

# Ghaddar Community Survey: a socio-archaeological case study



**Abstract:** Ghaddar is a Sudanese village of about 6000 inhabitants. It is located next to the archaeological site of Old Dongola, which has been excavated by the Polish archaeological expedition since 1964. In February 2019, a quantitative social survey was conducted among the local community as part of the “ArcheoCDN. Archaeological Centre of Scientific Excellence” project. The survey aimed to understand the social environment of the local community and to identify their perceptions and expectations with regard to local heritage, archaeology, and tourism. The results were used as a starting point for designing community outreach programs and ensuring the transfer of necessary knowledge to members of the local community.

**Keywords:** Ghaddar, Sudan, Dongola, community survey, public archaeology, heritage, community outreach

## INTRODUCTION

Cultural heritage is an integral part of local identity, especially for communities living in places rich in history. Old Dongola in Sudan, the former capital of the kingdom of Makuria, excavated by Polish archaeologists since 1964, is a case in point (Jakobielski and Scholz 2001; Obluski and Dzierzbicka 2021: 76). With a growing awareness of the importance of the Old Dongola herit-

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age, it has become increasingly important to involve the local community in efforts to preserve and promote it. This approach is in line with global trends to encourage participatory heritage management, empowering communities to take an active role in protecting and promoting their own history and culture.

This paper presents the results of a socio-archaeological study conducted in February 2019 as part of the “ArcheoCDN. Archaeological Centre of Scientific Excellence” project (Fushiya and Radziwiłko 2019; Fushiya 2021a; 2021b; Obluski and Dzierzbicka 2021). The objective of the two-year project was to understand the local values of Old Dongola and to work with the local community for sustainable heritage

management and development (for more about the project, see Discussion). Among the aims was to gauge the attitudes, needs, and expectations of the Ghaddar community towards the archaeological heritage of Old Dongola and the development of archaeological tourism in the region. The survey shed light on the respondents’ attitudes towards their heritage, their level of identification with the site, and their perception of potential challenges and benefits connected with tourism development. An analysis of the results will inform future efforts towards sustainable heritage management and community integration, which may have broad implications for the protection and promotion of local cultural resources in a post-colonial context.

## CONTEXT OF THE SOCIAL SURVEY

The social (community) survey was conducted in Ghaddar, a village adjacent to the archaeological site of Old Dongola, approximately 350 km from Khartoum (Fushiya 2021b: 9). Old Dongola used to be the capital of the Nubian kingdom of Makuria, whose territory extended from the Third to the Fifth Nile Cataract. Founded around 500 CE, the city quickly rose to prominence as a political, religious, and cultural center (Godlewski, Dzierzbicka, and Łajtar 2018: 11). It featured a citadel, churches, and elite residences. Outside the citadel, monastic complexes were built on the northern outskirts of the city (Godlewski 2013). In Old Dongola, local Nubian traditions intertwined with Byzantine influences, which are evident in the architecture and wall paintings. The kingdom of Makuria reached the height of its power between

the 9th and 11th centuries, a period of prosperity and extensive trade links. After the fall of Makuria in the 14th century, Old Dongola became the capital of a smaller but still significant political entity, while also undergoing a religious transformation and conversion to Islam (Obluski 2021).

Polish archaeologists have been excavating Old Dongola since 1964 in order to understand and document the political and economic history of the city. The fieldwork has been complemented by conservation work focusing on the wall paintings and written sources (Godlewski, Dzierzbicka, and Łajtar 2018; Obluski and Dzierzbicka 2021; Chmielewski and Skarżyńska 2024). In addition, the Polish expedition has attempted to involve the local population more in the research process (Fushiya 2021a: 95). The long-

standing collaboration has resulted in a close, neighborly relationship between the researchers and the local community, augmented by the fact that the expedition members would stay at the nearby village of Ghaddar for the entire excavation season. This village of 6000 people, bordering Old Dongola to the southeast, is the administrative center of the region, housing government offices, a hospital, schools, and a local court (Fushiya and Radziwiłko 2019: 173; Fushiya 2021b: 9). Importantly, it is a place where social activities take place, as initiated

by Stefan Jakobielski — not only the long-time director of the excavations (1996–2006) and a researcher, but also a true friend of the local community (Obluski and Dzierzbicka 2021: 298). In the last decade, thanks to the efforts of the current director of the Polish expedition to Old Dongola, Artur Obluski, the number of participatory activities has increased. Recent projects, e.g. the “ArcheoCDN”, were implemented with the aim to facilitate the engagement of the local communities in the promotion of their heritage.

