EVALUATING THE SUCCESS OF UNESCO WORLD HERITAGE SITES

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Abbreviations

UN: United Nations

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization

ICOMOS: International Council on Monuments and Sites

IUCN: International Union for Conservation of Nature

ICRROM: International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property

OUV: Outstanding Universal Value

SOC: State of Conservation reports

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CHAPTER 1: Introduction

1.1 Research Rationale

The UNESCO World Heritage Convention was signed in 1972 with the purpose of protecting cultural and natural heritage on a global level for all the peoples of the world. Since the signing of the Convention, there have been hundreds of books, articles, and media reports written about the effects of World Heritage designation. A large number of these critiques focus on the negative impacts on the local communities at the heritage sites. While the World Heritage system has helped protect hundreds of heritage sites, these criticisms related to the local communities suggest that there is a disconnect between local communities and the global stakeholders.

The primary aim of this thesis is to examine how the success of World Heritage Sites is currently evaluated, and how the measures used for evaluation may need to evolve. Now that the World Heritage system has been in place for nearly 50 years, an improved understanding of global-local dynamics and the effects of designation on communities can inform new indicators of success that better respond to today's societal conditions.

1.2 Research Questions

The main objective of this thesis is to understand how to more effectively evaluate World Heritage Sites to incorporate community values in the process. Therefore, this research is focused on several key questions to better analyze the current evaluation methods, indicators of success,

and what elements are not getting evaluated. The following questions were used to target and direct my research during this process:

How is the World Heritage system perceived from a global lens?

How has criticism of the World Heritage system been addressed?

How is the World Heritage system perceived from a community-based lens?

What are the expectations of local and global stakeholders?

How is success being defined under World Heritage guidelines and processes?

What current tools or methods are used to evaluate that success?

What additional indicators of success are important to identify and incorporate in decision making?

1.3 Methodology

The approach used in this thesis was a literature review and discourse analysis to understand the changing attitudes toward and expectations of World Heritage designation and is outcomes. This research looked at how the UNESCO World Heritage system was discussed in the media, scholarly articles, UNESCO World Heritage reports and guidelines, site-specific State of Conservation Reports, and at conferences.

Based on these analyses, specific themes were chosen to focus on, including tourism, community inclusion, the material focus of the World Heritage system, and varying expectations of stakeholder groups. In addition, this research includes case studies, which will derive from the discourse analysis and themes chosen. These case studies are used as small vignettes to illustrate the issue or theme during the discussion.

Next, this thesis analyzed the existing World Heritage toolbox and potential tools to determine what is currenting getting evaluated, what is not getting evaluated, and what should be evaluated. Finally, this research has provided recommendations to expand the current World Heritage toolbox to include measures of success of World Heritage Sites beyond just the fabric.

1.3.1 Literature Review

The literature used in this research is a mix of scholarly articles, UNESCO reports, and books relating to World Heritage. This literature was used to understand how World Heritage has been viewed on a global level and the main issues that are discussed. In addition, the purpose of reviewing UNESCO reports was to understand these issues from the organization's view and ways it has responded to these critiques. There is no specific 'literature review' chapter or section in this research. Instead, the literature is used throughout this thesis to highlight and support the key issues or perspectives.

1.3.2 Discourse Analysis

A media discourse analysis looked at newspaper articles, magazine articles, video segments, and web articles to understand views on World Heritage from a non-heritage expert perspective. As this discourse often derived from local interviews and onsite reporting, this discourse is primarily used to illustrate issues at World Heritage Sites from the local community's perspective. This media discourse is mainly used in Chapter 4 of this research, which discusses World Heritage from a Community-Based Lens.

1.3.3 Case Studies

Several case studies were used in this thesis. Theses case studies are not the focus of this research; instead they are used as examples to illustrate the issues discussed. These case studies were drawn from the media discourse and literature on World Heritage. In effort to give a more holistic view of World Heritage Site issues, these cases studies look at different types of heritage sites (religious, archaeological, cities) from around the world including Europe, Africa, Asia, and South America. Because this research is emphasizing community-based perspectives, the case studies chosen are cultural or mixed sites where there is a community living in or surround the heritage sites. These case studies are primarily used in Chapter 4 when discussing the Community-Based Lens of World Heritage. The Appendix section of this thesis includes a list of each of the case studies discussed in this research and a short description for each.

1.4 Bias and limitations

As a Historic Preservation Masters candidate and former ICOMOS intern, the author has a natural bias towards UNESCO World Heritage. However, this research has looked at these international organizations critically and from a variety of perspectives. The goal of this research is not to defend or promote any organization; rather, the purpose of this research is to understand the current challenges World Heritage faces and potential solutions.

As this research was conducted in only one year's time, there were certain limitations. The author was unable to visit each of the case study sites and speak directly with community members. Therefore, the analysis on the community-based lens is mainly based on media discourse or case studies discussed in literature. While this can be limiting, this method has provided the author with an understanding of these key issues from a community standpoint. An exception to this is the case of Lalibela, Ethiopia, where the author visited for a week to collect data and interviews for a studio course at Columbia University.

Figure 2.1: Flags at the United Nations building in New York (Wikimedia Commons)

CHAPTER 2: How UNESCO World Heritage Operates

2.1 Introduction

The UNESCO World Heritage organization was created with the goal of protecting heritage sites with 'Outstanding Universal Value'. World Heritage Sites are considered to be heritage for all peoples of the world and therefore the management of these sites needs to be overseen on an international level. The complex framework of the World Heritage system ties together political representatives with heritage experts to make decisions about which heritage sites are included on the World Heritage List, which sites need access to funding for conservation needs, which sites need expert evaluation or technical assistance, and which sites should get removed from the List.

The following chapter provides basic information on the structure of the UNESCO World Heritage system and its main functions. The purpose of this overview is to create a foundation of knowledge about the organization. In addition, understanding the relationships, responsibilities, and limitations of each actor is significant later in this research when discussing current tools and indicators.

2.2 Background on the Structure and Functions of the World Heritage System

The UNESCO World Heritage Convention was established in 1972 "to encourage the identification, protection, and preservation of cultural and natural heritage around the world

considered to be of outstanding value to humanity."[1] The Convention created the UNESCO World Heritage system and defined the duties of the State Parties in identifying potential World Heritage Sites as well as defining their duties on how to protect and manage the sites.[2]

Overseeing the management of cultural and natural heritage on a collective level across the globe, all with varying degrees of needs, issues, and governmental systems is a difficult endeavor. Therefore, a framework was needed for the UNESCO World Heritage system. The *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* were developed in 1977. The purpose of the Operational Guidelines was to facilitate the implementation of the Convention and outline the procedure for activities defined by the Convention, namely inscribing properties (also referred to as sites or heritage sites) on both the World Heritage List and the List of World Heritage in Danger, protecting and conserving properties on the List, allocating funds from the World Heritage Fund, and mobilizing national and international support.[3] Unlike the Convention, these Operational Guidelines on how the system works does not need to be ratified, and therefore can be updated as changes are made to the processes.

[1] "UNESCO World Heritage," UNESCO World Heritage, accessed February 1, 2017, http://whc.unesco.org/en/about/.
[2] "The World Heritage Convention." UNESCO World Heritage. Accessed May 5, 2017. http://whc.unesco.org/en/convention/.
[3] UNESCO, *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention*, (Paris: UNESCO World Heritage, 2015), 1.

2.2.1 The UNESCO World Heritage System

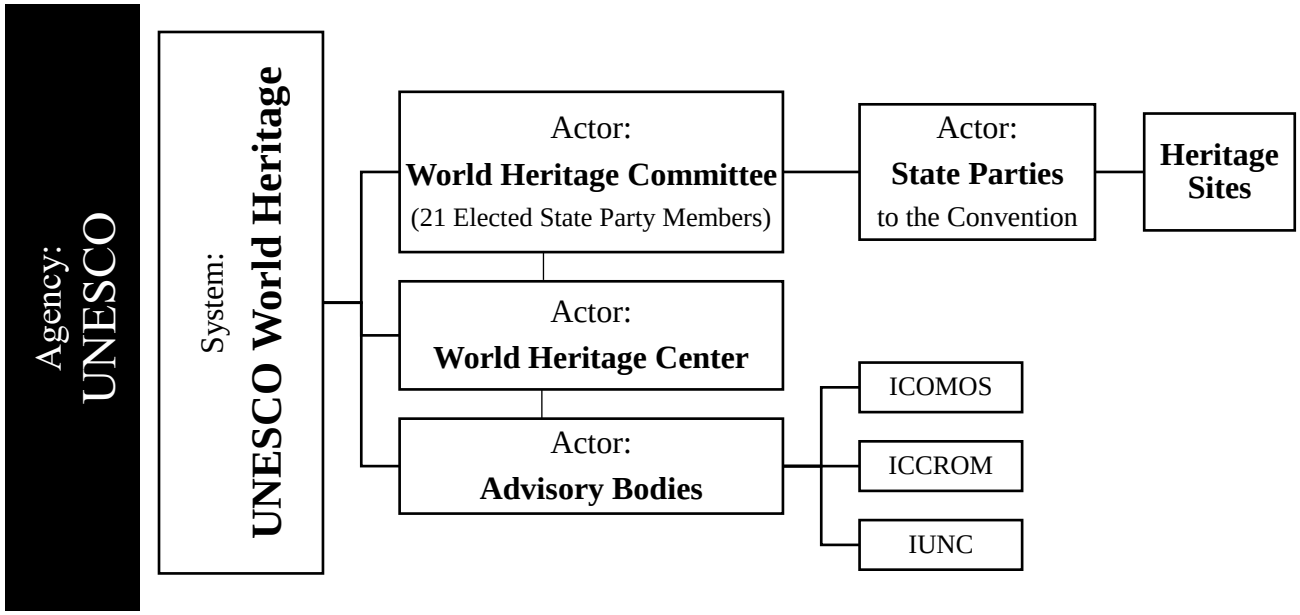

Figure 2.2: Chart of the UNESCO World Heritage System and main actors (Source: author)

UNESCO, the United Nations Educational, Scientific, Cultural Organization, is the United Nations agency that established the World Heritage Convention, which in turn established the World Heritage system. UNESCO World Heritage is a complex system to oversee the goals of the World Heritage Convention and the State Parties' management of their heritage sites.

The World Heritage system consists of a mix of governmental and non-governmental parties. The key actors within the UNESCO World Heritage system are the State Parties, the World Heritage Committee, the Advisory Bodies, and the World Heritage Centre. The tools and functions of these players include managing the World Heritage Fund and the World Heritage List.

2.2.2 State Parties

The World Heritage Convention established a system of international cooperation and assistance to support the heritage preservation efforts of States Parties, who are the countries that adhere to the World Heritage Convention. State Parties who want to be involved with the World Heritage system must pledge their duty of identification, conservation, and protection of heritage in their territory for future generations. To do this, the State Parties must ratify the Convention as an agreement to follow its policies. As of 2016, there are 192 State Parties to the Convention, which makes the Convention the most ratified treaty in the world.[4]

The State Parties are the most important actors in the World Heritage System. The World Heritage system is in place for the State Parties; its purpose is to assist State Parties in managing and protecting the World Heritage Sites in their countries. In addition, the World Heritage Committee is made up of State Party members. Since State Parties to the Convention maintain sovereignty over their heritage property, the State Parties are the actors that create the management and protection for the World Heritage Sites in their countries.[5] This means that although the UNESCO and the World Heritage Committee can suggest actions for the State Parties to take regarding their sites on the World Heritage List, neither have any ownership over the sites and have no power to force the State Party to follow its suggestions. The only way for UNESCO to enforce its rulings is by delisting sites, which will be touched upon later in this research.

[4] "World Heritage Sites in the United States: A Discover Our Shared Heritage Travel Itinerary," National Park Service, accessed February 22, 2017, https://www.nps.gov/nr/travel/worldheritagesites/World_Heritage_Sites_and_NPS.htm.

[5] UNESCO, *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*, (Paris: UNESCO World Heritage, 1972), 4.

2.2.3 The World Heritage Committee

The Convention formed an intergovernmental committee for the protection of the world cultural and natural heritage. This World Heritage Committee is a group of twenty-one State Parties representatives who are elected by the State Parties during the UNESCO General Assembly meetings. The election of Committee members is meant to provide equal representation of the different cultures and regions; regardless of a State Party's size, funding, or power, each State Party on the Committee receives only one representative, and therefore only one vote. The State Parties selected choose their own representative to sit on the Committee.[6] The Committee Members are elected for six-year terms, although many voluntarily choose to reduce their term on the Committee to only four years.[7]

The main function of the Committee is to select heritage sites to be added to the World Heritage List during the annual World Heritage Committee meetings. The Committee also examines the conservation of properties on the List, inscribes properties on the World Heritage List in Danger, determines if sites need to be removed from the List, controls how the World Heritage Fund monies are used, and works to increase that Fund. In addition, the Committee must report on their activities, update the Operational Guidelines as necessary, and evaluate the implementation of the Convention to ensure it is properly adhered to.[8] The Committee is supported by the Advisory Bodies as well as the World Heritage Centre.

[6] *Convention,* 4-5.
[7] Ibid, 4.
[8] Ibid, 5-7.

2.2.4 Advisory Bodies

The Advisory Bodies include the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN), and the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICRROM). These non-governmental groups of professionals or experts within the cultural and natural heritage fields. The Advisory Bodies' main purpose is to support the Committee with decisions about World Heritage Sites. These groups assist with the implementation of the Convention and Global Strategy, Period Reporting, and recommend use of the World Heritage Fund. ICOMOS, who focuses on cultural properties, and IUCN, who concentrations on natural properties, evaluate properties nominated for the List and present reports on their evaluations to the Committee. The third Advisory Body, ICCROM, International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property, advises on conservation and technical assistance, documentation, and training activities.[9]

The Advisory Bodies have a unique position. On one hand, experts from these organizations can be called upon by the Committee to assist with studies and assessments needed for nomination on the List, perform evaluations of the nominated properties, make recommendations, and supports monitoring post-designation. On the other hand, the Advisory their recommendations can be disregarded by the Committee and State Parties.[10]

[9] *Operational Guidelines,* 8-9.
[10] Diana Zacharias, "The UNESCO Regime for the Protection of World Heritage as Prototype of an Autonomy-Gaining International Institution," The Exercise of Public Authority by International Institutions, A. von Bogdandy et al. (eds.). Berlin: Springer-Verlag (2010): 325.

2.2.5 World Heritage Centre

The World Heritage Centre is the actor in the World Heritage system that organizes and manages the daily operation of the World Heritage system. The Centre was established in 1992 and is made up of UNESCO employees led by the Director of the World Heritage Centre (formerly referred to as the Secretariat). The Centre assists State Parties during the preparation of World Heritage nominations, organizes international assistance from the World Heritage Fund, coordinates the reporting, provides technical workshops, manages updates to the List, and creates teaching materials.[11]

2.2.6 World Heritage Fund

Another important feature of the World Heritage system is the World Heritage Fund. The World Heritage Fund consists of required and voluntary contributions by State Parties. These contributions are paid every two years and the compulsory contributions never exceed one-percent of the State Party's contributions to UNESCO. The Fund is also comprised of interests on the resources of the Fund, funds raised by events or programs, and additional gifts by State Parties, public, private bodies or individuals, as well as UNESCO or other intergovernmental bodies within the United Nations System.

The purpose of the Fund is to assist in the protection of World Heritage Sites. State Parties can request international assistance, however the allocation of those Funds is determined by the

[11] "World Heritage Centre." UNESCO World Heritage. Accessed May 5, 2017. http://whc.unesco.org/en/world-heritage-centre/.

Committee.[12] These funds can be used to finance unexpected or costly conservation needs, such as recovery from natural disasters, experts and equipment for better managing the heritage, and assistance in training staff to protect and conserve the sites.[13]

Access to the World Heritage Fund is a strong benefit and incentive for countries to join World Heritage. From 1998-2005, about $20 million USD of the Funds were allocated to 787 projects.[14] However, the amount of funding significantly dropped in 2011 to only $4 million USD.[15] This is due to political tensions; In 2011, the United States froze its payments of $80 million per annum to UNESCO, with a portion going to the World Heritage Fund, after Palestine was admitted as a member state to UNESCO.[16] The current World Heritage Fund now has extremely limited monies, considering that conservation and training is needed for many sites and managing World Heritage Convention itself costs $11 million USD.[17]

2.2.7 The World Heritage List

Listing heritage sites is the main tool of the *Convention*. Listing refers to the designation of heritage sites on the World Heritage List. This List includes heritage properties that are natural, cultural, and mixed (meaning of both natural and cultural importance). However, World Heritage is limited to physical places; heritage that is movable, such as small pieces of art, are not applicable

[12] *Convention*, 10-12.
[13] Zacharias, "The UNESCO Regime," 308.
[14] Zacharias, "The UNESCO Regime," 310.
[15] Bruno Frey and Lasse Steiner, "World Heritage List: Does it make sense?" I*nternational Journal of Cultural Policy*, Vol. 17, No. 5 (2011): 559.
[16] "A Discover Our Shared Heritage Travel Itinerary."
[17] Frey and Steiner, "World Heritage List," 559.

for the List. To be considered World Heritage and included on the List, sites must have Outstanding Universal Value, which is defined as:

> …cultural and/or natural significance which is so exceptional as to transcend national boundaries and to be of common importance for present and future generations of all humanity. As such, the permanent protection of this heritage is of the highest importance to the international community as a whole. The Committee defines the criteria for the inscription of properties on the World Heritage List.[18]

Properties are considered having Outstanding Universal Value if they have authenticity, integrity, and meet at least one of the follow criteria:[19]

(i) to represent a masterpiece of human creative genius;
(ii) to exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design;
(iii) to bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared;
(iv) to be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history;
(v) to be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change;
(vi) to be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance. (The Committee considers that this criterion should preferably be used in conjunction with other criteria);
(vii) to contain superlative natural phenomena or areas of exceptional natural beauty and aesthetic importance;
(viii) to be outstanding examples representing major stages of earth's history, including the record of life, significant on-going geological processes in the development of landforms, or significant geomorphic or physiographic features;
(ix) to be outstanding examples representing significant on-going ecological and biological processes in the evolution and development of terrestrial, fresh water, coastal and marine ecosystems and communities of plants and animals;

[18] *Operational Guidelines*, 11.
[19] *Operational Guidelines*, 17-18.

(x) to contain the most important and significant natural habitats for in-situ conservation of biological diversity, including those containing threatened species of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science or

In order for the Committee to inscribe heritage sites on the List, there is a specific process State Parties must follow. First, each State Party of the Convention creates a Tentative List, which is an inventory of cultural and natural heritage properties in their territory with Outstanding Universal Value that they intend to eventually nominate. Only after sites are included on the Tentative List are State Parties allowed to nominate properties. State Parties are encouraged to do comparative analyses and work with the Advisory Bodies to identify gaps in the List and decide which properties from the Tentative List should be nominated. The State Parties then submit their nominations to the Committee.[20]

In addition to having Outstanding Universal Value, nominations of properties for the World Heritage List should also include information that the property will have proper safeguarding. This should include any factors that are affecting the property, how the site is protected and managed, monitoring indicators along with responsible parties, and any additional documentation such as images.[21]

[20]*Operational Guidelines*, 15-16.
[21]Ibid, 26.

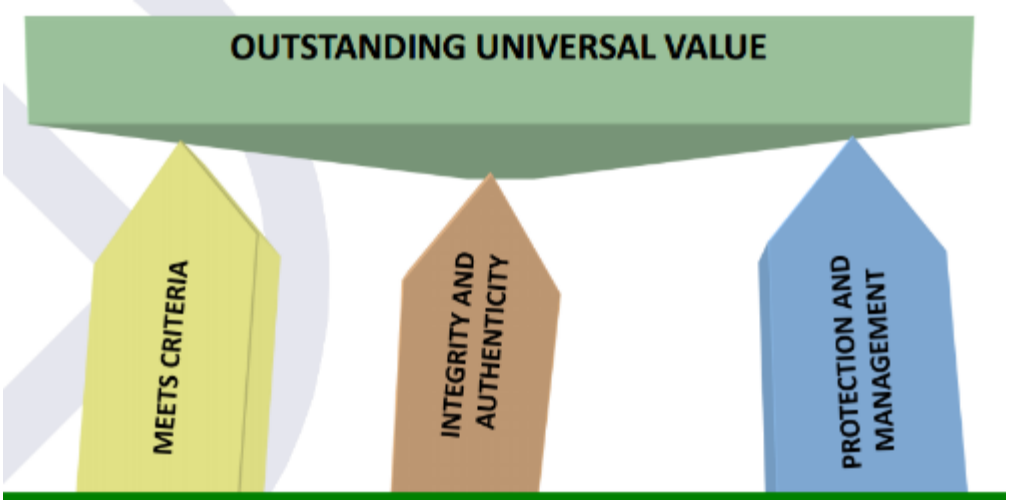

Figure 2.3. Pillars of Outstanding Universal Value (Source: UNESCO Orientation Session for Committee Members 2016)

The Advisory Bodies then evaluate the nominated properties prior to the Committee. ICOMOS evaluates the cultural properties and IUCN reviews the natural properties. These Bodies review the nominations to ensure the properties meet all the requirements for the List and carry out thematic studies. The Advisory Bodies deliver their evaluations and recommendations of which sites should be chosen for the List to the Committee. The Committee then selects sites for the List during the annual General Assembly of the World Heritage Committee.[22]

Per the requirements of the Convention, State Parties agree to protect the heritage sites on the World Heritage List. However, there are frequently issues that occur at or near the site that threaten its World Heritage Status. This includes deteriorated materials, features, natural environment, ecological species, or town-planning, or the loss of cultural significance or authenticity. Sites are highlighted for potential danger when modifications have been made to its protection policies, or other threats due to town planning, development projects, armed conflict, or impacts due to environmental or natural factors. In these cases, the Committee puts the sites on

[22]*Operational Guidelines*, 31-33.

the World Heritage List in Danger. If the property has deteriorated to the degree that it lost the characteristics that allowed the site to be included on the List, or if State Parities do not take corrective measures on a threatened property in the timeframe proposed, the Committee can choose to delete a property from the List. [23] To date, only two properties have been delisted—the Arabian Oryx Sanctuary, where the Oryx population is no longer existing on the site, and the Elbe Valley in Dresden, Germany where a bridge was built despite warnings by the Committee that the bridge would affect the Outstanding Universal Value of the site.

