit card usage, poor banking services, and also on the shelters built by UNESCO to preserve the rock-hewn churches. As we discussed in chapter three, this was the EU-funded and UNESCO led temporary shelters built to preserve churches from natural influences. However, it seems that visitors were unhappy to see the shelters, as they claimed it reduces the beauty and authenticity of the churches. Others were unhappy not because of its visual impact but because they felt that the churches might be in danger in case this giant shelter falls on the churches.

To sum up, if one aims to integrate heritage tourism and conservation, or achieve sustainable heritage tourism, incorporating visitors’ perceptions is more than necessary. There is no doubt about the necessity of taking quick measures on mitigating the challenges of promoting tourism, conserving the heritage sites, and also maintaining the positive momentum. All the aforementioned challenges raised by visitors seem to be a seed for unsustainable heritage tourism development. Hence, addressing the tourists’ concerns as
much as possible, in both tourism and conservation arenas, will pave the way for a sustainable harmonization of heritage tourism and conservation.

5.9 Conclusion

This chapter highlighted the implications of stakeholders’ collaboration and tourists’ perceptions towards integrating heritage tourism and conservation. The interview findings revealed that there is a fragile collaboration of stakeholders both in promoting tourism as well as conserving the rock-hewn churches. We found that the tourism-oriented stakeholders have had no participation privileges in the decision-making processes of the town’s tourism development as well as the conservation affairs of the churches. Most hotel and souvenir shop owners repeatedly blamed both the town administration and tourism bureau because they usually do not consult them on many tourism development issues. Notably, Ethiopia Airlines, who is the prominent beneficiary from the Lalibela tourism industry, has never been asked to collaborate in both tourism development and church conservation missions. This could be related to the fact that the public administration in Ethiopia is often characterized as top-down with little or no participation of stakeholders at the bottom.

The brittle collaboration is highly pronounced amongst the tourism-oriented stakeholders. For instance, the relationship between hotels and tour guides, souvenir shops and tour guides, as well as hotels and the church is often characterized as full of conflict and mistrust. The informal, commission-based relationship between some hotels and tour guides as well as some souvenir shops and tour guides seems to distort the tourism market, and creates the patron-client form of relationship in the market. As a result of a get-rich-quickly mentality, the tour guides who informally collaborate with a few hotels and
souvenir shops deliberately provide wrong information to tourists and advise them not to visit small shops and hotels. Hence, this misinformation directs tourists to solely visit the pre-determined hotels and shops with which tour guides have a commission contract with.

As far as the role of stakeholders is concerned, our interview findings revealed that many of the hotel and souvenir shop owners tended to be more inclined to promote tourism compared to conserving the rock-hewn churches. In fact, this is understandable since many tourism-oriented stakeholders give priority to their profit. Apart from this fact, however, two other factors often triggered many stakeholders to prioritize tourism development over the church conservation. First, most tourism-oriented stakeholders seemed to be oblivious about their responsibility regarding conserving the churches. Around 70% of the hotels and 60% of the souvenir shops considered the conservation of the rock-hewn churches to be merely the responsibility of international institutions such as UNESCO and the Ethiopian government. The second factor is the presence of an open conflict between the church administration and tourism business-oriented stakeholders. Both hotels and shops usually assumed that the church is rich and needs no any external financial support. Hence, these two main reasons influenced many stakeholders to opt to provide support for tourism development. For instance, several hotels sponsor different local festivities with the objective of increasing tourists’ overnight stay. However, the majority of the stakeholders tended to neglect the possible roles that they can play in order to conserve the rock-hewn churches. Such a phenomenon may ultimately hamper the objectives of harmonizing heritage tourism and conservation from the perspectives of the stakeholders.

At the same time, turning a blind eye to the perceptions of tourists will also impede the integration of heritage tourism and conservation. Visitors in Lalibela perceived various
positive and negative issues, though the negative ones outnumber the positive. Except for the friendly behavior of local residents and knowledgeable tour guides, Lalibela is often characterized by several negative factors that can jeopardize the integration of heritage tourism and conservation. Among others, begging, the lack of water supply, the lack of public restrooms and poor hotel amenities require the most urgent measures as they are the most serious problems creating tourist discontent. At the same time poor signage, bad transportation infrastructure, and sanitation problems also seemed to be irritants to tourists in Lalibela. Hence, immediate measures should be undertaken to alleviate these challenges as they are seeds to unsustainable tourism development. Some of the challenges, for instance poor signage, can easily be alleviated by giving due attention to the sector without using many resources.

In general, to sustainably harmonize heritage tourism and conservation through stakeholder collaboration several issues should be considered. First, the local government should vigorously enhance stakeholders’ participation in the decision-making issues of heritage tourism and church conservation. To do so, the essence of formal discussions across different groups has to be established to increase their understanding of each other’s views to lessen the undesirable conflict among them. Second, stakeholders’ awareness about their responsibility of preserving the rock-hewn churches has to be enhanced so that it will lead to reducing the excessive dependency on international organizations. At the same time, it would be desirable to make stakeholders part of the solution toward improving the unfavorable tourism service facilities of the town.
Chapter 6
Conclusions

6.1 Summary of findings

Heritage tourism and conservation tend to have divergent goals whereby those in the tourism industry wish for the economic opportunity of the heritage site at whatever cost, whereas those in the conservation spectrum would prefer to conserve the site, environment, and culture from any deterioration and negative tourism influences. Unfortunately, heritage tourism and conservation may continue to be strange bedfellows unless an effective harmonization of the two takes place. This doctoral dissertation attempted to harmonize the two sectors through several perspectives, which were thoroughly investigated from chapters’ three to five. The study found several bottlenecks that can impede the harmonization of heritage tourism and conservation in the rock-hewn churches of Lalibela. These findings are summarized under the subsequent three sections followed by the possible policy implications.

6.1.1 The existing status of churches

Using information from the government officials, church administrators, UNESCO officials, chapter three of this dissertation meticulously examined the existing situation of the churches, apart from discussions on Ethiopia’s overall heritage conservation system. Currently, the churches are in a fragile situation whereby several factors have damaged the church buildings. Natural causes such as heavy rainfall are one of the major threats to the church buildings. Rain results in water infiltration into the church buildings and later this causes cracks in the buildings when the buildings are exposed to sunlight. Several attempts have been made by various international organizations, notably by UNESCO, to protect the churches from naturally-caused deterioration. Most recently, the EU funded and UNESCO
led a project to build shelters for five of the rock-hewn churches so as to protect them from naturally caused threats. Hence, it should be noted that these shelters are important to restore the churches until further detailed conservation studies can be conducted. However, our sample survey indicated that the majority of tourists criticized these shelters as they claimed it reduces the authentic features of the churches.

Apart from the natural threats, human-induced factors also contributed to the deterioration of the church buildings. Because the church is a living heritage site, it serves a large number of local worshipers on a daily basis. As part of their religious practices, residents often touch and kiss the church buildings, and these practices threaten the existence of the churches. The church administration seemed to be oblivious to the negative influences of local worshipers on church buildings. Hence, the determination of the carrying capacity limit might be desirable to protect the church from the influence of local worshipers, as currently the church has no predetermined carrying capacity limit. In addition, even though some of the past preservation attempts, such as UNESCO’s built shelters, are considered as part of a site management plan, the church still lacks a comprehensive site management plan. As also stated earlier, a detailed conservation study of the churches has not been conducted yet as the nature of the rock requires large financial resources as well as extensive studies by various professionals.

The sustainable conservation of the churches often failed to materialize as a result of a severe financial crunch and also due to an acute lack of expertise in various fields. In fact, an endemic lack of government budget is the most glaring problem in Ethiopia that results not all, or even a large portion, of Ethiopia’s cultural heritage being sustainably conserved. This severe financial crunch can be aggravated by the government biased policy directions
that prioritize other economic sectors which are believed to bring quick economic
development over the cultural sector. For instance, in the current five-year plan of the
country (Growth and Transformation Plan), the government has only shallowly addressed
heritage conservation, while other sectors such as industry, agriculture, infrastructure,
hydropower, education, and health were stated with detailed benchmarks. In addition, the
lack of cooperation and partnership amid several government offices is also worsening
several heritage conservation efforts in the country in general and Lalibela in particular.

Hence, the rationale behind our findings in this section is, if a sustainable
harmonization of heritage tourism and conservation is to flourish, the robustness of the
church conservation status first must be tightened. To do so, a detailed conservation study
of the site has to be launched in line with securing a sustainable financial source from the
tourism industry. A possible policy intervention in this arena is suggested in the policy
implications section of this dissertation.

6.1.2 Local residents

One of the parameters used to harmonize heritage tourism and conservation in this
dissertation was through the perspectives of local residents. Using the findings from the
local residents’ survey, chapter four of this dissertation found that local residents were
willing and committed to conserving the rock-hewn churches. Around 98% of the sample
respondents were unreservedly willing to offer their support for the conservation activities
of the churches. However, their commitment emanated not from the fact that they
understood the scientific ways of heritage conservation but from their religious faith. As a
result, some of their preservation attempts can contribute to the deterioration of the church
buildings. For instance, it is not uncommon to observe many residents rub the exterior of
church buildings using sandpaper in order to remove the fungus on the buildings. At the same time, residents seemed to be unaware that their spiritual interactions with church buildings, such as kissing and touching the buildings, contribute to the deterioration of the physical structure of the buildings.

Likewise, our findings indicate that residents’ were willing and committed to promote tourism in Lalibela, though the extent of their commitment was lower compared to their church preservation efforts. Residents’ commitment to develop tourism in Lalibela was confined to a certain groups of residents. We found that those residents who reside near the site, were educated, and have tourism-related jobs tended to be more interested in tourism development than their counterparts. The same groups of residents had a better level of awareness about the importance of engaging in the tourism industry. However, our findings show that the support from both the Lalibela tourism bureau and town administration was low in terms of allowing residents to engage in various tourism-oriented businesses. Hence, the majority of the residents rated government administrators as low performers in tourism-related activities.

