

Heritage Studies

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Volume 3

Marie-Theres Albert, Birgitta Ringbeck

40 Years World Heritage Convention



Popularizing the Protection
of Cultural and Natural Heritage

DE GRUYTER

The following volumes have been published in the Heritage Studies Series:

Volume 1: Understanding Heritage – Perspectives in Heritage Studies, 2013

Volume 2: 40 Jahre Welterbekonvention – Zur Popularisierung eines Schutzkonzeptes für Kultur- und Naturgüter, 2015

Volume 4: Perceptions of Sustainability in Heritage Studies, 2015

For further information please consult the following websites:

<http://www.heritagestudies.de>

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The Editor and the Editorial Advisory Board would like to thank the Brandenburg University of Technology Cottbus-Senftenberg for their generous financial support and Dr. Hans-Joachim Aubert for his continuing backing of the Heritage Studies Series by providing the second cover photo free of charge from his documentation of UNESCO World Heritage sites.

ISBN 978-3-11-042776-9

e-ISBN (PDF) 978-3-11-042440-9

e-ISBN (EPUB) 978-3-11-042461-4

ISSN 2196-0275

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

A CIP catalog record for this book has been applied for at the Library of Congress.

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliographie; detailed bibliographic data are available on the internet at <http://dnb.dnb.de>

© 2015 Walter De Gruyter GmbH Berlin/Boston

Photo on the title page: © Hans-Joachim Aubert, 2000

Editing: Eike Schmedt, Stefan Simon

Copyediting: Caroline Lawrence

Translation: Jonathan MacKerron

Typesetter: LVD Gesellschaft für Datenverarbeitung mbH, Berlin

Printer: Hubert & Co. GmbH & C. KG, Göttingen

Printed in Germany

www.degruyter.com

Preface

A publication examining the forty-year history of the successful model that is the World Heritage Convention is long overdue, in the view of the present authors. In this respect, the events commemorating the 40th anniversary of the Convention in 2012 were the stimulus and rationale for us to compile this work. In doing so we relied on numerous previous presentations and partial publications, which we present here. *40 Years World Heritage Convention – Popularizing the Protection of Cultural and Natural Heritage* is based on numerous selected articles elaborating many years of work in the context of the World Heritage Convention and further develops these contributions. Our discussion on the topic of popularization can thus also be understood as a reflection on such existing appraisals. This also gave us the impetus to translate our publication into English, as discourse on heritage takes place mainly in the English-speaking world.

Compiled in seven chapters, the appraisals are summarized in the introductory chapter and elucidated in Chapter 2 on the basis of what is generally recognized to be World Heritage, now an important asset. It is also nevertheless an artificial construct consisting of international rules and guidelines. World Heritage does not exist per se; it is rather a reflection of the criteria for justification of the inscription of a site for its Outstanding Universal Value (OUV), together with the criteria of authenticity and integrity as stipulated in the World Heritage Convention.

Such constructs and their constituent criteria are influenced by social developments. This also holds true for World Heritage. It was therefore important to us to discuss some of the most salient developments that have impacted on the World Heritage Convention over time. Chapter 3 portrays the numerous national and international organizations involved in cultural and natural heritage protection efforts.

Different perceptions of World Heritage are presented in Chapter 4, where our aim is to discuss the many connotations that World Heritage holds for a broad spectrum of actors, expanding the scope of existing experts to include both lay people and actors from disciplines outside the core competencies of World Heritage. Chapter 5, on the effects of popularization, expands to a certain extent on Chapter 3 in that it presents further interpretations of World Heritage that have transformed the original notion of conservation into aspects of usage that first motivated this publication. In particular, we elucidate how the use of World Heritage properties for tourism has transformed the Convention from a protection strategy into a commercial brand.

The valorization of heritage for economic interests similarly applies to the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, thus we take a closer look at this issue in Chapter 6. The view to the future presented in Chapter 7 concludes our reflections. With the World Heritage Convention now in its fifth decade, it was important to interpret it in such a way that the key concepts of heritage protection and use can be better harmonized and implemented than has been the case during its third and fourth decades. Note that because of the long years of

dealing with the World Heritage Convention we have not attempted to explicitly reference all sources of previously published views. On the contrary, we have consciously integrated our preparatory work into this publication, including the figures and numbers cited, all of which were collected in 2013.

Nonetheless, we would like to specifically mention one of our sources, particularly concerning the comments on intangible cultural heritage cited in Chapter 6.2 – the 2011 *Feasibility Study: Implementation of the UNESCO-Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003) in Germany*, which was also the result of preparatory work by the present authors. The Standing Conference of Ministers of Education (Germany) requested IGS Heritage Studies to examine the prospects for the ratification of the World Heritage Convention in Germany. We take this opportunity to thank Stefan Disko, the main author of this study, for his excellent work.

We would also like to draw attention to a somewhat different view of the evolution of the World Heritage Convention, as presented in *Many Voices, One Vision: The Early Years of the World Heritage Convention*, co-authored by Christina Cameron and Mechtild Rössler and published in 2013 by Ashgate (UK). Cameron and Rössler interviewed those who witnessed this history at first hand and gathered a wide spectrum of views and opinions. Such perceptions are of pivotal importance in terms of gaining a deeper understanding of the success of the Convention. The authors' analyses should thus be understood as a complement to this publication, as their appraisals often differ from ours.

World Heritage lays claim to the notion of diversity. This in turn presupposes diversity in appraising the conditions surrounding the development and success of the World Heritage Convention. It is in this spirit that we do not attempt to impart truths, but rather to present specific perspectives based on many years of close association with the various facets of the World Heritage Convention.

In conclusion, we would be remiss not to thank all partners who have actively contributed to this publication. We would first like to thank Dr. Hans-Joachim Aubert, who for the second time has graciously donated the cover image from his wonderful series of photographs entitled “World Heritage in Germany”. We also thank Stefan Simon, Eike Schmedt and Chee Meng Wong for their constructive enquiries into various Resolutions issued by the World Heritage Committee and the UNESCO General Assembly. This publication would not have been possible without the visual aids, examples, contents and perceptions provided through their dedicated research efforts, not to mention support for the English translation of the original German text. We have cited original English-language sources and quotations as far as possible, but when no such original version was available we have translated the German quotations into English. As such, this collective work is the result of constructive cooperation among the team members associated with the UNESCO Chair in Heritage Studies and the translator, Jonathan MacKerron.

We hope you will enjoy reading our study.

Contents

1	Introduction — 1
2	What is World Heritage? — 10
2.1	Cultural sites and natural sites — 17
2.2	Criteria for justification: characteristics and types — 23
2.3	Mandatory criteria: authenticity and integrity — 25
2.4	Typological, thematic and chronological-regional considerations — 28
2.5	Management requirements — 38
2.6	List of World Heritage in Danger — 40
3	The World Heritage Convention in the Fullness of Time — 45
3.1	How it all began — 46
3.2	Stages of implementation — 59
3.3	The Global Strategy — 83
4	Discourses Surrounding World Heritage — 96
4.1	Tangible discourse of experts, or “authorized discourse“ — 100
4.2	Discourse on the appropriation of heritage into the social process — 111
4.3	Heritage Studies discourse – protection and use of heritage in the interest of human development — 117
5	Effects of Popularization — 130
5.1	World Heritage and politics — 131
5.2	World Heritage and tourism — 137
6	World Heritage versus Intangible Cultural Heritage — 153
6.1	Transformation processes: from tangible to intangible — 155
6.2	Intangible heritage in the 2003 Convention — 159
7	Prospects for the Future — 174
7.1	Heritage and empowerment of stakeholders — 176
7.2	Culture, heritage and diversity — 178
7.3	World Heritage and sustainable development — 181
	Glossary — 183
	Bibliography — 189

VIII — Contents

List of Figures — 206

List of Tables — 210

Notes on Contributors — 211

Index — 212

1 Introduction

More than forty years have passed since UNESCO adopted the Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage in November 1972; it was subsequently elaborated and disseminated to all social strata. In view of the enormous popularity that the World Heritage Convention, as it is generally known, seems to enjoy worldwide, the international community has created an outstanding instrument that sustainably acknowledges and protects the cultural and natural heritage of the peoples of the world. As of 2013, the Convention has been ratified by 190 countries. In 160 countries, 981 locations have received recognition as World Heritage properties. Of these, 759 have been inscribed as cultural heritage properties, 193 as natural heritage property, and 29 as mixed cultural and natural heritage properties.

It should be noted that this established concept of heritage has been successfully implemented worldwide thanks to the World Heritage community and the international efforts to conserve Outstanding Universal Value. It is with careful optimism that it can thus be stated that the protection of the heritage of humankind has now become the concern of all peoples. In other words, scientific, technical and economic globalization has been successfully achieved at the cultural level. This outcome was to be expected, inasmuch as the development of the global processes of economics and science, technology and society would not have been successful without contributions from cultures around the world.

Cultures are made by people, just as they are destroyed by them. This maxim can be applied to both tangible and intellectual culture, as well as to the realm of art and its related cultural institutions. Human interpretation of nature is also fundamental to cultures.

This can take many forms and is often destructive in character. Cultures are integrative entities composed of people, technology and society; they emerge through historical processes and continue to evolve in the context of such processes (Albert, 2000).¹ Within these processes of the development and evolution of cultures, differentiations are invariably made as to how to deal with natural resources. In this sense, heritage worthy of preservation has several dimensions. First, it is comprised of nature and its resources, which across time and space form the basis for human expressions of life. In cultural terms, on the one hand heritage consists of handed-down elements of the history of cultures, that is to say their intangible intellectual cultural heritage. This heritage forms a framework of experience that societies can

¹ The discussion on the role of culture in globalization and World Heritage was initiated by the author shortly after the initiation of a World Heritage Studies Master's Programme at the Brandenburg Technical University of Cottbus; it was also published in a series of scientific articles, see among others Albert (2000).

fall back on when constructing the present (Jouhy, 1985, p. 46 f.).² In this sense, the totality of cultural and natural heritage serve as orienting factors in the shaping of contemporary life. On the other hand, cultural heritage as expressed in monuments is also the product of a society's interpretations of the present and the past. The conscious preservation of cultural heritage thus relates rather to selected cultural elements, generally taking a tangible form such as monuments and memorials. etc.

Memorials, historic monuments or historic sites are not a priori experience-based, nor do they necessarily strengthen cultural identities. They are only considered to be representative after a particular contemporary society deems them to be so. Which cultural elements are selected to symbolically preserve the status of a certain cultural heritage is thus never wholly dependent on the past. It is invariably contemporary society that defines its own history. Contemporary values and goals motivate and shape a society's reflections on its own past.

A second dimension needs to be considered with regard to the conservation of tangible heritage – that the societal functionality of cultural heritage be taken into account in the planning of protection and conservation measures. Not least, the societal significance of heritage also needs to be addressed when nominating cultural heritage properties. World Heritage specialist Nicholas Stanley-Price, General Director of the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM) from 2000 to 2005, has said in this regard: “Needless to say, preservation of those tangible expressions is subject to the values attached to them by society ... And successful preservation of the tangible expressions is informed by a full understanding of all cultural heritage, both tangible and intangible heritage” (Stanley-Price, 2001, p. 2).