## **GHADDAR COMMUNITY SURVEY: METHODS, CONDUCT, AND RESULTS**

The socio-archaeological survey had the form of a close-ended questionnaire developed in English by the author and Tomomi Fushiya and translated into Arabic by Mohamed Hassan Siedahmed. This is a standardized survey method, available at low cost and providing data for statistical analysis (Lutyński 2000; Grabowska 2013). In addition, questionnaires of this kind allow a large number of respondents to be surveyed in a relatively short time, which is crucial in the context of research conducted with a limited researcher presence in the field. What makes these questionnaires a handy tool is that —compared to a face-to-face interview— they allow for a greater anonymity, letting the respondents choose their responses freely. Last but not least, quantitative surveys (e.g. questionnaires) are easy to replicate by other researchers, which increases their credibility and allows the results to be verified by independent experts.

However, while they facilitate comparative analyses, quantitative surveys are imperfect as a research method, mainly because they reduce social complexities to categories predefined by the researchers. As a result, certain important phenomena may be overlooked if they are not included in the set of answers available. Another disadvantage of this approach is that it pushes the respondents to take a stance on issues they actually may have no particular views on. What the questionnaires seem to test best is, as it seems, the respondents’ factual utterances which may not reflect their actual beliefs (Babbie 2007; Krzewińska and Grzeszkiewicz-Radulska 2013).

The qualitative approach, on the other hand, undoubtedly has a number of important advantages that make it a valuable tool in the research process, one being a chance to gain a deeper understanding of both the phenomena under

study and the surveyed people themselves (Silverman 2001: 32). However, this can be a challenge in traditional societies or authoritarian states (Fujii 2017). Qualitative studies are also time-consuming and allow for only a limited number of interviews (up to a dozen or so) during a single field trip. For this reason, the author decided not to conduct qualitative research, initially planned as a means of learning more about effects of tourism on daily life. Within the framework of the project, however, interviews focusing on handicrafts were conducted, which, in case of tourism development, could play a role in regional promotion and become a source of income for the local people (see Fushiya 2025, in this volume). These preliminary interviews (Fushiya and Radziwiłko 2019) were continued in subsequent seasons (Fushiya 2021a), but they did not delve deeply into the issues raised by the quantitative research. According to the present author, there is therefore a need to enrich the analysis with qualitative research, including in-depth interviews.

Respondents were carefully selected with their availability in mind (convenience-based sampling technique), as the social structure of the community was not

fully known to the researchers (Lutyński 2000). The socio-archaeological survey involved 120 people living and/or working in Ghaddar and representing various social groups: men and women, youths and adults (between 18 and 69 years), and different educational and occupational backgrounds. The questionnaire was distributed in public places such as schools, local government offices, the site of Old Dongola, in the streets and the market in the village center. The project interpreter, Siedahmed, ensured complete anonymity of the respondents and helped some of them read the questionnaire.

The questionnaire consisted of six parts. The first dealt with issues related to everyday life in Ghaddar; the second with issues related to archaeology, including the participants' knowledge of archaeology. Questions in the third and fourth parts, respectively, referred to expected benefits the archaeological research in Old Dongola may yield to the local community and concerns related to tourism development, while the fifth part comprised questions about heritage in Ghaddar. The final, sixth part of the questionnaire collected demographic data such as age, gender, place of residence, level of completed education, and occupation.