Our findings also indicate that tourism brings benefits to the town mainly in terms of employment, infrastructural development, and the expansion of investment. Because the majority of the residents are agrarian, few of them benefit from tourism-related businesses such as hotels, restaurants, bars, shops, and renting mules. Most importantly, it seems that tourism has a significant positive social impact in Lalibela. Our survey findings indicate that more than 92% of sample respondents were proud of their churches when they realize it is of interest to tourists from different parts of the world. In addition, around 69% of the
sample respondents agreed that tourism creates a positive attitude in the minds of the community toward innovative works.

On the other hand, the majority of the residents agreed that tourism had negative impacts, mainly in the socio-economic spheres of the local residents. Our survey found that the negative impacts of tourism in Lalibela that exacerbate community problems include high inflation, income inequality, youngsters’ school dropouts, drug addiction, prostitution, homosexuality, and acculturation. Amongst others, high inflation, prostitution, and homosexuality seemed to be the most serious undesirable influences of tourism in Lalibela. The acts of prostitution and homosexuality are extensively condemned amid many of the conservative Orthodox Christian adherents in Lalibela.

The sustainable harmonization of heritage tourism and conservation requires not only enhancing residents’ participation and commitment in the sectors but also protecting them from the unnecessary tourism influences. In addition, residents’ level of understanding on how they should preserve the churches must be enhanced. Detailed policy-oriented suggestions on how to combat all the aforementioned challenges are indicated in the policy implications section of this dissertation.

6.1.3 Stakeholders’ collaboration

The last two prominent parameters regarded in this dissertation to harmonize heritage tourism and conservation was stakeholder collaboration as well tourists’ perception. Tourism business-oriented stakeholders, church owners, and government offices view each other with suspicion for they share little in common apart from the churches. The partnership amongst these groups tends to be weighted toward the conflict end of the spectrum, with little or no contact with each other. The majority of the hotel and souvenir
shop owners claimed that they have had no privileges to participate in the decision-making processes of the town administration and tourism bureau in the realm of heritage tourism and church conservation. Surprisingly, even Ethiopian Airlines, the main beneficiary of the tourism industry in Lalibela, has never been asked to collaborate in both tourism development and conservation missions, though they are willing to do so. Hence, this results in fragile co-ordination between tourism business-oriented stakeholders and government offices in Lalibela.

Likewise, the partnership between church owners and other stakeholders, mainly hotels, was characterized by suspicion and conflict. Since many hotels and souvenir shops consider the church as a rich religious institution, they tended to be ignorant about providing support for church conservation. In addition, similar to the church owners, the majority of the tourism-related business stakeholders assumed conservation was mainly the responsibility of the government and other international organizations. This shows to what extent every stakeholder, including the church owners, count on international organizations and the federal government and refrain from assuming church conservation responsibilities. Hence, it should be noted that too much dependency on international organizations may inhibit the objective of harmonizing heritage tourism and conservation in the rock-hewn churches of Lalibela through stakeholders’ participation.

Our interview findings also indicate that the informal and commission-based relationship between tour guides and some big hotels currently distorts the tourism industry in the town, and it can also be a potential impediment for the objective of harmonizing heritage tourism and conservation. Tourists are often given wrong information by tour-guides to stop them from staying in small hotels with which tour guides had no commission
contract, and this caused the patron-client relationship among these tourism business-oriented stakeholders in Lalibela. Though this is somehow good for tourists because it helps them to stay in a good hotel, its downside is twofold. First, tourists pay extremely higher prices since the commission for tour guides is indirectly included in their room price. Second, such informal partnerships are at the expense of other small hotels who would like to have fair market competition. Similar informal co-ordination also exists between tour guides and big souvenir shops in the town. Thus, if harmonization of heritage tourism and conservation should prevail through stakeholder collaboration, the co-existence of various stakeholders must be enhanced and distorting the tourism industry through unhealthy competition must come to an end.

As tourists are one of stakeholders, tourists’ perceptions of the church and the tourism service facilities in the town were used as the last parameter in this dissertation to successfully harmonize heritage tourism and conservation. The harmonization can be achieved through incorporating tourists’ attitudes toward the conservation status of the churches as well as the tourism service facilities of the town. The majority of the tourists were delighted by the fact that many of the tour guides had profound knowledge of the rock-hewn churches. As a result, around 88% of the sample respondents claimed that the trip increased their knowledge about the churches.

On the other hand, our tourist survey findings indicate that the majority of the tourists found several negative issues. The findings indicate that poor signage around churches, the lack of restrooms, sanitation problems of the town, inconvenient transportation service, begging and pestering, poor hotel amenities, fleas and mosquitos in the hotels, the lack of hotel’s water supply, and the absence of credit card usage were the most negative issues for
tourists. In addition, tourists also complained about UNESCO’s built shelters as some of them claimed it is antithetical to the authenticity of the churches, while others were wondered that the giant shelters might fall on the church buildings and damage them permanently. Thus, we believe that fulfilling what is lacking in the tourism industry would accelerate the harmonization of heritage tourism and conservation in Lalibela.

6.2 Policy implications

Based on the aforementioned summary of findings a number of specific policy implications can be ensue which may pave the way for the sustainable harmonization of heritage tourism and conservation. In this section, we discuss the way forward based on some of the critical findings which we believe a policy intervention might be desirable to harmonize heritage tourism and conservation. The policy suggestions are categorized into the following four major sections.

6.2.1. Resources for conservation

Detailed pre-conservation studies can be regarded as a feasible starting point for the sustainable conservation of the rock-hewn churches of Lalibela. Hence, the federal government, ARCCCH in particular, should consider the possibility of installing a network channel that enables collaboration with educational institutions both inside and outside of the country so that detailed conservation research studies can be conducted. Furthermore, a partnership but not excessive dependence with international organizations is also required if detailed conservation studies are to be conducted. Indeed, the dried-up government budgets and lack of other public funds to the sector remains a challenge to executing detailed conservation studies. Hence, a specific policy intervention might be necessary in order to
combat the endemic lack of financial resources to conserve the rock-hewn churches. We suggest three possible approaches to finance the conservation of the rock-hewn churches.

The first approach is to introduce an accommodation tax system. Generating financing for conservation through an accommodation tax is a commonly practiced scheme in several countries\textsuperscript{54}. Thus, in collaboration with hotel owners in Lalibela, the government should examine the possibility of introducing an accommodation tax that tourists will be asked to pay per overnight stay included in their accommodation bill. The taxes can usually be levied either in a fixed or an \textit{ad valorem}\textsuperscript{55} form, though the fixed one seems to be suitable to Lalibela’s case for two reasons: first, because a fixed accommodation tax system seems to be easy to administer, and second, applying ad valorem form of accommodation may not be feasible in a situation when the quality of hotels in Lalibela is more or less comparable. Regardless of the type of tax system, the government must convince hotels as they will have the extra burden of collecting the tax.

The second approach to financing conservation is to establish a conservation fund. Fundraising through voluntary donations can be regarded as a viable option to finance the conservation of the rock-hewn churches. These donations might be made by those who are concerned about the conservation of the rock-hewn churches. Tourists might be the appropriate target for this voluntary donation as they are not supposed to be free riders on the rock-hewn churches and should bear the cost of conservation. Though we conducted a one time and small sample size survey, the results indicated that about one fourth of sample

\begin{footnote}
\textsuperscript{54} An accommodation tax is a popular scheme worldwide, which has been adopted by several countries such as France, Belgium, Austria, Greece, Czech Republic, Netherlands, and many others (Gago, Labandeira, Picos, & Rodrigo, 2009).
\textsuperscript{55} This is a type of tax which is based on the value of the product or service. Hence, the accommodation taxes can be flexible and their rate may differ according to lodging type, location, as well as the season of the visit.
\end{footnote}
respondents were willing to provide extra donations to the church for conservation purpose. Hence, installing this fundraising system by targeting tourists might be desirable, though further detailed and consecutive surveys of tourists are necessary before the implementation.

The third approach to financing conservation of the churches can be the re-investment of entrance fees. In collaboration with the church owners, the re-investment of some portions of the entrance fees obtained from tourists can be a viable way of financing church conservation. The importance of this scheme has been stated by many international organizations, notably ICOMOS, in its 1999 International Cultural Tourism Charter.\(^56\) The feasibility of this option is heavily dependent on the willingness of the church owners to collaborate in this scheme. However, under the situation where a large portion of the ticket revenue goes to the more than 675 members of the church community today, this option would unlikely be accepted by the church owners.

However, the most important issue to consider is how these three aforementioned approaches of financing conservation can properly be managed in a country where the tax collection and fund management system is not functioning well. It should be noted that introducing these financing systems merely cannot work unless a proper channel is established for the money to flow directly for the purpose of church conservation. To do so, a symbiotic co-ordination and partnership first should be enhanced between the federal and regional governments to agree on the conservation financing management systems. Although the bureaucracy tends to be complicated at the federal level, these schemes might operate well if they are managed by the federal government (ARCCH in particular) for two

\(^{56}\) Article 5.3 of this charter stated as follows: “A significant proportion of the revenue specifically derived from tourism programmes to heritage places should be allotted to the protection, conservation and presentation of those places, including their natural and cultural contexts” (ICOMOS, 1999).
reasons. First, because Lalibela is a World Heritage Site, the international conventions state that many of the church’s management issues should be directly handled by the national government itself. Second, the existing conservation proclamation of Ethiopia (attached in appendix IV) gives the ultimate authority to ARCCH for the management of the country’s cultural heritages. Hence, for these two fundamental reasons, it would be desirable if the schemes can be operated under the federal government. In fact, we should not forget the importance of consensus and collaborations with other stakeholders, hotels and church owners in particular, in order to properly implement the financing schemes.