The List has grown since the first twelve sites were designated in 1978. As of spring of 2017, there are 1,052 properties inscribed on the List, with 814 cultural properties, 203 natural properties, and only thirty-five mixed (cultural and natural) sites. Fifty-five of the properties are on the World Heritage List in Danger.[24]

2.3 Conclusion

The World Heritage Convention developed with the concept that heritage around the world is the concern for everyone, not just for the community whose identities, histories and traditions are associated with the site, building, landscape, or place. This concept of collective heritage led to the development of the UNESCO World Heritage system, which was established to help protect and manage heritage with Outstanding Universal Value on an international level. Its intricate structure with the State Parties, Committee, Centre, and Advisory Bodies as the key players, along

[23] *Operational Guidelines,* 41-44.
[24] "World Heritage List," *UNESCO World Heritage, a*ccessed February 11, 2017, http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/

with the World Heritage Fund and World Heritage List, were created with the goal to preserve World Heritage Sites for future generations.

The World Heritage List the main tool of the World Heritage Committee. Inscribing heritage sites on the List provides awareness, drives potential funding sources, and is a way to identify and organize the world's most significant heritage sites. While the framework incorporates both heritage experts and political entities, the twenty-one Committee members hold the power to make decisions about the sites on the List.

Although the goal of the World Heritage System to protect and preserve heritage sites around the world is honorable and has significantly influenced the management of heritage sites, there are flaws in the ideology and processes of the system. The next chapter will provide further insight into how and why UNESCO World Heritage was developed, the main critiques of the system, and how UNESCO has responded to those criticisms.

Figure 3.1: Reassembling the Ramesses the Great statue at the Abu Simbel Temple in Nubia in 1967 (Wikimedia Commons)

CHAPTER 3: Critical Analyses of UNESCO World Heritage

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter provided insight on how the UNESCO World Heritage system is structured, its key players, and functions. Chapter 3 of this research will build on that basic knowledge of the organization and explain the history and political environment surrounding the creation of the World Heritage system. Furthermore, this chapter will analyze the World Heritage system from a global perspective, derived from scholarly literature, as well as a policy review from within the World Heritage system itself. This chapter focuses on two of the key research questions of this thesis: How is the World Heritage system perceived from a global lens and how has the World Heritage system addressed issues and criticism?

3.2 History of the Critiques of UNESCO World Heritage

The UNESCO World Heritage system was established almost fifty years ago. The main criticisms and topics that emerge in the discourse are that the concept of 'World Heritage' is an invention, the selection process for inscription on the World Heritage List is unfair and imbalanced, there is an overextension of the List, there are negative impacts on World Heritage Sites due to tourism, and there is a lack of inclusion of the local communities in the designation and management of the heritage sites. While UNESCO and the World Heritage system have responded to many of these criticisms with policy updates, these issues are still prominent in the organization today.

3.2.1 The Invention of World Heritage

One of the main criticisms of the formation of the UNESCO World Heritage system, which is reiterated by former UNESCO staff members Batisse and Bolla, is that 'World Heritage' itself is an invention.[25] This concept, where heritage is defined by its global value and significance for all of humanity, is a 20th century development. Vahtikari, in her book *Valuing World Heritage Cities*, suggests that heritage is and always will be reinvented as contemporary ideas about history change. She states that heritage is not a material thing, it is a relationship to the past constructed through various cultural and social processes, "the gaze of heritage is directed towards the past but is always interpreted from the current perspective, for present and future purposes, and is infused with the concerns and use of the present."[26] This invention of 'World Heritage' and how the World Heritage system formed is frequently discussed in literature.

Many authors focus on how social understandings concerning heritage leapt from something localized from communities living in or around the site to the idea that heritage belongs to all the nations of the world. Harrison's work discusses how the ideas surrounding *what* heritage is and *who* owns heritage has shifted in three phases over the past two centuries: (1) the Euro-American connection to the Enlightenment in the 19th century with increased focus on the public sphere, expert management, and concerns over cultural and natural environments; (2) Increased state control of heritage in the 20th century and the emergence of the concept of 'World Heritage'; (3) After the 1972 World Heritage Convention, which coincides with postindustrial economies and

[25] Michael Batisse, "Nature and Culture: Recollections of a (convential) marriage," in *The Invention of World Heritage*, Paper 2, ed. Michael Batisse and Gerald Bolla, Association of Former UNESCO Staff Members: (2005), 8.
[26] Tanja Vahtikari, *Valuing World Heritage Cities*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2017), 188-190.

capitalist societies, when there was an increased focus on visiting heritage sites as well as vernacular heritage.[27]

The discourse on the creation of the concept of World Heritage often focuses on the role of globalization leading to this shift in heritage. Elliot and Schmutz argue that global sociology contributed to the formation of the World Heritage system, "the rise of the world heritage movement is rooted in fundamental globalization processes," which includes world polity (a highly diffuse authority structure that is boundary-less and lacks a strong administrative center where a wide range of entities can exercise legal sovereignty), universalization (interconnectedness of the environment and culture across the globe), and rationalization of virtue and virtuosity (global, moral order that embodies notions about what global actors should be doing).[28] Heritage became tied up in this growth of globalization, with the idea that heritage is valued outside of its borders and as global actors, we are responsible for preserving heritage for future generations. The globalization of heritage can be seen early in the 20th century with the 1931 Athens Charter and the 1928 Roerich Pact.[29]

War played a significant role in the creation of the World Heritage system, particularly the Second World War. Harrison discusses how heritage received increased attention postwar, "As the old empires began to gather together their resources and attempt to rebuild, there was a global outcry over the massive destruction of cultural heritage site that had occurred during the war."[30] Batisse argues that because of the massive scale of the destruction, international organizations *had*

[27] Rodney Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches*, (London & New York: Routledge: 2013), 43.
[28] Michael A. Elliott and Vaughn Schmutz, "World Heritage: Constructing a universal cultural order," *SciVerse Science Direct* (2012), 259-261.
[29]Ibid, 264-265..
[30] Harrison, *Heritage,* 56.

to become involved, "the war in Europe was of such dimensions that only genuine international cooperation, as regards both financing and expertise, could deal with reconstruction and restoration."[31] It was this mass destruction of the built heritage that drew international attention and sense of global responsibility to protect it. In addition, this focus on protecting the historic material of heritage in the face of destruction remains a central theme to international heritage policies.

With increased globalization and fears of another world war, new international agencies, such as the United Nations, developed to promote international cooperation and avoid another world war. The United Nations Education, Science, and Culture Organization (UNESCO), a United Nations agency, was also created in 1945 to forge international peace through education, science, and intercultural understanding.[32] Elliot and Schmutz explain how cultural heritage was inherent to UNESCO from its formation, after taking on projects previously carried out by the League of Nations. This notion of protection of cultural heritage was solidified by UNESCO when it adopted the 1954 Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict, known as the Hague Convention, which references a collective heritage, "the damage to cultural property belonging to any people whatsoever means damage to cultural heritage of all mankind."[33]

Early on, UNESCO was involved in international cultural heritage 'rescue' missions. In 1959, UNESCO assisted with the moving of the Abu Simbel temples in Egypt due to the building of the Aswan Dam, which planned to flood the Nile River Valley where the temples were located.

[31] Batisse, "Nature and Culture," 15.
[32] UNESCO, "Introducing UNESCO," last updated September 24, 2012, accessed December 9, 2016, http://en.unesco.org/about-us/introducing-unesco.
[33] Elliott and Vaughn Schmutz, "World Heritage,", 265.

This international safeguarding campaign moved twenty-three temples and was completed in 1968.[34]

Harrison argues that the political context surrounding the Nubian campaign is largely ignored and member states wanted more than just the protection of the Egyptian heritage, "International expeditions launched by member states demanded that half of the archaeological finds would be taken back to museums in their own countries. This led to the relocation of whole temples to New York, Madrid, Turin, and West Berlin."[35] These deals also provided participating member states priority in applying for excavations around the area. This campaign allowed not only the wealthy member states to be recognized for assisting in the protecting of heritage, but also benefit from the artifacts they could take home in exchange.[36] Harrison further highlights the significance of this campaign as an important shift from *discussing* heritage on an international scale to *managing* heritage on an international scale, "it is not possible to overstate the significance of this international campaign in promoting the idea that heritage was a universal concern, and that individual states could no longer expect to operate independently in the management of heritage deemed of international significance." [37] Still the Nubian campaign was considered an international success and led UNESO involve itself in other international heritage projects such as supporting Venice, Italy during the 1966 flood, restoring the Buddhist Temple of Borobudur in 1972, and protecting the archaeological ruins of Moenjordaro, Pakistan in 1972.[38]

[34] Harrison, *Heritage,* 61.
[35] Ibid, 59.
[36] Ibid, 61.
[37] Ibid, 61.
[38] Elliot and Schmutz, "World Heritage," 266.

At the same time as the increased awareness and international organizing surround cultural heritage, there was a similar movement for natural heritage. Christina Cameron and Mechtild Rössler discuss how awareness for environmental protection had increased in the face of industrialization and urban development after WWII, "the emergence of parallel initiatives, one for natural heritage, the other for cultural heritage, each apparently unknown to the other until 1970, reflects the decade's heightened awareness of environmental degradation and cultural loss."[39] In 1948, the International Union for the Protection of Nature, now referred to as the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN), was formed with the support of UNESCO, who brought scientific focus to the conservation of natural heritage.[40] Cameron and Rössler also explain how IUCN spearheaded the international initiative to protect natural heritage; IUCN created the first list of the important national parks and reverses in the world in 1958 and setup the First World Conference on National Parks in 1962.[41]

The increase of international discussions and protection plans for both cultural and natural heritage led to the 1965 concept of a World Heritage Trust in Washington D.C., which would later morph into the World Heritage Convention. The purpose of the Trust, according to Batisse, was to "stimulate such co-operation in order to identify and develop the most beautiful natural and historical sites in the world for the benefit of the present and future generations."[42] Batisse also points out that this creation of a joint program to protect both cultural and natural sites was unique

[39] Christina Cameron and Mechtild Rossler, *Many voices, one vision: the early years of the World Heritage Convention*, [electronic resource], (Farnham, Surrey : Ashgate, 2013), 2.
[40] Ibid, 2.-3.
[41] Ibid, 3.
[42] Batisse, "Nature and Culture," 16-17.

and had only been done in the United States, where both cultural and natural heritage were already managed together under the National Park Service.[43]

In response to UNESCO's international safeguarding campaigns, the Second International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments met in 1964 to adopt new resolutions. The group created an international charter on the conservation and restoration of monuments and sites, called the Venice Charter. The Venice Charter recalled basic principles of international conservation standards from the 1931 Athens Conference and built upon those ideas, emphasizing the importance of authenticity and context.[44] UNESCO adopted this charter and created a resolution that formed the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) to oversee its implementation.[45] Harrison explains how it was the images of Venice flooded in 1966 that circulated the world gave "urgency to these developments in the light of a growing sense of *vulnerability* of global heritage," and helped drive the creation of the Venice Charter due to the increasing need for global cooperation.[46]

In 1972, the Venice Charter's proposals were brought to the United Nations conference on Human Environment by IUCN, who developed a draft of the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, known as the World Heritage Convention. The World Heritage Convention was adopted by the General Conference of UNESCO in 1972.[47] The Convention's general principles focusing on the need to preserve natural and cultural heritage for mankind due to heightened threats of destruction, decay, changing social and economic

[43] Ibid, 16-17.
[44] ICOMOS, *Venice Charter*, (1964), 1.
[45] Harrison, *Heritage*, 63.
[46] Ibid, 61.
[47] Ibid, 63.

conditions.[48] The Convention was adopted by the first twenty State Parties by 1977 and the first twelve heritage properties were added to the World Heritage List in 1978.[49]

Literature surrounding the global phenomenon of World Heritage emphasizes the Convention's concept that heritage is now valued and managed on a global scale. Harrison discusses how World Heritage assumes two things:

> That all humans necessarily share an interest in the physical aspects of the past as 'heritage', and that they so in the same way … [and] that people in one country would necessarily be interested and concerned for the conservation of certain types of physical remains of heritage in another country—that certain aspects of heritage transcend physical and political boundaries.[50]

Elliot and Schmutz also criticize the idea of a common heritage, "at the heart of the world heritage movement is a firm belief that certain natural and human creations are the collective property and responsibility of all humanity—despite having vastly different historical, cultural, and geographical origins."[51] This official recognition of heritage on an international scale by heritage experts, governments, and non-governmental organizations is a significant shift in how heritage is considered.

The discourse also discusses how the creation of a system to manage heritage on a global scale the product of the modern and post-modern ideals. Cameron and Rössler suggest that the shift to global heritage was inevitable, "…no single person or group can claim parenthood for the achievement of this international treaty because it is the result of decades of discussion and several

[48] *Convention*, 1.
[49] *Operational Guidelines.*
[50] Harrison, *Heritage: A Critical Approach,*, 64.
[51] Elliot and Schmutz, "World Heritage," 258.

separate independent initiatives … the World Heritage Convention reflects the zeitgeist or spirit of the era."[52] Harrison also argues that the World Heritage system was established during a turning point for heritage "… when popular interest in the past had begun to accelerate, when the world tourist economy was in the process of restructuring, and when a series of technological changes in communicative technology would have a profound impact on globalization processes …"[53] The formation of the concept of 'World Heritage' is therefore also seen an invention that has developed as part of the organic process in the shifting concept of heritage.

3.2.2 Focus on Physical Fabric

The literature criticizes the World Heritage system for its Western-led approach to heritage, which focuses on the physical fabric of the site. Frey and Steiner argue that the World Heritage system is inherently defective, "… the concept of world heritage is flawed by the fact that it privileges an idea originating in the West, which requires an attitude towards material culture."[54] Smith also explains how the system has been criticized by non-Western nations for universalizing Western ideas and values of heritage.[55] She discusses the discourse surrounding the World Heritage system, which "focuses attention on aesthetically pleasing material objects, sites, places, and/or landscapes that current generations 'must' care for, protect and revere so that they may be passed to nebulous future generations for their 'education', and to forge a sense of common identity based on the past."[56]

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[52] Cameron and Rossler, *Many Voices,* 1.
[53] Harrison, *Heritage: A Critical Approach,* 67.
[54] Bruno Frey and Lasse Steiner, "World Heritage List: Does it make sense?" I*nternational Journal of Cultural Policy*, Vol. 17, No. 5 (2011): 561.
[55] Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, (London: Routledge, 2006), 28.
[56] Ibid, 90-91.

Furthermore, Smith points out the Venice Charter's focus on the intrinsic value and significance in the physical fabric of heritage has been brought into the ideals of the Convention, "Monuments are thus also 'living witnesses of their age-old traditions' (preamble). The idea here that a monument is a 'witness' to history and tradition anthropomorphizes material culture and creates a sense that memory is somehow locked within or embedded in the fabric of the monument or site."[57] In addition, Smith suggests that the purpose of focusing on the material of heritage sites is that is can be easily managed; the fabric of sites can be surveyed, recorded, mapped, and identified. Further, it is the physical fabric of a site that attracts tourism.[58]

In response to the criticisms that the World Heritage system focuses on Western values, the system made attempts at expanding its view on cultural heritage. In 2005, it adopted the Nara Document on Authenticity (1994) into its Operational Guidelines, which acknowledged the importance to understand and respect cultural heritage and social values in the conservation field.[59] The Nara Document took a non-Western approach to authenticity by including the need to understand authenticity by a property's cultural context:

> All judgements about values attributed to cultural properties as well as the credibility of related information sources may differ from culture to culture, and even within the same culture. It is thus not possible to base judgements of values and authenticity within fixed criteria. On the contrary, the respect due to all cultures requires that heritage properties must be considered and judged within the cultural contexts to which they belong.[60]

Another change for UNESCO during this time was the acknowledgement of non-material focused cultural heritage, which is referred to as intangible cultural heritage. Intangible culture

[57] Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, 90-91.
[58] Ibid, 31.
[59] Vahtikari, *Valuing World Heritage Cities*, 1555.
[60] ICOMOS, *The Nara Document on Authenticity*, (1994).

expands upon the Western idea of cultural heritage, "Cultural heritage does not end at monuments and collections of objects. It also includes traditions or living expressions inherited from our ancestors and passed on to our descendants, such as oral traditions, performing arts, social practices, rituals, festive events, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe or the knowledge and skills to produce traditional crafts."[61] At the time of the 1972 Convention, intangible heritage and the collective intellectual property rights were not clearly defined and therefore not included. However, after a series of declarations on human rights and recommendations on tradition cultures, intangible heritage was officially recognized on the international level by UNESCO with the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, which is separate from the World Heritage Convention and system. This intangible Convention "recognized that communities … play an important role in the production, safeguarding, maintenance and re-creation of the intangible cultural heritage …". Its purpose was to safeguard intangible cultural heritage and ensure respect for intangible heritage within communities. However, with this separate Convention came a separate List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity.[62]

The discourse surrounding intangible heritage inclusion for UNESCO points out flaws in the agency and its division of heritage typologies. Despite UNESCO's inclusion of intangible heritage on a new List of Intangible Cultural Heritage to acknowledge other forms of cultural heritage that are missing from the current system, the existing World Heritage List still only focuses on the Western-concept of material properties.[63] DiGiovine argues that the Convention

[61] UNESCO. "What Is Intangible Cultural Heritage?" accessed March 2, 2017, http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/en/what-is-intangible-heritage-00003.
[62] UNESCO, *Text of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage - Intangible Heritage - Culture Sector – UNESCO,* accessed February 14, 2017, http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/en/convention.
[63] Frey and Steiner, "World Heritage List", 560.

on Intangible Cultural Heritage also made evaluating World Heritage Sites even more difficult with a separate Convention that needed to be ratified and a separate List, which once again divides the material heritage from the intangible.[64] Frey and Steiner note that some State Parties even refuse to nominate intangible heritage to this new List, "… some countries, such Saudi Arabia, refuse to nominate properties, such as Mecca and Medina, because they are reluctant to conform to a set of Western regulations."[65]

Although there have been significant changes to the World Heritage Operational Guidelines to broaden its Western-lens of what heritage is, the physical fabric is still the focus in the designation of sites and post-designation monitoring. That is not to say that the physical fabric is not important; the fabric can be incredibly significant and holds a certain power, meaning, and memory to a community.[66] Still more work is needed to better recognize and combine the tangible and intangible elements of heritage, since often they are inherently tied together.

3.2.3 Selection Process and List Imbalance

A main criticism of the World Heritage system surrounds the World Heritage List. The World Heritage system is criticized that the List is imbalanced and not representative of heritage around the world. The system is imbalanced in how it selects sites for the List, where the sites are located, and what type of sites are designated. The discourse about the World Heritage system frequently points out the imbalance and selection issues.

[64] Michael A. DiGiovine, *The Heritage-Scape*, (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2009), 115.
[65] Frey and Steiner, "World Heritage List", 561.
[66] Frank Matero, Paraphrased quote from an Inquiry lecture at Columbia University, March 2, 2017.

Within the literature, scholars question the politicized selection of sites for the World Heritage List. Frey and Steiner denounce State Parties' use of nominating sites for the List to support their political agendas, "As a consequence, the selection is subject to political pressures, and is not solely determined by the 10 criteria listed above deemed to be 'objective'." [67] They also suggest that State Parties tend to nominate sites that are of national importance instead of considering sites for their 'outstanding universal value'."[68] In addition, a State Party's position within the World Heritage system plays a role. Frey and Steiner further suggest that those State Party members on the Committee use their influence and power to designate sites nominated by their countries, "There is a direct correlation between participating in the Committee and representation in the List. The 21 members of the Committee nominated more than 30% of the listed sites between 1978 and 2004 … [in addition] politically more powerful countries have a better chance of putting national sites on the List"[69] This highly politicized process of nominating sites affects the selection process, and therefore can cause the World Heritage List to be 'watered-down' and lose its value with the inclusion of sites without true 'outstanding universal value' as well as drive questions surrounding fairness and power in the selection of sites.