The conclusion here is that conservation strategies should never rely solely on the deployment of the most modern technology or adapted materials, modern computer programmes or other hi-tech aids. Preservation is never a simple technocratic act, either in terms of the preservation of tangible heritage or of associated cultural memory. Preservation is rather an exceptional political, participatory and interdisciplinary act. Heritage worthy of preservation has emerged through interaction between human know-how, its tangible and technical implementation, and the societal forces that support or oppose it. A certain restructuring of history occurs with each new conservation concept of heritage or heritage sites. Decisions are made as to which aspects of the historical context are worth remembering. Reconstructions of

² “All societal value systems can arrange experience in ethnocentric or egocentric terms according to the reigning societal-historical conditions and structure them as perceptions, emotions and ideas, which in turn facilitate such behaviours and actions of the individual. ... This thought system and valuation model can also reveal much about humans and nature. ... In order to deal with the ‘real’ world, accumulated knowledge and skills are required to successfully plan for the future. Focusing on such valuations is also a core element of every culture, every class and every individual” (Jouhy, 1985, p. 46 f.).

history are developed, thereby offering an orientation and creating sets of values that help to cope with contemporary life, as well as to shape the future.

When nominating cultural and natural heritage properties as the heritage of humankind and when seeking and formulating protection and conservation concepts it is also imperative that, as far as possible, all groups of affected peoples at the local, national or international levels who are cited in the defined interpretation framework be reflected in any coordinated preservation and safeguarding measures. This is indeed the first prerequisite to ensuring sustainable protection. The concept was already anchored in Article 5 of the World Heritage Convention in 1972 and remains valid today, as do other articles in the Convention:

“To ensure that effective and active measures are taken for the protection, conservation and presentation of the cultural and natural heritage situated on its territory, each State Party to this Convention shall endeavor, in so far as possible, and as appropriate for each country:

- (a) to adopt a general policy which aims to give the cultural and natural heritage a function in the life of the community and to integrate the protection of that heritage into comprehensive planning programmes;
- (b) to set up within its territories, where such services do not exist, one or more services for the protection, conservation and presentation of the cultural and natural heritage with an appropriate staff and possessing the means to discharge their functions;
- (c) to develop scientific and technical studies and research and to work out such operating methods as will make the state capable of counteracting the dangers that threaten its cultural or natural heritage;
- (d) to take the appropriate legal, scientific, technical, administrative and financial measures necessary for the identification, protection, conservation, presentation and rehabilitation of this heritage; and
- (e) to foster the establishment or development of national or regional centres for training in the protection, conservation and presentation of the cultural and natural heritage and to encourage scientific research in this field” (UNESCO, 1972*a*, art. 5).

In the spirit of the World Heritage Convention, the participation of peoples, societies and cultures in safeguarding their heritage is an absolute precondition in terms of ensuring the sustainable use of heritage and the shaping of the future. We believe that involving peoples in the protection and use of their heritage is the only way to generate a genuine interest in their heritage and to stimulate them to participate in preservation measures. The participation of all actors involved in the preservation of heritage in itself justifies the expectation that World Heritage can be used to promote sustainable human development.

As mentioned above, the impressive number of nearly 1,000 sites inscribed on the World Heritage List not only bears witness to the attractiveness of the Convention, but also to its popularity far beyond professional circles. For some time, interest in World Heritage has no longer been restricted to the disciplinary contexts and scientific expertise implied in monument preservation, or architecture, anthropology or historical science, archaeology or geography, natural science and geoscience. In fact, the popularity of the Convention has awakened interest among people of all ages,

strata and cultural groups who have at least heard what World Heritage is or its impacts, which objects or artefacts and which forms of untouched nature people of disparate social, cultural, political or economic origins associate with World Heritage. Also when compared with all other UNESCO conventions, programmes or campaigns, this Convention can be described as a successful model.

It is precisely for this reason that we should see its fortieth anniversary as an opportunity to identify possible mistakes and correct them as necessary. Despite the obvious success of the Convention based on the number of sites inscribed on the World Heritage List, there is a problem with the fact that its popularity has also prompted a rather populist interpretation. This has resulted in an interpretative rapprochement with respect to increasingly powerful economic interests in the context of new nominations. Increasingly, populist tendencies are prevailing in how the Convention is interpreted with respect to World Heritage nominations, for example in increasing disregard for the criteria of authenticity and integrity as stipulated in the World Heritage convention or in watering down the tangible criteria for justification used to ascertain Outstanding Universal Value, and in strategies more strongly stressing the intangible nature of the asset. The regional distribution of categories in which the sites are often inscribed is problematic, namely cultural heritage (Article 1), natural heritage (Article 2) or cultural landscape (see Rössler, 2002, pp. 27 ff.). Undesirable developments have occurred and continue to occur with respect to the regional and/or historical periods to which sites are assigned. This trend is also particularly evident in nominations selected on the basis of their appealing themes of notable rulers and their respective palaces and architects, in order to serve the interests of the tourist industry. It is against this background that the anniversary provides us with the opportunity to voice our support for those initiatives that seek to counteract the negative consequence of popularization.

Before further elucidating the qualitative problems that have occurred over forty years of the practical implementation of the World Heritage Convention, we would first like to reiterate the Convention's original goals as formulated in its preamble:

“... *Considering* that deterioration or disappearance of any item of the cultural or natural heritage constitutes a harmful impoverishment of the heritage of all the nations of the world, ... *Considering* that the existing international conventions, recommendations and resolutions concerning cultural and natural property demonstrate the importance, for all the peoples of the world, of safeguarding this unique and irreplaceable property, to whatever people it may belong, ... *Considering* that parts of the cultural or natural heritage are of outstanding interest and therefore need to be preserved as part of the world heritage of humankind as a whole, ...” (UNESCO, 1972a, preamble).

As perceived by the international community, World Heritage is a common good possessing Outstanding Universal Value for humanity. It must therefore also duly reflect the heritage of humanity as a whole. The community of nations must put safeguards in place whenever such common assets are endangered by societal developments. World Heritage functions to form identity and promote peace in the world. World

Heritage embraces both cultural and natural heritage properties. Because of their worldwide significance, heritage sites must express representative quantity and quality. As such, the goals have been clearly formulated. The above-mentioned problems have emerged gradually over time in the context of concrete implementation schemes presented and briefly interpreted below on the basis of the available data.³

The World Heritage Convention aims to protect and properly utilize heritage of humankind as a universal good. As illustrated in Figure 1.1, however, a glaring imbalance exists between its stated objectives and its actual implementation. This also applies to the number of inscribed sites in Europe and the United States, on the one hand, and in the rest of the world on the other.

Of the 759 cultural properties inscribed on the World Heritage List in 2013, 399 of them are located in Europe and North America, i. e. 53 per cent; 47 per cent of all sites are distributed across the rest of the world outside Europe and North America. Only 53 per cent of all World Heritage properties are located on merely 28 per cent of the Earth's entire surface. These figures are even more significant when population is taken into account. Of all World Heritage properties, 53 per cent are designated for 16 per cent of the population, with 84 per cent of the population sharing the remainder (UNESCO, 2013a).

One criticism of the practical implementation of the Convention pertains to Eurocentrism. In quantitative terms, Eurocentric inscription practices become evident when we consider the distribution of inscribed World Heritage properties at global level. The accusation of Eurocentrism also has a qualitative dimension. One qualitative criticism with respect to the implementation of the Convention is that UNESCO's zone categories bundle Europe and the United States into a single regional unit. As such, they reflect a worldview that can be traced back to the origins of UNESCO, representing the confrontation between the developed and underdeveloped world, which unfortunately persists in the collective memory of many who differentiate between representative culture versus nature.

As illustrated in Figure 1.2, this consciousness is also mirrored in the World Heritage List and is expressed, for example, as an imbalance between Europe and Africa in terms of inscriptions of cultural and natural heritage properties. It is interesting to note the relatively high number of natural heritage properties in Africa, the Arab States, Asia or Latin America in comparison with cultural heritage properties.

It is also remarkable that these inscriptions are inversely proportional to those in Europe. A relatively balanced proportion exists in Africa, with 43 per cent of the sites inscribed as natural heritage properties and 57 per cent as cultural heritage properties.

This discrepancy is understandable – whereas Africa still possesses enormous nature reserves, Europe has been densely settled since medieval times. Nevertheless,

³ Problems associated with implementation are further discussed in Chapter 3.

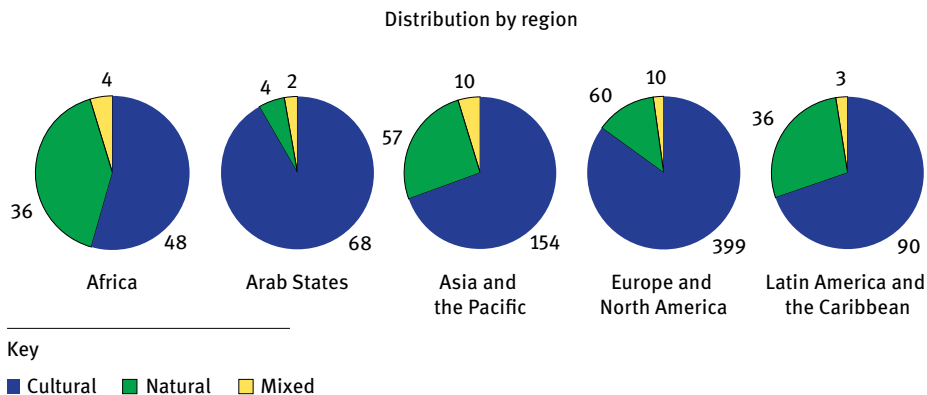


Fig. 1.1: Distribution of World Heritage properties in 2013 by region (author illustration)

in terms of World Heritage inscriptions, the fact cannot be ignored that this international imbalance of regional inscriptions has favoured images of Euro-American cultural spaces over natural spaces typical of the developing countries.

Discord arises not only with respect to the particular comprehension of cultural versus natural heritage, i. e. World Heritage as defined in Articles 1 and 2,⁴ but also in terms of types of World Heritage,⁵ on whose basis sites are inscribed according to the *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* (UNESCO, 2013b), issued and continually updated by various World Heritage Committees.⁶

Of the fourteen different types recommended in the ICOMOS study,⁷ the most frequently mentioned are historic “buildings and ensembles” with 341 entries, “historic cities” (269), “religious sites” (234) and “archaeological heritage” (171). Taken together, these types account for 69 per cent of all cultural heritage properties on the List, whereas there is a clear under-representation of a mere 8 “cultural routes”, 14 “fossil sites” and 15 “modern heritage properties” (ICOMOS, 2004, p. 19).

Herein also lies the problem of the imbalance in the distribution of World Heritage. The ICOMOS study demonstrated that the World Heritage List is dominated by Christian monuments, Baroque castles and the royal residences of European sovereigns of the Renaissance, and medieval townscapes. Based on the various rationales provided for this prioritization and uniqueness, the implication is that European cultural heritage is more worthy of protection. This goes beyond Eurocentrism. The

⁴ Defined and elucidated in Chapter 2. 1.

⁵ Types of World Heritage are also presented and extensively discussed in Chapter 2. 2.