6.2.2. Awareness enhancement

A policy intervention would also be necessary to enhance awareness of not only the local residents but also the business stakeholders and church owners. In order to sustainably maintain the existing momentum of the local residents’ unreserved willingness to conserve the church, their awareness must be enhanced. One possible way to raise community awareness of heritage conservation could be through the inclusion of the concept into the school curriculum. This can be considered as a long-run solution which helps to make children aware of their culture, history and identity so that they could responsibly and diligently participate in conservation in the future. In the short-run, both the tourism bureau and town administration should consider enhancing residents’ awareness through hosting awareness campaigns and offering participation privileges. The use of media channels such as radio and television would also be promising so as to enhance local residents’ awareness of heritage conservation. Through various public seminars and discussions, the town administration should be able to create a platform for the local residents to fully participate in various conservation and tourism development decision making processes. Special
attention must be given to those residents who are less educated, reside far away from the site, and have no tourism-related jobs as they tend to be less aware about the scientific ways of heritage conservation than their counterparts.

Other awareness creation measures should also be undertaken to educate the stakeholders (mainly hotels and souvenir shops) around Lalibela about the importance of conserving the rock-hewn churches. Boosting hotel owners’ awareness on the importance of conservation would help to materialize the objective of implementing an accommodation tax scheme. Likewise, through enhancing stakeholders’ awareness, it would be possible to reconcile the differences among several stakeholders, and hence, a wider collaboration and formulation of alliances may prevail. A similar initiative must be also undertaken to enhance the awareness level of the church owners. The church owners should be aware of the undesirable influences of local residents on the physical structure of the church buildings due to their spiritual attachment.

As part of awareness enhancement measures, tourists should also be aware of what they should and should not do in the town through a well-organized information center. The local tourism bureau in collaboration with the Ministry of Culture and Tourism should examine the possibility of establishing a well-organized information center that provides detailed information to tourists. Providing information through such a center would help tourists be informed about the prohibited and accepted norms of local residents. Hence, the provision of clear information to tourists can be one of the possible ways to alleviate the problem of homosexuality and prostitution acts in the town. As a last resort, however, a serious enforcement of the existing laws of the country against homosexuality and prostitution would also be considered as another possible way. For instance, article 629 of
the criminal code of the country stipulates that whoever performs a homosexual act, or any other indecent act, is punishable with imprisonment\footnote{Indubitably, this suggestion is applied to the Lalibela case only, as a result of the sensitivity of the issue globally. This suggestion was given merely to satisfy Lalibela residents demand but not to discourage homosexual practices elsewhere.}. In addition, the provision of rich information to tourists may help to mitigate the mistrust and open conflicts amongst stakeholders due to the existence of informal commission-based relationships. Having this information center either at the airport or in the town will help to protect tourists from some tour guides faulty information.

6.2.3. **Build a well-organized administrative system**

The sustainable harmonization of heritage tourism and conservation relies on an efficient government administrative system. A collaborative administrative system is important in the realm of both heritage conservation and tourism development. Because Ethiopia is under the federalism system, it seems that there is a general lack of a holistic management system between the federal and regional governments regarding heritage conservation in particular. Hence, a consensus and collaborations between the federal and regional government might be desirable in conserving the rock-hewn churches as well as promoting tourism in Lalibela. Frequent discussions and setting common objectives among various government agencies would be one possible way to build a well-organized administrative system.

In addition, enhancing the performance of government officials in the field of both tourism and conservation can also be one possible way to build a well-organized administrative system. Further training and education programs for officials at the Lalibela tourism bureau, town administration, ARCC and the Ministry would be desirable in order
to strengthen their performance on conservation and tourism-related affairs. These officials must understand the fact that tourism in Lalibela is growing as a result of the existence of the splendid rock-hewn churches of Lalibela. Hence, considering this fact, both the federal and regional government should give due emphasis to the importance of church conservation by embracing conservation into their other priority development agendas.

### 6.2.4. Other measures

Apart from the aforementioned three policy implications, several other measures should be undertaken in order to harmonize heritage tourism and conservation in the rock-hewn churches of Lalibela. First, a necessary measure must be undertaken to protect local residents from undesirable tourism impacts. One possible way could be through advocating a balanced approach to tourism that acknowledges both its beneficial and detrimental impacts on Lalibela residents and their cultures. The government must be aware of the negative consequence of excessively obsessing over tourism’s benefits and neglecting its adverse impacts. Therefore, the government must have a clear-sighted plan and management to anticipate tourism’s impacts and develop programs to minimize or alleviate the negative impacts over time. On the other hand, local residents should be encouraged to take advantage of the opportunities brought by tourism. One possible way can be by enhancing the entrepreneurial skills of local residents through specifically designed training programs and consultancy services.

Second, necessary policy measures must also be undertaken to improve the tourism service facilities and other tourism bottlenecks of Lalibela town which are irritants to the majority of tourists. Among others, quick measures must be undertaken to alleviate the problem of poor hotel amenities, hassling, and begging. The Lalibela tourism bureau should
consider the possibility of introducing quality check mechanisms for hotel amenities and make frequent follow-ups. In addition, the town administration should also consider attracting more investors who can build first-class hotels which further helps to pull high-income visitors to the town. Moreover, the federal government can also play a supportive role in enhancing the quality of the existing hotel amenities through the effective implementation of the current national tourism development policy, which aims to improve the quantity and quality of tourism service facilities at every destination.

As far as hassling and begging are concerned, the town administration in collaboration with both the regional and federal government should consider the possibility of introducing a mechanism to combat these problems in Lalibela. As already indicated in our findings, begging and hassling of tourists is expanding in Lalibela and this prevents tourists from relaxing at the same time exacerbating the ‘poor image’ of the country. One possible way to reduce this could be through mobilizing these beggars (mainly the younger one) and employ them in various development projects. For the elderly beggars, the suggestion that was given by World Bank’s (2006) study might work. World Bank suggested a solution to end begging problem in Lalibela and that was successful on several South American destinations. The suggestion was the creation of a local poverty fund that tourists contribute to when they are visiting the rock-hewn churches. Hence, beggars do not beg tourists but rather collect weekly ‘social security’ from the fund. Though this idea seems promising, it would be difficult to implement unless some sort of retrenchment is applied to filter beggars. In addition, providing information for tourists not to give any alms

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58 This policy was adopted in August 2009 to develop the Ethiopian tourism industry. The policy addressed the importance of encouraging private sectors to be engaged in the building and expanding of tourist facilities at each tourist destination (Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2009). Thus, effectively implementing this policy would lessen hotel amenities problem in Lalibela.
to beggars could also be a short-term solution for the begging problem in Lalibela. Because earnings from begging are very limited, it would not be difficult to replace this income with alternative sources. Thus, it should be noted that alleviating begging has to be considered as an important strategy for improving the tourism industry in Lalibela.

6.3 Conclusion

This doctoral dissertation examined a major issue that has seldom been discussed in the existing literature that is how heritage tourism can sustainably be harmonized with conservation. The dissertation highlighted many of the bottlenecks that have inhibited the harmonization of heritage tourism and conservation. The harmonization of the two sectors requires many preconditions. First and foremost, the tourism benefits should be extensively increased as well as fairly distributed. A proper and effective channel must also exist for the tourism benefit to be equally distributed to the larger community as well as for heritage conservation. Second, awareness enhancement of every stakeholder who is responsible for conservation and tourism promotion is also important. Third, the establishment of a seamless collaboration among the concerned stakeholders is also necessary. Finally, it should also be noted that fulfilling what is lacking in the tourism industry is one of the major preconditions to the harmonizing of heritage tourism and conservation. Moreover, this study can be a valuable resource for the preparation of some parts of a site management plan for the rock-hewn churches, though the study has a few limitations.

Because this study was conducted based on one case study, the findings might differ in other world heritage destinations in Ethiopia. In addition, since the sample was not large enough, the findings may not be generalized to the entire population, and as a result of biases may exist. Notably, the limitations of small the sample size and one time survey of
tourists should be noted. The possibility of attitudinal bias due to the one-time survey in this study should be considered.

Hence, further similar research studies should be warranted in other destinations of the country to compare and strengthen the findings of this dissertation. Conducting consecutive surveys might also be important to avoid the attitudinal bias of the respondents. Further detailed studies would also be necessary for some parts of the policy implications of this dissertation such as financing the conservation. For instance, more studies should be conducted on how the accommodation tax system can be better introduced and implemented under the existing Ethiopian administrative system. In addition, further studies should also be conducted to ensure the feasibility of introducing the fundraising scheme in Lalibela. Introducing such schemes may require detailed studies regarding the tourists’ willingness to pay (WTP) for the conservation of the rock-hewn churches.
References


Appendices
Appendix I

Chronicle of Heritage System in Ethiopia

1952  The foundation of the institute of Archeology

1955  The revised constitution was enacted

1966  Proclamation of antiquities enacted (the first proclamation)
      Ethiopian Antiquities Administration established

The last imperial regime (1930-1974)

1980  UNESCO sent a consultant to Ethiopia

1989  The revised antiquities proclamation enacted (the second proclamation)


1994  The current constitution adopted

1997  The first cultural policy of Ethiopia endorsed

2000  The current conservation proclamation enacted (the third proclamation)
      Authority for Research and Conservation of Cultural heritages established

EPRDF (1991-present)
Appendix II
First Proclamation (1966-1989)

Proclamation No. 229 of 1966

A Proclamation to Provide for the Protection and Preservation of Antiquities

1. This Proclamation may be cited as the "Antiquities Proclamation, 1966"

2. In this Proclamation, unless the context otherwise requires:
   
   (a) "Antiquity" shall mean any construction or any product of human activity, or any object of historical or archaeological interest, having its origin prior to 1550 B.C.;

   (b) "Administering Authority" shall mean the head of the Office of Archaeology;

   (c) "person" shall mean any physical or juridical person, including any Church and any other organisation.

State Ownership of Antiquities

3. (a) All antiquities, whether movable or immovable, existing within Ethiopia on the date of coming into force of this Proclamation, are hereby declared to be the property of the State, to be administered in the manner hereinafter set forth. The Administering Authority shall, in consultation with the Ministry of Public Works and Communications, repair, reconstruct and restore said antiquities and shall administer, supervise, protect and preserve these antiquities at the time and in the manner herein specified.

   (b) The responsibility for the administration and possession and custody over all antiquities and, within the limits prescribed by this Proclamation for the taking of all necessary steps with respect to their discovery, protection, preservation and study, is hereby vested in the Administering Authority.