The expert driven selection process of the World Heritage system is also debated in the literature. Frey and Steiner criticize that the selection of sites for the List is driven by heritage experts whose choices are based only on opinion or knowledge, "… [what] should be included on the List is strongly influenced by experts represented in the two advisory groups ICOMOS and IUCN. In most cases, the Committee follows the expert recommendations. As a result, the definition of what is 'outstanding universal value' is transferred from a political body, the

[67] Frey and Steiner, "World Heritage List", 560.
[68] Ibid, 560-561.
[69] Ibid, 560.

Committee, to technical experts."[70] These experts recommend sites to the Committee for designation, but their choices can often seem subjective.

Along with the criticisms on selection, the literature highlights how imbalanced the List is. An ICOMOS study from 1987-1993 concluded that there was an over-representation of cultural properties, properties based in Europe, historic towns and religious buildings, Christian-related sites and buildings, and elitist architecture. On the other hand, living cultures were rarely represented on the List and traditional settlements that were included only looked at the architectural value without regard of the economic, social, symbolic, or interactions with the natural environment.[71] ICOMOS suggested that properties should be considered in their context instead of unilaterally, understood in their relationship with past and present cultures:

> It was apparent to all the participants that from its inception the World Heritage List had been based on an almost exclusively "monumental" concept of the cultural heritage, ignoring the fact that not only scientific knowledge but also intellectual attitudes towards the extent of the notion of cultural heritage, together with the perception and understanding of the history of human societies, had developed considerably in the past twenty years. Even the way in which different societies looked at themselves - their values, history, and the relations that they maintained or had maintained with other societies - had developed significantly.[72]

Because of the ICOMOS's study, the World Heritage Committee adopted the Global Strategy in 1994. ICOMOS's recommendations were included in this strategy with the development of thematic and comparative studies by ICOMOS and IUCN to identify the gaps and assist State Parties with their Tentative Lists.

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[70] Ibid, 560.

[71] UNESCO, "Global Strategy," UNESCO World Heritage Centre, accessed April 9, 2017. http://whc.unesco.org/en/globalstrategy/.

[72] UNESCO, "Expert Meeting on the Global Strategy, June 1994," UNESCO World Heritage Centre, accessed February 13, 2017, http://whc.unesco.org/archive/global94.htm#debut.

Other changes to the Operational Guidelines to create a better balance and representation included prioritizing the nominations to create a systematic process for including under-represented regions and property types. This prioritization focused on State Parties with no properties, only a few properties, or have not submitted properties for the List in the last ten years. In addition, natural sites, mixed sites and transboundary sites would be chosen before cultural sites. Furthermore, properties in Africa, the Pacific, and the Caribbean were considered first to get better representation outside of Europe.[73] In addition to ranking nominations, the Operational Guidelines were updated with new criteria for Outstanding Universal Value. These changes included rewording criteria to incorporate living heritage, the value of interaction of cultures, and nature and cultural criteria were combined.[74]

Even after changes were made to the Operational Guidelines to incorporate the Global Strategy criteria and prioritization, many scholars argue that the selection process still needs to be reevaluated. The main criticism of the Global Strategy is that it did not actually create the more balanced and represented List as planned. Frey and Steiner found that as of 2011, the List was still highly unequal, "Forty-seven percent of the sites are in Europe. The European predominance is larger for cultural sites (54%) than for natural sites (22%). In contrast, (sub-Saharan) Africa has less than 9% of all sites, and Arabian countries 7%."[75] In addition, nearly forty countries had no representation at all. The Global Strategy did not balance out the number of natural sites; overall cultural sites still dominate the List with seventy-seven-percent, while natural sites have limited representation at only twenty-percent.[76]

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[73] *Operational Guidelines,* 13-14.
[74] "Expert Meeting on the Global Strategy."
[75] Frey and Steiner, "World Heritage List", 562.
[76] Lasse Steiner and Bruno S. Frey, "Correcting the Imbalance of World Heritage List: Did the UNESCO Strategy Work?" *University of Zurich, Department of Economics,* Working Paper no. 14 (2011), 11.

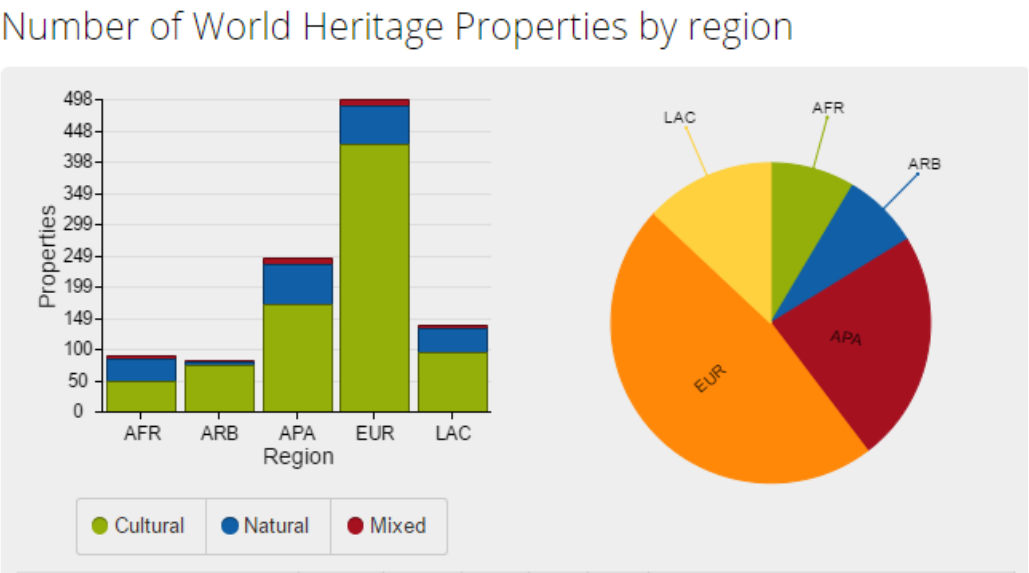

Figure 3.2: Number of properties by region (2016), (Source: UNESCO)

Another issue with the Global Strategy deals with power and money. Frey and Steiner suggest that despite the attempt for balance, many developing countries do not have the conservation infrastructure to submit nominations at a pace that will improve its representation on the List.[77] Moreover, Anglin argues that because only the State Parities select sites for inscription, heritage of minority populations and socio-ethnic populations are often ignored.[78]

The Global Strategy has led to several sites getting listed from un-or-non-represented countries or typologies and a heightened sense of the need to be better balanced. However, the Strategy has not been as effective as hoped. The List is still European and cultural centric, and there are many obstacles that prevent a fully balanced List which include lack of funding, the management and protection laws that need to be put in place by countries, as well as the limitless of the List itself.

[77] Frey and Steiner, "World Heritage List", 560.
[78] Raechel Anglin, "The World Heritage List: Bridging the Cultural Property Nationalism-Internationalism Divide," *Yale Journal of Law & the Humanities* Inc (2008), 12.

3.2.4 Overextension

The number of sites on the List is also considered within the literature. Frey and Steiner argue that with an average of thirty properties added to the List each year and rarely any sites delisted, the exponentially growing List has no boundary, "It is difficult to see how this process can be slowed down or even stopped. The Convention does not set a numerical limit for the List."[79]

This also causes concern for the Committee, Centre, and Advisory Bodies' ability to monitor the conservation needs and management of the sites.[80] Along with the management needs for a growing number of sites, the already limited funding with an ever-increasing List size is a problem.

The issue of overextension is still problematic; however, UNESCO has made efforts to address this issue. With the Global Strategy, the Operational Guidelines do set a limit on the number of sites to be reviewed each year to forty-five as well as limit the number of sites that can be nominated per country to two, if one out of the two sites is a natural property.[81] Still, there is no cap on the number of sites on the World Heritage List.

3.2.5 Tourism

The discourse surrounding the World Heritage system criticizes the listing of heritage sites as a tourism driver. In fact, the World Heritage system is often referred to as a "heritage industry" in the literature. Frey and Steiner argue that World Heritage designation does in fact attract tourists

[79] Frey and Steiner, "World Heritage List", 561.
[80] Ibid, 563.
[81] *Operational Guidelines,* 13.

"… there is a positive relationship between the number of World Heritage Site and the number of tourist arrivals per country."[82] They also suggest that the listing of sites is politicized with many State Parties focusing on the prominence and tourism revenue gained as a result of having a property on the List. [83] Anglin also agrees that culture and environmental activists see State Parties utilizing their membership to the Convention for promotion and tourism purposes.[84]

Smith discusses the 'consumption' of heritage, meaning the heritage resource has been turned into a resource for the marketplace. The mass consumption of heritage by tourists, which started in the 1980s, turned heritage into simple entertainment, or a 'theme park'. This also led to the "Disneyificaiton' of tourism marketing and interpretation of World Heritage Sites.[85] Smith also points that "visitor surveys, have continually demonstrated a disproportionately middle class profile of participants in heritage tourism, further fueling the sense that heritage is an elite concern presenting social messages only of relevance to the socially and economically comfortable."[86] This leads to the question if heritage is truly for 'all the peoples of the world'.

Heritage tourism remains on the main issues at World Heritage Sites. On one hand, tourism helps spur the economy, can benefit local communities, as wells as help fund conservation and maintenance costs. On the other hand, World Heritage status has been misused as a tool to drive tourism to State Parties and can turn heritage into a so called 'theme park'. Furthermore, there are numerous accounts on the destruction of heritage sites due to the mass amounts of visitors as well as several examples of how tourism has negatively affected communities, which will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter. Although the World Heritage Centre has published several

[82] Frey and Steiner, "Imbalance of World Heritage List: Did the UNESCO Strategy Work?", 6.
[83] Ibid, 7.
[84] Anglin, "The World Heritage List."
[85] Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, 32-33.
[86] Ibid, 39.

reports and manuals about managing tourism at World Heritage Sites, it remains an issue difficult to balance.

3.2.6 Limited Inclusion

Another criticism surrounds the limited role of the community in World Heritage system. However, along with the acknowledgement of cultural context in the early 1990s, the 1994 Guidelines expressed that local community participation was essential during the nomination process. Vahtikari argues that the purpose of this inclusion was to "avoid potential local opposition after the designation, as, by the early 1990s, there had been cases of controversy over nominations in which the local population had been ignored."[87] This focus on participation was to ensure the sustainability of the World Heritage Sites.

In 2007, enhancing the role of communities in the implementation of the Convention was included in the Strategic Objectives of the Operational Guidelines, which are now referred to as the 5 Cs (credibility, conversation, capacity-building, communication, and communities).[88] The policy changes for better community inclusion have helped spread awareness of the need for participatory processes surround World Heritage Sites. However, Zacharias claims that while changes to the Operational Guidelines attempted to be inclusive of local stakeholders, many State Parties do not include participants in the process, "… in practice at least half of the European countries do not include local stakeholders in preparation of their Tentative Lists and at least two thirds draft their Lists without public consultation.[89] Vahtikari also points out that local

[87] Vahtikari, *Valuing World Heritage Cities*, 1644.
[88] Ibid, 1652.
[89] Zacharias, "The UNESCO Regime", 323.

stakeholders are regarded as inferior actors in the process, "… in the Operational Guidelines local communities are made discursively secondary to other stakeholders."[90] With no ability to enforce the policy of community participation, the World Heritage system can only attempt to influence and education State Parties.

3.3 World Heritage System Changes

The World Heritage system's policy changes in response to criticisms have been identified throughout this chapter. However, the World Heritage system has made other policy changes to align with shifts in ideas about heritage as well as to respond to contemporary global issues.

One change in the World Heritage system was the retroactive Statements of Significance. Statements of Significance for World Heritage Sites explains how the site satisfies the criteria for World Heritage Status and what attributes of the site have Outstanding Universal Value as well as the site's authenticity, integrity, protection, and management. In 2007, a decision was made that any heritage site listed prior to 2007 that did not have a Statement of Significance must create a retroactive statement. One-hundred-and-twenty-seven sites submitted retroactive Statements of Significance. [91] This retroactive approached also allowed for those sites to incorporate contemporary ideas about heritage, such the inclusion of social values based on the criteria changes made in the 1994 Global Strategy.

[90] Vahtikari, *Valuing World Heritage Cities*, 1659.
[91] UNESCO. *World Heritage Committee: Thirty-eighth session. Item 8 of the Provisional Agenda: Establishment of the World Heritage List and of the List of World Heritage in Danger.* Doha, Qatar (2014).

Other important policy changes the World Heritage system was in response to issues of climate change and sustainability. After understanding the impacts of climate change affecting many heritage sites, the *Policy Document on the Impacts of Climate Change on World Heritage Properties* was implemented by the World Heritage Committee in 2007. This policy provides a strategy for State Parties to protect their heritage from the adverse effects of climate change.[92]

Sustainable development has also been an important goal of the World Heritage system. Inclusion of community participation with a goal of making sites more sustainable had been discussed in the past two decades, however no formal policies or strategies had been incorporated into the system. Therefore, a Policy was adopted in 2015 on integrating sustainable development perspectives, which was integrated during the same time as the *2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development* policy adopted by the United Nations. The goal of this Policy was to assist State Parties and communities with incorporating environmental, social, and economical sustainable development practices at their heritage sites. These sustainable development practices were also added into the Operational Guidelines.[93]

Policy changes allow for the World Heritage system to react to issues and incorporate changes. These changes for retroactive Statements of Significance, climate change, and sustainable development made significant strides in including contemporary ideas that affect heritage. However, these policies are continuously added to; this research will build upon the sustainable development ideas with additional indicators of success that will make heritage sites more sustainable, which will be discussed in a later chapter.

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[92] UNESCO. "Climate Change and World Heritage." Accessed May 6, 2017. http://whc.unesco.org/en/climatechange/.

[93] UNESCO. "World Heritage and Sustainable Development." Accessed May 6, 2017. http://whc.unesco.org/en/sustainabledevelopment/.

3.4 Conclusion

The UNESCO World Heritage system was developed in the face of war and the destruction of a significant number of heritage sites. While there were several international organizations and charters discussing heritage that proceeded UNESCO World Heritage, the World Heritage system was a new organization that created a structure to organize and assist with the State Parties' management of their heritage sites, with the goal of protection of heritage for all of humanity, regardless of country boarders.

While the UNESCO World Heritage system has helped protect many heritage sites around the world, the organization still has flaws; it is difficult to create a standard set of rules and guidelines for the State Parties in charge of the World Heritage Sites, all with different locations, histories, typologies, problems, and management systems. The World Heritage system has been frequently criticized on a global level in the literature. These critiques surround the 'invention' of World Heritage, its selection process, the imbalance of the List, overextension of the List, issues at heritage sites due to tourism, and limited inclusion.

Although the World Heritage system has responded well to these criticisms, oftentimes in the form of a policy change, the system still has imperfections. 'World Heritage' was a Western concept to begin with; therefore, the ideals of the system still emphasis the Western focus of the material fabric of the heritage site unless new tools are created to better incorporate non-Western concepts. It was also formulated and run by experts and government parties; therefore, it will always be political and always take the side of the expert opinion unless there a more strategic way to include local community voices. There has also never been a limit on the number of sites allowed on the List; therefore, the List will grow to be unmanageable or diluted unless the future

of the List is thought through. Finally, World Heritage will always attract tourism, which can be beneficial to economies; therefore, heritage sites will continue to get exploited unless there is a tool to better manage tourism, site interpretation, and protect local communities from the negative impacts. These issues and criticisms discussed provide an overview of the global perspective of the World Heritage system, mainly by scholars. Many of these tensions as well as additional tensions are also identified by the local communities. Understanding these issues and tensions help bring to light areas that need to be better evaluated and can help drive potential new indicators, which will be discussed in later chapters.

The next chapter will focus on the critiques of World Heritage from the perspectives of the local communities in and around heritage sites.

Figure 4.1: Saturday market in Lalibela, Ethiopia

CHAPTER 4: Community-Based Lens

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapter provided an overview of the criticisms and perspectives of the UNESCO World Heritage system from a global lens by looking at scholarly literature and World Heritage system reports about the system overall. However, heritage experts do not have the same perspectives as the community; those that live in or around the heritage site or those that use the site must live daily with decisions made on a global level about their heritage.

Therefore, this chapter will focus on the following research question: how is the World Heritage system perceived from a community-based lens? Through case studies and media discourse, a comprehensive analysis can be made on current attitudes towards the system from a local perspective. Throughout the discourse, three main themes and tensions were discussed when analyzing the World Heritage system from the community-based lens: tourism, focus on the physical fabric, and balancing old and new forms.

4.2 Community Critiques on UNESCO World Heritage

World Heritage Status provides local communities with significant advantages. Recognition, funding, and employment opportunities are important benefits that can positively affect communities and their heritage. However, World Heritage Status can also lead negative impacts at the sites. The community can sometimes suffer as a result of these impacts and does not always reap all the benefits. Furthermore, even State Parties and municipalities that represent and make decisions for local communities as well as global stakeholders can have different

perspectives than the local community. Understanding heritage sites through the community-based lens can provide another outlook on issues surrounding the World Heritage system.

4.2.1 Tourism

The media considers UNESCO World Heritage Status the "gold standard" for heritage sites, which is reserved for "humanity's most outstanding achievements and nature's most inspiring creations."[94] World Heritage representatives argue that the goal of the List is not just to make a catalog of the most outstanding sites in the world, but the List of sites is a way to recognize and celebrate our histories and diversities of culture, which are represented as sites and monuments.[95] The *BBC* suggests this global recognition of World Heritage Sites has led to a shift in the use of the List to benefit tourism, "A site that will not be of interest to paying visitors isn't going to be a priority. UNESCO wants people to go there. They call it public education. We call it tourism."[96]

The negative effects on World Heritage Sites due to tourism are frequently discussed in the media. Although tourism at heritage sites can be a significant economic driver for countries, mass

[94] Note about "gold standard" comes from multiple sources: Brady, Brendan. "The Ancient Burmese City of Bagan Struggles for International Recognition." *Time*. Accessed January 10, 2017. http://world.time.com/2013/05/15/bagan/?iid=sr-link9; Wainwright, Oliver. "Unesco Impotence Takes Shine off World Heritage Status." *The Guardian*, July 2, 2015, sec. World news. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jul/02/unesco-impotence-world-heritage-status; "Is Unesco Damaging the World's Treasures?" The Independent, April 29, 2009. http://www.independent.co.uk/travel/news-and-advice/is-unesco-damaging-the-worlds-treasures-1675637.html.
Quote from: Kevin Nimmock, "Should the Rocks Be a World Heritage Site? Canada's UNESCO World Heritage Sites," *The Times* – Transcript, August 10, 2016, sec. Main.
[95] BBC, "World Heritage Centre, Heritage - BBC World Service," accessed January 5, 2017, http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p033k083.
[96] "Here come the hordes," *The Independent,* (April 29, 2009).

tourism can have negative effects on the physical fabric of a site and the local community. This can be seen in the cases of Venice and Machu Picchu.

Venice, Italy, has had many difficulties due to the impact of tourism. A small, ancient city built upon a series of islands with canals for circulation, over the years it has faced environmental threats due to climate change such as flooding, sinking, and building corrosion due to salts. However, one of the main issues in Venice is related to tourism, specifically the large cruise ships that enter Venice through its canals. The massive ships that come into Venice bring in up to 30,000 tourists per day during the peak season with over 600 cruise ships passing through its canals each year. These numbers do not even count the tourists coming by other means of transportation. In total, the daily number of tourists average about 60,00 per day and about 22 million visitors annually coming into a city that is already facing environmental and conservation issues.[97] Due to the massive amounts of tourists and tourism-related infrastructure, the fabric of the site is deteriorating. However, the World Heritage Committee failed to put Venice on the List of Heritage in Danger in 2016, postponing the decision until 2017. This has caused tension and disapproval as Venice was one of the initial sites UNESCO worked on preserving prior to the World Heritage Convention.[98]

[97] Cecilia Rodriguez. "Venice Is Fed Up With Cruise Ships And Angry Protesters Are Blocking Them," *Forbes*, accessed February 24, 2017, http://www.forbes.com/sites/ceciliarodriguez/2016/09/29/venice-is-fed-up-with-cruise-ships-and-angry-protesters-are-blocking-them/.

[98] *The Art Newspaper*, "How Italy Stopped Venice Being Put on Unesco's Heritage In Danger List," accessed December 18, 2016, http://theartnewspaper.com/news/conservation/how-italy-stopped-venice-being-put-on-unesco-s-heritage-in-danger-list/.