⁶ The *Operational Guidelines* were initially published on 30 June 1977, and have been continually updated since then. The current version was issued in 2013.

⁷ For more information see Chapter 2. 2.

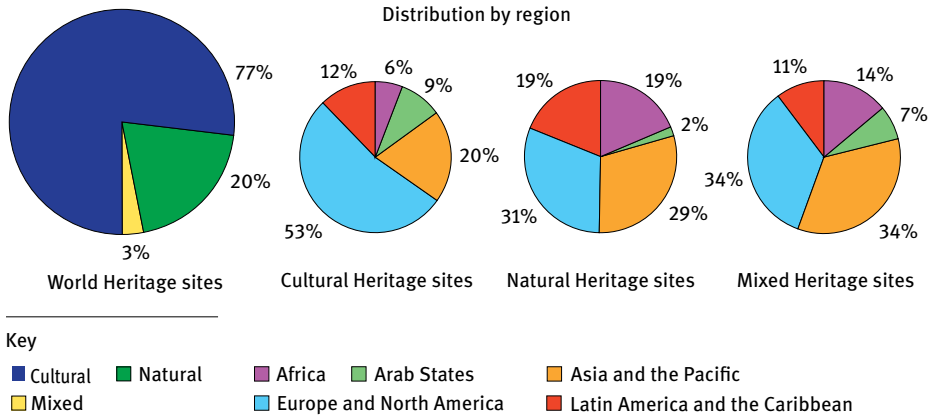


Fig. 1.2: Distribution of World Heritage properties in 2013 by region (author illustration)

figures suggest, as in colonialist days, that certain continents are “cultured” whereas others are not. It is precisely this contradiction that appears to be irresolvable vis-à-vis the objectives of the Convention. Nevertheless, many measures have been introduced to resolve this problem during forty years of practical implementation, sadly with only minimal success.

Laurajane Smith emphasized this problem as early as 2006 in *Uses of Heritage*, in which she claims that the World Heritage Convention has

“further institutionalized the nineteenth-century conservation ethic and the ‘conserve as found’ ethos ... the European sense of the historical monument as universally significant underwrites this Convention, which inevitably universalizes Western values and systems of thought ... A glance at the World Heritage List today demonstrates the degree to which the sense of the monumental underwrites the convention, with cathedrals and grand buildings of state dominating the listing process” (Smith, 2006, p. 27). “Part of the authority of the European [Authorized Heritage Discourse], subsequently, lies in its own legitimizing assumptions that it is universally applicable and that there is, or must be, universal cultural values and expressions. ... Although the claims to universality within the text of the World Heritage Convention and associated directives, practices and debates appear to offer a straightforward description of a value that simply is, it is nevertheless an explicit argument about the legitimacy of European cultural narratives and values” (ibid., p. 99). “It is thus no accident that the World Heritage List is heavily represented by European ‘universally significant places’, as Europeans attempt to come to terms with the changing place of their nations in a world where the European colonial and imperial pasts (and present) are increasingly being reconsidered, and as European states redefine themselves as part of a unified Europe” (ibid., p. 100).⁸

⁸ The Association of Critical Heritage Studies has voiced criticism of the European and material-based construct of heritage. Its manifesto states: “The study of heritage has historically been dominated by Western, predominantly European, experts in archaeology, history, architecture and art history.

Smith's remarks as based on the figures lead to the conclusion that, contrary to the original intention of the Convention to preserve World Heritage for all peoples, Europe has not only asserted its dominance in terms of inscribed sites, but has also imposed its conceptions of culture and cultural assets, and even the values on which such selections are based. Bourgeois concepts of the European middle classes are applied in defining and constructing World Heritage. These are known to be tangible in nature, and as such, are far removed from the cultural concepts and heritage concepts present in African, Asian or Latin American World Heritage communities. This also means that the reasons for the repeated selection of the same types of World Heritage lie within the Convention itself. As long as the construct of Outstanding Universal Value is based on a bourgeois material concept of culture and intangible interpretations are only permitted on occasion, European heritage will continue to prevail.

There is also an interpretation problem, not least because of this tangible construct of heritage, in that actual historic events that occurred at the inscribed sites are presented in an insufficient manner, as in the case of the historic City of Toledo (Figure 1.3), which was inscribed on the basis of tangible criteria, as were all other 758 cultural heritage properties. It is true that the city's significance with respect to the development of the Christian Occident and the existence there of religious diversity were duly noted. However, the establishment of the Catholic-Spanish dynasty and gradually diminishing tolerance vis-à-vis the coexistence of peoples of various faiths in "al-Andalus" was not mentioned.⁹

The city walls were built in the 12th and 13th centuries, at which time Toledo had already reached the height of its cultural, intellectual and administrative development. With the conquest of Toledo in 1041 by Alfonso VI, the city became the official capital of Castile, indeed a city in which Jews, Christians and Muslims coexisted peacefully. In the 13th century Alfonso X placed special emphasis on the city's unique school of translators, from which Greek, Jewish, Islamic and important scientific texts were disseminated throughout the Western world. Toledo's golden age crumbled after Spain's unification by the Catholic kings and the ensuing Inquisition. The succeeding dynasties did not allow religious tolerance, thereby putting an end to the city's prosperity that had been the result of centuries of peaceful coexistence between Jews, Christians and Muslims.

Though there have been progressive currents in these disciplines they sustain a limited idea of what heritage is and how it should be studied and managed. The old way of looking at heritage – the Authorized Heritage Discourse – privileges old, grand, prestigious, expert approved sites, buildings and artefacts that sustain Western narratives of nation, class and science" (Campbell and Smith, 2012).
9 Contrary to the notion of a clash of cultures, in *The Clash Denial* Ilija Trojanow and Ranjit Hoskote remind us that cultures do not in fact clash, but rather flow together. Cultural influences from the Islamic world are evident in al-Andalus, with its magnificent palaces, watering systems and astronomy books (Trojanow and Hoskote, 2007, p. 88).



Fig. 1.3: Historic city wall in Toledo (Spain)

World Heritage can and should serve to remind us of humanity's historical experiences and to present them as positive or negative guiding principles. However, such potential has been wasted through the Eurocentric and tangible constructs of World Heritage, which according to Smith are particularly evident in the justification criteria for Outstanding Universal Value. The Toledo site, for example, might serve to remind humanity of the centuries of peaceful cooperation between the religions and cultures of the world. It is indeed the historical experiences of both the peaceful and warring synergies of cultures that can serve to shape sustainable strategies for the future.

In this publication, we seek to demonstrate how societal developments over the past forty years have had a positive and negative impact on the criteria and politics relating to the inscriptions. It goes without saying that the gradual valorization of World Heritage must be addressed in association with the marketing strategies. Lastly, we need to find alternatives to the rationales submitted for World Heritage status; such appraisements are invariably based on the same historical periods, the magnificence of extraordinary master builders, their products and legacies and related expressions of authenticity. These can be derived from the justifications for World Heritage nominations and inscriptions that for some time now have been put forward at the sessions of the General Assembly of States Parties to the World Heritage Convention. Whether or not they will prevail remains to be seen.

2 What is World Heritage?

Chapter 1 has identified the various concerns and controversies that are currently the subjects of debate within the World Heritage community. At issue is the notion of World Heritage as a protection strategy for cultural and natural sites with Outstanding Universal Value for humanity, versus its popularization in association with somewhat problematical commercial use. We outlined how the worldwide implementation of the World Heritage Convention has created an awareness of the tangible legacies left by past generations. We also elucidated the unprecedented success in popularizing heritage and the related striking regional imbalance in terms of the number of inscribed World Heritage properties. This chapter deals with the question of what World Heritage actually is. How is it defined? What are the criteria for inscription on the World Heritage List and for authenticity and integrity?

What are the prerequisites for a World Heritage nomination and how can World Heritage be used for purposes of tourism, as it must? To answer this we examine the Convention itself. The question of the real nature of World Heritage can be posed differently, for example, what links the Imperial Palace in Beijing with the Messel Pit in Hesse? What links the Pyramids of Giza with Auschwitz Birkenau? Or can a link be made between the Berlin Modernism Housing Estates and the Wachau Cultural Landscape in Austria? And what is it that links them all together?

The selection of these sites does not follow a systematic scheme, but is rather based on personal experiences gained while visiting them. The examples presented here were selected because they typify the many differences in the selection criteria to establish World Heritage status. What unites these sites is that they have all attained heritage status by fulfilling one or more of the criteria prescribed by UNESCO with respect to their Outstanding Universal Value,¹⁰ which denotes a representative human heritage that is deemed worthy of preservation.

Imperial Palaces of the Ming and Qing Dynasties in Beijing and Shenyang (Figure 2.1) is a World Heritage property symbolizing the reign of Chinese dynasties over five millennia (1416–1911), in particular the Qing and Ming. The palace was built as a portrayal of cosmic order. It was first used by the emperors as a winter domicile and later as their principle residence after the transfer of the government from Nanjing to Beijing. According to the dynastic China-centric view of the Middle Kingdom, the palace represented the middle of the empire, making its location the most important district of the city. The designation Forbidden City indicates that the general population was prohibited from entering this district, while the city itself gradually

¹⁰ The inscription of World Heritage sites is determined, among other factors, on the basis of ten potential criteria for justification of Outstanding Universal Value. The criteria are presented and extensively discussed in Chapter 2.2.



Fig. 2.1: Imperial Palace in the Forbidden City, Beijing (China)

expanded within its walls, and from there, radiated more and more power to the outside world (Veser, 2000, p. 104).

The property was inscribed in 1987 based on criteria (iii) and (iv), and extended in 2004 to include criteria (i) and (ii). The inscription was justified as follows:¹¹

“Criterion (i): The Imperial Palaces represent masterpieces in the development of imperial palace architecture in China. Criterion (ii): The architecture of the Imperial Palace complexes ... exhibits an important interchange of influences of traditional architecture and Chinese palace architecture particularly in the 17th and 18th centuries. Criterion (iii): The Imperial Palaces bear exceptional testimony to Chinese civilization at the time of the Ming and Qing dynasties, being true reserves of landscapes, architecture, furnishings and objects of art, as well as carrying exceptional evidence of the living traditions and the customs of Shamanism practised by the Manchu people for centuries. Criterion (iv): The Imperial Palaces provide outstanding examples of the greatest palatial architectural ensembles in China. They illustrate the grandeur of the imperial institution from the Qing Dynasty to the earlier Ming and Yuan dynasties, as well as Manchu traditions, and present evidence on the evolution of this architecture in the 17th and 18th centuries” (UNESCO World Heritage List, ref. 439).

The Messel Pit (Figure 2.2) is one of the few natural heritage properties in Germany. Its origins date back to a volcanic eruption and resulting lake, whose tuff ring was stripped due to climatic effects. “The ‘pit’ itself was formed between 1885 and 1971,

¹¹ The following justifications are presented in their original version with minimal editing.



Fig. 2.2: Messel Pit Fossil Site: plaster tooth crocodile (Germany)

when oil shale was extracted to obtain crude oil” (Mangel, 2011, p.13). Today, not only does the site offer fascinating flora and fauna, it also has spectacular fossil findings of universal significance. This cultural heritage would have been turned into a refuse dump had it not been for a citizens’ conservation movement.