## RESPONDENTS' PROFILE

A total of 120 people took part in the survey (123 forms were collected, 3 incomplete responses were excluded from consideration). Of these, 47 (39.1%) were men, 62 (51.7%) were women, while 11 (9.2%) did not indicate their gender [Fig. 1]. 80.8% of the respondents ( $n=97$ ) provided information about their age [Fig. 2]. The major-

ity of the respondents (40.3%,  $n=48$ ) had completed their education up to the secondary level or the university level (undergraduate) (42.9%,  $n=51$ ), which is reflected in their professions. Only a small number of respondents had a master's degree, and few reported having complete or incomplete primary education.

Teachers and public administration employees (with secondary school diplomas or university degrees) were the dominant occupations among the respondents. The rest were mostly workers with a lower level of education (primary or incomplete primary education). Most of

the people in the latter group had difficulty reading the questionnaire. Because of the literacy problem, not everyone we contacted during the fieldwork was able to participate in the survey. Some respondents needed help from other people to complete the survey forms.



Fig. 1. Gender of the respondents (Graph K. Radziwiłko)

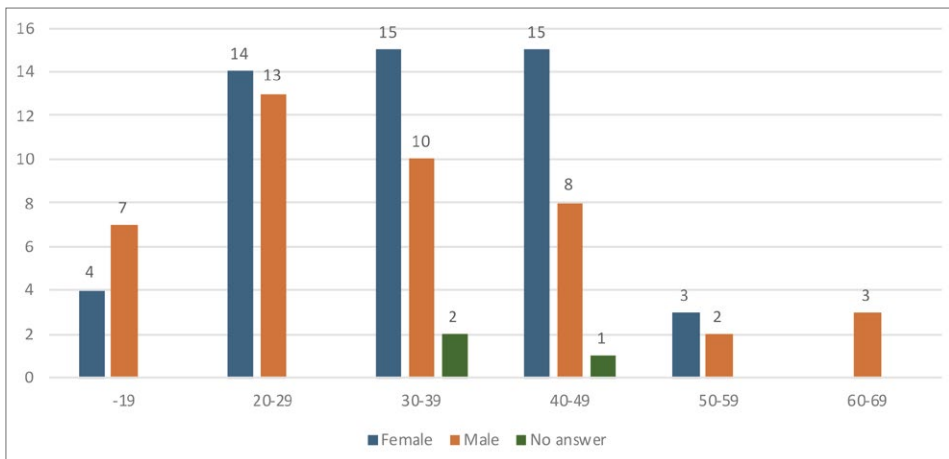


Fig. 2. Age structure of the respondents (n=97) (Graph K. Radziwiłko)

## DATA ANALYSIS

In the first part of the survey, respondents were asked about their everyday life, including their satisfaction with their living conditions and problems they faced daily. The data analyzed has shown that 90.0% ( $n=108$ ) of the respondents were happy with their current social setting. Almost everyone (99.2%,  $n=119$ ) felt safe in the village, while many (93.3%,  $n=112$ ) declared they could truly rely on their neighbors and family for support in times of hardship. In addition, more than half of the respondents (56.7%,  $n=68$ ) asserted they would not like to move out, with a majority (77.5%,  $n=93$ ) confident that Ghaddar was a good place for the education of their children [Table 1].

Nevertheless, they also saw drawbacks. A significant percentage of the respondents (73.3%,  $n=88$ ) believed that Ghaddar lacked adequate road infrastructure and did not provide easy access to clean water (54.2%,  $n=65$ ). A large group of respondents (83.3%,  $n=100$ ) also complained about the high unemployment rate [see Table 1].

The second part of the questionnaire aimed to examine the respondents' experience with archaeology and their interactions with the archaeologists working at Old Dongola. The analysis showed that many of them were aware of the archaeological excavations in Old Dongola (85.0%,  $n=102$ ) and had visited the site (80.8%,  $n=97$ ) [Table 2]. Considering that the excavations have been conducted in this area since 1964, this is a relatively low number. This may be due to the fact that the survey was conducted among people from different villages. Among the most frequented monuments the

respondents named: the church (73.3%,  $n=88$ ), the domed tombs (66.7%,  $n=80$ ), the mosque (61.7%,  $n=74$ ), the *khalwa* (45.8%,  $n=55$ ), and the monastery (42.5%,  $n=51$ ) [Table 3]. The poor knowledge of this last monument may be due to the fact that the monastery was closed to the local community. More than half of the respondents (58.3%,  $n=70$ ) had also interacted with members of the archaeological project, usually during a site visit or a village meeting [see Table 2].