4. Any person who discovers, acquires, or is in possession of any antiquity on or after the date on which this Proclamation enters into force shall promptly notify the Administering Authority thereof.

Disposition of Antiquities

5. Any person who is in possession of any antiquity on the date on which this Proclamation enters into force may remain in possession of such antiquity until he is notified to transfer said antiquity to the Administering Authority in accordance with the provisions of Article 7 hereof, subject to his submitting to the Administering Authority a detailed list of antiquities in his possession.

6. No antiquity may be sold, bartered, transferred or exported as a gift or otherwise, except under a permit issued by the Administering Authority or a subordinate authority or office established pursuant to regulations issued in accordance with Article 10 hereof. Any person who sells, barter, transfers or exports or who assists in the sale, barter, transfer or export of any antiquity without said permit shall be punished as provided in Article 11 hereof.
7. The Administering Authority may from time to time, pursuant to regulations issued pursuant to Article 10 hereof:

(a) register and supervise all historical objects which may exist in any Church without, however, the right to require the transfer of possession of same;

(b) require the transfer and surrender of antiquities now in the possession of private individuals or those which may be discovered hereafter: provided, however, that no private person shall be required to make such transfer and surrender except in accordance and upon compliance with the requirements of Article 11 of Our Revised Constitution.

8. Exploration for Antiquities

9. No person shall carry on archaeological exploration activities within Ethiopia, whether on private or on Government lands, unless he holds a permit duly issued by the Administering Authority pursuant to regulations issued in accordance with Article 10 hereof.

9. Authority to Issue Regulations

10. The Administering Authority may issue regulations:

(a) prescribing the basis upon which archaeological exploration permits shall be issued, the time and manner of making applications therefor and fee chargeable with respect thereon:

(b) prescribing the manner in which archaeological exploration operations shall be carried out by persons to whom such permits have been issued:

(c) requiring persons in possession of certain types of antiquities to give notice of their possession thereof to said Administering Authority:

(d) prescribing the basis upon which permits to sell, barter, transfer and export antiquities from Ethiopia shall be issued, the time and manner of making applications therefor and the fees chargeable with respect thereto, and any subordinate authorities or offices empowered to issue such permits: and

(e) generally, for the better carrying out of the provisions of this Proclamation.

11. Any person who violates any of the provisions of this Proclamation or any regulation issued pursuant hereto shall be punished in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Penal Code of 1957.

12. Effective Date

This Proclamation shall enter into force on the date of its publication in the Negarit Gazeta.

Done at Addis Ababa this 29th day of January, 1966.

TSAHAFE TAEZAZ AKILU HABTE WOLD
Prime Minister and Minister of Pen.
Appendix III

Proclamation No. 36/1989 - A Proclamation to provide for the study and protection of Antiquities

NEGERIT GAZETA
OF THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT OF ETHIOPIA
“ETHIOPIA TIKDEM”

WHEREAS antiquities constitute the imprints of a peoples age-old way of life, labour and creativity;

WHEREAS antiquities constitute a unique source of information for the purpose of research regarding the origin and evolution of man and other forms of life and thereby for the better understanding of nature;

WHEREAS antiquities make a major and a universal contribution to the development of science, ideology, ethics, fine arts and generally regarding the whole gamut of human knowledge;

WHEREAS Ethiopia has, through the course of its long history, acquired numerous antiquities including those which have been entered in the World Cultural Heritage List;

WHEREAS antiquities play a major role in imbuing the working people with a spirit of national pride and love for the Motherland commensurate with the span of their history and the profundity of their culture, and for this reason, the protection and preservation of antiquities has been made the responsibility of the state and society by the Constitution;

WHEREAS it has become necessary to devise ways and means for the full protection and preservation of antiquities and to ensure that the research of antiquities, at all stages, is carried out in consonance with the national interest and the rights of the people;

NOW THEREFORE, in accordance with Article 63(1) (a) of the Constitution, it is hereby proclaimed as follows:

PART ONE

GENERAL

1. Short Title

This Proclamation may be cited as the “Study and Protection of Antiquities Proclamation No. 36/1989”.

2. Definitions

In this Proclamation unless the context otherwise requires:

1/ “Minister” and “Ministry” means the Minister and Ministry of Culture and Sports respectively;

2/ “Antiquity” means any:

a) human, faunal or floral remains;

b) buildings, memorial places or monuments;

c) remains of ancient towns, ancient burial places, cave paintings, parchment manuscripts, stone inscriptions, sculptures, paintings and statues made of gold, silver, bronze or iron or alloy) these, or of wood, stone, skin, ivory, hora, bone or earth;

d) written and graphic documents or cinematographic and photographic documents or sound and video recordings;

e) gold, silver, bronze or copper coins;

f) church, monastery, mosque or any other place of worship

g) ethnographic implements, ornaments or any other cultural object;
h) structures or objects which are the products of labour or the creations of man;

having major artistic, scientific, cultural or historical value with regard to the pre-history and history of Ethiopia;

3/ “Person” means any physical or juridical person.

PART TWO

MANAGEMENT OF ANTIQUITIES

3. Ownership of Antiquities

1/ Antiquities may be owned by the State or by any person.

2/ Notwithstanding the provisions of sub-article 1 of this Article, antiquities discovered in accordance with the provisions of Part Three hereof may only be held in ownership by the State.

4. Registration of Antiquities

1/ The Ministry shall register antiquities using codes appropriate for their custody and preservation.

2/ Any person who holds antiquities in ownership shall get same registered in accordance with directives issued by the Minister.

3/ A certificate of registration shall be issued to the person evidencing registration of the antiquity.

4/ Expenses incurred in connection with the registration of an antiquity pursuant to this Article shall be borne by the Ministry.

5. Duties of Owners of Antiquities

Any person who owns an antiquity shall have the following duties:

1/ to properly preserve, repair and restore the antiquity;

2/ to allow, upon request by the Ministry, the use of antiquity for exhibition or other public shows; and

3/ to observe the provisions of this Proclamation and regulations and directives issued for the implementation of the Proclamation regarding the handling and use of the antiquity.

6. Preservation of Antiquities Situated on Land Given in Usufruct

A person shall ensure the preservation of antiquities situated on land which has been given to him in usufruct.

7. Repair and Restoration of Antiquities

1/ The repair and restoration of antiquities may only be carried out with the approval, and in accordance with the directives, of the Ministry.

2/ The cost of the repair and restoration shall be borne by the owner of the antiquity; provided however, that in cases where the expenses required for the repair and restoration are beyond the means of the owner, the Government may grant the necessary assistance to cover part of such expenses.

8. Removal of Antiquities

The prior, written approval of the Ministry shall be required to remove an antiquity from its original site.

9. The Use of Antiquities

1/ Antiquities shall be used for the purpose of promoting the development of science, education, culture and fine arts.

2/ The use of antiquities for economic and other purposes may only be allowed if such use is not detrimental to their preservation and does not impair their historical, scientific, cultural and artistic value.

3/ The use of antiquities pursuant to this Article shall be in accordance with directives issued by the Minister.

10. Transfer of Ownership of Antiquities

1/ Any person who desires to transfer the ownership of any antiquity through sale, donation or otherwise, other than through succession, shall submit a written notification to, and obtain the approval of, the Ministry prior to such transfer.

2/ Any person who acquires an antiquity by succession shall notify the Ministry of same.

3/ The Ministry shall enjoy a right of pre-emption over the sale of antiquities.
11. Trading in Antiquities

No person may engage in the purchase and sale of antiquities for commercial purposes.

12. Nationalization of Antiquities

1/ Any antiquity:

a) which is not properly protected, repaired and restored, or which is exposed to spoilage, contrary to the provisions of this Proclamation and regulations and directives issued for the implementation of this Proclamation, or which is exposed to damage or spoilage due to its use contrary to the manner prescribed in Article 9(3) thereof; or

b) whose custody in a museum has been deemed to be necessary, may, where the Council of State so decides be nationalized upon payment of appropriate compensation.

2/ The provisions of sub-article 1 of this Article shall not apply to antiquities which are being used for religious purposes.

13. Reproduction

No person may, unless he has a written permit from the Ministry, record antiquities on film or cost or reproduce them in any manner for commercial purposes.

14. Removing Antiquities Outside the Country

1/ No antiquity may be taken out of Ethiopia without the approval of the Council of Ministers.

2/ Notwithstanding the provisions of sub-article 1 of this Article, an antiquity may be temporarily taken out of Ethiopia for scientific study, cultural exchange or exhibition upon the approval of the Minister.

15. Foreign Antiquities Brought into Ethiopia

Foreign antiquities which are temporarily brought in Ethiopia for the purpose of cultural exchange shall be accorded government protection as necessary.

PART THREE

EXPLORATION AND DISCOVERY OF ANTIQUITIES

16. Requirement of Permit

1/ No person may conduct exploration of antiquities without obtaining prior written permit from the Ministry.

2/ The Ministry shall, before granting the permit ensure that the applicant is professionally competent and has adequate financial resources to carry out the exploration work.

17. Particulars of the Permit

The particulars of the permit shall include:

1/ the full name, nationality and address of the permit holder;

2/ site of the exploration; and

3/ duration of the exploration.

18. Duration of Validity of the Permit

1/ Antiquities exploration permit may be granted for a period not exceeding five years.

2/ The Minister may renew the permit for a period of not more than five years where the period of its validity expires before the exploration work is completed.

19. Fees for the Issuance and Renewal of Permit

Fees for the issuance and renewal of permit shall be determined by regulations issued for the implementation of this Proclamation.

20. Duties of Permit Holder

Every permit holder shall have the following duties:
1/ submit periodically, to the Ministry, progress reports on the exploration work;

2/ keep a special register with complete description of each discovery;

3/ properly preserve every discovery and hand over same to the Ministry;

4/ keep every discovery in secret in accordance with the terms of the agreement he concludes with the Ministry;

5/ restore the site, as far as possible, to its original state at the completion of the exploration work;

6/ ensure the participation and training of Ethiopians in the exploration and research of antiquities; and

7/ fulfill such other duties as are required by the profession.