Figure 4.2: Cruise Ship in Venice with community protesters (Source: *Marco Secchi/Getty Images*)

Not only has the fabric deteriorated due to tourism, but the community has been affected. The increase in tourists has driven higher prices and the need for tourist accommodation, therefore pushing locals out.[99] Locals who still maintain their properties often rent them out on sites like Airbnb. In fact, the year 2016 marked the lowest population for Venice with only 55,000 locals, compared to 164,000 in 1931. A native-born Venetian discussed these issues in *City Lab*:

> Changes have happened so fast that it feels like waking up from a coma to suddenly find places you know are weird and ghostly, unfriendly. The population has dropped hard, theaters have closed, one of the largest bookstores has become a clothing store for visitors. Even though the streets are full to bursting with tourists, for us Venetians the place now seems empty. We feel like we are an endangered species. [100]

[99] *The Art Newspaper*, "How Italy Stopped Venice Being Put on Unesco's Heritage In Danger List."
[100] Feargus, O'Sullivan, "Venice Fights Back," *CityLab*, accessed March 5, 2017, http://www.citylab.com/cityfixer/2017/02/venice-fights-back/516270/.

Along with the deterioration, crowds, and loss of the local population, tourism has caused other social issues in Venice such as prostitution, vandalism, and inappropriate behavior as well as commercialism and shifts in production to cheap tourist souvenirs.[101] According to the *New York Times*, tourism is viewed as "tearing apart Venice's social fabric, cohesion and civic culture, growing ever more predatory."[102] The community protested the cruise ships in in 2013 and again in August 2016, after the World Heritage Committee announced in July that Venice will be put on the 2017 List of Heritage in Danger if the ships are not prohibited. The local activists are pushing for halts on turning residential units into tourist accommodations, control on tourism flow, diversifying jobs, and training opportunities.[103]

While the World Heritage Committee and heritage experts are making efforts to help stop or limit the cruise ships, the World Heritage system has little power to force the issue. The local government has utilized the area's heritage and UNESCO World Heritage Status for financial gain and exploitation. Furthermore, the community feels that local authorities and the World Heritage system are more focused on the preservation of the material fabric and environmental impact on the site than with community needs. The *New York Times* states, "Nor are authorities developing any project whatsoever aimed not just at preserving the monuments of Venice, but at ensuring it's a future worth living".[104]

Machu Picchu, an archaeological site of the Inca civilization located in Peru, was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1983. It is another well-known site having difficulties balancing

[101] Rodriguez. "Venice Is Fed Up With Cruise Ships And Angry Protesters Are Blocking Them."
[102] Salvatore Settis, "Can We Save Venice Before It's Too Late?" *The New York Times*, August 29, 2016, http://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/30/opinion/can-we-save-venice-before-its-too-late.html.
[103] O'Sullivan, "Venice Fights Back."
[104] Settis, "Can We Save Venice Before It's Too Late?"

tourism and protection of the heritage site. Tourism is Peru's third largest industry bringing in over $40 million USD a year; however, tourism is harming the physical fabric of the archaeological site and the surrounding community. While Machu Picchu received only 100,000 visitors a year in 1980, it now receives over a million, about a 700% increase in tourism.[105] The massive number of tourists has caused concerns over the site's fabric and surrounding landscape. With this large number of tourists, there are also concerns with tourism management at the site with lack of emergency evaluation plans with potential landslides, poor waste management, and impacts on the roads to Machu Picchu.[106] The World Heritage Committee was fearful of the impact of tourism on the site's fabric and asked the regional government to limit the number of tourists per day at a cap of 2,500.[107]

Figure 4.3: Tourism at Machu Picchu (Source: http://preserving-machu-picchu.blogspot.com)

[105] *Machu Picchu Trek*, "How Many Tourists Visit Machu Picchu Annually?" November 6, 2014, https://www.machupicchutrek.net/how-many-tourists-visit-machu-picchu-annually/.
[106] Timothy Chilman, "Machu Picchu Sustainable Tourism - Conserving Heritage," *Sustainable Business Toolkit*, January 10, 2015, https://www.sustainablebusinesstoolkit.com/machu-picchu-sustainable-tourism/.
[107] *Machu Picchu Trek*, "How Many Tourists Visit Machu Picchu Annually?"

Tourism has also caused the rapid urbanization and commercialization of towns surrounding the heritage site.[108] This issue is a concern at the nearby village of Aguas Calientes, where tourists come from Cusco on their way to Machu Picchu. As more tourists come through the area, it becomes more commercialized. The lack of regulation on hotels and restaurants as well as uncontrolled growth and poor implementation of management plans has remained a problem in the area.[109] Due to the seasonality of the tourism season at Machu Picchu, locals who do benefit from employment at the sites are often laid off during the low season and typically paid poorly.[110]

In addition to impacts due to commercialization and tourism, the community has recently responded that their needs are not considered. In November 2016 in Cusco, where tourists depart for Machu Picchu, there was a 48-hour strike where protesters blocked the railway. According to *Living In Peru*, the community was upset over unfair treatment as a result of tourism-related infrastructure:

> There are three areas we hope to sort out, the first is the **high cost of electricity,** which has seen an increase of up to 200% … the second point is the **encroachment** made by the Brescia Caferata family in the river Vilcanota, where their hotel project has closed off an entire street, and last but not least, we state claim against the concession the was given to **Consettur** to operate the route to Machu Picchu, these men earn 50 million soles a year and give the commune **five thousand dollars a month,** this is inconceivable.[111]

At the same time, there were also protests in Aguas Calientes, the town where tourists pick up the train to the Machu Picchu site. The locals were blocking the train to protest PeruRail, who

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[108] *Independent*, "Vilcanota Valley Rehabilitation and Management Project," (2012).
[109] UNESCO, *Machu Picchu Mission Report*, UNESCO World Heritage, (2002).
[110] *Geography Fieldwork*, "Machu Picchu | Tourism | Impact," accessed February 24, 2017, http://geographyfieldwork.com/MachuTourismImpact.htm.
[111] Tassano, Alvaro. "Strikes in Sacred Valley Affect Tourism." Accessed February 24, 2017. http://www.peruthisweek.com/news-strikes-in-sacred-valley-affects-tourism-110125.

has a monopoly over tourism transportation. PeruRail charges $80 USD for a one-way ticket to the Machu Picchu site. *Valley News* reported that "Locals can either pay the unaffordable tourist rate or they can take the few local cars that PeruRail provides. Currently, the local cars run only a few times a day, and locals travel in overcrowded, dirty, cattle-car-like conditions. One protester declared, 'We don't want to be treated like animals.'"[112] While the locals acknowledge the benefits of tourism to their economic situation, their needs are considered secondary to those of tourists.

Although the World Heritage system is in support of limiting tourism at Machu Picchu, there is an obvious increase in the rise of tourism at the site since it received its World Heritage Status. The increase in tourism has affected the community dynamic and the nearby communities feel that commercialization is not benefitting them. This situation proves difficult for global stakeholders; they want to promote visitation and education from the site, which can help provide funding for its conservation, but continue to report mismanagement of the site by the regional government and lack of implementation of the management plans with which the World Heritage system assists. Furthermore, despite incorporating community participation into its Operational Guidelines, community inclusion at Machu Picchu is very limited.

[112] Wheelan, Katrina. "Column: Strikers Foil Tourists Near Machu Picchu." Valley News, December 9, 2016. http://www.vnews.com/column-wheelan-vn-120916-6790208.

Figure 4.4: Protesters march in the Peruvian town of Aguas Calientes (Photo: vnews.com)

Tourism at World Heritage Sites have several benefits, including gaining revenue, creating jobs, and supplying funds to conserve and protect the sites. However, the exploitation of heritage sites for tourism profits and the deterioration of heritage because of mismanagement by the regional governments and mass tourism are ongoing issues. Furthermore, there is no guarantee that the local community will receive much of the increase in funds due to tourism. It can also be difficult for site managers to put caps on the number of tourists and turn away visitors especially when tourism is a significant part of the country's revenue. In addition, while the protection of heritage sites is the focus of the World Heritage system, political agendas have gotten in the way of that mission in some cases. In these instances, the community can suffer from this increase of tourism if tourism flow is not managed properly or there is a lack of community participation, such as in the cases of Venice and Machu Picchu.

4.2.2 Focus on the Physical Fabric

The World Heritage system's work on conserving and maintaining the physical fabric of a heritage sites has been its focus since its creation with an understanding of the fragility of heritage sites and their need for protection after the destruction in WWII. Despite more recent inclusions of community needs and identities, the community's values are secondary and community displacement due to protection of the fabric of World Heritage Sites is a concern discussed in the media discourse.

The Abu Simbel temples in Egypt were the first heritage site UNESCO assisted in safeguarding in 1959, prior to the World Heritage Convention. This project moved the temples to avoid getting flooded by the Aswan Dam. However, the Aswan Dam project also displaced Nubians who lived in the area were the dam was being constructed. UNESCO was criticized for being more concerned with fighting for the protection the physical fabric of the temples than fighting for the rights of the community. *The Guardian*, in an article about the continuous displacement of the Nubian community, stated, "Under the auspices of Unesco, the UN's world heritage organisation, archaeologists managed to relocate the historic Abu Simbel temple brick by brick … But thousands of Nubians who lost their homes began a battle to return to their lands around Lake Nasser. Their struggle continues to this day."[113] The global need to protect the physical fabric of the temples in many respects works against the local values, where the land and sense of community was important. While this example was prior to the World Heritage system's

[113] Ruth Michaelson, "Egypt's Nubians Fight for Ancestral Land Earmarked for Mega-Project," *The Guardian*, February 13, 2017, sec. Global development, https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2017/feb/13/egypt-nubians-fight-for-ancestral-land-earmarked-for-mega-project.

creation in 1972, this campaign set a precedent. Protecting the physical fabric of the site over the local community needs has remained embedded in the program's management and work.

Lalibela in Ethiopia also has been affected by displacement. One of the first twelve sites included in the World Heritage List in 1978, Lalibela's monumental rock-hewn churches were listed along with the vernacular wattle-and-dub housing, called gojos, surrounding the heritage site. In 2007, the World Bank focused on tourism in Ethiopia to spur economic development. In this project residents in the gojos were moved to a new area with modernized housing and the traditional gojos were left empty. This was viewed as better for the community, as earthen architecture is often viewed negatively, better for the heritage site, since the gojos were included in the inscription of Lalibela and inhabitants had been adding onto the traditional structures, and better for the Church, who did not want the community living so close to the church sites.

The project was completed in 2015 moving over 2,000 people and utilizing farmland to build the housing.[114] In interviews with the community, there were mixed feelings about the benefits of the move. Some were happy with the new housing, while others felt they had been uprooted, their farm jobs were taken away, and now had to travel a much farer distance to the heritage, which are visited daily by many community members for work or as a churchgoer. UNESCO did not try to protect the community's needs in the resettlement, however, it did focus on preserving the vernacular gojo housing, which was left abandoned and with no ownership or

[114] World Bank. *Neighbourhood and infrastructure plan for resettlement of persons from the core zone of Lalibela. Ethiopia* , Vol. 5 (2011). http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/257331468252603964/Neighbourhood-and-infrastructure-plan-for-resettlement-of-persons-from-the-core-zone-of-Lalibela

maintenance. Here the global expectations of preserving traditional housing was more important than preserving the community's social dynamics and location close to the churches.[115]

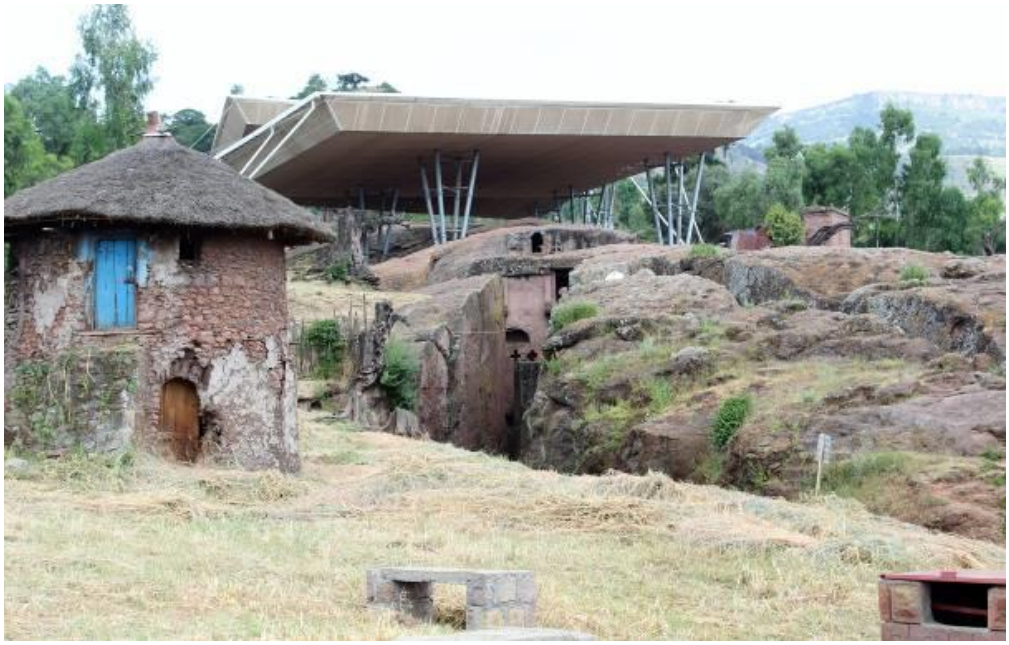

Figure 4.5: Gojos in Lalibela (Source: author)

Lalibela's intangible heritage of circulation through the churches has also been affected. In 2007, UNESCO was part of a project to protect the rock-hewn churches, which were suffering from leakage during the rainy season. Shelters were put up over a four of the churches to protect them from the rain. However, the footprints of the shelters are within the circulation path of the daily religious users in the community and church officials. This is especially a problem during holidays that attract over 100,000 pilgrims to the churches, such as the Epiphany. Here again we

[115]Columbia University, *LALIBELA ADVANCED HP/UP STUDIO Heritage, Tourism & Urbanization The Landscape & Development of Lalibela, Ethiopia*, Professor Erica Avrami and William Reynolds, (2016).

see the focus on preserving the physical fabric of the heritage site with effects on community's traditions.[116]

The physical fabric of heritage sites is important for global and local stakeholders. However, there are cases where global focus on maintaining the fabric of heritage sites takes precedence over community needs. These global interventions can negatively affect local community members without fully analyzing these issues ahead of time, explaining potential negative outcomes to community members, and without follow up with the community after the interventions were done.

4.1.3 Balancing New & Old

Modernization and preservation of heritage can be difficult to combine. On one hand, stakeholders want to preserve their heritage, which is part of the area's history, identify and most likely brings in tourism revenue. On the other hand, many World Heritage Sites are living heritage, with a community in or surrounding the sites that require modern upgrades and new development to support their needs. *Time Magazine* discusses this issue, "… there's also the danger that World Heritage recognition preserves a place in amber, forcing it to become a theme park instead of a living landmark … Yes, skyscrapers can puncture an urban fabric. But these are magnificent cities with real residents going about their real business."[117] While the World Heritage system

[116] Columbia University, *LALIBELA ADVANCED HP/UP STUDIO.*

[117] Hannah Beech, "The World Heritage Hustle: Why Being On UNESCO's List Can Be a Curse," *Time,* February 6, 2012, http://content.time.com/time/subscriber/article/0,33009,2105343,00.html.

acknowledges the need for development, finding the balance of preserving the historic fabric of a site and the community's need to modernize is hard to manage.

Development pressure is a main concern of the World Heritage system. In the World Heritage Site nomination forms, State Parties are required to itemize development pressures such as demolition, rebuilding, new construction, or encroachment.[118] In addition, State Parties are required to submit State of Conservation reports post-designation, typically once a year. These reports must include "Factors affecting the Property", which includes development pressures as well as changes in land-use, road building, construction activities and tourism.[119]

Historic cities on the World Heritage List are most affected by development pressures, London being an example of this. New, tall skyscrapers are being constructed in London that affect its skyline, which is part of the Palace of Westminster and Westminster Abby's integrity. According to the World Heritage Committee, "the instantly recognisable location and setting of the property in the centre of London, next to the River Thames, are an essential part of the property's importance."[120] The 2015 State of Conservation report of the site announced that three, large-scale developments have been approved despite English Heritage's warning these developments will affect the outstanding universal value of the site. The World Heritage Committee's analysis of the State of Conservation report stated that these developments will, "have a substantial adverse impact on the important views to and from the World Heritage

[118] *Operational Guidelines*, 92.
[119] Ibid, 107.
[120] UNESCO, "State of Conservation (SOC 2015) Palace of Westminster and Westminster Abbey Including Saint Margaret's Church (United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland)," accessed February 24, 2017, http://whc.unesco.org/en/soc/3303.

property."[121] The Committee also noted that the State Parties did not intervene in the new development plans and ignored English Heritage's advice. In addition, the regulatory frameworks set up by the State Parties seem to have little impact on protecting the property.

The discourse surrounding London's skyscrapers is of mixed opinions. Per *CNN*, London's Planning and Transportation Department believes that tall skyscrapers are needed to be a modern city, "There is, inevitably, a symbolic strength in a city with tall buildings. Building upwards demonstrates economic success and growth success."[122] The World Heritage Committee threatened to put the site on the List of World Heritage in Danger in 2014, but it was never added. The community is also divided on the matter; while a study by Ipsos MORI for the Skyline Campaign found that most Londoners were concerned about the tall buildings, many comments from the community on a *Guardian* article debated the importance of preserving the skyline.[123]

[121] UNESCO, "State of Conservation (SOC 2015) Palace of Westminster and Westminster Abbey Including Saint Margaret's Church."
[122] Francesca Street, "Does London Have a Skyscraper Addiction?" *CNN*, accessed October 19, 2016, http://www.cnn.com/2016/09/11/architecture/london-race-to-the-sky/index.html.
[123] For MORI study see: Street, "Does London Have a Skyscraper Addiction?"
For Guardian article see: Jamie, Doward, "London Skyline Campaigners' Dismay as Unesco Ignores Risk to Westminster," *The Guardian*, August 9, 2014, sec. UK news. https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2014/aug/09/london-skyline-unesco-ignores-risk-to-westminster-parliament.

Figure 4.6: London skyline with new development (Source: todayifoundout.com)

Liverpool, another historic city in the UK, has been on List of Heritage in Danger since 2012 due to its increased development. Liverpool was an important maritime city from the 18th-20th century, but new high-rise buildings are threatening the city's World Heritage Status.[124] The World Heritage Committee has suggested that Liverpool has ignored their requests to stop development in the city's buffer zone. In the *Liverpool Confidential*, the mayor stated that Liverpool is protecting its heritage even with development in the buffer zone and, "…at the moment UNESCO are trying to treat our city as if our city has no future – like a dead, graying monument. But we are a living, breathing, growing and vibrant city." Still, the World Heritage

[124] UNESCO. "Liverpool – Maritime Mercantile City," UNESCO World Heritage, accessed October 19, 2016, http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1150/.