In general, the respondents were happy that the excavations were taking place in Old Dongola, although the analysis showed a fairly limited knowledge of archaeology among the residents despite the long-term presence of archaeologists there. Indeed, the respondents themselves assessed their knowledge of archaeological excavations at Old Dongola as fragmentary [Fig. 3].

The questions in the third part of the questionnaire concerned benefits — as perceived by the respondents — related to the archaeological excavations in the area. The assumed benefits were indeed ranked very high — the most valued were: gaining new historical knowledge about the area (85.0%,  $n=102$ ), new job opportunities (74.5%,  $n=89$ ), more tourists visiting the area (91.7%,  $n=110$ ), and the opportunity to meet new people from different cultures (86.7%,  $n=104$ ) [Table 4].

The vast majority of respondents (84.2%,  $n=101$ ) expressed their satisfaction with the prospect of archaeological tourism development in the region. Nearly half (47.5%,  $n=57$ ) believed that the development of tourism would have a major

impact on the village, one in four (22.5%,  $n=27$ ) assumed tourism may be a game changer in the life of Ghaddar, while a relatively small percentage of respondents (7.5%,  $n=9$ ) felt that the development of archaeological tourism would only slightly change the village and their own lives. It was only very few respondents (6.7%,  $n=8$ ) who felt that the local community would remain unaffected. Still a few others (13.3%,  $n=16$ ) did not have any particular view on the matter [Fig. 4].

In the fourth part, the questions focused on benefits that tourism development could bring to the local community. As the analyses showed, the respondents believed tourism may benefit their community, and their expectations were high indeed. They hoped tourism would change the situation of the labor market and provide more job opportunities (90.0%,  $n=108$ ), improve the local infrastructure, especially roads (84.2%,  $n=101$ ), attract more government attention to their problems (75.8%,  $n=91$ ), and im-



Fig. 3. The respondents' self-assessment of their knowledge of the Old Dongola site (Graph K. Radziwiłko)

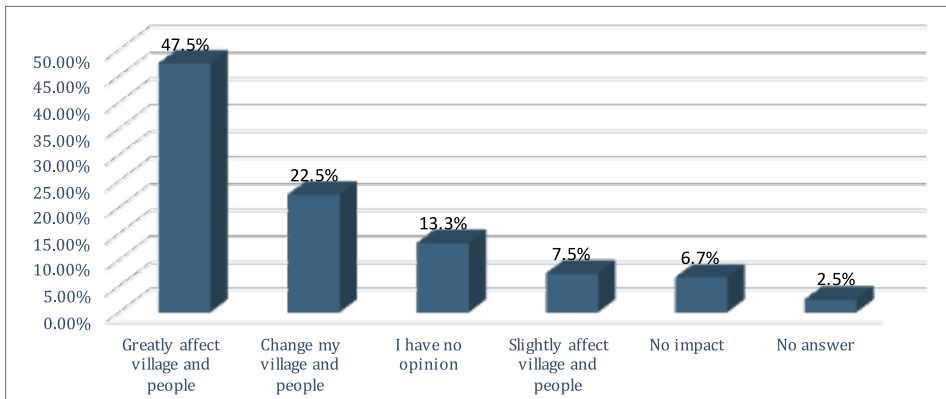


Fig. 4. Potential impact of tourism on the local community according to the respondents (Graph K. Radziwiłko)

Table 1. Life in Ghaddar based on responses to the first part of the questionnaire