23. Publication of Reports and Results of Studies

1/ The permit holder shall have the exclusive right to publish the exploration reports and the results of his studies for a period of five years following the completion of the field work, provided, however, that he shall give notice to the Ministry prior to the publication of same.

2/ The permit holder shall provide the Ministry, free of charge, with five copies of each such publication.

3/ In case of failure by the permit holder to publish the reports and results of his studies within the period specified under sub-article 1 of this Article, the Ministry may itself publish them fully or partly or authorize their full or partial publication by another person.

24. Ownership Over Results of Studies

Without prejudice to the provisions of Article 23(3) hereof, the ownership right of the permit holder over documents bearing the results of his studies shall be protected in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Civil Code.

25. Fortuitous Discovery of Antiquities

1/ Any person who discovers an antiquity in the course of an excavation connected with mining explorations, building works, road construction or other similar activities or in the course of any other fortuitous event, shall forthwith report same to the Ministry and shall protect and keep intact the antiquity until the Ministry takes charge of it.

2/ The Ministry shall, upon receipt of a report submitted pursuant to sub-article 1 hereof, take all appropriate measures to examine, take delivery of, and register the antiquity so discovered.

3/ Where the Ministry fails to take within a reasonable period of time, appropriate measures in accordance with sub-article 2 of this Article, the person who has discovered the antiquity may be released from his responsibility for protecting the antiquity by submitting a written notification, with a full description of the situation, to the local government official.

4/ The Minister shall ensure that the appropriate reward is granted to a person who has handed over an antiquity discovered fortuitously in accordance with sub-
article 1 of this Article. And such person shall be entitled to re-reimbursement, by the ministry of expenses, if any, incurred in the course of discharging his duties under this Article.

30. Duty to Cooperate

Every person shall have the duty to cooperate in matters relating to the implementation of this Proclamation and regulations and directives issued for the implementation of this Proclamation.

31. Penalty

1/ Whosoever:

a) violates the provisions of Articles 4(2), 5, 6, 10(1), 10(2), 25(1) or 29(2) of this Proclamation shall be punishable with imprisonment not exceeding six months or with fine not exceeding Birr 600 or with both;

b) violates the provisions of Articles 7(1), 8, 9(3), 11, 13 or 20 of this proclamation shall be punishable with imprisonment not exceeding one year or with fine not exceeding Birr 1200 or with both;

c) violates Article 16(1) or 26(2) of this Proclamation shall be punishable with imprisonment not exceeding three years or with fine not exceeding Birr 4000 or with both.

2/ Whosoever takes out of the country any antiquity in contravention of Article 14 of this Proclamation shall be punishable with rigorous imprisonment not exceeding fifteen years.

3/ Whosoever:

a) commits theft on antiquities shall be punishable with rigorous imprisonment not exceeding ten years.

b) destroys or damages antiquities shall be punishable with rigorous imprisonment not exceeding twenty years.

32. Repeal

The Antiquities Proclamation No. 229/1966 is hereby repealed.

33. Effective Date

This Proclamation shall enter into force on the date of its publication in the Negarit Gazeta.

Done at Addis Ababa, this 31st day of August, 1989.

MENGISTU HAILE MARIAM

PRESIDENT OF THE PEOPLE’S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ETHIOPIA

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**Appendix IV**

**Third Proclamation (2000 to present)**

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**FEDERAL NEGERIT GAZETA**

**OF THE FEDERAL DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ETHIOPIA**

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**PROCLAMATION NO. 209/2000**

A PROCLAMATION TO PROVIDE FOR RESEARCH AND CONSERVATION OF CULTURAL HERITAGE

WHEREAS, Cultural Heritage constitutes the imprints of a people's age-old way of life, labour and creativity;

WHEREAS, Cultural Heritage constitutes an indispensable source of information for the purpose of study and research regarding the origin and evolution of man and other forms of life and thereby for the better understanding of nature and environment;

WHEREAS, Cultural Heritage makes a major and universal contribution to the development of science and regarding the whole gamut of human knowledge generally;

WHEREAS, Ethiopia, a country of nations, nationalities and peoples with history and culture of their own, has through the course of its long history acquire numerous cultural heritage including those which have been registered in the World Cultural Heritage List;

WHEREAS, Cultural Heritage plays a major role in enabling the next generation to acquire profound and extensive awareness about its culture and history, which is the expression of its identity, and hence the protection and preservation of cultural heritage has been made the responsibility of each citizen, the society and the state;

WHEREAS, it has become necessary to devise ways and means for the full protection and preservation of cultural heritage and to ensure that the research of Cultural Heritage at all stages is carried out in a way consonant with the national interest and the rights of the people;

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**Unit Price**

Negari G.P.O. Box 80/101

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NOW, THEREFORE, in accordance with Article 55(1) of the Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, it is hereby proclaimed as follows:

PART ONE
General

1. Short Title
This Proclamation may be cited as the "Research and Conservation of Cultural Heritage Proclamation No. 209/2000."

2. Establishment
1) The Authority for Research and Conservation of Cultural Heritage (hereinafter referred to as "the Authority") is hereby established as a government institution with a juridical personality.
2) The Authority is accountable to the Minister of Information and Culture.

3. Definition
In this proclamation unless the context requires otherwise:
1) "Minister" means the Minister of Information and Culture;
2) "Authority" means the Authority for Research and Conservation of Cultural Heritage established under Article 2 of this Proclamation;
3) "Advisory Council" means the Council referred to in Article 8 of this Proclamation;
4) "Cultural Heritage" means anything tangible or intangible which is the product of creativity and labour of man in the pre-history and history times, that describes and witnesses to the evolution of nature and which has a major value in its scientific, historical, cultural, artistic and handicraft content;
5) "Intangible Cultural Heritage" means any Cultural Heritage that cannot be felt by hands but can be seen or heard and includes different kinds of performances and shows, folklore, religious, belief, wedding and mourning ceremonies, music, drama, literature and similar other cultural values, traditions and customs of nations, nationalities and peoples;
6) "Tangible Cultural Heritage" means Cultural Heritage that can be seen and felt and includes immovable or movable historical, and man made cultural heritage;
7) "Movable Cultural Heritage" means Cultural Heritage attached to the ground with a foundation and which can be moved only by dismantling and shall include:
   a) sites where Cultural Heritage have been discovered, paleontological historic and pre-historic archæological places.
   b) buildings, memorial places, monuments and palaces;
   c) remains of ancient towns, burial places, cave paintings, and inscriptions;
   d) church, monastery, mosque or any other places of worship.
8) "Movable Cultural Heritage" means Cultural Heritage not attached to the foundation and that can be moved from place to place easily and which are handed down from the past generation and shall include:
(a) parchment manuscripts, stone paintings and implements, sculptures and statues made of gold, silver, bronze, iron, copper or of any other mineral or wood, stone, inscriptions of skin, ivory, horn, archaeological and bone or earth or of any other material, and also Paleontological remains;

(b) written and graphic documents or cinematographic and photographic documents or sound and video recordings;

(c) coins made of gold, silver, bronze, copper or of any other materials;

(d) ethnographic implement, ornament or any other cultural object of nations, nationalities and peoples.

9) ‘‘Cultural Heritage Registration’’ means registration in the form prepared to collect wide information of Cultural Heritage, which shall include photographing, recording in film or video, as appropriate, so as to put in place the means to catalogue, inspect, study, protect and conserve cultural heritage and facilitate utilization of same for the purpose of recreation and education;

10) ‘‘Conservation’’ means a general protection and preservation activity carried on a Cultural Heritage without changing its antique content;

11) ‘‘Excavation’’ means the activity of systematic digging up any Cultural Heritage situated underground with manpower or machine in order to conduct a study on such Cultural Heritage;

12) ‘‘Museum’’ means a non-profitable organization which collects, preserves and repairs Cultural Heritage renders service to the public by preparing and organizing collections for their use in research, study, education and entertainment.

13) ‘‘Person’’ means a physical or juridical person.

4. Objectives

The Authority shall have the following objectives:

1) carry out a scientific registration and supervision of Cultural Heritage so that, Cultural Heritage, as bearing witnesses to history, may be handed down from generation to generation;

2) protect Cultural Heritage against man-made and natural disasters;

3) enable the benefits of Cultural Heritage assist in the economic and social development of the country; and

4) discover and study Cultural Heritage.

5. Head Office

The Authority shall have its head office in Addis Ababa and may have branch offices elsewhere, as may be necessary.

6. Powers and Duties of the Authority

The Authority shall have the following powers and duties:

1) registers Cultural Heritage in cooperation with the appropriate body;

2) protect and supervises Cultural Heritage; collects information on Cultural Heritage, define the nature and classify the standards of same.

3) give the necessary education and advice on the content, benefit and preservation of Cultural Heritage:
4) collects Cultural Heritage in museum and makes available same to visitors and researchers; organizes exhibition to be held and displayed in the country or abroad;
5) carries out study and research on cultural heritage, issues permit for study and research, and supervises same;
6) gives a professional qualification certificate for any person who establishes a museum and a certificate of registration of Cultural Heritage;
7) gives permission for Cultural Heritage restoration and conservation works;
8) controls illicit trafficking and looting of Cultural Heritage. Take all the necessary measures and devises, ways for the repatriation of Cultural Heritage which have been taken out illegally and held in foreign countries;
9) creates a system which warrants an efficient controlling mechanism with regard to clearance of souvenirs; grants permit for archaeological samples, and casts that are sent abroad for study and research; controls and forbids their use for commercial purposes.
10) provides professional and technical support for preservation and protection of Cultural Heritage as well as for study and research activities conducted on same in Regional Administrations;
11) trains experts for the accomplishment of the objectives of the Authority;
12) implements international agreements regarding Cultural Heritage which have been ratified by the country;
13) sets standards for exhibitions regarding Ethiopia to be staged at the international, national, and regional levels; issues permit for same;
14) ascertains that commercial and another marks that bear the names and pictures of Cultural Heritage do not damage its values;
15) charge fees for license it issues and service it renders;
16) owns property, enters into contract, sue and be sued in its own name;
17) performs such other activities to attain its objective.

7. Organization of the Authority
The Authority shall have:
1) Advisory Council;
2) a General manager; and
3) the necessary staff.