Messel Pit Fossil Site was inscribed in 1995 based on criterion (viii) and slightly extended in 2010.

“Criterion (viii): Messel Pit Fossil Site is considered to be the single best site which contributes to the understanding of the Eocene, when mammals became firmly established in all principal land ecosystems. The state of preservation of its fossils is exceptional and allows for high-quality scientific work” (UNESCO World Heritage List, ref. 720).

Memphis and its Necropolis – the Pyramid Fields from Giza to Dahshur (Figure 2.3) is one of the most famous archaeological sites on the World Heritage List. The Giza area is home to a total of nine pyramids. Initial construction can be traced back to early as 2900 BCE, at a time when the pharaohs were uniting Egypt to create an empire, the city of Memphis being its capital. The construction of the pyramids profited from creative architecture and the various materials used. The commercial centre of Memphis was chiefly built from materials such as reed thatch, sun-dried brick and wood, while the pyramids were erected using giant limestone ashlars. “The question of how the workers were able to transport such enormous stones to erect



Fig. 2.3: Pyramids of Giza (Egypt)

such heaven-aspiring wonders using only the aids available to them at the time surpasses the imagination of succeeding generations and may forever remain a secret.” (Veser, 2000, p. 18).

The pyramids were inscribed in 1979 on the basis of criteria (i), (iii) and (vi):

“Criterion (i): The pyramids of Egypt have always provoked universal admiration; even during Antiquity, they were included among the ‘Wonders of the World’. Surrounded by necropolis and temples which house fabulous treasures and invaluable works of art, they solidly merit their reputation as unique artistic realisations and masterpieces of the creative spirit of man. Criterion (iii): The group of Memphis embraces singular monuments of a very grand antiquity. The step pyramid of Zoser, the first pharaoh of the Memphis period, constructed entirely in limestone, is the oldest architectural structure known, which is built from regularly cut stone. At Giza, in the complex of Cheops, one of the oldest boats preserved today, the ‘solar barge’ was discovered intact. The archaic necropolis of Sakkara dates back to the period of the formation of pharaonic civilisation. Criterion (vi): The exceptional historic, artistic and sociological interest of those monuments, witnesses of one of the most brilliant civilisations of this planet, needs no commentary” (ICOMOS, 1979, p. 5).

The former extermination camp at Auschwitz (Figure 2.4) epitomizes a landmark where the history of human suffering and extermination will forever be memorialized.

“This camp became the symbol of the break with all basic human rights. It is a horrifying example of where racism, anti-Semitism, xenophobia, chauvinism and intolerance can lead.



Fig. 2.4: Entry gate to the Auschwitz Birkenau memorial (Poland)

The name of the camp has become a cultural code for the most negative interhuman relations and a synonym for the collapse of our civilisation and contemporary culture. ... It is for this reason that Auschwitz holds universal significance in relation to the memory and history of many nations, who became its victims” (Bujak, 2004, p.70).

Auschwitz Birkenau: German Nazi Concentration and Extermination Camp (1940–1945) was inscribed in 1979 with the following justification:

“Criterion (vi): Auschwitz-Birkenau, monument to the deliberate genocide of the Jews by the Nazi regime (Germany 1933–1945) and to the deaths of countless others bears irrefutable evidence to one of the greatest crimes ever perpetrated against humanity. It is also a monument to the strength of the human spirit which in appalling conditions of adversity resisted the efforts of the German Nazi regime to suppress freedom and free thought and to wipe out whole races. The site is a key place of memory for the whole of humankind for the holocaust, racist policies and barbarism; it is a place of our collective memory of this dark chapter in the history of humanity, of transmission to younger generations and a sign of warning of the many threats and tragic consequences of extreme ideologies and denial of human dignity” (UNESCO World Heritage List, ref. 31).

Berlin Modernism Housing Estates (Figure 2.5) have been inscribed on the World Heritage List as cultural heritage estates since 2008. They symbolize the emergence of social housing construction schemes between 1924 and 1930, and as such, are an



Fig. 2.5: Schiller Park Housing Estate in Berlin (Germany)

expression of the international significance of modern construction standards. Even today, these estates not only reflect the architectonic and urban development debates of the modern era, they also embody a certain awareness of life. Although this expression of modernism ended with the global economic crisis in 1929 and the onset of National Socialism in Germany, the modern standards introduced at that time survived and continued to fulfil living and societal needs after 1945 as well (Hoff, 2011, pp. 254 ff.). The criteria cited in 2008 were (ii) and (iv):

“Criterion (ii): The six Berlin housing estates provide an outstanding expression of a broad housing reform movement that made a decisive contribution to improving housing and living conditions in Berlin. Their quality of urban, architectural and garden design, as well as the housing standards developed during the period, served as directives for social housing constructed since then, both in and outside Germany. Criterion (iv): The six Berlin housing estates are exceptional examples of new urban and architectural typologies, designed in the search for improved social living conditions. Fresh design solutions and technical and aesthetic innovations were incorporated by the leading modern architects who participated in their design and construction” (UNESCO World Heritage List, ref. 1239).

The Wachau landscape (Figure 2.6) runs through a 36 km ravine along the Danube. The manifold structured landscape, numerous important cultural monuments,



Fig. 2.6: Wachau Cultural Landscape (Austria)

small-town and provincial ensembles make the Wachau a historic cultural landscape of outstanding significance. Natural landscape formations such as the convoluted Danube Valley, alluvial forests and craggy cliffs as well as elements fashioned by humans such as vine terraces, localities and meadows, convents, castles and ruins harmoniously complement each other. With its warm and dry climate, Wachau's cultural landscape constitutes one of the most important wine-growing regions in Austria with landscapes shaped by centuries of wine growing (ICOMOS, 2000).

Wachau was inscribed in 2000 according to criteria (ii) and (iv):

“Criterion (ii): The Wachau is an outstanding example of a riverine landscape bordered by mountains in which tangible evidence of its long historical evolution has survived to a remarkable degree. Criterion (iv): The architecture, the human settlements, and the agricultural use of the land in the Wachau vividly illustrate a basically medieval landscape that has evolved organically and harmoniously over time” (UNESCO World Heritage List, ref. 970).

These examples illustrate what unites such disparate World Heritage properties, namely their status as cultural or natural assets,¹² which has been judged to be important for humanity as a whole and thus worthy of preservation. In UNESCO terminology, it is their Outstanding Universal Value that unites these different sites, established by the previously mentioned “criteria for justification”. But what distin-

¹² The concept of cultural and natural heritage is presented and discussed extensively in Chapter 2. 1.

guishes them from each other? First there are the “criteria for stipulating authenticity and integrity”¹³ in addition to a categorization according to “type”, and of course the histories the sites embody. The Imperial Palace is categorized as a *group of historic buildings* and the Pyramids of Giza as *archaeological heritage*. Auschwitz Birkenau was registered as a *symbolic site* on the basis of criterion (vi),¹⁴ which in turn was considered the most important criterion in the list of ten criteria to establish Outstanding Universal Value in terms of a site’s intangible significance. The Messel Pit is a *natural heritage property*, the Berlin Estates represent *modern heritage properties*, while Wachau is inscribed as a *cultural landscape* that evolved organically. Against this background, the answer to the question of the real nature of World Heritage is in fact multidimensional. We begin with the criteria for justification of Outstanding Universal Value.

2.1 Cultural sites and natural sites

In the introduction to this chapter we explained how the selected properties are related to each other as World Heritage. In subsequent chapters we detail how they differ in World Heritage terms. World Heritage properties typify the diversity of our world, even if – as previously shown – the List is dominated by European properties. And diversity is in turn also expressed in the properties themselves by the criteria for stipulating authenticity and integrity and the criteria for justification of Outstanding Universal Value, not least through their types, themes and chronologies.

In her contribution to *Nature and Culture – Ambivalent Dimensions of our Heritage Change of Perspective*, published by the German Commission for UNESCO and the Brandenburg University of Technology at Cottbus on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the adoption of the World Heritage Convention, Mechtild Rössler writes: “Thirty years after its adoption by the UNESCO General Conference, the 1972 World Heritage Convention is still the only international legal instrument which aims to protect both cultural and natural heritage” (Rössler, 2002, p. 30). This still holds true today, some forty years after the adoption of the Convention, despite the impression that its protective function has since been supplanted by commercial use due to popularization. Similarly, the political declarations and visions formulated in 1972 also retain their validity, together with the philosophy upon which they were founded and the global context specified in the preamble. The categories defined in the Convention to establish cultural and/or natural heritage properties also still apply. According to Article 1 of the Convention, cultural heritage is defined as:

¹³ See Chapter 2.3.

¹⁴ See criteria for determination of Outstanding Universal Value in Chapter 2.2.

“Monuments: architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and painting, elements or structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings and combinations of features, which are of Outstanding Universal Value from the point of view of history, art or science” (UNESCO, 1972a, art. 1).

The above-mentioned sites such as the Pyramids of Giza or the Imperial Palace in Beijing’s Forbidden City fall into the “monuments” category.

“Groups of buildings: groups of separate or connected buildings which, because of their architecture, their homogeneity or their place in the landscape, are of Outstanding Universal Value from the point of view of history, art or science” (ibid., art. 1).

The Berlin Modernism Housing Estates typify “groups of buildings”.

“Sites: works of man or the combined works of nature and man, and areas including archaeological sites which are of Outstanding Universal Value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological point of view” (ibid., art. 1).

Auschwitz Birkenau Concentration Camp is classified as a property. As previously stated, the World Heritage List records 759 cultural heritage properties. Natural heritage properties are defined in Article 2 of the Convention and are represented on the World Heritage List with 193 sites. According to Article 2, a natural heritage property is defined as follows:

“Natural features consisting of physical and biological formations or groups of such formations, which are of Outstanding Universal Value from the aesthetic or scientific point of view;
Geological and physiographical formations and precisely delineated areas which constitute the habitat of threatened species of animals and plants of Outstanding Universal Value from the point of view of science or conservation;
Natural sites or precisely delineated natural areas of Outstanding Universal Value from the point of view of science, conservation or natural beauty” (ibid., art. 2).

Messel Pit Fossil Site is an example of the “natural features” category, which for scientific reasons is deemed to be of Outstanding Universal Value and provides insights into the early evolution of mammals. The Great Barrier Reef (Australia) is an example of the geological and physiographical form of natural heritage and also supplies habitats for thousands of marine organisms. The Putorana Plateau (Russian Federation) is a natural heritage property that was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 2010 based on its vast pristine landscape and natural beauty (UNESCO, 2013a).

Based on the definitions given in Articles 1 and 2 of the Convention, particularly the categories pertaining to cultural heritage have been broadened over the years. “Cultural landscape” is the most common and increasingly utilized category. Mechtild Rössler writes:

“The inclusion of cultural landscapes on the World Heritage List was another landmark decision. In complying with the text and the philosophy of the Convention, which includes the ‘combined works of people and nature’, the World Heritage Committee in December 1992 adopted three categories of cultural landscape to be integrated into the *Operational Guidelines*: clearly defined landscapes – designed and created intentionally by man; organically evolved landscapes (either relic or continuing); and associative cultural landscapes” (Rössler, 2002, p. 30).