Statement	I agree		I do not agree		I do not know		No answer	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
My village is safe	119	99.20%	1	0.80%	-	-	-	-
The road infrastructure in my village is in bad condition	88	73.30%	22	18.30%	9	7.50%	1	0.90%
Access to clean water is limited in my village	65	54.20%	47	39.10%	6	5.00%	2	1.70%
Many people would like to find a job, but they can't	100	83.30%	13	10.80%	1	0.90%	6	5.00%
My village is good place for children's education	93	77.50%	22	18.30%	5	4.20%	-	-
Life in my village is very hard. I would like to move to different place	47	39.20%	68	56.70%	2	1.70%	3	2.40%
In a difficult situation I can count on family and friends	112	93.30%	2	1.70%	4	3.30%	2	1.70%

Table 2. Contact of local people with archaeology and archaeologists in Ghaddar based on responses to the second part of the questionnaire

Statement	Yes		No		I do not remember		No answer	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
I heard about an archaeological expedition in our area	102	85.00%	15	12.50%	1	0.80%	2	1.70%
I visited the archaeological site in Old Dongola	97	80.80%	17	14.20%	2	1.70%	4	3.30%
I talked with a member of the archaeological team at Old Dongola	70	58.30%	40	33.30%	7	5.90%	3	2.50%

Table 3. Visits of the local community to the monuments of Old Dongola based on responses to the second part of the questionnaire

Monument	No.	%
Church	88	73.3%
Domed tombs	80	66.7%
Mosque	74	61.7%
<i>Khalwa</i>	55	45.8%
Monastery	51	42.5%

prove their lives in general (65.8%,  $n=79$ ). Respondents also expected the region to gain more recognition worldwide (85.0%,  $n=102$ ). At the same time, more than half of the respondents (57.5%,  $n=69$ ) hoped that tourism would not change the unique char-

acter of the area [Table 5], seemingly being unaware of the fact that tourism development brings about benefits and challenges alike (Seweryn 2002).

The questions in the fifth part referred to the local heritage (*turath*), and the an-

swers gathered truly attest to the site's vital place in the community's daily life: 90.0% ( $n=108$ ) of the respondents claimed it was important, while 95.8% ( $n=115$ ) said they were proud of it, and even more (96.7%,  $n=116$ ) saw the need to protect it. At the same time, most of the respondents (72.6%,  $n=87$ ) admitted that in everyday life the care

for the local heritage is sidelined in favor of the pursuit of goods and new technologies [Table 6]. It was the Ghaddar residents, teachers in particular, who had the most positive attitude towards heritage conservation, while the representatives of the local authorities seemed to be less concerned, possibly due to their "non-resident" status.

Table 4. Benefits from archaeological work in Old Dongola for the local community based on responses to the third part of the questionnaire

Statement	I agree		I do not agree		I do not know		No answer	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
New historical knowledge about the area	102	85.00%	8	6.60%	5	4.20%	5	4.20%
More tourists in the region	110	91.70%	4	3.30%	5	4.20%	1	0.80%
More opportunities for work	89	74.20%	14	11.60%	15	12.50%	2	1.70%
New opportunity to meet people from different cultures	104	86.70%	4	3.30%	7	5.80%	5	4.20%
Greater recognition for the country and region abroad	104	86.70%	5	4.20%	8	6.60%	3	2.50%

Table 5. Local community's expectations and fears concerning tourism development based on responses to the fourth part of the questionnaire

Statement	I agree		I do not agree		I do not know		No answer	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Job opportunities	108	90.00%	1	0.80%	7	5.80%	4	3.40%
Road condition	101	84.20%	2	1.60%	11	9.20%	6	5.00%
Government attention	91	75.80%	8	6.70%	17	14.20%	4	3.30%
General improvement in life	79	65.80%	15	12.50%	24	20.00%	2	1.70%
The local area to be internationally recognized	102	85.00%	6	5.00%	8	6.70%	4	3.30%
Loss of the region's unique character	23	19.20%	69	57.50%	26	21.70%	2	1.60%

Table 6. Heritage in Ghaddar based on responses to the fifth part of the questionnaire