8. The Advisory Council
1) The Advisory council shall be composed of 13 members who are to be recommended by the minister and designated by the government.
2) The Advisory council shall be accountable to the minister.

9. Powers and Duties of the Advisory Council
The Advisory Council shall have the following powers and duties:
1) study and submit to the minister proposals relating to the powers and duties of the Authority;
2) provide advice to enable the Authority carry out its duties and responsibilities;
3) Evaluate periodically the activities on the study and conservation of Cultural Heritage;
4) Evaluate preservation projects and programme of Cultural Heritage undertaken by the Authority and provides advice.

10. Meetings of the Advisory Council

1) The Council shall meet twice a year; provided, however, that it may meet at any time at the request of the Chairperson or one third of its members.
2) There shall be a quorum where the majority of the members are present.
3) Decision of the Council shall be passed by majority vote; provided, however, that the Chairperson shall have a casting vote in case of a tie.
4) The Council shall draw up its own rules of procedure.

11. Powers and Duties of the General Manager

1) The General Manager shall, on recommendation of the Minister, be appointed by Government.
2) The General Manager shall be the Chief executive officer of the Authority and shall direct and administer the Authority.
3) Without prejudice to Sub-Article (2) of this Article, the General Manager shall:
   (a) implement the powers and duties of the Authority as provided for under Article 6 of this proclamation;
   (b) prepare the work plan and program as well as the annual budget proposal of the Authority and implement same upon approval;
   (c) employ and administer the personnel of the Authority in accordance with Federal Civil Service laws;
   (d) Submit to the Minister the overall activities report and the work description of the Authority;
   (e) open bank accounts and effect expenditure on the basis of the approved budget and work program of the Authority;
   (f) represent the Authority in all its dealings with third parties.
4) The General Manager may delegate his powers and duties to officials and employees of the Authority to the extent necessary for the efficient management of the Authority.

12. Budget

The budget of the Authority shall be drawn from the following sources:
   (a) Budget allocated to it by the Government;
   (b) Income from service and permit fees; and
   (c) Other sources.

13. Books of Account

1) The Authority shall keep complete and accurate books of accounts and documents.
2) The books of accounts and other financial documents of the Authority shall be audited annually by the Auditor General, or by other auditors designated by him.
PART II

Ownership of Cultural Heritage

1. Cultural Heritage may be owned by the state or by individuals according to the provisions of Subarticle (a) of Article 7 of the Law on Cultural Heritage. The classification of Cultural Heritage shall be determined by the Authority.

2. Applicants for the ownership of Cultural Heritage shall submit a legal status statement and a plan showing the location and extent of the Cultural Heritage to the Authority. The Authority shall examine the applications and, if satisfied, shall register the ownership in accordance with the provisions of the Law on Cultural Heritage.

3. Any person who has registered Cultural Heritage shall be responsible for conserving and protecting the Cultural Heritage in accordance with the provisions of the Law on Cultural Heritage. Any person who fails to comply with the provisions of the Law on Cultural Heritage shall be subject to administrative penalties.

4. Any person who requests the transfer of ownership of Cultural Heritage shall submit a legal status statement and a plan showing the location and extent of the Cultural Heritage to the Authority. The Authority shall examine the applications and, if satisfied, shall transfer the ownership in accordance with the provisions of the Law on Cultural Heritage.

5. Any person who requests the transfer of ownership of Cultural Heritage shall be responsible for conserving and protecting the Cultural Heritage in accordance with the provisions of the Law on Cultural Heritage. Any person who fails to comply with the provisions of the Law on Cultural Heritage shall be subject to administrative penalties.

6. Any person who receives a legal status statement and a plan showing the location and extent of the Cultural Heritage shall be responsible for conserving and protecting the Cultural Heritage in accordance with the provisions of the Law on Cultural Heritage. Any person who fails to comply with the provisions of the Law on Cultural Heritage shall be subject to administrative penalties.

Establishment of Museums

1. Any person who has received a legal status statement and a plan showing the location and extent of the Cultural Heritage shall be responsible for conserving and protecting the Cultural Heritage in accordance with the provisions of the Law on Cultural Heritage. Any person who fails to comply with the provisions of the Law on Cultural Heritage shall be subject to administrative penalties.

2. Any person who requests the establishment of a museum shall submit a legal status statement and a plan showing the location and extent of the Cultural Heritage to the Authority. The Authority shall examine the applications and, if satisfied, shall establish the museum in accordance with the provisions of the Law on Cultural Heritage.

3. Any person who requests the establishment of a museum shall be responsible for conserving and protecting the Cultural Heritage in accordance with the provisions of the Law on Cultural Heritage. Any person who fails to comply with the provisions of the Law on Cultural Heritage shall be subject to administrative penalties.

4. Any person who receives a legal status statement and a plan showing the location and extent of the Cultural Heritage shall be responsible for conserving and protecting the Cultural Heritage in accordance with the provisions of the Law on Cultural Heritage. Any person who fails to comply with the provisions of the Law on Cultural Heritage shall be subject to administrative penalties.
2) The use of Cultural Heritage for economic and other purposes may only be allowed if such use is not detrimental to its preservation and does not impair its historical, scientific and artistic values.

3) The use of Cultural Heritage shall be in accordance with the directives to be issued under this proclamation.

23. **Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Heritage**

1) Where any holder of Cultural Heritage transfers it to another, both parties shall submit, in advance, a written notification to the Authority.

2) The authority shall enjoy a right of preemption over the sale of Cultural Heritage.

24. **Trading in Cultural Heritage**

1) No person may engage in the purchase and sale of Cultural Heritage for commercial purposes.

2) Any person may record Cultural Heritage on film or cast or reproduce them in any manner for commercial purposes in accordance with the regulations or directives to be issued.

25. **Expropriation of Cultural Heritage**

Any Cultural Heritage:

1) which is not properly protected, repaired and restored; or, which is exposed to decay, contrary to the provisions of this proclamation, regulations and directives to be issued for the implementation of this proclamation; or, which is exposed to damage or decay due to its use contrary to the manner prescribed in Article 22(3); or

2) whose custody in a museum is deemed necessary, and compensation thereof is decided by the Council of Ministers;

3) which has been detained while being taken out of the country illegally, may be confiscated by the Authority.

26. **Repatriation of Cultural Heritage**

1) Cultural Heritage illegally held in other countries shall be repatriated.

2) Data on Cultural Heritage held in other countries shall be collected and publicized.

27. **Cultural Heritage Outside the Country**

Exporting Cultural Heritage is prohibited; however, it may be temporarily taken out of the country for scientific study, cultural exchange or exhibition upon the approval of the Minister.

28. **Foreign Cultural Heritage Brought into Ethiopia**

Foreign Cultural Heritage, which is brought into Ethiopia for the purpose of cultural exchange, or exhibition, or other purposes shall be accorded government protection as necessary.

**PART THREE**

**Exploration, Discovery and Study of Cultural Heritage**

29. **Exploration, Discovery and Study of Cultural Heritage**

Exploration discovery & study of cultural heritage shall be conducted on Palaeontology, Archaeology, Anthropology and related fields.

30. **Requirement of Permit**

1) No person may conduct exploration, discovery, and study of Cultural Heritage without obtaining a prior written permit from the Authority.
2) The Authority shall, before granting the permit, ensure that the applicant is professionally competent and has adequate financial resources to carry out the exploration, discovery, and study work.

31. Particulars of the Application

An application submitted to the Authority to conduct exploration, discovery, and study of Cultural Heritage shall be prepared in accordance with the regulations or directives issued for the implementation of this proclamation.

32. Particulars of the Permit

The particulars of a permit granted for exploration, discovery, and study of Cultural Heritage shall be provided in the regulations and directives issued for the implementation of this proclamation.

33. Duration of Validity of the Permit

1) Cultural Heritage exploration, discovery and study permit may be granted for a period not exceeding three years.
2) The Authority may renew the permit for a period of not more than two years where the period of its validity expires before the work is completed.
3) The Authority, upon receipt of a new application, may grant the permit as necessary in addition to the time provided in Sub-Articles (1) and (2) of this Article.

34. Fees for the Issuance and Renewal of Permit

Fees for the issuance and renewal of permit shall be determined by the regulations to be issued for the implementation of this proclamation.

35. Duties of Permit Holder

Every permit holder shall have the following duties:
1) submit periodically, to the Authority, progress reports on the exploration, discovery and study works.
2) keep a special register with complete description of each exploration, discovery and study.
3) properly preserve every exploration, discovery and study and hand over same to the Authority.
4) keep every exploration, discovery and study in secret in accordance with the terms of the agreement concluded with the Authority;
5) not to explore or study beyond the kind of study and the site permitted;
6) carry out the study in a manner that may not damage the culture, belief and psychology of the peoples inhabiting in the area where the study is conducted.
7) restore the site to its original state at the completion of the exploration work.
8) ensure the participation and training of Ethiopians in the exploration, discovery and study of Cultural Heritage;
9) provide insurance coverage for Ethiopian participants in field activities;
10) fulfill such other duties as are required by the profession; and
11) respect and implement this proclamation and the regulations and directives to be issued thereunder.
Any person who discovers any cultural heritage in the course of an excavation shall immediately report the discovery to the nearest authority. The authority shall take appropriate measures to examine the matter and register the cultural heritage if discovered.
3) Where the Authority fails to take an appropriate measures within six month in accordance with Sub-Article(2) of this Article, the person who has discovered the Cultural Heritage may be released from his responsibility by submitting, a written notification with a full description of the situation, to the Regional government official.

4) The Authority shall ensure that the appropriate reward is granted to the person who has handed over a Cultural Heritage discovered fortuitously in accordance with sub-Articles(1) and (2) of this Article. And such person shall be entitled to reimbursement of expenses, if any, incurred in the course of discharging his duties under this Article.

PART FOUR

Miscellaneous Provisions

42. Reserved Areas

1) The Council of Ministers may, upon the recommendation of the Minister, declare any area as a reserved area and publish same in the Negarit Gazeta, where an assemblage of immovable Cultural Heritage is situated or where such an area is deemed to be an archaeological site.