According to the 1999 edition of the *Operational Guidelines*, para. 39, cultural landscapes are characterized as in Table 1.

Tab. 1: The three categories of World Heritage cultural landscape (Rössler, 2002, p. 31)

Cultural landscape category	Extract from Paragraph 39 of the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention
(i)	The most easily identifiable is the clearly defined landscape designed and created intentionally by man. This embraces garden and landscapes constructed for aesthetic reasons which are often (but not always) associated with religious or other monumental buildings and ensembles.
(ii)	The second category is the organically evolved landscape. This results from an initial social, economic, administrative, and/or religious imperative and has developed its present form by association with and in response to its natural environment. Such landscapes reflect that process of evolution in their form and component features. They fall into two sub-categories: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li data-bbox="342 930 1057 1039">– a relic (or fossil) landscape is one in which an evolutionary process came to an end at some time in the past, either abruptly or over a period. Its significant distinguishing features are, however, still visible in material form. <li data-bbox="342 1048 1048 1157">– a continuing landscape is one which retains an active social role in contemporary society closely associated with the traditional way of life, and in which the evolutionary process is still in progress. At the same time it exhibits significant material evidence of its evolution over time.
(iii)	The final category is the associative landscape. The inclusion of such landscapes on the World Heritage List is justifiable by virtue of the powerful religious, artistic or cultural associations of the natural element rather than material cultural evidence, which may be insignificant or even absent.

As previously stated, Wachau is a cultural landscape that evolved organically and continues to evolve in the context of its use. The Palace and Park of Versailles (Figure 2.7) in France with their buildings and extensive gardens typify a landscape that was formed by humans. The Ecosystem and Relict Cultural Landscape of Lopé-Okanda (Figure 2.8) in Gabon is an example of a relic landscape. It combines the well-preserved ecosystem of the tropical rain forest with the relict landscape of the savannah, which provided habitats for many people and animals during the Ice Age.



Fig. 2.7: Versailles Orangerie (France)



Fig. 2.8: Relict landscape of Lopé-Okanda (Gabon)



Fig. 2.9: Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park (Australia)

Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park (Figure 2.9), one of the most sacred sites of the Australian Aboriginal people, is an example of an associative landscape. A further category of heritage directly derived from the Convention is the so-called “mixed cultural and natural heritage”. According to para. 46 of the currently valid *Guidelines*, such assets are those that “satisfy a part or the whole of the definitions of both cultural and natural heritage properties as per Articles 1 and 2 of the Convention” (UNESCO, 2013*b*).

Mixed sites are under-represented with only twenty-nine listings (UNESCO, 2013*a*). This is, perhaps also due to the shortage of such sites. However, there may be another reason, such as the fact the nomination procedure is much more demanding than simply establishing a relationship to culture or nature. Examples of mixed sites include Pyrénées – Mont Perdu (lost mountain) on the border of France and Spain (Figure 2.10) and Kakadu National Park (Figure 2.11) in Australia.



Fig. 2.10: View of Mont Perdu (Pyrenees)



Fig. 2.11: Aboriginal rock paintings in Kakadu National Park (Australia)

2.2 Criteria for justification: characteristics and types

The World Heritage Convention refers to clearly and succinctly defined cultural and natural sites, which for various reasons associated with the specific property are able to demonstrate Outstanding Universal Value. Monuments and ensembles are appraised according to historic, artistic or scientific considerations, while the universal value of sites is determined on the basis of historic, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological concerns. Similar assessments apply for natural assets. Here, aesthetic, scientific and in particular conservation criteria are applied to establish the Outstanding Universal Value. The criteria used to justify inscription include further differentiating characteristics of World Heritage properties. The *Operational Guidelines* define Outstanding Universal Value thus:

“Outstanding Universal Value means 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” (UNESCO, 2013b, para. 49).

To ensure effective protection measures, as per para. 50 of the *Guidelines*, the countries are required to compile lists of assets of Outstanding Universal Value and submit them to the World Heritage Committee. Whenever a property is inscribed on the World Heritage List, as per para. 51, the Committee adopts a statement of Outstanding Universal Value as “the key reference for the future effective protection and management of the property”. Para. 52 then stipulates that “the Convention is not intended to ensure the protection of all properties of great interest, importance or value, but only a select list of the most outstanding of these from an international viewpoint”. Furthermore:

“Nominations presented to the Committee shall demonstrate the full commitment of the State Party to preserve the heritage concerned, within its means. Such commitment shall take the form of appropriate policy, legal, scientific, technical, administrative and financial measures adopted and proposed to protect the property and its Outstanding Universal Value” (ibid., para. 53).

The World Heritage Committee considers a property to be of Outstanding Universal Value if it satisfies one or several of the following criteria. Whether any, and if so which criteria apply is examined by UNESCO’s international Advisory Bodies IC-CROM, ICOMOS and IUCN. The submitted assets should thus:

- “(i) represent a masterpiece of human creative genius;
- (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;
- (iii) bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared;

- (iv) be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological group or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history;
- (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;
- (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);
- (vii) contain superlative natural phenomena or areas of exceptional natural beauty and aesthetic importance;
- (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;
- (ix) be outstanding examples representing significant ongoing ecological and biological processes in the evolution and development of terrestrial, fresh water, coastal and marine ecosystems and communities of plants and animals;
- (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" (*ibid.*, para. 77).

These ten criteria are further differentiated into criteria pertaining to cultural sites (i–vi) and to natural sites (vii–x). While the criteria for cultural heritage properties are based on “essential characteristics”, natural heritage properties are specified according to “type”, which has promoting a more stringent interpretation. During the 1978 to 2013 period, the criteria were distributed across 981 sites, as illustrated in Table 2.

This disproportionate application of criterion (iv) reconfirms the criticism formulated above, that of the Convention’s inherent Eurocentric tendencies.

Tab. 2: Overall distribution of properties inscribed on the World Heritage List from 1978 to 2013 in consideration of the criteria applied (author data)

Cultural Heritage sites							
Region	Number of sites	Number of criteria applied					
		(i)	(ii)	(iii)	(iv)	(v)	(vi)
Africa	48	7	14	35	19	14	23
Arab States	68	16	27	45	44	20	22
Asia and the Pacific	154	53	89	104	89	20	60
Europe and North America	399	132	219	162	294	54	88
Latin America and the Caribbean	90	21	44	37	70	15	13
Total	759	229	393	383	516	123	206

Natural Heritage sites					
Region	Number of sites	Number of criteria applied			
		(vii)	(viii)	(ix)	(x)
Africa	36	22	6	19	30
Arab States	4	0	1	1	3
Asia and the Pacific	57	33	20	34	34
Europe and North America	60	38	38	25	24
Latin America and the Caribbean	36	21	12	23	29
Total	193	114	77	102	120

Mixed Heritage sites											
Region	Number of sites	Number of criteria applied									
		(i)	(ii)	(iii)	(iv)	(v)	(vi)	(vii)	(viii)	(ix)	(x)
Africa	4	1	0	2	2	1	0	3	1	2	3
Arab States	2	1	0	2	0	1	0	2	1	0	0
Asia and the Pacific	10	2	2	5	3	3	7	8	4	3	6
Europe and North America	10	4	3	8	6	6	2	8	3	4	3
Latin America and the Caribbean	3	2	0	3	1	0	0	2	0	3	2
Total	29	10	5	20	12	11	9	23	9	12	14

2.3 Mandatory criteria: authenticity and integrity

For natural or cultural properties nominated to obtain World Heritage status, in addition to satisfying at least one of the ten criteria for justification, the mandatory criteria of authenticity and integrity must also be in compliance with the *Operational Guidelines*. Practices concerning these criteria have evolved over the past forty years. Initially, during the early years of the implementation of the Convention, authenticity was only used to appraise cultural heritage properties, and integrity only for natural heritage properties. Since the *Guidelines* were revised in 2005¹⁵ the integrity of cultural heritage properties also has to be established.

¹⁵ This was the 14th revision of the initial version of the *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* adopted by the World Heritage Committee in 1978.

While the concept of integrity had already appeared in the original 1978 *Guidelines*, the term “authenticity” was used for the first time in the 1964 International Charter on the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (Venice Charter) and subsequently prompted “a sharp rise in the propagation of the UNESCO World Heritage vision of 1971. Thirty years after the Venice accords, the term ‘authenticity’ emerged in the Nara Document on Authenticity (in Japan 1994) in a reflection on post-colonial and post-modern criticism of its global applicability, and at the same time its overall inconsistency in essentialist instrumentality in both East and West” (Falser, 2011, p. 1). The conditions pertaining to the criterion “integrity” in the area of natural heritage were very clearly defined in terms of the relevant criteria (vii)-(x). As for cultural heritage, unfortunately, no such clear instructions exist. Only very general comments are provided in the *Guidelines*:

“Integrity is a measure of the wholeness and intactness of the natural and/or cultural heritage and its attributes. Examining the conditions of integrity, therefore requires assessing the extent to which the property:

- (a) includes all elements necessary to express its Outstanding Universal Value;
- (b) is of adequate size to ensure the complete representation of the features and processes which convey the property’s significance;
- (c) suffers from adverse effects of development and/or neglect” (UNESCO, 2013b, para. 88).

Further explanations of the requisite “integrity” criterion are also provided in the *Guidelines*:

“For properties nominated under criteria (i) to (vi), the physical fabric of the property and/or its significant features should be in good condition, and the impact of deterioration processes controlled. A significant proportion of the elements necessary to convey the totality of the value conveyed by the property should be included. Relationships and dynamic functions present in cultural landscapes, historic towns or other living properties essential to their distinctive character should also be maintained” (ibid., para. 89).

From the *Guidelines* it can be inferred that the key indicators of integrity as a qualifying condition for a property in terms of securing and maintaining its Outstanding Universal Value are wholeness and intactness. Furthermore, any attempts to further delineate the six cultural heritage criteria or to provide binding explanatory notes have all failed to date. One obvious reason for this is that natural heritage criteria pertain to “types”, while cultural heritage criteria rely on qualifying “characteristics”.

Discussions held during various expert meetings on this issue have not resulted in any revisions being made to the *Guidelines* concerning World Heritage Convention implementation. This applies particularly to the contributions of representative experts such as Jukka Jokilehto and Herb Stovel. Jokilehto wanted to introduce *functional integrity*, *structural integrity* and *visual integrity* as essential characteristics in terms of demonstrating the integrity of cultural heritage properties (Jokilehto et al.,

2008). Stovel wrote in *Effective Use of Authenticity and Integrity as a World Heritage Qualifying Condition*:

“Improving the state of conservation of World Heritage properties, namely that authenticity may be understood as the ability of a property to convey its significance over time, and integrity understood as the ability of a property to secure or sustain its significance over time” (Stovel, 2007, p. 21).

and he recommended – in the light of the precise requirements to demonstrate the criteria for stipulating authenticity and integrity – that “types” also be delineated in line with those applied to natural heritage. He differentiates between cultural heritage and archaeological sites, historic city centres, monuments, ensembles and cultural landscapes, and defines the respective requirements needed to establish wholeness and intactness as the central criteria in terms of establishing overall integrity. While he considers authenticity to be a characteristic of a site demonstrating its ability to maintain its significance over time, he defines integrity as the ability of a site to *secure and maintain* its significance over time.