Statement	I agree		I do not agree		I do not know		No answer	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Important element of everyday life in Ghaddar	108	90.00%	5	4.20%	5	4.20%	2	1.70%
Pride in their community	115	95.80%	4	3.40%	1	0.80%	-	-
Nowadays we forget about heritage	87	72.60%	26	21.60%	6	5.00%	1	0.80%
Preserving heritage is important	116	96.70%	1	0.80%	-	-	3	2.50%

## DISCUSSION

Interactions between archaeologists and local communities have only recently attracted the attention of scholars (Shanks and Tilley 1992), first in the United States (McGimsey 1972) and then in the United Kingdom (Merriman 2004; Schadla-Hall 2006). Indeed, especially in countries with a colonial past (e.g. African countries), such interactions were frowned upon until the colonial legacy was questioned by archaeologists and the involvement of local communities in archaeological projects became a way of recognizing their knowledge and potential (Greer, Harrison, and McIntyre-Tamwoy 2002; Atalay 2006; Chirikure and Pwiti 2008; Schmidt 2014; Pikirayi 2016). In fact, for many years, it was not the practice of archaeologists to seek opportunities to interact with residents of local sites; they would rather conduct their research undisturbed by local communities and their heritage (Pwiti and Ndoro 1999; Chirikure et al. 2010; Schmidt and Pikirayi 2016). This is why it is so important to strengthen collaboration between archaeologists and local communities (Deskur 2009: 286; Kobialka 2014: 359; Pawleta 2016: 121) and encourage their involvement in archaeological initiatives (Schadla-Hall 1999; 2006; Little 2002; 2012; Merriman 2004; Deskur 2009: 284; Skeates, McDavid, and Carman 2012; Pawleta 2016: 121). What is needed, to start with, is to abandon the previous (colonial) mindset and focus on grass-roots initiatives that give voice to local people who decide about their own heritage, thereby building their social capital (Abu-Khafajah and Miqdadi 2019: 101;

Ronza 2023: 27–29) and shaping a society that is responsible for its own heritage. This approach—taking into account the needs and expectations of local communities—fosters the ethical dimension of archaeology (Atalay 2007: 253; Nicholas and Hollowell 2008: 66–67) by drawing attention to its obligations to the public (Holtorf 2007: 150).

Archaeological projects that welcome the participation of local communities in heritage recognition and development are becoming increasingly common, as exemplified by some projects conducted in the Levant, notably the Winged Lions Temple project in Petra, which aimed—among other things—to encourage members of local communities to learn new skills and increase employment (Tuttle 2013). This approach was also adopted in the Sustainable Cultural Heritage through Engagement of Local Communities project, a USAID project that used archaeological fieldwork as a means of community development (Burtenshaw et al. 2019: 70). Another notable example is the Deep Past as a Social Asset in the Levant (DEEPSAL) project, which focused on engaging local communities in archaeology-centered activities to identify the best ways to support the region's economic growth and create new jobs there (Burtenshaw et al. 2019: 73–75). In recent years, the Heritage–Landscape–Community (HLC) project, along with other initiatives conducted in southern Jordan, has conducted a series of surveys to identify the needs, recognize the attitudes, and understand the expectations of local people in relation to the region's

archaeological heritage and its potential for archeological tourism development. The results of this research contributed to the creation of a local heritage-based development strategy and a long-term plan for cooperation with the local community (Radziwilko 2019; Radziwilko, Kutyló, and Kołodziejczyk 2020).

Although relatively new, as compared to other parts of the world, the projects in post-colonial Africa, e.g. in Sudan, have also gained prominence in recent years (Tully 2014). A major breakthrough in this regard came in the last decade, when the QSAP (Qatar—Sudan Archaeological Project) advised the archaeologists to invite members of local communities to collaborate at excavations. This has resulted in targeted community initiatives and numerous publications based on, among other things, interviews and interactions with local residents (e.g. Tully 2014; 2015; Tully and Näser 2016; Humphris 2017; Humphris and Bradshaw 2017; Näser and Tully 2019). Particularly noteworthy in this context are the projects in Amara West, which involved residents in ongoing archaeological activities using historical records and local oral histories (Fushiya et al. 2017; Ryan, Hassan, and Saad 2018; Spencer et al. 2024).