2) Unless otherwise specifically decided by the Council of Ministers, no person may, without a permit issued by the Authority, carry out building or road construction, excavations of any type or any operation that may cause ground disturbance in an area declared reserved pursuant to Sub-Article (1) of this Article.

3) Any person who holds permit to conduct construction works in a reserved area and who discovers Cultural Heritage in the course of construction activities shall stop construction and shall forthwith report same in writing to the Authority.

43. Inspection

1) An inspector authorized by the Authority may, in accordance with the directives issued by the Minister, enter at reasonable hours, any place where there is any Cultural Heritage and conduct inspection to ensure that the Cultural Heritage is properly maintained and protected.

2) The owner of Cultural Heritage shall have the duty to allow any inspector of the Authority carrying proper identification to enter any place where the Cultural Heritage is found and to inspect same in accordance with Sub-Article (1) of this Article.

44. Duty to Cooperate

Every person shall have the duty to cooperate in matters relating to the regulations and directives issued for the implementation of this proclamation.

45. Penalty

1) Unless the Penal Code provides for a more severe penalty, any person who:

(a) violates the provisions of Articles 18, 20, 23 (1) or 44 (2) of this proclamation shall be punished with imprisonment of not exceeding six months or with fine of upto Birr 1500 or with both;
(b) violates the provisions of Articles 19(1), 21, 22(2) or 35 of this proclamation shall be punished with imprisonment of not exceeding one year or with fine not exceeding Birr 3000 or with both;
(c) violates Articles 24 or 27 or 30(1) 42(1) or 43(2) of this proclamation shall be punished with rigorous imprisonment from three to five years or with fine from Birr 10,000 to 15,000 or with both.

2) Unless the Penal Code provides for a more severe penalty, any person who:
(a) commits theft on Cultural Heritage shall be punished with rigorous imprisonment of not less than seven years and not exceeding ten years;
(b) destroys or damages Cultural Heritage intentionally shall be punished with rigorous imprisonment not less than ten years and not exceeding twenty years;
(c) in the exercise of his official duty destroys or damages or abstracts Cultural Heritage or causes them to be abstracted, in order to obtain an unlawful enrichment shall be punished with rigorous imprisonment of not less than fifteen years and not exceeding twenty years.

46. **Power to Issue Regulations and Directives**

1) The Council of Ministers has the power to issue Regulations for the implementation of this proclamation.
2) The Minister shall have the power to issue directives for the implementation of this proclamation.

47. **Repealed and Inapplicable laws**

1) Study and Protection of Cultural Heritage proclamation No. 36/1989 is hereby repealed.
2) Any law or practice shall, in so far as it is inconsistent with the provisions of this proclamation, have no force or effect in relation to matters provided for in this proclamation.

48. **Effective Date**

This Proclamation shall enter into force as of the 27th day of June, 2000.

Done at Addis Ababa this 27th day of June, 2000.

NEGASO CIDADA (DR.)
PRESIDENT OF THE FEDERAL
DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ETHIOPIA
Appendix V
Aerial view of the rock-hewn churches

(Source: http://thehiddenrecords.com/lalibela.php)
Appendix VI

Questionnaire for local residents'

National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies

This survey is prepared by a Ph. D. student of National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies (GRIPS), Tokyo, Japan, for the partial fulfillment of his doctorate thesis. The aim of this study is to find ways of integration between tourism and heritage conservation through examining the impacts of tourism on the local communities of Lalibela. Therefore, this survey is targeted to capture the attitudes of the local community towards heritage conservation and tourism. I very much appreciate your participation in this research, and all of your responses will be treated confidentially.

**ENUMERATOR:** Please try to explain the objective of the survey: It is to capture the attitudes of the residents towards conservation and tourism and exclusively used for research purpose. You have to also convince the respondents prior to interviewing that the information provided is strictly confidential and no information that may identify the respondent will be added.

 Enumerator, please give attention to the following note.

- Put the ‘number’ of their responses from the alternative choices on the blank spaces provided to each questions.

Enumarator Name: ________________________________

Questionnaire ID Code: __________________________

Date of Interview: ______________________________

Contents

A. Profile
B. Views about the church
C. Conservation
D. Tourism
E. Benefits from tourism
F. Negative impacts of tourism
Part A: Bio data

A1. Name of the respondent _______________________

A2. Address of the respondent

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A2.1. Kebele</th>
<th>A2.2. Local Name</th>
<th>A2.3. House No</th>
<th>A2.4. Telephone No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

A3. Please indicate your gender

1. Male
2. Female

A4. Please write your Age__________

A5. Please indicate your religion

1. Muslim
2. Orthodox Christian
3. Other Christian (please specify)___________
4. Other (please specify)____________________

A6. Please indicate your current education level

1. No schooling
2. Primary school
3. Secondary school
4. Vocational education
5. University undergraduate
6. Postgraduate

A6.1. If you went to school, how many years you spent for schooling? __________

A7. What is your current occupational status?

1. Company employed
2. Self-employed (please specify)___________
3. Stay at home
4. Retired
5. Unemployed
6. Other (Please specify)_____

A8. Please indicate your average monthly income _____________________

A9. What is your marital status?

1. Single
2. Married
3. Divorced
4. Other (please specify)_____

A10. How many family members live in your house? __________________

A11. How many years have you stayed in Lalibela town? ________________

A12. Have you ever been resettled to somewhere as a result of hotel or other tourist related facilities construction in your area?

1. Yes
2. No
Part B: Your thoughts about the Church

B1. How much do you like to reside in Lalibela town?
   1. Very little
   2. Little
   3. Moderate
   4. Much
   5. Very much

B2. Do you have a sense of ownership over the rock-hewn churches of Lalibela?
   1. Yes
   2. No
   3. I don’t know

B3. Do you think the rock hewn churches of Lalibela have an importance for you?
   1. Yes
   2. No
   3. I don’t know
   B3.1. If yes, what kinds of importance do they have for you? (Choose all that apply)
       1. Economic importance
       2. Religious importance
       3. Historical and cultural importance
       4. All of the above

B4. How many days per week do you go to the rock hewn church on average? _______
    (To enumerators, if they don’t go at all please put “0”)

B5. If you are going to the rock hewn church, then what is your reason? (Choose all that apply)
   1. For worshiping
   2. To meet tourists
   3. To sell something for tourists
   4. Other (please specify)__________________________________________

B6. How long does it take for you to get to the rock hewn church from your home?
   Please write in minutes__________________________________________
B7. Do you think the church holds an unscheduled event or services for the purpose of showing them to tourists per se?
   1. Yes
   2. No
   3. I am not sure

B8. Do you think the physical structure of the rock hewn churches of Lalibela is deteriorating?
   1. Yes
   2. No
   3. I am not sure

B8.1: If yes, what do you think is the main reason?
   1. Excessive number of tourists
   2. Poor conservation efforts
   3. Too many worshipers inside the church
   4. Others (please specify) _______________________

Part C: Conservation

C1. Do you think you have responsibility of preserving the rock-hewn church of Lalibela?
   1. Yes
   2. No
   3. I don’t know

C2. Have you ever supported the church with regard to conservation effort?
   1. Yes
   2. No

C2.1. If yes, what was your support?
   1. Financial
   2. Physical
   3. Both financial and physical
   4. Other (Please specify)______________

C2.2. If no, what is your reason?
   1. Because I am not interested
   2. Because no one has asked me to do so
   3. Because I don’t have enough financial and physical capacity
   4. Other (please specify)___________________
C3. Are you willing to provide support for conservation activities of the church in the future?

1. Yes  
2. No  
3. I am not sure

C3.1. If yes, what would be your main reason to do so? (Choose all that apply)

1. To gain salvation  
2. To gain tourism benefit  
3. To keep its historical value  
4. To keep its cultural value  
5. Other (please specify)________________________

C4. Have you ever invited to the public discussions regarding church conservation in the past three years?

1. Yes  
2. No

C4.1. If yes, did you attend at least one of such meetings?

1. Yes  
2. No

C5. Do you think the local government has taken adequate measure to inform the community about the concept of heritage conservation in the past three years?

1. Yes  
2. No

C6. How do you rate the performances of the local government officials in Lalibela with regard to their conservation practices of the rock-hewn churches?

1. Very low  
2. Low  
3. Medium  
4. High  
5. Very high

C7. How do you rate your awareness of heritage conservation?

1. Very low  
2. Low  
3. Medium  
4. High  
5. Very high
Part D: Tourism

D1. Do you meet tourists in and around the rock-hewn churches of Lalibela?
   1. Yes
   2. No

   D1.1: If yes, how many times do you meet tourists per week on average? _______

D2. Do you want to see further increment of number of tourists in Lalibela town?
   1. Yes
   2. No

D3. Will you provide support for further tourism development initiation in Lalibela town?
   1. Yes
   2. No
   3. I am not sure

   D3.1. If yes, what kind of support are you willing to provide? (Choose all that apply)
         1. Financial
         2. Physical
         3. Both financial and physical
         4. Other (Please specify)________________________________

D4. Are you happy to see tourists in Lalibela?
   1. Yes
   2. No

D5: Have you ever invited tourists to your home and served them traditional food and drinks?
   1. Yes
   2. No

D6. How do you rate your awareness about the importance of tourism in Lalibela?
   1. Very low
   2. Low
   3. Medium
   4. High
   5. Very high

D7. Have you ever been invited to the public discussions regarding efforts and activities towards tourism development in Lalibela in the past three years?
   1. Yes
   2. No
D7.1. If yes, did you attend at least one of such meetings?
   1. Yes
   2. No

D8. Do you think the local government has taken adequate measure to support the local residents to engage in pro-tourism activities in the past three years?
   1. Yes
   2. No

D9. How do you rate the performances of the local government officials in Lalibela with regard to their initiation to develop tourism in the town?
   1. Very low
   2. Low
   3. Medium
   4. High
   5. Very high

Part E: Benefits from tourism

E1. Do you have tourism related job?
   1. Yes
   2. No

   E1.1. If yes, what is your job?
   ____________________________________________________________