Committee is not the only party pushing against development. A campaign group called SAVE Britain's Heritage opposed the plans for the buffer zone.[125]

Figure 4.7: Liverpool waterfront (Source: thebimblers.com/)

Both London and Liverpool are struggling with balancing the Outstanding Universal Value of their World Heritage Sites while still growing and changing as modern cities. New buildings and developments can support the needs of the contemporary community; but, the World Heritage system argues that even though the actual heritage sites are being preserved, their view sheds are important aspects of the sites and need to be maintained too. However, the World Heritage system's policies to preserve the heritage sites against development are clear from the nomination process and sites are not allowed on the List without protection in place. Although the Committee can oppose development plans and send monitoring missions, there is little they can do to stop new development aside from adding these sites on the List of World Heritage in Danger. It does not come as a surprise that in a recent UK report, UNESCO was found a multilateral organization

[125] Larry Neild, "15-Storey Waterfront Tower Could Be 'World Heritage Tipping Point,'" *Liverpool Confidential*, accessed October 20, 2016, https://www.liverpoolconfidential.co.uk/news-and-comment/15-storey-waterfront-tower-could-be-world-heritage-tipping-point.

that was underperforming and was called out for its "weakness in the management of core funding and organizational effectiveness," in addition to its lack of transparency.[126]

A site that was removed from the List due to development is Dresden Elbe Valley in Germany, which is a cultural landscape along the Elbe River. The site was added to the World Heritage List in 2004 for its architecture, cultural landscape, and its 18th and 19th century place in European history. However, Dresden had traffic congestion near the Elbe Valley, therefore proposals for submitted for a new bridge to relieve the problem. After its inscription on the Heritage List in Danger and continuous warnings from the Committee that the site would get delisted if a new bridge was put in, the new Waldschlösschen Bridge still underwent construction. The Elbe Valley was removed from the World Heritage List in 2009.[127]

The community was a key player in the decision to delist the Elbe Valley. Even after surveys and information about the potential delisting of the site, the community chose to move forward with the bridge, which was needed for better transportation in the city. *DW* reported that 500 surveys were collected from the citizens, "57 percent of those asked said the UNESCO title is not absolutely necessary. Younger people were generally less concerned than older folks, with a full 61 percent of those between 30 and 49 saying the city did not need the UNESCO heritage designation."[128] Here the global expectations of maintaining the historic fabric and landscape of

[126] Department for International Development, "Raising the Standard: The Multilateral Development Review 2016," December 2016.
[127] *The Proto City*, "Dresden Victimised by Fury of UNESCO," November 18, 2013. http://theprotocity.com/dresden-victimised-by-fury-of-unesco/.
[128] Jennifer Abramsohn, "Dresden Loses UNESCO World Heritage Status," *DW.COM*, accessed March 12, 2017, http://www.dw.com/en/dresden-loses-unesco-world-heritage-status/a-4415238.

the city had tensions with the local needs of more suitable circulation routes. *The ProtoCity* discusses the difficulties with balancing new and old in historic cities:

> Cities evolve over time. Not only because they need to in order to keep up with other cities in a highly competitive world, but they evolve for the simple reason that they embody environments where people live, eat, drink, sleep and work. The way people live their lives, and enjoy their direct surroundings changes constantly. Their human, social and cultural capital facilitates new ways of living, and may even generate new collective cultures, eventually finding articulation into the outlooks of the city.[129]

Figure 4.8: Waldschlösschen Bridge in Dresden (Source: skyscrappercity.com)

There is also tension between new and old when it comes to restorations of heritage sites. Bagan in Myanmar has attempted to get on the World Heritage List since 1996, however conservationists see the restoration work done at the site as well as additional contemporary amenities at the site desecration of the heritage. For example, the 13th century temple, Mahabodhi Paya, has received modern tiles, carpet and neon lights. However, it is a current pilgrimage site

[129] The Proto City, "Dresden Victimised by Fury of UNESCO," November 18, 2013, http://theprotocity.com/dresden-victimised-by-fury-of-unesco/.

that plays a role in daily life, and the community needs these modernizations to make the temple more comfortable for prayer. Keeping the site off the List due to these contemporary updates is harming the site; consultants argue that Bagan needs to attract scholarly attention, funds, and would benefit from the management guidelines imposed by World Heritage.[130] By not designating Burma as a heritage, its restoration work and poor management will continue to harm the heritage site while still understanding community needs.

Figure 4.9: Mahabodhi Paya, Myanmar (Source: media-cdn.tripadvisor.com)

The World Heritage system's expectations of maintaining the historic fabric of living cities remains difficult to balance with the needs of locals. While cities can benefit from tourism due to World Heritage Status and have tools in place to protect and manage heritage sites better in the face of development, there is still tension between locals and global expectations, and even between different local stakeholder groups. The World Heritage system's role in cities is

[130] Brady, Brendan. "The Ancient Burmese City of Bagan Struggles for International Recognition." Time. Accessed January 10, 2017. http://world.time.com/2013/05/15/bagan/?iid=sr-link9.

challenging due to the frequent changes, which some could argue is the reason its most needed in cities.

4.3 Conclusion

Looking at World Heritage Sites from the community's perspective through case studies and media discourse, there is evidence of negative impacts on the community because of World Heritage Status. While oftentimes World Heritage Status can be economically beneficial to the community, it can also create new issues. Tourism is a main driver of these issues with examples of mass numbers of tourists crowding the streets, driving a change in services and goods provided within a community, and displacing the community. World Heritage Status also focuses on the historical fabric of a heritage site, which can sometimes ignore and negatively impact other aspects of the heritage site, such as the community values. Finally, World Heritage Status can make it challenging for communities to grow and change, balancing modernization with protection of heritage.

While many issues tied with communities are often related to mismanagement on the part of the State Parties, UNESCO World Heritage has been criticized for not protecting the communities in the face of displacement or prioritizing the historic fabric of the site over the community's values or needs. Although numerous additions to the World Heritage Operational Guidelines have attempted to be more participatory with the community and acknowledge their values as well as their intangible heritage, there is no set solution for balancing the needs for the heritage site from a global preservative, the needs from the State Parties or local municipality perspective, and the local community perspective. The following chapter will look further into these local and global tensions.

Figure 5.1: Tourists in Machu Picchu, Peru *(Reuters)*

CHAPTER 5: Local vs. Global Expectations

5.1 Introduction

In Chapters 2 and 3 of this research, the UNESCO World Heritage system's operations have been explained, critiques from the global lens have been presented, and the World Heritage system's policy responses have been described. Chapter 4 has further discussed issues at World Heritage Sites from the perspective of the community. The case studies provided insight on World Heritage from the local lens, and illustrated cases where the community has often felt negative impacts due to World Heritage Status despite the World Heritage system's efforts to be more inclusive and participatory with locals.

Based on what has been presented, there are clearly tensions between different stakeholder groups. The main research question this chapter will address is what are the expectations of local and global stakeholders? This chapter will discuss these varying expectations and tensions as well as emphasis issues that should be more effectively addressed by the UNESCO World Heritage system.

5.2 Tensions Between Local and Global Stakeholders

Balancing expectations of a variety of stakeholders will almost always lead to tensions. The World Heritage system and other global stakeholders expect heritage sites to focus on sustainable tourism and to preserve both the historic fabric and Outstanding Universal Values of the site. These stakeholders also expect limited new construction in the core and boundaries of heritage sites and assume that State Parties and local authorities will include the community in

discussions and management of the site. Conversely, local stakeholders can have varying and inconsistent expectations. Some local stakeholders expect to profit from World Heritage Status, while other do not fully anticipate the negative impacts of mass tourism and the restrictive development that comes along with being on the List. In this research, the community is defined as those living in the heritage site, surrounding it, or using the site, whereas by locals, this research refers to the community as well as local authorities such as municipalities and the tourism and planning departments.

5.2.1 Tourism

Tourism is a key issue and tension between communities and global stakeholders. Based on State of Conservation reports, tourism negatively affects at least 26% of World Heritage Sites.[131] On a global level, tourism is viewed as both positive and negative. The World Heritage system recognizes that World Heritage Status can be connected to increased tourism, and managing tourism has become one of their main concerns:

> These sites are also important travel destinations with huge potential impact for local economic development and long-term sustainability. Travel and tourism is one of the largest industries and heritage tourism is its most rapidly growing international sector. With millions of tourists visiting World Heritage sites each year, tourism has become an important cross cutting issue and management concern at most World Heritage sites.[132]

[131] Richard Veillon, STATE OF CONSERVATION OF World Heritage PROPERTIES: A statistical analysis (1979-2013), UNESCO World Heritage Centre (2014), 16.
[132] UNESCO, *World Heritage and Sustainable Tourism Sustainable Tourism Capacity Building in 4 African World Heritage Destinations*, Initiation workshop Cathedral Peak, 19-21 February 2015 Maloti-Drakensberg Park World Heritage Site (2015).

The World Heritage system identifies tourism as a necessary evil. First, tourism has economic benefits for the State Parties. Tourism is one of the fastest-growing economic sectors contributing to about 9% of GDP and provides one in eleven jobs.[133] Second, tourism benefits the site itself. Visitation fees, donations, local shops, and concessions can provide funds for the conservation and maintenance of the site. Tourism can also drive international awareness and funding for the site. In addition, tour operators and hotel chains can potentially make financial contributions to the site or promote responsible tourism to their guests.[134] Finally, World Heritage Sites are considered to belong to all of mankind, so it should be the right of all the people of the world to see the heritage properties. Therefore, instead of halting tourism, the World Heritage system is focusing on sustainable tourism practices to better manage tourism:

> It is an inevitable destiny: the very reasons why a property is chosen for inscription on the World Heritage List are also the reasons why millions of tourists flock to those sites year after year. In fact, the belief that World Heritage sites belong to everyone and should be preserved for future generations is the very principle on which the World Heritage Convention is based. So how do we merge our convictions with our concerns over the impact of tourism on World Heritage sites? The answer is through sustainable tourism. Directing governments, site managers and visitors towards sustainable tourism practices is the only way to ensure the safekeeping of our world's natural and cultural heritage.[135]

However, the State Parties and local municipalities can sometimes have different expectations than the World Heritage system when it comes to tourism; instead of seeing economic benefits as a positive outcome of World Heritage Status, some State Parties expect economic

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[133] A. Osipova Markham, E., Lafrenz Samuels, K. and Caldas, A, *World Heritage and Tourism in a Changing Climate. United Nations Environment Programme, Nairobi, Kenya and United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization,* Paris: UNESCO World Heritage Centre (2016), 9.

[134] Arthur Pedersen, Managing Tourism at World Heritage Sites: A Practical Manual for World Heritage Site Managers, UNESCO, (2002). 11.

[135] Francesco Bandarin, "Forward," Arthur Pedersen, Managing Tourism at World Heritage Sites: a Practical Manual for World Heritage Site Managers, UNESCO, (2002). 3.

benefits from heritage and use its status to exploit the site. Former President of the World Monuments Fund, Francesco Burnham, in an interview with the *New York Times*, suggested that getting on the List for the purpose of driving tourism is the end goal for many State Parties, "It has become clear, though, that for many sites, getting on the list might be more an end goal than the beginning of conservation efforts…Countries found out that while they didn't get money from UNESCO, they did get recognition, and recognition results in tourism."[136] *The Independent* argues that use of awareness to promote to tourists is evident; when World Heritage Status is acquired, the sites are guaranteed to be included in the travel sections of newspapers and featured in guidebooks, "The World Heritage emblem has come to represent a grandiose marketing tool - fodder for 'things to see before you die' coffee-table books."[137]

The media discourse points to countries utilizing the World Heritage List as an economic vehicle. *CNN* reported that China has been criticized for the exploitation of their heritage sites for tourism, "The idea behind having this status is that there are conservation, preservation and restoration issues, where in China it seems to be primarily geared toward promoting tourism and its economic benefit."[138] Japan has also been accused of listing sites for profit. In 2007, abandoned mining town of Iwami Ginzan was added to the List despite having little Outstanding Universal Value. *Sputnik News* connects the designation of Iwami Ginzan with the politicized nature of UNESCO World Heritage:

> … a local businessman, decided to make it a tourist hotspot – and, long story short, he achieved his goal … the local government, in turn, had ties with Japanese diplomats, who represented Japan in UNESCO … Japan eventually managed to get the organization

[136] Seth Kugel, "Flip Side of World Heritage Status." The New York Times, January 16, 2006. http://www.nytimes.com/2006/01/16/travel/flip-side-of-world-heritage-status.html.
[137] *The Independent*, "Here come the hordes."
[138] Katie Hunt, "Tourism Boom Threatens China's Heritage Sites - CNN.com," *CNN*, accessed October 22, 2016, http://www.cnn.com/2012/08/14/world/asia/china-heritage-tourism/index.html.

> to name Iwami a new Unesco's World Heritage Site. The result? The year following the mine's rebranding, instead of the usual 15,000, almost a million tourists showed up to see the new Heritage Site.[139]

The local community also benefits economically from tourism at heritage sites. Community members work as tour guides as well as in shops, restaurants, and hotels. Some of the community members have no qualms about exploiting their heritage in order to gain economic benefits. Shops will resort to selling cheap souvenir goods imported from other countries, which is cheaper and easier than making traditional crafts to sell. Further, restaurants will cater to tourists' tastes instead of focusing on traditional or local-based foods. In the case of Venice, the community can also be partly blamed for the issue of reduced local population; many community members sold their buildings, apartments, and rented out housing on Airbnb to tourists.

However, as discussed in the previous chapter, tourism can also create issues that negatively affect the local communities. These issues include overcrowding, rising property values, displacement, loss of traditional crafts, skills, and jobs, impacts on the fabric of the site, and shifts in culture. There have also been several examples of communities protesting mass tourism in their communities. While the economic benefits due to tourism can assist the country and site, the community can sometimes suffer because of tourism, and they do not always receive the benefits, like in the case of Machu Picchu.

Tourism is a key tension between local and global stakeholders. While both groups of stakeholders note there are both positive and negative impacts with tourism, the World Heritage system has understood that tourism at World Heritage Sites is vital and is therefore focusing on

[139] Sputnik. "UNESCO: Protecting World's Heritage or Forcing an Agenda?" Accessed March 7, 2017. https://sputniknews.com/radio/201509301027785377-unesco-culture-heritage/.

sustainable tourism. Because tourism is tied to the state and local economies, local authorities and communities have a complicated relationship with tourism. There are many examples of these local groups exploiting the heritage sites for financial gain. However, there are also groups of local community members that understand the issues associated with mass tourism and are fighting against this exploitation. The global and local stakeholders as well as separate groups of local stakeholders will continue to have different expectations about tourism at the World Heritage Sites if community inclusion early in the World Heritage designation process along with education of locals on potential impacts of tourism, and promoting more sustainable ways the community can financially benefit from the site.

5.2.2 Community Inclusion

The word 'community' is now ingrained in the Operational Guidelines. By community, this research is referring to those living at the heritage site, surrounding the site, or those that frequently use the site. Community stakeholder involvement is a focus with objectives that include, "enhance the function of World Heritage in the life of the community," and, "increase the participation of local and national populations in the protection and presentation of heritage."[140]

In fact, Community was added to the Strategic Objectives in 2007, which are now referred to as the five C's (credibility, conservation, capacity-building, communication, and community), as a result of the 31st Convention in New Zealand, which stated that "… the identification, management and successful conservation of heritage must be done, where possible, with the meaningful involvement of human communities, and the reconciliation of conflicting interests

[140] *Operational Guidelines,* 3.

where necessary. It should not be done against the interests, or with the exclusion or omission of local communities".[141] The purpose of adding the community was due to the negative effects on the site when the community was not included, "Experience has demonstrated that one of the most important factors for the long-term success of a protected area, is having the buy-in of affected indigenous/traditional and/or local populations."[142]

In addition, the World Heritage Committee adopted ICOMOS's Florence Declaration in 2014, which discusses community values in managing World Heritage Sites, "… evaluating and assessing a site as World Heritage should be considered as an ethical commitment to safeguarding and respecting human "values" in order to protect the spirit of place and people's identity so as to improve their quality of life."[143] The Operational Guidelines provides some general suggestions on how to incorporate the community, such as the appointment of at least two community members in the management committee and the involvement of the community when creating the management plans for the site.[144]

As community inclusion and cultural context became more integrated into the World Heritage system and Operational Guidelines, the management of World Heritage Sites grew more difficult, "Indeed, the shift in the heritage sector from simple physical protection to a more layered approach to management that takes into account social, economic and environmental concerns provides a basis for giving the heritage a function in the life of the community…this more holistic

[141] UNESCO, "31st Session, Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage," UNESCO World Heritage, Christchurch, New Zealand 23 June – 2 July 2007.
[142] Ibid.
[143] ICOMOS, *The Florence Declaration on Heritage and Landscape as Human Values* (2014), 1.
[144] *Operational Guidelines*, 126.

approach has made the management of World Heritage properties all the more demanding."[145] Managing a World Heritage Site and the varying expectations of different community members, some with opposing opinions is challenging. In addition, community inclusion can take additional time, funding, and training for both site managers and community members, which can potentially delay projects.

Even with a global focus on community participation at heritage sites, the World Heritage system found that most countries have not implemented this. In the World Heritage Centre's assessment of the European Periodic Reports in 2016, there was a discovery that overall local participate was extremely limited, "The direct input of local communities in management decisions is very low in both cultural and natural properties. The majority of properties indicate that there is some input, but only 20% have direct participation in management decisions."[146] While the World Heritage system expects State Parties to follow through with their recommendations, these recommendations are not always integrated properly.

State Parties, site managers, and local authorities are not always to blame for the lack of community inclusion at heritage sites. In fact, the communities can be the cause for this limited participation:

> Many local communities are not motivated to become involved although they are aware of the importance of participating and that they are entitled to take part. The reasons for this lack of motivation are very varied, but include the lack of confidence in the institutions, the fact that the process is very laborious and drawn out, loss of collective values of society

[145] Stefano De Caro, "Forward," In *Managing Cultural world heritage* by Gamini Wijesuriya, Jane Thompson, and Christopher Young, (Paris: UNESCO, 2013).
[146] UNESCO, *Understanding World Heritage in Europe and North America Final Report on the Second Cycle of Periodic Reporting 2012-2015,* UNESCO World Heritage (2016).

> in comparison with an increasingly marked individualism, many and varied interests regarding land, and so on.[147]

Loss of interest or motivation of the local community as well as lack of trust of institutions can sometimes be avoided if the community is involved early in the designation process. Community members who feel that their opinions and values are being considered and integrated into the management plans are more actively involved, especially when there may be financial benefits.[148] Stephen Battle from World Monuments Funds warns that when the community's values are not considered and community participation is not incorporated "the connections between community and heritage get diluted."[149] When the community has no control, the bonds between community and heritage weakened, the heritage loses its meaning, which can lead to disintegration.

Despite the efforts to be inclusive and participatory with the community, changes made to the World Heritage system oftentimes have not mollified tensions between local and global stakeholders. Many State Parties have not implemented community participation into their management plans, which is one of the key issues. It may seem overwhelming, time consuming, and costly for those that do introduce community participation. The other key issue is lack of motivation on the part of the community. These community members need to feel that their voice is heard, their values are protected, and they will directly benefit from World Heritage Sites in order to put their time and energy into the process.

[147] Edited by M.-T. Albert, M. Richon, M. J. Viñals and A. Witcom, Community Development through World Heritage, UNESCO World Heritage, (2012), 43.
[148] Ibid.
[149] Guest Lecture by Stephen Battle, World Monuments Fund. Lecture during course International Issues in Preservation by Professor Erica Avrami, March 30, 2017.

5.2.3 Fabric vs. Intangible

As global stakeholders and heritage experts, the World Heritage system has the end goal of preservation.[150] Even with the understanding that heritage takes on many forms and sites have a variety of uses for the community, the physical fabric of heritage sites still considered the most important aspect of a heritage site because it is the material and tangible connection to history (at least from the Western-dominated perspective). Furthermore, it is the physical fabric of the site that attracts tourism and awareness, which can be utilized for economic activity. The material of heritage is also easier for heritage professionals and local managers to focus on and protect. It can be difficult to balance additional community needs and ideas, especially as more sites are added to the List across the globe with various values and significance.

Another reason for the focus on the physical fabric of a heritage site is the 1964 Venice Charter that laid a foundation for the 1972 World Heritage Convention whose principles are ingrained in the ideals of World Heritage management and guidelines. The Venice Charter's principles are based on maintaining authenticity and clearly state that a heritage professional's purpose is to preserve the aesthetic and historic value of a building, monument or site with a focus on its material, "Its aim is to preserve and reveal the aesthetic and historic value of the monument and is based on respect for original material and authentic documents."[151] Laurajane Smith argues that the Venice Charter assumes that heritage from grand, Western backgrounds are inherently valuable while other forms of heritage can acquire value with age.[152]

[150] Erica Avrami, paraphrased from Avrami's class at Columbia University on Issues in International Heritage, February 23, 2017.
[151] ICOMOS, *Venice Charter.*
[152] Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, 90.

As seen with the case of Lalibela, focusing on maintenance of the physical fabric can cause tensions. When a global stakeholder intervenes at a site to protect the fabric over the local community, the community can feel neglected and this can lead to the disintegration of values tied to the heritage site. However, the community is often needed to inhabit or maintain the fabric of heritage sites, so by prioritizing the fabric over the community, the fabric can also suffer. As a symbiotic relationship, the physical fabric and the community need to be mutually recognized for their role in preserving the values of heritage.

5.2.4 Balancing New vs. Old

Not all World Heritage Sites are archaeological sites or landscapes that can be maintained 'as is'. Many heritage sites have inhabitants who use the heritage to live and work, such as in heritage cities, or living nearby the heritage site. These so called 'living' heritage sites are tricky to manage. The balance between preserving the historic buildings and view sheds are extremely important to many stakeholders, however for those that live at the site, this may be limiting or seemingly impossible. In the 2016 State of Conservation Report review, development is one of the main issues World Heritage Sites suffer from, after management issues, "The second major reported threat to World Heritage Committee is related to buildings and development, with almost half of all properties considered in this study being concerned. Over the years, there has been a clear increase in the percentage of properties reported as affected by this group of threats…"[153]

[153] Richard Veillon, *STATE OF CONSERVATION OF World Heritage PROPERTIES: A statistical analysis (1979-2013)*, UNESCO World Heritage Centre (2014), 3.

In fact, 47% of World Heritage Sites that submit State of Conservation reports have negative impacts due to development and 33% due to transportation infrastructure. 37% of sites suffer from development of housing, 23% have negative impacts due to ground transportation development, 14% from major tourist accommodation and infrastructure, and 10% from interpretative and visitation facilities.[154]

World Heritage cities like Liverpool and London often call for modern towers for housing, offices, and large skyscrapers to compete with other modern cities. Otherwise, cities' growth and economy could potentially be limited. In other instances, inhabitants need to increase the size of their houses or modernize their houses in order to have a better way of life. In the case of Dresden's Elbe Valley, the community even chose to get delisted from the World Heritage List in to get a much-needed bridge.