The recording of oral histories in Old Dongola began two decades ago, before the onset of the QSAP (Bashir 2003: 519). The project launched in Old Dongola in 2008 focused on the conservation of the mosque in order to make it available for tourists. It also aimed to raise the awareness of local history among the local community (Obluski et al. 2013). More recently, in 2019–2021, the Archaeological Centre of Scientific Excellence

(ArcheoCDN) project was implemented, focusing on community interaction, extensive communication, social development activities, and sustainable heritage management (Fushiya and Radziwilko 2019; Fushiya 2021a; Larsen 2021; Obluski and Dzierzbicka 2021; Fushiya 2025, in this volume). The community survey presented in this paper was conducted as part of the ArcheoCDN project.

The community survey aimed to better understand the Ghaddar community by identifying their needs and expectations regarding their daily lives, local heritage, archaeology, and tourism. The results confirmed the respondents' pride in their heritage and a strong sense of identity with their place of origin, where they felt comfortable and safe. Such a sense of identity with one's place of origin is crucial for heritage conservation and promotion. In addition, the survey confirmed the local community's familiarity with the Old Dongola site, although, as the respondents declared, their knowledge in this respect was fairly fragmentary. This may have been due to a sense of mistrust among the Muslim community, based on the fact that past research had long focused mainly on the Christian heritage (Fushiya 2021a: 95). The multicultural nature of the site can actually be an important asset in the development of archaeological tourism, a sector regarding which the respondents have high expectations, especially in terms of employment opportunities, improved infrastructure, and better access to water. Undeniably, archaeological tourism brings about a range of opportunities and is in itself highly esteemed in Sudan (Grabowska 2013: 76–77; Radziwilko 2019: 100). It creates new jobs, leads to the develop-

ment of hotel and supply infrastructure, increases the income of both local governments and individuals, and contributes to the improvement of the public transport network (Mika 2007: 406–438; Grabowska 2013: 78). However, it is not only profits that the advancements in tourism bring about — the growing number of international visitors can have a negative impact on the socio-cultural setting by disrupting local harmony, threatening national identity, and generating interpersonal conflicts (Seweryn 2002: 94–95), risks that respondents do not seem to be fully

aware of. The growth of tourism is also feared to fuel inflation, which in turn puts the local people's stability and well-being in jeopardy. Therefore, it is important to understand the concerns and expectations of the local community in order to introduce sustainable development measures (Page 1995: 178–179; Lewandowska and Chodkowska-Miszczuk 2019: 99–100; Larsen 2021: 92), in order to minimize the negative impacts of tourism development while maximizing the benefits it brings (Larsen 2021; Fushiya 2025, in this volume).

## CONCLUSIONS

The 2019 community survey intended to better understand the needs, attitudes, and expectations of the local community regarding the region's cultural heritage. By collecting data from respondents in different parts of the village, the research contributed to increased social interaction between the local community and archaeologists. In the same year, the first activities to improve communication with the local community were launched. These were participatory in nature and, through meetings with archaeologists, workshops for children, and open days at the excavations, they inspired the residents to recognize and appreciate their own cultural heritage (Fushiya and Radziwiłko 2019; Fushiya 2021a). The results contributed to the development and subsequent implementation of local development strategies, fostered relations between archaeologists and residents, and raised awareness of the importance of local heritage (Fushiya and Radziwiłko 2019).

The data obtained can be further used to support the implementation and promotion of archaeological tourism in the region, which — especially in post-colonial countries— should be carefully developed in accordance with the principle of sustainable development. It is important to take into account not only the needs of tourists, but also the expectations and interests of local residents (Page 1995; Lewandowska and Chodkowska-Miszczuk 2019; Larsen 2021). A particularly important task is to prepare the local community for the development of tourism around archaeological heritage sites and to make them not only appreciate the profits but also recognize the risks involved. This is a long-term process that requires the involvement of stakeholders, financial resources, researchers, and the local community, whose voice should not only be heard but also taken into account in the region's heritage protection and management plans.

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