   E1.2. If yes, how much do you earn per month on average?
   _______________________________

E2. Do any of your family members have tourism related job?
   1. Yes
   2. No

   E2.1. If yes, how many are they? ________________

   E2.2. If yes, what kind of job do they do?
   ____________________________________________________________

   E2.3. If yes, how much do they earn per month on average?
   _______________________________

E3. Do you think you have personally benefited from the presence of tourists in Lalibela?
   1. Yes
   2. No

   E3.1. If yes, what do you benefited from it?
   ____________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________
E4. Tourism has increased the opportunity of employment in the town of Lalibela.
1. Strongly disagree
2. Disagree
3. Neutral
4. Agree
5. Strongly Agree

E5. Tourism has increased the quality of life in the town of Lalibela.
1. Strongly disagree
2. Disagree
3. Neutral
4. Agree
5. Strongly Agree

E6. Tourism has increased my pride over the rock hewn churches of Lalibela.
1. Strongly disagree
2. Disagree
3. Neutral
4. Agree
5. Strongly Agree

E7. Tourism has created a positive attitude in the minds of the community towards creative or innovative works.
1. Strongly disagree
2. Disagree
3. Neutral
4. Agree
5. Strongly Agree

E8. Tourism has fostered the acquisition of new skills for the community of the town.
1. Strongly disagree
2. Disagree
3. Neutral
4. Agree
5. Strongly Agree

E9. Tourism has attracted investment and local development projects to the town of Lalibela?
1. Strongly disagree
2. Disagree
3. Neutral
4. Agree
5. Strongly Agree

E10. Tourism in Lalibela has improved the infrastructure facilities.
1. Strongly disagree
2. Disagree
3. Neutral
4. Agree
5. Strongly Agree
**E11.** Tourism has improved the physical appearance of Lalibela town.

1. Strongly disagree  
2. Disagree  
3. Neutral  
4. Agree  
5. Strongly Agree

**E12.** Tourism has maintained the rock hewn churches of Lalibela better.

1. Strongly disagree  
2. Disagree  
3. Neutral  
4. Agree  
5. Strongly Agree

**Part F: Negative impacts of tourism**

**F1.** Is tourism in Lalibela has disturbed your daily life?

1. Yes  
2. No  

**F1.2:** If yes, please indicate the problems.

__________________________________________________  
__________________________________________________  
__________________________________________________

**F2.** Has tourism introduced adverse practices or cultures to the community?

1. Yes  
2. No

**F2.1:** If yes, can you specify some of these practices or cultures?

__________________________________________________  
__________________________________________________  
__________________________________________________

**F2.2:** If yes, do you think these adverse practices have negatively affected the community’s culture?

1. Yes  
2. No

**F3.** Have you ever observed a delinquent behavior of tourists either inside or it’s vicinity of the rock hewn churches?

3. Yes  
4. No

**F3.1:** If yes, please list those behaviors.

__________________________________________________  
__________________________________________________  
__________________________________________________
F4. Tourism disrupts the peaceful ways of life of the community in the town.
   1. Strongly disagree
   2. Disagree
   3. Neutral
   4. Agree
   5. Strongly agree

F5. Tourism has increased the level of litter in Lalibela town.
   1. Strongly disagree
   2. Disagree
   3. Neutral
   4. Agree
   5. Strongly Agree

F6. Tourism has increased the crime problem in Lalibela town.
   1. Strongly disagree
   2. Disagree
   3. Neutral
   4. Agree
   5. Strongly Agree

F7. Tourism has increased the level of prostitution in Lalibela town.
   1. Strongly disagree
   2. Disagree
   3. Neutral
   4. Agree
   5. Strongly Agree

F8. Most tourists visiting rock hewn church in Lalibela are not considerate of local people.
   1. Strongly disagree
   2. Disagree
   3. Neutral
   4. Agree
   5. Strongly Agree

F9. Tourism has unfairly increased the cost of living in Lalibela town.
   1. Strongly disagree
   2. Disagree
   3. Neutral
   4. Agree
   5. Strongly Agree

F10. Do you have any other comments about the tourism or tourists in Lalibela and the conservation issues of the church?

__________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________

Thank you very much for your time and cooperation.
Appendix VII
Questionnaire for tourists’
National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies

The purpose of this survey is to understand how tourists feel about tourist facilities in and around the rock-hewn church of Lalibela. It is conducted as part of my doctoral research. I very much appreciate your participation. Your answers will be kept confidential and used solely for research purposes.

Instructions: For each question, please circle the answer that best applies to you.

PART A: Your Visit to Lalibela

A1. Have you ever been to Lalibela before?
   1. Yes
   2. No

A2. What is the main purpose of your current trip?
   1. To visit the church
   2. To worship
   3. To visit relatives or friends
   4. To attend a conference
   5. Other (please specify)__________

A3. How did you first hear about Lalibela?
   1. Friends or colleagues
   2. Family
   3. Newspaper/magazine
   4. TV
   5. Tour company
   6. Internet (please specify)_________
   7. Other (please specify)__________

A4. How many people are accompanying you on this trip? ____________
   If you are alone, please write “0”

   A4.1. If you are not alone, who is accompanying you? (Choose all that apply)
   1. Family
   2. Friends
   3. Colleagues
   4. Tour group
   5. Other (please specify)______

A5. How many total nights did you (or will you) stay in Lalibela? ____________

A6. Are you willing to donate money for the conservation of the church?
   1. Yes
   2. No

   A6.1: If yes, how much? (In USD ($)) ________

PART B: Your Perception about the church

B1: How would you describe the entrance fee to the rock-hewn church?
   1. Cheap
   2. Reasonable
   3. Expensive

   B1.2: If cheap, how much more would you be willing to pay? (In USD ($)) ________
B2: The signs to various parts of the church were easy to see.

1. Strongly disagree
2. Disagree
3. Neutral
4. Agree
5. Strongly Agree

B3: The story board and guide books about the church were clear.

6. Strongly disagree
7. Disagree
8. Neutral
9. Agree
10. Strongly Agree

B4: The number of public restrooms was adequate.

11. Strongly disagree
12. Disagree
13. Neutral
14. Agree
15. Strongly Agree

B5: Public restrooms were clean.

1. Strongly disagree
2. Disagree
3. Neutral
4. Agree
5. Strongly Agree

B6: The number of trash bins in and around the church was adequate.

1. Strongly disagree
2. Disagree
3. Neutral
4. Agree
5. Strongly Agree

B7: Paintings, artifacts and other heritages inside the church are well preserved.

1. Strongly disagree
2. Disagree
3. Neutral
4. Agree
5. Strongly Agree

B8: Tour guides had sufficient knowledge about the church (if you had a tour guide).

1. Strongly disagree
2. Disagree
3. Neutral
4. Agree
5. Strongly Agree

B9: Local residents are friendly towards visitors.

1. Strongly disagree
2. Disagree
3. Neutral
4. Agree
5. Strongly Agree

B10: Do beggars around the church affect the quality of your visit to the church?

1. Yes
2. No

B10: The trip to the rock-hewn church of Lalibela has increased my knowledge about the church.

1. Strongly disagree
2. Disagree
3. Neutral
4. Agree
5. Strongly Agree
B11: What did you like about the rock-hewn church of Lalibela? (Choose all that apply)
1. The history
2. Authenticity
3. Architectural features
4. Paintings inside the church
5. Other (please specify)_________

PART C: Your thoughts about the appeal of the site
C1: Hotels and lodging places are comfortable and attractive to visitors.
   1. Strongly disagree
   2. Disagree
   3. Neutral
   4. Agree
   5. Strongly Agree

C2: Transportation access to the church is convenient.
   1. Strongly disagree
   2. Disagree
   3. Neutral
   4. Agree
   5. Strongly Agree

C3: There are a variety of shops that offer quality products to visitors.
   1. Strongly disagree
   2. Disagree
   3. Neutral
   4. Agree
   5. Strongly Agree

C4: Are the business hours of the shops convenient for visitors?
   1. Yes
   2. No

C5: Generally did you feel safe or unsafe during your stay in Lalibela?
   1. Safe
   2. Unsafe
   C5.1: If unsafe, what are the reasons for feeling unsafe in Lalibela?

C6: Are there things you didn’t like about the town of Lalibela?

PART D: Your impressions
D1: This visit has been a memorable experience for me.
   1. Strongly disagree
   2. Disagree
   3. Neutral
   4. Agree
   5. Strongly Agree

D2: My visit to the rock-hewn church of Lalibela has met my expectations.
   1. Strongly disagree
   2. Disagree
   3. Neutral
   4. Agree
   5. Strongly Agree
D3: I would recommend visiting this church to others.
   1. Strongly disagree 4. Agree
   2. Disagree 5. Strongly Agree
   3. Neutral

D4: I would like to visit this church again.
   1. Strongly disagree 4. Agree
   2. Disagree 5. Strongly Agree
   3. Neutral

D5: Can you suggest ways of improving your experience of the rock-hewn church of Lalibela?

________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________

PART E: Biodata
E1: Please indicate your gender
   3. Male
   4. Female

E2: Please write your nationality __________________________

E3: Where is your current place of residence? __________________________

E4: Which age group do you belong to?
   1. 15 or Younger
   2. 16-19
   3. 20-29
   4. 30-39
   5. 40-49
   6. 50-59
   7. 60 or over

E5: What is your current marital status?
   5. Single
   6. Married
   7. Divorced
   8. Other (please specify) ________

E6: Please indicate your religion
   5. Muslim
   6. Orthodox Christian
   7. Other Christian (please specify) ________
   8. Atheist
   9. Others ________

E7: What is your highest level of education?
   7. Incomplete secondary
   8. University undergraduate
   9. Complete secondary
   10. Postgraduate
   E7.1: How many years you spent for schooling? ________

E8: What is your current employment status?
   7. Company employed
   8. Self-employed
   9. Stay at home
   10. Retired
   11. Unemployed
   12. Other (please specify) ________

E9: Please indicate your monthly income in your country’s currency. ________

E10: Do you have any other comments about the rock-hewn church of Lalibela?

________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________

Thank you very much for your time and cooperation.