What makes development at heritage sites even more difficult are the parties involved. Development threats rarely include only the community stakeholders against the global stakeholders. In fact, many community groups work with the World Heritage system to fight against development and protect the heritage site. Development pressures typically come from municipalities and planning groups along with real estate developers, all with strong political ties in many cases. Since the World Heritage system has no ownership over the heritage sites, there is little the organization can do aside from delist the heritage site if their recommendations are not considered.

Balancing new forms with the historic fabric and scale of World Heritage Sites is a frequently mentioned tension between global and local stakeholders. On one hand, the

[154] Veillon, *STATE OF CONSERVATION OF World Heritage PROPERTIES,* 16.

maintenance of the historic fabric and scale is why the sites were added to the List. On the other hand, sites with inhabitants also need to grow and change. In some cases, the need for larger and more modern housing can push the community out of the World Heritage Site boundaries, such as in Lalibela. In other cases, limiting development near heritage sties can push development further out of the core, which can also lead to the increase of development on green spaces. Understanding community and local authorities' needs are essential for the World Heritage system to balance old and new at heritage sites. If the system could be involved in the design process for new constructions or if State Parties and the World Heritage system work together on design guidelines for each heritage sites, these tensions could be eased.

5.3 Conclusion

The tensions between global and local stakeholders are apparent in analyzing literature and case studies dealing with heritage sites with issues related to tourism, community participation, focus on the historic fabric, and balancing old and new forms. These tensions arise from different expectations or understanding about the World Heritage system. In many of these cases, the gap in expectations could be made smaller with the inclusion of local stakeholders early in the designation process as well as educating the local groups of what to expect and how to benefit from the heritage site sustainably. Furthermore, the World Heritage system's involvement in providing design guidelines for new construction in World Heritage cities could also be beneficial and ease tensions between different stakeholders. Communication, setting expectations, and clear guidance with various groups of local stakeholders before a site is inscribed are key aspects that the World Heritage system could more effectively address.

The next chapter will disc current tools for evaluating World Heritage Sites, what are the current indicators getting evaluated, and what is not getting evaluated.

Figure 6.1: Venice, Italy (Wikimedia Commons)

CHAPTER 6: Evaluating Success

6.1 Introduction

This research has thus far provided insight on criticisms surrounding World Heritage Sites, brought to light issues from a community perspective, and discussed divisions and different expectations between local and global stakeholders. These criticism and tensions suggest that additional changes may need to be made by the World Heritage system to incorporate the needs of the local communities in and around World Heritage Sites.

This chapter will now look at the management tools in place for evaluating World Heritage Sites post-designation, the criteria currently used to evaluate a heritage site, and criteria that is missing from the current evaluation of the sites. Throughout the chapter, this research will address the following three questions: How is success being defined under World Heritage system's guidelines and processes? What current tools or methods are used to evaluate that success? And what additional indicators of success are important to identify and incorporate in decision making?

6.2 Processes Used to Evaluate & Monitor Post-Designation Management

As noted in Chapter 2, State Parties seeking designation of sites on the UNESCO World Heritage List must have protection and management in place for the site to be inscribed. The Operational Guidelines state that "All properties inscribed on the World Heritage List must have adequate long-term legislative, regulatory, institutional and/or traditional protection and

management to ensure their safeguarding."[155] The purpose of these protection and management systems are to ensure the safeguarding of the heritage sites on the List. However, the World Heritage system is not only concerned with management and protection of sites during the designation process; the site's long-term survival is at risk if proper systems are not in place by the State Parties to protect the site. As a reminder, the 1972 World Heritage Convention was created post-WWII, when there was heighten awareness of the vulnerability of heritage sites the threats against it. The main purpose of the Convention was to build capacities worldwide to collectively protect heritage sites, with the World Heritage List serving as the main vehicle to accomplish this, "Considering that it is essential for this purpose to adopt new provisions in the form of a convention establishing an effective system of collective protection of the cultural and natural heritage of outstanding universal value, organized on a permanent basis and in accordance with modern scientific methods."[156] The List is a way for heritage sites to be organized and managed on an international scale.

The sites on the List are considered "the best of the best" of heritage sites and therefore need to emulate management and protection methods as examples of best practices for other heritage sites.[157] If a site is ill-managed, it may deteriorate or lose its Outstanding Universal Value. This could drive the Committee to add the site to the List of World Heritage in Danger and potentially get delisted, which can be considered embarrassing to the State Party and the World Heritage system. The Guidelines even require the Committee to avoid the deletion of properties from the List, "… that all possible measures should be taken to prevent the deletion of any property

[155] *Operational Guidelines*, 20.
[156] *Convention*, 1.
[157] For "Best of the best" phrase see: UNESCO, *Report of the World Heritage Global Strategy Natural and Cultural Heritage Expert Meeting 25 to 29 March 1998*, Theatre Institute, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, UNESCO World Heritage Centre in association with the Government of the Netherlands, (1998).

from the List and was ready to offer technical co-operation as far as possible to States Parties in this connection."[158] It is therefore in the best interest of the World Heritage system to include protocols for ongoing reviews of the sites to ensure that the sites continue to get protected and uphold their value.

To ensure the effective management of World Heritage Sites, the World Heritage system has set up post-designation management tools to review sites. The World Heritage system follows a process called 'Reactive Monitoring', which is "the reporting by the Secretariat, other sectors of UNESCO and the Advisory Bodies to the Committee on the state of conservation of specific World Heritage properties that are under threat."[159] Reactive Monitoring is an action that is in *response* to negative or potentially negative factors affecting the heritage site. The World Heritage system relies on State Parties to submit reports and impact studies when there are circumstances affecting the Outstanding Universal Value of the site.[160] In other words, this type of monitoring occurs only if there is a problem that is brought to UNESCO's attention, as opposed to proactive monitoring which would monitor sites to avoid potential issues. Therefore, it requires State Parties to be proactive in submitting reports of potential or ongoing threats.

There are two forms of Reactive Monitoring: State of Conservation reports (SOC) and Reactive Monitoring Missions. State of Conservation Reports are required by the State Parties if there are plans or changes that will affect the Outstanding Universal Value of a site, such as major renovations, new constructions, projects that are not easily reversed, and serious deterioration of the property. State Parties are asked to provide this information before the developments occur and decisions are made so that the World Heritage system can assist in finding appropriate

[158] *Operational Guidelines,* 38.
[159] Ibid, 37.
[160] Ibid, 37.

resolutions to the changes. The Advisory Bodies also comment on these reports, which are then submitted to the Committee. The Committee can use the State of Conservation reports to determine if no further action is needed, if there is serious deterioration and action is required to restore the site, if the site should be inscribed on the List of Heritage in Danger, if the site should be deleted from the List, or if a Reactive Monitoring Mission is required.[161]

The Reactive Monitoring Missions are conducted by the Advisory Bodies. These missions take place when the Committee requires more information on issues at the site and to make decisions for the site's future. These missions require the State Parties to invite consultants to the site to report on "the present condition of the property, the dangers to the property and the feasibility of adequately restoring the property."[162] These missions are done much less frequently than State of Conservation reports.

However, there is one form of proactive monitoring by the World Heritage system, which is the Periodic Reporting. This report is used to analyze trends seen at World Heritage Sites by region and "… review the World Heritage portfolio as a whole. Every six years, on a rotating basis by region, all World Heritage properties must submit reports to the World Heritage Centre. These reports allow the World Heritage system to assess the conditions at the properties and, eventually, to decide on the necessity of adopting specific measures to resolve challenges and recurrent problems."[163] These reports assess the application of the World Heritage Convention by the State Parties, assess if the Outstanding Universal Value of the properties have been maintained over time, provide up-to-date information about the World Heritage properties, and to provide a

[161] UNESCO World Heritage. "Reactive Monitoring Process." UNESCO World Heritage Centre. Accessed March 26, 2017. http://whc.unesco.org/en/reactive-monitoring/.
[162] *Operational Guidelines,* 39.
[163] UNESCO, Period Reporting Handbook for Site Managers, (2012), 3.

mechanism for regional co-operation and exchange of information between State Parties.[164] Periodic Reporting include questions about factors positively and negatively affecting the site, financial and human resources information, management of the site, visitor management, monitoring, and impacts of World Heritage Status. It is an exercise for Focal Points, which are the representatives for the State Parties to the Convention, and site managers to get another perspective on how the Outstanding Universal Value is protected and identify gaps in the management plans. It is described as a "tool of improvement awareness."[165]

The analyses of the Periodic Reporting results point out similar issues among State Parties and drive regional and sub-regional Action Plans. The European Periodic Reporting found that, "… even the best-managed sites do not have strong connections to the communities, which is something we would like to stress, to improve in the future."[166] The findings also highlighted that awareness of World Heritage on a local and community level is non-existent, the community is not included in the management of the site, and there needs to bridge the gap between the national and local levels. In addition to highlighting issues, some regions or sub-regions are taking an initiative to fix some of the problems seen in the Period Reports and are creating teams to focus on specific areas. Others State Parties plan to use the Periodic Report results to make a case for increased funding from their governments.[167]

While State of Conservation Reports are used to drive the World Heritage Committee's decisions and actions by understanding issues affecting the Outstanding Universal Value, Periodic

[164] UNESCO World Heritage. "Reactive Monitoring Process." UNESCO World Heritage Centre. Accessed March 26, 2017. http://whc.unesco.org/en/reactive-monitoring/.
[165] UNESCO, "Europe and North America," from Video on *Benefits of Periodic Reporting*, UNESCO World Heritage Centre, accessed March 28, 2017, http://whc.unesco.org/en/eur-na/.
[166] Ibid.
[167] Ibid.

Reporting is a tool to assist State Parties. Therefore, the World Heritage Centre is open to receiving feedback and changing the report to better support their needs. There have now been two Cycles of Periodic Reporting, the first from 2000-2006 and the Second from 2010-2015. The Second Cycle report included many additional questions and changed the report's formatting to better aggregate results. After the end of the Second Cycle of Period Reporting in 2015, some of the feedback included suggestions to simplify the questions, focus only on trends, ask how site managers look at past data and plan based on that information, showing that the Periodic Reporting leads to concrete actions, and including how the heritage site impacted sustainable development.[168] A discussion with Christopher Young, a heritage consultant and former Head of International Advice at English Heritage, confirmed that the Period Reporting will be updated for the next cycle, with the key change being incorporating Sustainable Development Goals.[169]

In addition to the existing tools for evaluation, the World Heritage system has identified that tourism is still a key issue when it comes to World Heritage Sites. Tourism provides economic benefits, but can lead to problems with crowding and loss of traditional skills. Therefore, the World Heritage Centre is currently working on a Sustainable Tourism toolkit for site managers to better manage and evaluate tourism at their heritage sites. This tool, which will be finalized this year, will be voluntary and will focus solely on tourism information, unlike the existing monitoring tools. The purpose of the Sustainable Tourism tool is, "Developing strategies through broad stakeholder engagement for the planning, development and management of sustainable tourism that follows a destination approach and focuses on empowering local communities is the central

[168] UNESCO, "Europe and North America."
[169] Discussion with Christopher Young on March 17, 2017 at the Montreal Round Table 2017.

to UNESCO's approach."[170] This tool will walk site managers through steps to help their site become more sustainable. It will also include assistance in identifying basic tourism data and benchmarks and will provide information on other aspects of tourism management such as the need for community participation and their livability at the site, the importance of interpretation, local food and products, managing behavior of tourists, and a variety of other good practices.[171] In a presentation about this new tool, UNESCO World Heritage Centre representative, Peter DeBrine, explained that there will be five main steps in the tool: creating a profile, development needs priorities, assessment of sustainable management of the site, and the appraisal, which is an autogenerated survey and will point to areas that need attention.[172]

This Sustainable Tourism tool will be mainly an information tool and a way for site managers manage their own data. While the State of Conservation reports are ad hoc and Periodic Reporting only occurs every six years, this tool will not only ask questions specifically about tourism, but can be used for site managers to track their own data on a more regular basis. The tool includes protection of the Outstanding Universal Value the central focus and will look at the positive and negative impacts of tourism in relation to the Outstanding Universal Value.[173] As the tool is not finalized yet, the exact indicators and other criteria used cannot be fully analyzed yet. However, this upcoming toolkit will attempt to empower not only site managers with the right

[170] UNESCO, "World Heritage and Sustainable Tourism Programme," *UNESCO World Heritage Centre. Accessed March 30, 2017*, http://whc.unesco.org/en/tourism/.
[171] UNESCO, "Guide 1: Understanding Tourism at Your Destination | UNESCO Sustainable Tourism Toolkit," accessed March 30, 2017, http://whc.unesco.org/sustainabletourismtoolkit/guides/guide-1-understanding-tourism-your-destination.
[172] Presentation by Peter DeBrine on the Sustainable Tourism Toolkist at the Montreal Round Table 2017, March 16, 2017.
[173] Ibid.

tools, questions, and data to better understand tourism impacts, but it will focus on the inclusion of the community.

There are several tools the World Heritage system, State Parties, and site managers use to evaluate World Heritage Sites. Each tool has a different purpose, time frame, collects different data, and is used by different stakeholders. Some tools, such as the State of Conservation Reports and Missions, are used by the World Heritage Committee to assess issues at heritage sites, while the Periodic Reporting and Sustainable Tourism toolkit are to be used for State Parties and site managers as a self-assessment and providing an understanding of areas that need work. While these tools are important for the World Heritage system in identifying major issues, and understanding trends at heritage sites by region, they are limiting. This will be analyzed in more detail in the remainder of this chapter.

6.3 What is Getting Evaluated

The UNESCO World Heritage system has a selection of tools to evaluate World Heritage Sites. However, with such a wide variety of sites, cultures, and regions, it can be difficult to identify how the World Heritage system classifies a site as successful. Therefore, this research will look at the indicators the organization uses to analyze sites during the designation process and post-designation to determine if and how the sites meet their standards.

6.3.1 Pre-Designation Indicators of Success

A heritage site needs to be considered 'successful' to be inscribed on the List in the first place. These sites must meet the five main indicators the World Heritage System requires for a heritage site to be designated on the List: Outstanding Universal Value (OUV), authenticity (its genuineness), integrity (its wholeness/unimpaired condition), and protection and management plans in place. However, the protection and management plans required are in place only to protect the other three indicators, "Protection and management of World Heritage properties should ensure that their Outstanding Universal Value, including the conditions of integrity and/or authenticity at the time of inscription, are sustained or enhanced over time."[174] This emphasizes the importance of the Outstanding Universal Value, as well as the site's physical condition.

There are also indicators for Outstanding Universal Value that heritage sites must have to be considered. Heritage sites must have at least one of the ten criteria for Outstanding Universal Value to be considered to have OUV and considered for designation. As a reminder, OUV is defined as "… cultural and/or natural significance which is so exceptional as to transcend national boundaries and to be of common importance for present and future generations of all humanity …"[175] Looking at the values tied to each criteria of Outstanding Universal Value, the criteria mainly focus on the aesthetic and historic values. Aesthetic values relate to criteria focused on the architecture or design of a site, while historic values relate to a heritage site's connection to historical events, developments, and past time periods. There are also a few OUV criteria that focus on the site's environmental values, mainly for natural heritage sites, which relate to its ecology or representation of the earth's history. Two of the OUV criteria attempt to be more

[174] *Operational Guidelines,* 20.
[175] *Operational Guidelines*, 11.

inclusive of social values, such as community traditions, community identity, symbolism, and religious/spiritual use. However, most OUV criteria focus on historic society values, rarely including current local community values.

Outstanding Universal Value Criteria	Value Category
(i) represent a masterpiece of human creative genius	Aesthetic, Historical
(ii) exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design	Aesthetic, Historical
(iii) bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared	Aesthetic, Historical, Social
(iv) be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history	Aesthetic, Historical, Environmental
(v) be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change	Historical, Environmental
(vi) be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance. (The Committee considers that this criterion should preferably be used in conjunction with other criteria)	Historical, Social
(vii) contain superlative natural phenomena or areas of exceptional natural beauty and aesthetic importance	Environmental
(viii) be outstanding examples representing major stages of earth's history, including the record of life, significant on-going geological processes in the development of landforms, or significant geomorphic or physiographic features	Historical, Environmental
(ix) be outstanding examples representing significant on-going ecological and biological processes in the evolution and development of terrestrial, fresh water, coastal and marine ecosystems and communities of plants and animals	Environmental
(x) contain the most important and significant natural habitats for in-situ conservation of biological diversity, including those containing threatened species of Outstanding Universal Value from the point of view of science or conservation.	Environmental

Figure 6.2: Chart of the Outstanding Universal Value criteria and value categories connected to each

Aesthetic and historical value are significant indicators of Outstanding Universal Value for cultural World Heritage Sites, while environmental values are critical for natural heritage sites. These qualities of age, design, relation to important events or ideas, and material of a site and its intactness of ecology in the case of natural sites are an integral aspect of how sites are evaluated as 'successful' enough to get on the World Heritage List, with values relating to current community traditions as secondary elements of value. This is to say the World Heritage system wants sites that are old, that have enough of its original physical fabric intact, and have a design or represent an event, artistic or literary work that was influential to other areas of the world.

6.3.2 Post-Designation Indicators of Success

While having Outstanding Universal Value, integrity, and authenticity are the criteria for designation of a heritage site on the World Heritage List (with protection and management of these criteria in place), they are also used as the main indicators of success used to evaluate World Heritage Sites post-designation. Because the Outstanding Universal Value of heritage sites is typically associated with the age, design, material, and/or its tangible relation to important events or artistic works, the Outstanding Universal Value is associated to the physical fabric of the heritage.

The maintenance of the Outstanding Universal Value, and therefore material fabric, of a heritage site is the priority of both the World Heritage system and the State Parties. The monitoring tools, State of Conservation reports, Monitoring Missions, Periodic Reporting and the upcoming Sustainable Tourism tool, all focus on factors affecting the Outstanding Universal Value of a heritage site. In fact, State of Conservation reports are only required by State Parties if there are

factors or potential factors that will harm the site OUV, with the goal of UNESCO intervention to avoid the loss of OUV:

> The World Heritage Committee invites the States Parties to the Convention to inform the Committee, through the Secretariat, of their intention to undertake or to authorize in an area protected under the Convention major restorations or new constructions **which may affect the Outstanding Universal Value of the property** … the Committee may assist in seeking appropriate solutions to ensure that the Outstanding Universal Value of the property is fully preserved.[176]

While maintenance of the historic, aesthetic, and material values of the Outstanding Universal Value of heritage sites established during the inscription process is considered an indicator of success, the World Heritage system also looks at indicators that threaten that success. One of the main indicators the system looks at is the frequency of State of Conservation reports for a site. Since State of Conservation reports are used only when there is an issue affecting the site's OUV, UNESCO measures the number of times State of Conservation reports have been submitted. If there are little or no submissions of State of Conservation reports, the World Heritage system considers that a success. Not only does few State of Conservation reports mean that the Outstanding Universal Value is being upheld, but it also means that the Committee does not have to spend much time discussing issues at the site, it does not have to send Advisory Bodies to visit the sites, and usually does not have to use much of the World Heritage Fund to support the site. The World Heritage Centre also graphs "… the frequency at which the World Heritage Committee has deliberated over this property over the past 15 years."[177] The higher the frequency (the peaks), the more times the Committee had to reflect on the property. Therefore, a main indicator of success

[176] *Operational Guidelines*, 38.

[177] UNESCO. "Indicators: Rock-Hewn Churches, Lalibela." UNESCO World Heritage Centre. Accessed April 9, 2017. http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/18/indicators/

of World Heritage Sites is the lack of State of Conservation reports, or the lack of discussion of a heritage site.