Although none of these comments have yet been integrated into the *Guidelines* by resolution of the World Heritage Committee and no exact definitions exist, the approach proffered by Jukka Jokilehto has gained particular recognition and is used as an assessment benchmark by ICOMOS. The greatest attention is given to the aspect of visual integrity due to the acute threat posed by high-rise planning and infrastructure projects in terms of views, vistas, lines of vision, silhouettes and panoramas in World Heritage properties, their buffer zones and other surroundings. For example, Cologne Cathedral was added to the List of World Heritage in Danger in 2005 based on threats to its visual integrity.

One result arising from the International World Heritage Expert Meeting on Integrity for Cultural Heritage held in Al Ain (United Arab Emirates) in March 2012, was the recommendation to supplement the existing para. 89 of the 2005 *Operational Guidelines*. A specific recommendation called for the categorization of cultural heritage properties to consist of (a) cultural landscapes, (b) archaeological sites, (c) historic city centres, (d) monuments, and (e) ensembles (UNESCO, 2012c). Examples of the essential characteristics and components to prove integrity for each type are provided. The terms *functional integrity*, *structural integrity* and *visual integrity* are not employed; it was recommended that these aspects be included in an annex to the directives.

The central recommendation of the International World Heritage Expert Meeting on Visual Integrity held from 6 to 9 March 2013 in Agra (India) was to forego the term “visual integrity”, inasmuch as the corresponding impairments might not only impact integrity, but also criteria for justification (i)-(vi) and the prerequisite criterion “authenticity”, as well as property management issues. Instead, the formulation “visual qualities and impacts on Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) of a site” was

recommended. It was strongly advised that any qualities (including visual) and characteristic features of a property provided to establish their Outstanding Universal Value be very carefully defined.

2.4 Typological, thematic and chronological-regional considerations

In addition to the definitions of culture and nature, as well as the categories of cultural landscapes existing since 1992, there are also typologies, themes and regional chronologies. These are meant to help applicants to identify and codify their properties. The typological frameworks presented in Table 3 were adopted in 2004, and remain valid today.

Tab. 3: Typological frameworks: ICOMOS Filling the Gaps report (2004)

Typological framework	
Archaeological heritage	Rock-art sites
Fossil hominid sites	Historic buildings and ensembles
Urban and rural settlements / historic towns and villages	Vernacular architecture
Religious properties	Agricultural, industrial and technological properties
Military properties	Cultural landscapes, parks and gardens
Cultural routes	Burial monuments and sites
Symbolic properties and memorials	Modern heritage

According to this scheme, the “type” of the previously mentioned heritage property, the Imperial Palace in Beijing, was classified under historic buildings and ensembles, the Messel Pit was considered a fossil site, the Pyramids of Giza represent a type of archaeological heritage, the Auschwitz Birkenau memorial typifies symbolic sites and monuments, the Berlin Estates belong to the modern heritage type, while Wachau is listed as a cultural landscape.

Further examples of types of World Heritage include:

Rock painting sites, such as the Prehistoric Sites and Decorated Caves of the Vézère Valley, France (Figure 2.12).

“The Vézère valley contains 147 prehistoric sites dating from the Palaeolithic and 25 decorated caves. It is particularly interesting from an ethnological and anthropological, as well as an



Fig. 2.12: Caves in the Vézère Valley (France)

aesthetic point of view because of its cave paintings, especially those of the Lascaux Cave, whose discovery in 1940 was of great importance for the history of prehistoric art. The hunting scenes show some 100 animal figures, which are remarkable for their detail, rich colours and lifelike quality” (UNESCO World Heritage List, ref. 85).

Urban and rural settlements/historic cities and villages, such as the Historic Town of Goslar, Germany (Figure 2.13).

“Situated near the Rammelsberg Mines, Goslar held an important place in the Hanseatic League because of the rich Rammelsberg metallic ore deposits. From the 10th to the 12th century it was the seat of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. Its historic centre, dating from the Middle Ages, is perfectly preserved with some 1,500 semi-timbered houses between the 15th and 19th centuries” (WHC Nomination Documentation, 1992, p. 1).

Cultural landscapes and archaeological sites, for example the Bamiyan Valley, Afghanistan (Figure 2.14).

“Criterion (i): The Buddha statues and the cave art in Bamiyan Valley are an outstanding representation of the Gandharan school in Buddhist art in the Central Asian region. Criterion (ii): The artistic and architectural remains of Bamiyan Valley, and an important Buddhist centre on the Silk Road, are an exceptional testimony to the interchange of Indian, Hellenistic, Roman,



Fig. 2.13: Historic Town of Goslar (Germany)



Fig. 2.14: Bamiyan Valley (Afghanistan)

Sasanian influences as the basis for the development of a particular artistic expression in the Gandharan school. To this can be added the Islamic influence in a later period. Criterion (iii): The Bamiyan Valley bears an exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition in the Central Asian region, which has disappeared. Criterion (iv): The Bamiyan Valley is an outstanding example of a cultural landscape which illustrates a significant period in Buddhism. Criterion (vi): The Bamiyan Valley is the most monumental expression of the western Buddhism. It was an important centre of pilgrimage over many centuries. Due to their symbolic values, the monuments have suffered at different times of their existence, including the deliberate destruction in 2001, which shook the whole world” (WHC Nomination Documentation, 2003, p. 1).

Traditional architecture, exemplified by the Church Town of Gammelstad, Luleå, Sweden (Figure 2.15).

“Gammelstad, at the head of the Gulf of Bothnia, is the best-preserved example of a ‘church village’, a unique kind of village formerly found throughout northern Scandinavia. The 424 wooden houses, huddled round the early 15th-century stone church, were used only on Sundays and at religious festivals to house worshippers from the surrounding countryside who could not return home the same day because of the distance and difficult travelling conditions” (UNESCO World Heritage List, ref. 762).



Fig. 2.15: Church Town of Gammelstad, Luleå (Sweden)

Agricultural, industrial and technological sites, such as the Semmering Railway, Austria (Figure 2.16).

“The Semmering Railway represents an outstanding technological solution to a major physical problem in the construction of early railways. The railway, built over 41 km of high mountains between 1848 and 1854, is one of the greatest feats of civil engineering from this pioneering phase of railway building. The high standard of the tunnels, viaducts and other works has ensured the continuous use of the line to the present day. Furthermore, with its construction, areas of great natural beauty became more easily accessible and as a result these were developed for residential and recreational use, creating a new form of cultural landscape” (WHC Nomination Documentation, 1998, p. 1).

Military sites such as Forts and Castles, Volta, Greater Accra, Central and Western Regions, Ghana (Figure 2.17).

“The remains of fortified trading-posts, erected between 1482 and 1786, can still be seen along the coast of Ghana between Keta and Beyin. They were links in the trade routes established by the Portuguese in many areas of the world during their era of great maritime exploration” (UNESCO World Heritage List, ref. 34).

Cultural routes, such as the pilgrimage route to Santiago de Compostela, Spain (Figure 2.18).

“Santiago de Compostela was proclaimed the first European Cultural itinerary by the Council of Europe in 1987. This route from the French-Spanish border was – and still is – taken by



Fig. 2.16: Semmering Railway (Austria)



Fig. 2.17: Forts and Castles, Volta, Greater Accra, Central and Western Regions (Ghana)



Fig. 2.18: Pilgrimage route to Santiago de Compostela (France and Spain)

pilgrims to Santiago de Compostela. Some 1,800 buildings along the route, both religious and secular, are of great historical interest. The route played a fundamental role in encouraging cultural exchanges between the Iberian peninsula and the rest of Europe during the Middle Ages. It remains a testimony to the power of the Christian faith among people of all social classes and from all over Europe” (UNESCO World Heritage List, ref. 669).

Burial sites, such as the Royal Tombs of the Joseon Dynasty, Republic of Korea (Figure 2.19).

“Criterion (iii): Within the context of Confucian cultures, the integrated approach of the Royal Tombs of Joseon to nature and the universe has resulted in a distinctive and significant funeral tradition. Through the application of pungsu principles and the retention of the natural landscape, a memorable type of sacred place has been created for the practice of ancestral rituals. Criterion (iv): The Royal Tombs of Joseon are an outstanding example of a type of architectural group and landscape that illustrates a significant stage in the development of burial mounds within the context of Korean and East Asian tombs. The royal tombs, in their response to settings and in their unique (and regularized) configuration of buildings, structures and related elements, manifest and reinforce the centuries-old tradition and living practice of ancestral worship through a prescribed series of rituals. Criterion (vi): The Royal Tombs of Joseon are directly associated with a living tradition of ancestral worship through the performance of prescribed rites. During the Joseon period, state ancestral rites were held regularly, and except for periods of political turmoil in the last century, they have been conducted on an annual basis by the Royal Family Organization and the worshipping society for each royal tomb” (UNESCO World Heritage List, ref. 1319).



Fig. 2.19: Royal Tombs of the Joseon Dynasty (Republic of Korea)

The typological framework for the inscription of properties was addressed in UNESCO's Global Strategy¹⁶ and the 2004 publication by ICOMOS entitled *Filling the Gaps* in an attempt to redress the List's imbalance between Europe and the rest of the world.¹⁷ After all, for years the inscription processes tended to significantly over-represent European *historic buildings and ensembles, urban and rural settlements/historic cities or villages* or *Christian religious sites*. On the other hand, it was also taken into consideration in the context of the ongoing evaluation of the Global Strategy, in order to motivate applicants to nominate under-represented sites in particular. For example, the UNESCO External Auditor 2011 stated that strategy policies aiming to: "fill the gaps of cultural heritage identified in 2004" had prompted an increase in the number of inscriptions of "industrial heritage and 20th century properties, prehistoric and rock art, routes and cultural landscapes, as well as some vernacular architecture", even though the latter category nevertheless remains under-represented (UNESCO, 2011a, p. 4).

There is a strong correlation between the typological frameworks and thematic and chronological-regional structures. The content requirements compiled and further elaborated in the context of the Global Strategy for the purpose of characterizing properties are also meant to support World Heritage nomination and inscription processes. In his 2008 study, Jokilehto offers the most comprehensive differentiation of the thematic frameworks to date. He suggests that the following topics be taken into consideration when preparing a nomination (Jokilehto et al., 2008, pp. 17–18):

1) Expressions of society

- a) Interacting and communicating
 - i) Language, oral traditions, myths, song-lines
 - ii) Social systems
 - iii) Music, dance, sports
 - iv) Literature, artistic references, theatre
- b) Cultural and symbolic associations
 - i) Identity
 - ii) Significant personalities
 - iii) Memorials
- c) Developing knowledge
 - i) Educating
 - ii) Philosophy and science
 - iii) Human health
 - iv) Law and justice

2) Creative responses and continuity (monuments, groups of buildings and sites)

- a) Domestic habitat
- b) Religious and commemorative architecture (temples, synagogues, churches, mosques, tombs, cemeteries, shrines, memorials)
- c) Pyramids, obelisks, minarets, belfries
- d) Castles, palaces, residences
- e) Governmental and public buildings (town halls, capitols, courthouses, post offices, main public squares)
- f) Educational and public welfare architecture (schools, universities, hospitals, sports structures,

¹⁶ See in particular Chapter 3. 3.