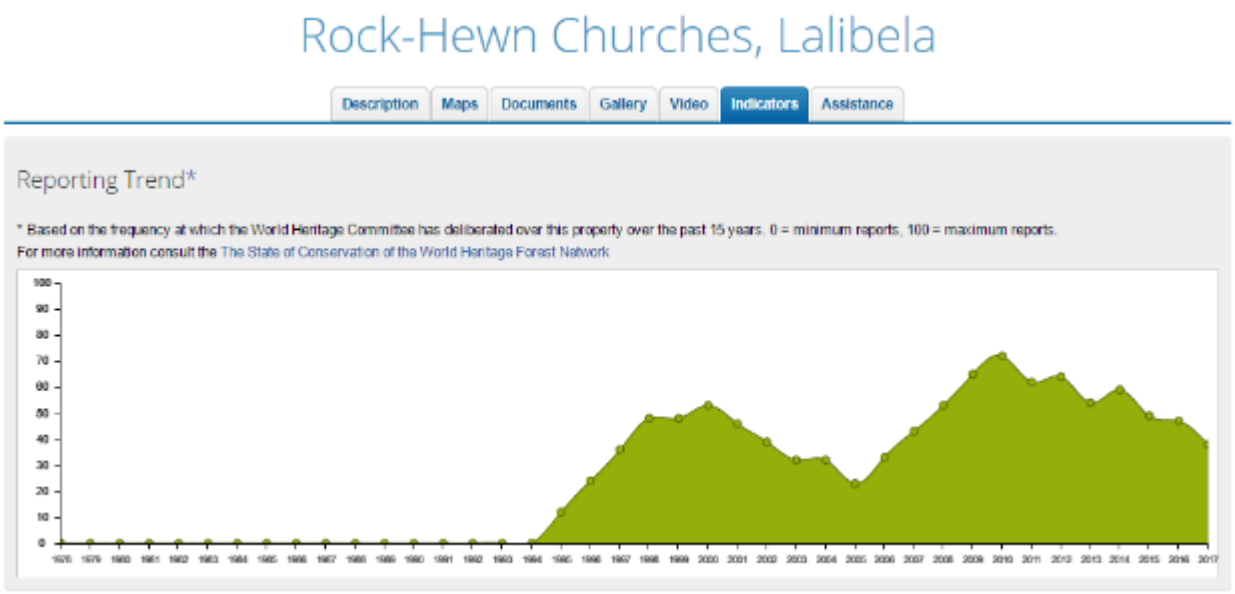

Figure 6.3: Indicators of Lalibela, number of times and years Lalibela has submitted SOC reports (Source: UNESCO)

The World Heritage system also looks at indicators of threats to the Outstanding Universal Value in its State of Conservation reports and Reactive Monitoring Missions. These indicators, referred to as factors, are oftentimes about deterioration of the heritage site, encroachment, housing, transportation, tourism, poor management, impacts from new buildings, and environmental issues such as a climate change to name a few (fig. 6.4). These indicators are essentially any factor, either manmade or natural, that could harm the Outstanding Universal Value of a site. In other words, any change in or around the heritage site could is viewed as an indicator of threat. The World Heritage Committee uses these indicators to determine if a site should be added to the List of Heritage in Danger or removed from the List, "when there is evidence that the property has deteriorated to the point where it has irretrievably lost those characteristics which

determined its inscription on the List, the Committee may decide to delete the property from the List".[178] This suggests that when the fabric deteriorates, all values ascribed to the site, whether aesthetic, historical, social, or environmental, have also deteriorated.

Post-Designation Indicators of Threats (Primary Factors)	**Secondary Factors**
Building and Development	• Housing • Commercial development • Industrial areas • Major visitor accommodation and associated infrastructure • Interpretative and visitation facilities
Transportation Infrastructure	• Ground transport infrastructure • Air transport infrastructure • Marine transport infrastructure • Effects arising from use of transportation infrastructure • Underground transport infrastructure
Utilities or Services Infrastructure	• Water infrastructure • Renewable energy facilities • Non-renewable energy facilities • Localized utilities • Major linear utilities
Pollution	• Pollution of marine waters • Ground water pollution • Surface water pollution • Air pollution • Solid waste • Input of excess energy
Biological Resource Use/Modification	• Fishing/collecting aquatic resources • Aquaculture • Land conversion • Livestock farming/grazing of domesticated animals • Crop production • Commercial wild plant collection • Subsistence wild plant collection • Commercial hunting • Subsistence hunting • Forestry /wood production

[178] *Operational Guidelines*, 38.

Physical Resource Mining	• Mining • Quarrying • Oil and gas • Water extraction
Local Conditions affecting Physical Fabric	• Wind • Relative humidity • Temperature • Radiation/light • Dust • Water, Rain • Pests • Micro-organisms
Social/Cultural Uses of Heritage	• Ritual/spiritual/religious and associative uses • Society's valuing of heritage • Indigenous hunting, gathering and collecting • Changes in traditional ways of life and knowledge system • Identity, social cohesion, changes in local population and community • Impacts of tourism/visitor/recreation
Other Human Uses	• Illegal activities • Deliberate destruction of heritage • Military training • War • Terrorism • Civil unrest
Climate Change and Severe Weather Events	• Storms • Flooding • Drought • Desertification • Changes to oceanic waters • Temperature change • Other climate change impacts
Sudden Ecological or Geological Events	• Volcanic eruption • Earthquake • Tsunami/tidal wave • Avalanche landslide • Erosion and siltation/deposition • Fire (wildfires)
Invasive/alien species or hyper-abundant species	• Translocated species • Invasive/alien terrestrial species • Invasive / alien freshwater species • Invasive/alien marine species • Hyper-abundant species • Modified genetic material

Management and institutional factors	• Legal framework • Low impact research/monitoring activities • Governance • High impact research/monitoring activities • Management activities • Management activities • Financial resources • Human resources
Other Factors	• Other factor(s)

Figure 6.4: Current Indicators of threats/factors the World Heritage system reviews during post-designation analysis (Source: by author based on UNESCO's State of Conservation of World Heritage Properties: A statistical analysis (1979-2013))

In addition to evaluating sites based on their Outstanding Universal Value, the Operational Guidelines ask that State Parties nominating heritage sites for the List to choose their own indicators of success. It is suggested that these indicators are not only created by the State Parties, but should be analyzed by the State Parties, "States Parties shall include the key indicators in place and/or proposed to measure and assess the state of conservation of the property, the factors affecting it, conservation measures at the property, the periodicity of their examination, and the identity of the responsible authorities."[179] The World Heritage system recommends measurable indicators such as (i) number of species, or population of a keystone species on a natural property; (ii) percentage of buildings requiring major repair in a; (iii) number of years estimated to elapse before a major conservation program is likely to be completed; (iv) stability or degree of movement in a particular building or element of a building; (v) rate at which encroachment of any kind on a property has increased or diminished. The World Heritage system also recommends that State Parties take photographs from the same point periodically to capture change visually.[180] However,

[179] *Operational Guidelines,* 27.
[180] *Operational Guidelines,* 94.

these indicators are meant to be managed by the State Parties and not review by the World Heritage system.

UNESCO World Heritage Site's indicators of success and the tools used to measure this mainly focus on the maintenance of the site's Outstanding Universal Value, its authenticity, integrity, and protection and management plans for the site, which protect the site's physical fabric and surrounding area. Once those are established, the World Heritage system only looks at negative indicators to define the success of a site. The system measures frequency of State of Conservation reports and deliberation about the heritage site. If there are no State of Conservation reports, the site is successful. If there are increasing numbers of State of Conservation reports, the site's Outstanding Universal Value is threatened and therefore the site is less successful. While the World Heritage system suggests that State Parties create and measure their sites based on their own quantitative indicators of success, the World Heritage system does not review this information periodically nor does it provide the State Parties with a tool to do so. By focusing only on the OUV of a heritage site and looking at trends of World Heritage Sites overall, the World Heritage system can miss important indicators of success that could help World Heritage Site perform better in the long run.

Evaluation Tool	**When/Frequency**	**What (Evaluation Criteria)**
Reactive Monitoring Mission	Ad hoc, threats/danger list/by request	Factors affecting OUV/Fabric
State of Conservation Reports	Ad hoc, threats/danger list/by request	Factors affecting OUV/Fabric
Periodic Reporting	Every 6 years	Factors affecting OUV/Fabric, Application of Convention, Incorporate changing circumstances

Sustainable Tourism Toolkit	TBD	Sustainable tourism practices in relation to OUV

Figure 6.5: Chart of the current evaluation tools, frequency, and what criteria is getting evaluated (Source: author)

6.4 Problems with Current Indicators of Success

The UNESCO World Heritage system has several tools for evaluation of World Heritage Sites as well as a few defined indicators of success used to measure the sites. The current indicators of success for the World Heritage system are indicators defined by State Parties, lack of deliberation, reviewing overall trends, maintenance of the Outstanding Universal Value, and maintenance of the physical fabric. Each of these current indicators are problematic in some way, and often ignores community values that are not defined in the current indicators.

6.4.1 Evaluation of Success Based on State Parties' Indicators of Success

The nomination file for World Heritage Site designation ask that State Parties create indicators for success that can be measured. However, there is no indication that these indicators are used or reviewed by State Parties. The World Heritage system does not include these indicators in their own processes for evaluations of heritage sites, which could provide a better understanding of the success of the heritage sites.

While requesting indicators from State Parties at the time of nomination is important to evaluate the success of heritage sites in the future, this current process falls short. These specific indicators seem only to be used by State Parties when evaluating their own sites and not often specifically addressed or reviewed by the World Heritage system. The Periodic Report advises that these indicators should be reviewed and revised if necessary using the tool, "… the periodic report provides an overall assessment of the maintenance of the Outstanding Universal Value of the property, this item analyses in more detail the conditions of the property on the basis of key indicators for measuring its state of conservation."[181] However, the report never asks the State Parties to list, analyze, or measure the indicators and how they have changed. Nor does the report ask State Parties for updated photographs of areas of the site to visualize impacts over time.

Requiring State Parties to define and manage their own indicators of success is a great method in theory. However, not all State Parties follow through with this process. As the World Heritage system does not require the resubmittal of the indicators or the evaluation of them, they may be ignored by the State Parties. In addition, the current suggested indicators process does not define the stakeholders associated to the indicators, spatial values, or track community benefits. State Parties should be in control of these indicators, but without the World Heritage system's oversight and forced reporting, there is no guarantee these indicators are evaluated or used.

The World Heritage system's focus on State Party management of indicators of success is not successful. Defining and periodically reviewing these indicators could provide a better outlook when evaluating heritage sites, however the World Heritage system does not review them. The World Heritage system also does not provide guidance for State Parties to define these indicators;

[181] *Operational Guidelines*, 112.

the Operational Guidelines not explicitly tell the State Parties what indicators to focus on, how to define those indicators, how to spatialize values, define other stakeholders' values, or define community benefits. In order to better evaluate the success of World Heritage Sites in a systematic and organized way, the World Heritage system needs to oversee this process, provide tools to define these indicators, and tools to evaluate these indicators overtime. In addition, the World Heritage system needs to also review these indicators when evaluating heritage sites in order to make better decisions and provide better guidance for State Parties.

6.4.2 Evaluation of Success Based on Lack of Deliberation

The World Heritage system focuses on the lack of reporting or discussion to evaluate heritage sites. However, this method is not always successful. Further, by expecting State Parties to create and analyze their own indicators without additional evaluation can lead to new problems. For instance, State Parties may not have effectively collected the information for these indicators or utilize them in its evaluation of sites as they are not submitted to the World Heritage system. Furthermore, if the World Heritage system is only evaluating individual heritage sites based on the maintenance of the five indicators of Outstanding Universal Value, authenticity, integrity, protection and management, while State Parties have their own set of indicators, the site is not being effectively evaluated on a global level.

In the case of Venice, the existing tools have failed. As discussed in Chapter 4, Venice and its Lagoon are suffering from a variety of issues such as mass tourism, impact of cruise ships, loss of traditional skills and local population, flooding, large new structures, and deterioration of its buildings. One would expect the World Heritage system to consider Venice as an unsuccessful site because of all these issues. However, looking at the graph of 'Indicators' of deliberation of city, there are no high peaks representing many discussions. Instead, there have been little or no

discussion for decades, which means few State of Conservation reports were submitted, and therefore considered successful by the World Heritage system's standards. The reason for this is that the State Parties did not submit any State of Conservation reports for years, therefore the World Heritage system expected that the heritage site and its OUV was well-maintained. It was not until 'civil society' reported issues to the Committee in 2012 that the system asked for clarification from the State Party and then a State of Conservation report.[182] Now Venice may be added to the Heritage List in Danger. Had there been another way to evaluate the heritage site other than receiving no reports from the State Parties, the World Heritage system could have potentially intervened earlier and Venice's problems may not have escalated to the extent they are today.

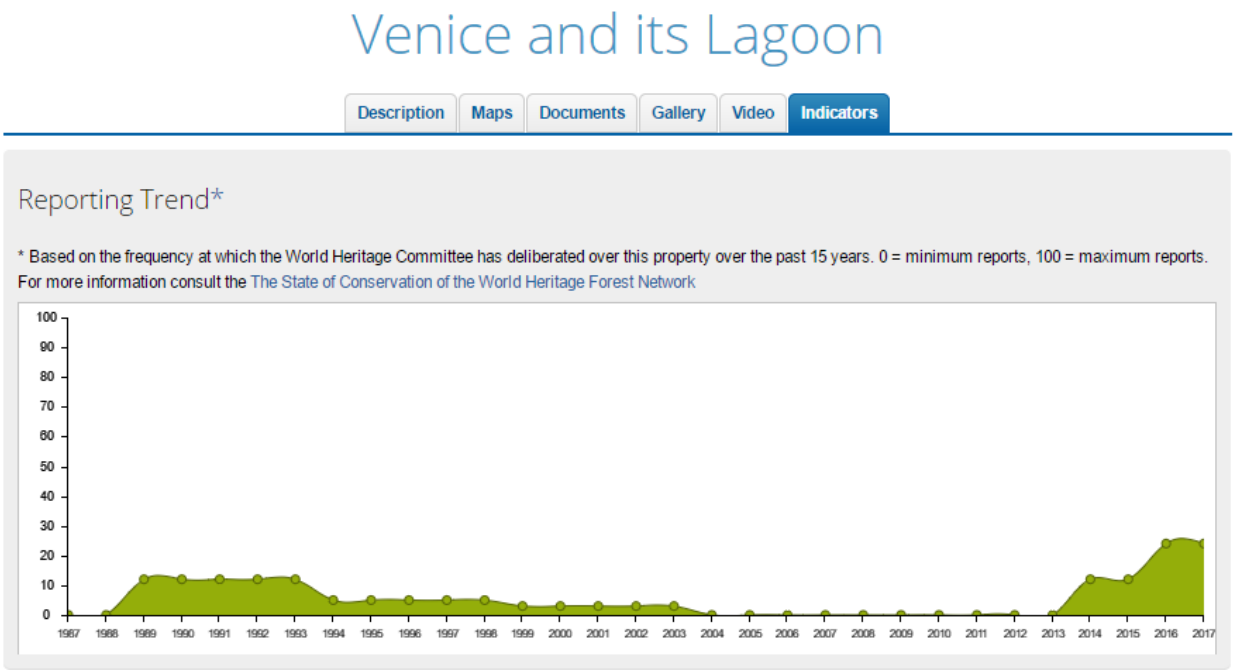

Figure 6.6: Graph of Indicators (frequency of deliberation) of Venice and its Lagoon (Source: UNESCO)

[182] UNESCO, "State of Conservation (SOC 2014) Venice and Its Lagoon (Italy)," accessed April 9, 2017. http://whc.unesco.org/en/soc/2830.

6.4.3 Evaluation Based on Overall Trends

The World Heritage system also evaluates the success of World Heritage Sites by looking at overall trends. The World Heritage Centre gathers lists of factors affecting each property and using these factors as indicators, the Centre reviews the heritage sites by region or holistically to understand trends and main issues affecting the sites overall.

These trends are analyzed based on State of Conservation reports and Periodic Reporting. The World Heritage Centre gathers the data and summarizes these issues into reports, which State Parties can use to understand main issues and work together by regions to solve issues, such as lack of community participation or managing the effects of climate change.

While these trends are tools to evaluate the World Heritage portfolio or understand issues by region, they do not pinpoint specific issues at specific sites. In addition, these trend reports are based on standardized forms where issues are filtered into preset categorizes. These reports are broad and the results cannot be used to properly evaluate the success of individual heritage sites.

6.4.4 Evaluation Based on Outstanding Universal Value

The World Heritage system also focuses on the Outstanding Universal Value as an indicator in their evaluation. These values are defined during the designation process and are used by the World Heritage system when evaluating World Heritage Sites. The World Heritage system's main concern is maintaining these Outstanding Universal Values, even if these Outstanding Universal Values were created decades before by experts.

An issue with using the Outstanding Universal Value as the key criteria of evaluation of heritage sites is that values are not static and objective. Avrami argues that values change based on who is inscribing them; values are subjective and situation and are not fixed. They are understood by the group or person ascribing the value to the heritage site.[183] Therefore, the Outstanding Universal Values represents the values of a heritage at one particular moment in history and these values are considered through a particular lens at the time of designation.

In addition to the Outstanding Universal Value based on who and when defined the values, these values are not always inclusive of the community values. While the Outstanding Universal Value has been updated to incorporate additional language to allow for social values, most State Parties still do not include the community in defining these values or how the social values are spatialized at the heritage site. For example, in the case of Lalibela, the evaluation of the site's Outstanding Universal Value did not include the current community's use of the heritage site for processionals when creating ticket booths or when building the church shelters. If the community's values and how those values are associated to aspects of the heritage site and surrounding landscape were better assessed, different decisions may have been made in regards to the location of the boundary lines, location of the ticket booth, and design of the shelters. The set values in the OUV did not include the values of all stakeholders nor did it consider that values change and society's understanding or views of a site can also change. Therefore, values not listed in the OUV are not protected or assessed.

If the Outstanding Universal Value is used as a main tool to evaluate heritage sites by the World Heritage system, then there is a possibility the current evaluation process is ignoring values

[183] Avrami, Lecture on Issues in International Heritage at Columbia University.

that are not included in the Outstanding Universal Value. This issue could be alleviated by incorporating a participatory process for defining the Outstanding Universal Value and using other indicators in addition to the Outstanding Universal Value when evaluating sites.

6.4.5 Evaluation Based on the Physical Fabric

Additionally, the World Heritage system oftentimes prioritizes the fabric of a heritage site over current social values of the community. To evaluate the heritage site, the World Heritage system focuses on the maintenance and condition of the physical fabric of the heritage site to determine its success. This process of evaluating can ignore the community's needs and values, which in turn can harm the heritage site.

The irony with focusing on the physical fabric is that heritage itself is a social construction, which is discussed by Smith, "… heritage only becomes recognizable when it expresses the values of a society; the values associated with objects are intangible and it is only through these values that heritage can be both recognized and known."[184] In addition, Smith suggests that focusing on the fabric as the embodiment of values can lead to loss of the social values and intangible heritage, "… definitions of heritage that stress its materiality also fail to acknowledge non-material or intangible forms of heritage, and thus the resources or processes used in sub-national group identify work are denied or marginalized."[185]

Therefore, by prioritizing the material fabric over other values, there can be a loss of value and, at times this can lead to the loss of the physical fabric. For example, in the case of Lalibela,

[184] Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, 112.
[185] Ibid, 36-37.

one of the reasons for moving the community out of the traditional housing, gojos, was to protect the structures. However, by moving out the community, there was no group responsible for its maintenance and therefore the fabric of the gojos started to deteriorate. If the values and uses of those gojos had been considered, a better plan could have been put in place that allows for community use of the gojos in order to keep them maintained.

With this discussion on the emphasis on the materiality of a heritage site, it is important to bring up the concept of intangible heritage. As mentioned earlier in this research, intangible heritage, or heritage that does not have a physical state and embodied through knowledge and ideas, such as knowledge of traditional crafts and dances, has its own separate Convention since 2004. While acknowledging intangible heritage was an important step in World Heritage's inclusiveness of non-Western ideas and practices of heritage, the error here is that social values have been further separated from physical fabric of heritage that is inscribed on the World Heritage List. Since heritage is made up of social constructions that are associated with materiality, tangible and intangible heritage is always interconnected.

Community participation and inclusion are frequently highlighted as important to maintain the Outstanding Universal Values, but the community is typically used as a tool to maintain the fabric and designated values of the heritage site, instead of the heritage site being used as a tool to maintain and support the community's values. Smith suggests that community groups are considered aspects of the site that need to be managed, "… community groups and individuals become part of the elements to be managed and dealt with in the processes of management and conservation. There is no inclusive 'partnership', but rather another set of issues alongside issues of physical threats and economic opportunities, which must also be managed so that fabric and

cultural significance is maintained."[186] In addition, when UNESCO evaluates community participation, it is typically evaluated a rating in the Periodic Reporting by site managers (good, fair, or poor) without clear information in how the site manager defines this. The fabric is still extremely important to our understanding of heritage and is easier to organize and maintain than the concept of social values, however indicators of success that value both are needed.

6.4.6 Summary of Evaluation Issues

The main problems with the current evaluation tools are reactive evaluation of individual heritage sites, the dependency on the State Parties to evaluate their own sites, lack of a standardized and quantitative way to update and assess indicators, the limited community participation to establish those indicators, and the use of the Outstanding Universal Value and physical fabric as main indicators of success. New indicators and new tools need to be established to better incorporate community values and to better assess World Heritage Sites.

Current Indicators of Success	**Issue with Current Indicators**
Lack of Deliberation/Reporting	Does not account for State Parties who fail to submit reports when there are issues

[186] Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, 105.

State Parties Indicators Defined during Nomination	Not reviewed by the World Heritage System, limited guidance on how to define the indicators and who should be involved, no inclusion of community values or benefits, not clear that State Parties use indicators after nomination
World Heritage Centre's review of trends/factors	Broad/Reviewed as trends at heritage sites holistically or regionally without focusing on specific site needs.
Outstanding Universal Value	Typically defined by one lens, often does not include community values, does not change over time, values not included are not evaluated
Focus on the Physical Fabric	Often ignores other values, particularly community values, which can create new issues at the heritage site.

Figure 6.7: Chart of current indicators the World Heritage system uses as well as issues with these indicators (Source: author)

6.5 What Is Not Getting Evaluating (But Should Be)

Thus far in this chapter, the tools UNESCO World Heritage uses for evaluation have been explained, the indicators it uses have been defined, and the problems with the current process have been discussed. This research will now look at what is not being evaluated in UNESCO's assessment of the success of heritage sites, and what indicators might be established to address this gap.

6.5.1 Community Values

Throughout this research, community related issues at World Heritage Sites were highlighted. These issues often stem from evaluation of heritage sites based on the Outstanding Universal Value, which typically do not include current community values, such as spiritual, identity, or social values the community associates with the heritage site. Lack of understanding of community values also relate to limited community inclusion in the designation and management of heritage sites. Therefore, community values and the values of other stakeholders need to be established early in the designation process and used in the evaluation of heritage sites to measure the success of the heritage site.

As values will differ by heritage site and stakeholder, these values need to first be defined by each heritage site. To do this, groups of stakeholders should be required to have working sessions prior to the nomination of a heritage site. During this working session, values are established along with how each value is associated to physical elements of the heritage site, and indicators for success for these sites. The key stakeholders involved should be municipalities, tourism offices, planning authorities, the local community, and users of the site, such as churchgoers (where applicable).

Each stakeholder group should go through this process, defining their own set of values and quantitative indicators. Stakeholder groups should then explain their values and indicators to the other stakeholder groups in the working session to provide awareness of the value, why it is important, and how it can be tracked over time for success. Here also, contradictory values can be discussed and compromises could be made early in the process. These stakeholder groups can together create a list of values that are tied to the heritage site and define indicators to measure and analyze. Planning authorities can incorporate protection of the physical places that represent these values in their master plans for the sites. Community values that are considered extremely important to the value of the site could be incorporated in the Outstanding Universal Value criteria.

To evaluate these indicators, State Parties should be required to submit the indicators of success of various stakeholders for the heritage site in the nomination file along with a qualitative or quantitative analysis of each indicator at the time of designation. Moving forward, the World Heritage Centre could require that these values and indicators are re-evaluated and compared to over time. These indicators and measures of indicators could be included as a supplement to the Periodic Report every six years as well as each time a State of Conservation report is submitted. In addition, State Parties could include additions or changes to the current indicators when the evaluations are provided to be mindful of changes in values. Furthermore, the World Heritage Centre could chart these indicators overtime on its website for each heritage site in order to keep track of these values and indicators.

Using Lalibela as an example, if this process had been in place, pilgrims, Church officials, and the community may have included the symbolic pilgrimage route to the eleven rock-hewn churches as an aspect of the site the local stakeholders valued. As values are easier to protect and manage, spatializing the values, meaning identifying areas of the heritage site that physically represent intangible values, allows for protection and management action plans for those physical locations, which in turn protect intangible values. The physical aspects of the site associated with this value are the road these pilgrims take, symbolic views from certain locations on the route, and the seven processional stops the pilgrims stop along the way. Maps and photographs of these locations could be submitted for clarity of these significant areas. Quantitative indicators could include the percentage of the pilgrimage route that is protected in the management plan, the percentage of the important view sheds where no development destroys the view, and the percentage of processional stops where there is no development.

Stakeholder	**Value**	**Association to physical Element of Heritage Site**	**Indicator (#, %, or qualitative)**	**At Nomination**	**2017**	**% Change from Nomination**	**2023**	**% Change from Nomination**	**% Change from Last Periodic Report**
Pilgrims	Symbolic pilgrimage	Road (see map and photos	% of the route protected	60%	57%	3% **(-)**	100%	40% **(+)**	43% **(+)**

Community Church Officials	route to the churches	7 View sheds along path (see map & photos)	% of view sheds without development seen along route	X%	X%	X% **(+/-)**	X%	X% **(+/-)**	X% **(+/-)**
		7 Processional stops (see map and photos)	% of processional stops with no development within 300 feet	X%	X%	X% **(+/-)**	X%	X% **(+/-)**	X% **(+/-)**
		Use of the heritage site for daily religious use and religious events	# of annual pilgrims	X	X	X% **(+/-)**	X	X% **(+/-)**	X% **(+/-)**
Community Religious users Church Officials Tourism Office Municipality	Historical, aesthetic, and craftsmanship of churches	11 church buildings	% of buildings needing maintenance	X%	X%	X% **(+/-)**	X%	X% **(+/-)**	X% **(+/-)**
			% of buildings without shelters	X%	X%	X% **(+/-)**	X%	X% **(+/-)**	X% **(+/-)**
Community Church Officials Municipality	Continual use of the gojos	Existing gojo structures	% of gojos in use	X%	X%	X% **(+/-)**	X%	X% **(+/-)**	X% **(+/-)**
			# of gojos in good condition	X	X	X% **(+/-)**	X	X% **(+/-)**	X% **(+/-)**

Figure 6.8: Example chart defining and evaluating stakeholder values (Source: author) (Note: numbers shown are not real)

6.5.2 Community Benefits/Protections

This research has also established that communities have certain expectations from heritage sites and are unaware of some of the negative impacts the site can face. The community expects a certain number of benefits from World Heritage Status, such as financial gain and employment. However, in some cases the community becomes displaced due to rising costs or employment opportunities relating to the heritage site are outsourced. Therefore, community benefits and protections should also be accounted for and tracked as indicators of success.

Unlike values, many of these benefits will be similar for most heritage sites. Therefore, the World Heritage system could provide a set of community benefits and indicators that State Parties must to fill out at the time of designation and submit periodically and along with any State of Conservation reports, as with the Community Value indicators. These indicators could include the percentage of locals employed in the tourism sector, the percentage of traditional restaurants and services, the percentage of local materials used in tourism facilities, the percentage of community participating in the management of heritage sites, and the percentage of income locals spend on rent. State Parties must establish how these benefits will be protected and evaluated periodically in the management plan. Once again, UNESCO can review these indicators intermittently and include graphs to track the indicators success on its website. Furthermore, in effort to clearly define expectations, State Parties should indicate in the nomination file of the heritage site that public forums, flyers, emails, or newspaper articles have provided the community with understandings of the potential positive and negative impacts of World Heritage Status prior to the site's designation.

Community Benefit	Indicator (#, %, or qualitative)	At Nomination	2017	% Change from Nomination	2023	% Change from Nomination	% Change from Last Periodic Report
Employment	% of locals employed full time in tourism sector (restaurants, shops, hotels, tour guides)	X%	X%	X% (+/-)	X%	X% (+/-)	X% (+/-)
	% of locals employed part time or seasonally in tourism sector (restaurants, shops, hotels, tour guides)	X%	X%	X% (+/-)	X%	X% (+/-)	X% (+/-)
	% of locals employed in construction of tourism facilities	X%	X%	X% (+/-)	X%	X% (+/-)	X% (+/-)
Balance of Tourists & Locals	% of locals living near the heritage site compared with avg. daily number of tourists	X%	X%	X% (+/-)	X%	X% (+/-)	X% (+/-)
Maintenance of Local Population	% of locals within boundaries of heritage sites	X%	X%	X% (+/-)	X%	X% (+/-)	X% (+/-)
Maintenance of traditional and local goods/services	# of shops selling local goods	X	X	X% (+/-)	X	X% (+/-)	X% (+/-)
	# of restaurants selling traditional foods, (using local ingredients)	X	X	X% (+/-)	X	X% (+/-)	X% (+/-)
	% of local materials used in new tourism facilities	X%	X%	X% (+/-)	X%	X% (+/-)	X% (+/-)
Maintenance of Property values	% of income locals spend on rent	X%	X%	X% (+/-)	X%	X% (+/-)	X% (+/-)
	% increase in housing costs	X%	X%	X% (+/-)	X%	X% (+/-)	X% (+/-)
Participation	% of community included in management of heritage site	X%	X%	X% (+/-)	X%	X% (+/-)	X% (+/-)

Figure 6.9: Example chart defining and evaluating community benefits (Source: author)

6.6 Conclusion

Though there are numerous tools to evaluate the success of World Heritage Sites, the community is often ignored. The criteria for success reviewed in the current tools are maintenance of the Outstanding Universal Value (shown through the fabric), authenticity, integrity, protection, and management. The way the World Heritage system tracks success is by *not* having to discuss heritage sites and by looking at overall trends without assessing specific, qualitative and quantitative indicators. This is an issue as it leaves it up to State Parties to be proactive about issues, which can backfire, such as in the case of Venice. In addition, the World Heritage system asks State Parties to track their own indicators without the World Heritage system's oversight or proper review of these indicators when assessing the site on a global level.

Indicators that are not included in the current evaluation process are those that evaluate stakeholder values and community benefits. Through the case studies discussed earlier, many issues and problems arise due to different expectations and loss of community values. These problems could have been avoided or reduced had they been defined and tracked. Therefore, these values and indicators need to be established at the time of designation with the community, management plans need to clearly define how these values and benefits are protected, and these value and benefit indicators should be tracked overtime by both State Parties and the World Heritage system to better analyze the success of the heritage site. Furthermore, by evaluating these values over time, the World Heritage system can provide an opportunity to change indicators of success as values change.

The next and final chapter will further discuss the findings and recommendations found during this research.

Figure 7.1 Westminster Abby, London, UK (Wikimedia Commons)

CHAPTER 7: Findings & Recommendations

7.1 Introduction

This research has demonstrated that there are significant challenges and opportunities when it comes to evaluating the success of UNESCO World Heritage Sites. There have been numerous criticisms on how the World Heritage system operates and the impact on heritage sites due to its World Heritage Status. However, there have also been several policy changes in response to these critiques. Despite policy changes to be more inclusive of community stakeholders, tensions continue between local and global stakeholders at World Heritage Sites. These tensions arise from different expectations; the global stakeholders' main goal is to preserve the historic fabric of a heritage site, while the local community values and benefits are often ignored. While the World Heritage system has several tools to evaluate heritage sites, the current toolbox focuses mainly on maintenance of Outstanding Universal Value of the heritage site.

This final chapter will summarize the findings of this research and make recommendations for the World Heritage system for moving forward to better evaluate the success of World Heritage Sites by incorporating new tools.

7.2 Research Findings & Recommendations

Through the analysis of literature, the UNESCO World Heritage system's reports, and media discourse, this research has established that there are tensions between local and global stakeholders at World Heritage Sites. However, the existing World Heritage toolbox only

evaluates the global level expectation without inclusion of local expectations or values. The main findings of this research are that the existing toolbox for evaluating the success of World Heritage Sites is limited, and a new toolbox is needed to incorporate and evaluate community values and benefits.

7.2.1 The Existing Tools are Lacking

While the UNESCO World Heritage system has several ways of monitoring sites post-designation, its main indicator of success for its monitoring tools is the maintenance of the Outstanding Universal Value of a heritage site, which is expressed through the site's physical fabric. While the Outstanding Universal Value is an important indicator, it oftentimes ignores current community values, and therefore these values are not used as criteria for evaluation. In addition, Outstanding Universal Value defines the value of the site as a specific moment in time from a specific perspective. However, values are not fixed; they are subjective and change depending on who is assessing the values and when the values were assessed. Furthermore, there is no set process for revaluating the Outstanding Universal Value as values change.

Another issue with the current World Heritage system toolbox is that in the current process, individual heritage sites only get evaluated if there are issues; the system views heritage sites as successful by the absence of discussion or reports about a heritage site. While UNESCO also analyzes overall trends in reporting data from State of Conservation reports and Periodic Reporting, these trends are broad and are only reviewed regionally or holistically as World Heritage properties.

The World Heritage system's toolbox is limited. The organization is not proactive when it comes to monitoring and evaluating heritage sites and there are no quantitative indicators established or assessed for individual heritage sites. While the World Heritage system suggests that State Parties create their own indicators and do their own assessments, this recommendation can be ignored and the indicators never evaluated by the World Heritage system. In addition, the values of the current community are not included or addressed well in the existing evaluation tools. However, lack of inclusion and understanding of community values can cause significant issues at heritage sties. The current toolbox or indicators of success are not effective in fully understanding if a World Heritage Site is successful or not.

7.2.2 New Tools are Needed to Evaluate Community Values and Benefits

The World Heritage system needs to update its toolbox to incorporate other ways to evaluate World Heritage Sites. This new toolbox must be proactive, include quantitative indicators, be periodically assessed by the World Heritage Centre as well as the State Parties, and inclusive of community values.

The new tool should define community values and benefits during the time of designation of a heritage site. A working session with the key stakeholder groups, including the local community, will be a priority to establish community values and both qualitative and quantitative indicators of success to measure the protection of these values. Benefits of World Heritage Status for the community should also be defined along indicators of success that will protect the community, such as percentage of employment, and property values. These indicators of success established for community values and benefits should be evaluated at specific time frames and

reassessed to ensure values have not changed. Existing heritage sites can also reactively incorporate this tool now and continue tracking these indicators moving forward.

7.3 Conclusion

The UNESCO World Heritage system has been beneficial in many ways since its creation in 1972. It has helped protect over a thousand heritage sites, provided funding and technical assistance for conservation and management of sites, created numerous reports and manuals, and provided access to information about best practices. Furthermore, the World Heritage system has proven to be accepting of new ideas and learnings about heritage. The system has updated its Operational Guidelines many times, incorporated several charters, and made changes in response to criticism.

While the World Heritage system has made a significant effort to incorporate the local community into the nomination and management of World Heritage Sites, there are still tensions between local and global stakeholders due to lack of evaluation and evaluation tools that assess the local community's values and benefits. The current tools focus primarily on the Outstanding Universal Value, the physical fabric, and the lack of deliberation about the heritage site as indicators of success. Because of this, other importance aspects of the site or in the area surrounding the site that the community values can be ignored, and potentially damaged.

This research therefore recommends a new tool to better evaluate the success of World Heritage Sites. This new tool should define community values and benefits and establish qualitative and quantitative indicators to assess them. Defining these values and indicators during the World Heritage Site nomination process, with a focus on community inclusion is key. In

addition, the indicators established in this tool will need to be periodically evaluated and tracked by UNESCO for the global organization to analyze the success of World Heritage Sites outside of its current lens.

The concept of 'World Heritage' was actualized at a time of increased globalization and the destruction of heritage due to warfare. The Convention declared that although heritage sites are located in different countries, regions, and belonging to different cultures, those with outstanding value belong to all peoples of the world and "… need to be preserved as part of the world heritage of mankind as a whole."[187] This idea of World Heritage Sites belonging to all people has been realized with the increase in tourism and social media. However, we must not forget that heritage first and foremost belongs to the local community who live near the site, whose ancestors built and used the site, and who still use it today. The community should not be considered secondary stakeholders, but as main stakeholders whose knowledge and values are critical to protect. By updating the current the World Heritage system's toolbox for evaluating World Heritage Sites, these community values and benefits can be better defined and safeguarded, which in turn ensure the sustainability of these significant heritage sites.

Several research questions have been addressed throughout this thesis. These research questions focused on understanding how different stakeholders view the World Heritage system, the key tensions between local and global stakeholders, how the World Heritage system currently evaluates the success of heritage sites, and new indicators of success the World Heritage system should consider incorporating. These research questions have led this research and through their

[187] *Convention, 1.*

exploration, this thesis responded to these questions and suggested recommended indicators of success.

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Appendix

Case Studies

Case studies were used throughout this thesis to illustrate tensions between global and local expectations. Below is a compiled list of case studies used in this research along with the issue the case study was used to illustrate, the date each site became a World Heritage Site, its description from the World Heritage Centre, and the pages where images of the heritage site are featured.

I. Dresden Elbe Valley

Issue Used to Illustrate: Balancing old vs. New

Location: Dresden, Germany

Year of World Heritage Designation: 2004

Year Delisted: 2009

World Heritage Centre's Description:

"The 18th- and 19th-century cultural landscape of Dresden Elbe Valley extends some 18 km along the river from Übigau Palace and Ostragehege fields in the north-west to the Pillnitz Palace and the Elbe River Island in the south-east. It features low meadows, and is crowned by the Pillnitz Palace and the centre of Dresden with its numerous monuments and parks from the 16th to 20th centuries. The landscape also features 19th- and 20th-century suburban villas and gardens and valuable natural features. Some terraced slopes along the river are still used for viticulture and some old villages have retained their historic structure and elements from the industrial revolution, notably the 147-m Blue Wonder steel bridge (1891–93), the single-rail suspension cable railway

(1898–1901), and the funicular (1894–95). The passenger steamships (the oldest from 1879) and shipyard (c. 1900) are still in use."[188]

Images: page 63

II. Historic Sanctuary of Machu Picchu

Issue Used to Illustrate: Tourism

Location: Machu Picchu, Peru

Year of World Heritage Designation: 1983

World Heritage Centre's Description:

"Machu Picchu stands 2,430 m above sea-level, in the middle of a tropical mountain forest, in an extraordinarily beautiful setting. It was probably the most amazing urban creation of the Inca Empire at its height; its giant walls, terraces and ramps seem as if they have been cut naturally in the continuous rock escarpments. The natural setting, on the eastern slopes of the Andes, encompasses the upper Amazon basin with its rich diversity of flora and fauna."[189]

Images: pages 48 and 67

III. Liverpool – Maritime Mercantile City

Issue Used to Illustrate: Balancing old vs. New

Location: Liverpool, UK

Year of World Heritage Designation: 2004

[188] UNESCO. "Dresden Elbe Valley." Accessed May 8, 2017. http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1156/.

[189] UNESCO. "Historic Sanctuary of Machu Picchu." Accessed May 8, 2017. http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/274/.

World Heritage Centre's Description:

"Six areas in the historic centre and docklands of the maritime mercantile City of Liverpool bear witness to the development of one of the world's major trading centres in the 18th and 19th centuries. Liverpool played an important role in the growth of the British Empire and became the major port for the mass movement of people, e.g. slaves and emigrants from northern Europe to America. Liverpool was a pioneer in the development of modern dock technology, transport systems and port management. The listed sites feature a great number of significant commercial, civic and public buildings, including St George's Plateau."[190]

Images: page 61

IV. Mahabodhi Paya, Myanmar

Not a World Heritage Site.

Issue Used to Illustrate: Balancing old vs. New

Images: page 64

V. Nubian Monuments from Abu Simbel to Philae

Issue Used to Illustrate: Focus on the Physical Fabric

Location: Nubia, Egypt

Year of World Heritage Designation: 1979

World Heritage Centre's Description:

[190] UNESCO. "Liverpool – Maritime Mercantile City." Accessed May 8, 2017. http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1150/.

"This outstanding archaeological area contains such magnificent monuments as the Temples of Ramses II at Abu Simbel and the Sanctuary of Isis at Philae, which were saved from the rising waters of the Nile thanks to the International Campaign launched by UNESCO, in 1960 to 1980."[191]

Images: page 20

VI. Palace of Westminster and Westminster Abbey including Saint Margaret's Church

Issue Used to Illustrate: Balancing old vs. New

Location: London, UK

Year of World Heritage Designation: 1987

World Heritage Centre's Description:

"Westminster Palace, rebuilt from the year 1840 on the site of important medieval remains, is a fine example of neo-Gothic architecture. The site – which also comprises the small medieval Church of Saint Margaret, built in Perpendicular Gothic style, and Westminster Abbey, where all the sovereigns since the 11th century have been crowned – is of great historic and symbolic significance."[192]

Images: pages 60

VII. Rock-Hewn Churches, Lalibela

[191] UNESCO. "Nubian Monuments from Abu Simbel to Philae." Accessed May 8, 2017. http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/88/.
[192] UNESCO. "Palace of Westminster and Westminster Abbey Including Saint Margaret's Church." Accessed October 19, 2016. http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/426/.

Issue Used to Illustrate: Focus on the Physical Fabric

Location: Lalibela, Ethiopia

Year of World Heritage Designation: 1978

World Heritage Centre's Description:

"The 11 medieval monolithic cave churches of this 13th-century 'New Jerusalem' are situated in a mountainous region in the heart of Ethiopia near a traditional village with circular-shaped dwellings. Lalibela is a high place of Ethiopian Christianity, still today a place of pilgrimage and devotion."[193]

Images: pages 44 and 56

VIII. Venice and its Lagoon

Issue Used to Illustrate: Tourism

Location: Venice, Italy

Year of World Heritage Designation: 1987

World Heritage Centre's Description:

"Founded in the 5th century and spread over 118 small islands, Venice became a major maritime power in the 10th century. The whole city is an extraordinary architectural masterpiece in which even the smallest building contains works by some of the world's greatest artists such as Giorgione, Titian, Tintoretto, Veronese and others."[194]

Images: pages 50 and 82

[193] UNESCO. "Rock-Hewn Churches, Lalibela." Accessed May 8, 2017. http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/18/.
[194] UNESCO. "Venice and Its Lagoon." Accessed May 8, 2017. http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/394/.