¹⁷ *Filling the Gaps* is a study carried out by ICOMOS to ascertain imbalance in typological terms with respect to World Heritage sites and to identify gaps or omissions.

- hammams, hotels, prisons, aqueducts, baths, etc.)
- g) Recreational architecture (theatres, auditoriums, athletic facilities, museums, libraries, depositories, etc.)
- h) Agricultural architecture (farms, barns, stables, silos, etc.)
 - i) Commercial architecture (office buildings, banks, warehouses, etc.)
 - j) Industrial architecture (factories, mines, stores, refineries, power plants, water management, etc.)
 - k) Military architecture
 - i) Fortified boundaries
 - ii) Forts, castles, fortified houses
 - iii) Fortified cities
 - l) Transport structures (roads, ports, canals, bridges)
 - m) Cave dwellings
 - n) Rock art, monumental painting
 - o) Monumental sculpture, dolmens
 - p) Equipping historic buildings
 - i) Decoration, wall paintings, sculpture, stucco, mosaic, and furnishings
 - ii) Works of art and collections
 - iii) Fittings (windows, doors), special functional features or facilities
 - q) Rural settlements
 - r) Urban settlements
 - i) Towns which are no longer inhabited
 - ii) Inhabited urban areas
 - iii) Colonial towns
 - iv) Towns established in 19th–20th centuries
 - s) Sacred sites
 - i) Sacred forests and sacred trees
 - ii) Sacred mountains
 - iii) Sacred settlements
 - iv) Cemeteries, necropolises
 - t) Cultural landscapes
 - i) Parks and gardens
 - ii) Botanical and zoological gardens
 - iii) Natural environment, seascapes
 - iv) Organically evolved landscapes;
 - v) Associative landscapes
 - vi) Industrial landscapes

3) Spiritual responses (religions)

- a) Ancient and indigenous belief systems
 - i) Ancient Middle East and Egypt (Mesopotamia, Iran)
 - ii) Ancient Mediterranean (Greek, Hellenistic, Roman religions)
 - iii) Indigenous belief systems in Europe
 - iv) Indigenous belief systems in Asia – Pacific
 - v) Indigenous belief systems in Africa
 - vi) Indigenous belief systems in the Americas (Olmec, Inca, Maya, etc.)
 - vii) Indigenous belief systems in the Arctic Region
- b) Hinduism and other South-Asian Religions
 - i) Hinduism, Vedism, Brahmaism;
 - ii) Vaisnavism, Saivism, Tantrism, Saktism, Jainism
 - iii) Sikhism, Parsiism
- c) Buddhism
 - i) Ashoka, Sri Lanka, Theravada, Mahayana, Prajñāparamita, Suddharma-pundarika, Vimalakirtinirdesha, Shurangamasamadhi, Zen Buddhism, Sukhavati-vyuha, Madhyamaka, Yogachara, Tantra
 - ii) Chinese Buddhism, Pure Land, Ch'an, The Blossoming of schools
 - iii) Japanese Buddhism, Zen Buddhism
 - iv) Tibetan Buddhism
 - v) Buddhism in the West
- d) Confucianism, Taoism, Shintoism, etc.
- e) Zoroastrianism
- f) Judaism
- g) Christianity
 - i) Early Christian Church; Ethiopian Church
 - ii) Orthodox Church
 - iii) Catholic Church
 - iv) Protestantism
- h) Islam
 - i) The Khawarij, The Mutazilah
 - ii) The Sunnah
 - iii) The Shiah, Ismaili, Sufism

4) Utilising natural resources

- a) Agriculture and food production
 - i) Irrigation systems
 - ii) Crop and flock farming
 - iii) Hunting, gathering and fishing
- b) Mining and quarrying
- c) Manufacturing

5) Movement of peoples

- a) Migration (incl. slavery)
- b) Colonisation
- c) Nomadism and transhumance
- d) Cultural routes
 - i) Pilgrimage routes, commercial and trade routes, heritage routes
 - ii) Pilgrimage places and places of origin
- e) Systems of transportation and trade
 - i) Centres of trade and exchange of goods
 - ii) Caravan routes, oases
 - iii) Land road transport, bridges
 - iv) Water transport, navigation, ports, canals
 - v) Railroads, stations, tunnels, viaducts
 - vi) Aviation and airports

6) Developing technologies

- a) Converting and utilising energy
 - i) Wind power, windmills
 - ii) Water energy, water as power source, watermills; dam construction, etc.
 - iii) Seam, coal, gas, petroleum, electric power
 - iv) Thermonuclear, space-age technology
- b) Processing information and communicating
 - i) Writing, inscriptions, manuscripts; archives
 - ii) Post, telegraph, telephone, radio and TV systems, satellite communication systems
 - iii) Astrology and astronomy
- c) Technology in urban community
 - i) Infrastructures (water-supply, sanitation, electric power, etc.)
 - ii) Urban transportation systems
 - iii) Construction technology
- d) Handicraft and industrial technologies

Whether or not these themes are actually considered in the nomination process is difficult to ascertain, inasmuch as no evaluation of this recommendation exists. All we know is that – on the occasion of its 18th session in 2011 – the General Assembly of the States Parties to the World Heritage Convention formed working groups including various experts from different regions of the world. The aim was to assess the existing Tentative Lists in the various countries with regard to their thematic orientations. The results of these working groups have yet to be presented (ICOMOS, 2004, p.16).

*Chronological-regional framework***I. Early evolution of humans****II. Near and Middle East, North Africa**

- 1. Mesopotamia
- 2. Egypt
- 3. Ancient Anatolia
- 4. Phoenician civilization in the Mediterranean and Ancient North Africa
- 5. Near Eastern Kingdoms
- 6. Ancient Iran
- 7. Persian Empires
- 8. Empire of Alexander the Great, Hellenistic period
- 9. Roman Empire,
- 10. Byzantine Empire
- 11. Arabia and related states

12. Caliphates in the Near and Middle East and Egypt
13. The Maghreb
14. Seljuk Empire (1038–1279)
15. Ottoman Empire (1300–1922)

III. Europe

1. Aegean, Minoan and Mycenaean civilisations
2. Greek City States and Classical Greece
3. Empire of Alexander the Great and the Hellenistic period
4. Early Non-Classical Europe
5. Rome and Roman Empire
6. Byzantine Empire (4th CE – 1453)
7. Eastern Medieval Europe
8. Southern Medieval Europe
9. Western and Northern Medieval Europe
10. 15th–16th centuries (Renaissance, Religious Discords)
11. 17th–18th centuries (Absolutism, Age of Reason)
12. Europe from the French Revolution to the First World War

IV. Asia

1. Indian subcontinent
2. South-East Asia
3. East Asia (Far East)
4. Central Asia

V. The Pacific and Australia

1. Australia
2. New Zealand
3. Melanesia
4. Micronesia
5. Polynesia

VI. Sub-Saharan Africa

1. West Africa
2. Nilotic Sudan and Ethiopia
3. East Africa and Madagascar
4. Central Africa
5. Southern Africa

VII. The Americas

1. North America
2. Mesoamerica
3. The Caribbean
4. South America

VIII. The Arctic and Antarctic regions

IX. The modern world

To date, however, no definitive statements have been made with respect to the topics and a chronological-regional differentiation of sites, even though in his cited publication, Jokilehto recommends and formulates the pertinent implementation recommendations and even provides concrete examples. In his recommendations he not only addresses the relationships between topics and criteria (Chapter III), he also suggests concrete procedures:

“Identification of the meaning and relative value of a property should start with the identification of the themes, then proceed to the chronological-regional assessment, and finally define the typology to proposed, whether for a monument, an group or a site” (Jokilehto et al., 2008, p. 16).

2.5 Management requirements

The World Heritage List is the most visible expression of the UNESCO Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. However, as indicated in its title, it seeks to maintain and preserve properties with Outstanding Universal Value. It is not a mere ranking list of outstanding tourist destinations. The

World Heritage List is the key comprehensive preservation instrument of the World Heritage Convention, which also delineates commitments to preservation as ratified by the States Parties, and not only to protect sites of Outstanding Universal Value, but also to maintain cultural and natural heritage properties that do not strictly satisfy the criteria of the Convention.

The prerequisite for passing on cultural and natural heritage to future generations is the safeguarding of integrity and authenticity, in addition to the values and attributes that justify the Outstanding Universal Value. Responsible and concerted action is required in order to address the dangers, described in the Preamble to the World Heritage Convention, to which cultural and natural heritage properties are exposed. This is why the first version of the *Operational Guidelines for the World Heritage Committee* (UNESCO, 1997, p. 9. para. 14.iv) refers to “management plans”, thereby emphasizing the need for protection and preservation issues to be properly addressed in the context of the application process.

A management plan for a World Heritage site comprises an integrated planning and action concept to determine the goals and measures required to realize the property’s protection, maintenance, use and development. When the *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* (UNESCO, 2013b) came into effect on 1 February 2001, the management plan became binding for the inscribed World Heritage properties. The essential components of a management plan are cited in the *Guidelines*:

- protection measures based on legislation, other guidelines and contracts,
- setting limits for effective protection, buffer zones, management systems and sustainable use.

The form and content of a World Heritage site management plan also derive from the Recommendation concerning the Protection, at National Level, of the Cultural and Natural Heritage (UNESCO, 1972b) and from a questionnaire from 2004/2005 when Europe and North America conducted the first Periodic Reporting exercise.¹⁸ Since 2007, a brief presentation of management schemes has also been included in the Outstanding Universal Value declaration, and has since been made available to each World Heritage property. The general frameworks and long-term perspectives with respect to the preservation of the instruments and conservation measures required to protect Outstanding Universal Value are explained briefly below.

The management plan itself should provide exhaustive information on the basis and instruments pertaining to the preservation of a property’s Outstanding Universal Value. In addition to the presentation of Outstanding Universal Value and the establishment of authenticity and/or wholeness and intactness, on which the text

¹⁸ See *Periodic Report and Action Plan, Europe 2005–2006* (UNESCO, 2007e). http://whc.unesco.org/documents/publi_wh_papers_20_en.pdf (accessed 21 May 2014).

should be based, while the cited central building blocks should clearly delineate the conservation status, potential dangers and monitoring provisions, scientific and research issues, financial resources, number and qualifications of staff and participating institutions, training needs, awareness and mediation issues, number of visitors and visitor management, and tourism and traffic management concerns.

Numerous recommendations concerning such management plans already exist (Ringbeck, 2008), although there is no binding model or index of consulting organizations for management plans. The respective contents should be orientated to the World Heritage property and its specific particularities, in addition to laws and procedures existing at the national or regional levels. The above-mentioned 1972 Recommendation on cultural and natural heritage also underscores that the preservation and conservation requirements of the World Heritage Convention are based on an integrative approach including instruments of legal protection at the national level; this applies both to sites of Outstanding Universal Value, and those of “only” national or regional significance. The signing of the World Heritage Convention is first and foremost a self-commitment to follow the legal regulations and procedures in force in a specific country.

2.6 List of World Heritage in Danger

The World Heritage Convention was adopted on 16 November 1972, among other reasons because:

“... the cultural heritage and the natural heritage are increasingly threatened with destruction not only by the traditional causes of decay, but also by changing social and economic conditions which aggravate the situation with even more formidable phenomena of damage or destruction” (UNESCO, 1972*a*, preamble).

The reasons that prompted the international community to protect human heritage of Outstanding Universal Value after the Second World War are presented in the Introduction to this publication. We now delineate the potential and real dangers posed to World Heritage and their impacts. We also address the options for protecting endangered World Heritage, as defined in Article 11, para. 4, of the World Heritage Convention.

Conventional damage, i. e. the age or use-related deterioration of cultural and natural properties, are among the most common signs of use, whether caused directly by people or by normal wear and tear. Heritage is not endangered solely by armed conflict or politically motivated destruction as defined in the Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict.¹⁹ In this

¹⁹ The Hague Convention was adopted in 1954 in response to war-related damage.

respect, the founders of the World Heritage Convention did not anticipate any deterioration of tangible properties beyond wear and tear. However, the instigators of the Convention did indeed take a long-term view in anticipating potential destructive factors related to cultural and natural properties due to *changes in social and economic conditions*. Many of the consequences associated with modernization processes that characterized the urban planning policies in the 1960s and 1970s and the related sense of loss can be observed today in countries in which industry is currently booming.²⁰

Evolving social and economic conditions and normal age-related causes of deterioration of heritage led to the establishment of a List of World Heritage in Danger. The “Danger List” offers the affected governments – in case of threats to the authenticity or integrity of sites (see Chapter 2.3) or threats to the Outstanding Universal Value (see Chapter 2.2), – the opportunity of inscribing the endangered site on this List, and initiating special protection measures to safeguard the site in question. Based on the general protective function provided for all World Heritage sites as laid down in the Convention, the World Heritage Committee also reserves the right to provide special protection by entering the site on the List, even if the Member State concerned is not amenable to doing so. It should thus be emphasized that the Danger List does indeed afford special protective measures. The aim is to draw special attention to endangered sites and to provide them with political and financial support, in addition to dedicated advisory services.

The destruction of the Buddha statues in Afghanistan’s Bamiyan Valley provides the most striking example of a property inscribed on the Danger List (Figure 2.20). Destroyed by the Taliban in 2001, including the empty niches and remaining archaeological site, it was inscribed as a World Heritage property in 2003 and simultaneously placed on the Danger List. The rationale given for the inscription was:

“Criterion (i): The Buddha statues and the cave art in Bamiyan Valley are an outstanding representation of the Gandharan school in Buddhist art in the Central Asian region. Criterion (ii): The artistic and architectural remains of Bamiyan Valley, an important Buddhist centre on the Silk Road, are an exceptional testimony to the interchange of Indian, Hellenistic, Roman and Sasanian influences as the basis for the development of a particular artistic expression in the Gandharan school. To this can be added the Islamic influence in a later period. Criterion (iii): The Bamiyan Valley bears an exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition in the Central Asian region, which has disappeared. Criterion (iv): The Bamiyan Valley is an outstanding example of a cultural landscape which illustrates a significant period in Buddhism. Criterion (vi): The Bamiyan Valley is the most monumental expression of the western Buddhism. It was an important centre of pilgrimage over many centuries. Due to their symbolic values, the monuments have suffered at different times of their existence, including the deliberate destruction in 2001, which shook the whole world” (UNESCO World Heritage List, ref. 208).

20 For a comprehensive discussion on the effects of societal developments on heritage see Chapter 3.



Fig. 2.20: Destroyed Buddha statues in the Bamiyan Valley (Afghanistan)

In the course of the submission procedure the Afghan Government requested that the World Heritage Committee enter the site on the Danger List, because “it is threatened by serious and specific danger, and because major operations are necessary for its conservation” (ICOMOS, 2003a, p. 3). The inscription of the Buddha statues on the World Heritage List and simultaneously on the Danger List sent a very strong signal to the entire world, and eventually prompted the international community to cooperate in restoring the valley.

On the other hand, certain properties in Germany had gone through a learning curve with respect to the instrument of the Danger List, in order to protect existing heritage from economic and/or politically motivated threats. Examples of this in Germany include Cologne Cathedral (Figure 2.21) and Potsdam.

In Cologne, Potsdam and Vienna, modernization concepts endangered the integrity of sites in the context of a veritable boom in high-rise buildings. Cologne Cathedral was placed on the Danger List in July 2004 on the occasion of the 28th session of the World Heritage Committee in Suzhou (China). This was because in February 2003, ICOMOS Germany had already expressed concerns about the plans to develop a high-rise complex comprising five office and hotel towers in Cologne-Deutz.²¹ The height of the planned complex was anticipated to range between

²¹ “The World Heritage Committee, *Regrets* that the German authorities had not provided the information concerning the high-rise building projects in time, in accordance with para. 56 of the



Fig. 2.21: Cologne Cathedral (Germany)

100 m and 120 m, which in turn would have destroyed the visual integrity of the cathedral. The planned ensemble of high-rise buildings was the result of an architectural competition entitled ICE-Terminal Deutz (ICOMOS, 2003b), of which the World Heritage Committee was totally unaware. The Committee demanded that measures be introduced to preserve the visual integrity and a buffer zone was also specified, which had not previously been submitted for the site (UNESCO, 2004, p. 116). The measure had the desired effect and the construction plans were revised to include a buffer zone. As a result, Cologne Cathedral was removed from the Danger List during the Committee's 30th session in Vilnius (DUK, 2006; Ringbeck, 2006).

The instrument of the Danger List had a similar impact on the planned Potsdam Center in 1997, which also threatened the visual integrity of Potsdam's surrounding

Operational Directives (2002); *Noting* the information provided on the current situation at the site, including the announcement to continue with the implementation of the construction project, *Regrets* that the State Party has not yet designated a buffer zone for the property despite the Committee's request at the time of the inscription; *Urges* the City of Cologne to reconsider the current building plans as to their visual impact on the World Heritage property of Cologne Cathedral and requests that any new construction should respect the visual integrity of the property, ... *Decides* to inscribe Cologne Cathedral on the List of World Heritage in Danger" (UNESCO, 2004, p. 116).

palaces and parks (UNESCO, 1997a, pp. 27 ff.). For the historic centre of Vienna, also, the 2002 World Heritage Committee used the List to exert pressure to limit large-scale buildings to the buffer zone (UNESCO, 2002, p. 37).

We still remember the discussion surrounding what happened in Dresden, particularly because the regional and city governments simply did not understand how to properly exploit the potential protection offered by the Danger List. Dresden was granted World Heritage status in 2004. It was placed on the Danger List in 2006, and again in 2009, and was sadly the first cultural heritage property to be delisted, despite Germany's vote to maintain heritage status.²²

In 2013 forty-four sites were inscribed on the Danger List, of which eighteen are natural heritage properties and twenty-six are cultural heritage properties. Of these, seven sites are at risk of losing their World Heritage status because of integrity violations, for example due to high-rise buildings in the core or buffer zones, as recently occurred in Liverpool (United Kingdom).²³ Five sites are endangered because of environmental impacts or other effects of climate change. Fourteen sites are endangered by political or armed conflicts. However, the majority of entries in UNESCO's Danger List and/or the IUCN Red List, i. e. thirty sites, involve actors at various professional and financial levels who do not have access to sustainable and suitable protection options as required by the justification and mandatory criteria for the specific site. It is for sites such as these that the Danger List remains an outstanding instrument of protection.

²² See comprehensive explanation and images in Chapter 3. 2.

²³ Entry in the "Red List" during 2012: "Considers that the proposed development of Liverpool Waters constitutes a potential danger to the World Heritage property and, therefore, decides to inscribe Liverpool – Maritime Mercantile City (United Kingdom) on the List of World Heritage in Danger, with the possibility of deletion of the property from the World Heritage List, should the current project be approved and implemented" (UNESCO, 2012b, p. 133).

3 The World Heritage Convention in the Fullness of Time

The historical, social, political and socio-economic developments of the early and mid 20th century that paved the way for the drafting and adoption of the World Heritage Convention are differently assessed from diverse conservationist, historical or social science points of view.²⁴ These are underlined by their respective disciplinary and epistemologically formulated interests. In this chapter we are following a historical approach by determining the changes in society after the Second World War and deriving the interest in the protection of cultural and natural properties from it. We reflect on these developments and approach them from a critical-analytical standpoint in order to categorize them in political and paradigmatic terms. It goes without saying that the massive war-related damage inflicted on the tangible infrastructure of societies gave rise to recognition of the necessity to protect tangible cultural heritage. It again became apparent in the context of the war that the enforcement of political and military interests and goals does not stop at sacrificing tangible heritage.²⁵

It has long been known that tangible cultural heritage creates a sense of identity and that the destruction of heritage is invariably associated with the destruction of identity.²⁶ The well-known monuments conservator Marian Arszynski (Torún, Poland) comments on this matter in the introduction to his 2012 essay *Realization of Prussia's religious congregations of the past and reawakened interest in its artistic monuments and their conservation*. By “making the past present“ ... “historical memory is recognized as one of the most important forces driving societal and political processes” (Arszynski, 2008, p. 587). To this extent, it was indeed such pivotal experiences associated with the destruction of cultural properties that served as a motivation for the community of nations to develop instruments to protect cultural heritage and to firmly establish them internationally (Albert, 2006).²⁷

24 Of particular interest here is *Many Voices, One Vision: The Early Years of the World Heritage Convention* (Cameron and Rössler, 2013). The authors interview the initiators, founders and creative minds behind the World Heritage Convention. The interviewees present diverse visions according to their respective backgrounds and points of view.

25 Co-author M.-T. Albert deals extensively with this aspect in her publication *Nature and Culture* (see Albert, 2002).

26 Tangible cultural heritage as a conveyor and mediator of the identities of the future was first recognized internationally in the Charter of Athens of 1931. Since then, it has served more as a manifesto for the preservation of cultural monuments in urban settings. It was the precursor to the 1964 Charter of Venice, which has since strongly influenced the understanding of authenticity in the preservation of buildings and monuments.

27 Co-author M.-T. Albert has conducted an exhaustive analysis of tangible heritage and identity-formation, published in 2006 in *Culture, Heritage, Identity*.

Furthermore, experiences gained in the context of the modernization of societies in the 1950 s, 1960 s and 1970 s also necessitated the protection of cultural and natural heritage. The modernization processes after the Second World War brought about a change in the perception of tangible culture, now no longer based on its authentic structures and materials, but rather limited to the functionality of so-called *cultural property*.²⁸ The sad consequence was that entire buildings and city districts were razed and then rebuilt according to the functionalistic commercial view of tangible culture that dominated this period. With the adoption of the World Heritage Convention, tangible culture was also to be protected against such developments. This aspect has been emphasized in Chapters 1 and 2, as well as in the Preamble to the World Heritage Convention. The protection of cultural and natural heritage over the course of history can thus be seen as an expression of the legitimate concerns of the peoples of the world, gaining fresh impetus in the wake of the destruction caused by the Second World War.

3.1 How it all began

As indicated above, the belligerent parties did not shy away from destroying cultural heritage. They destroyed monuments and entire cities in order to purposely shatter any identification people had with the ideals and tangible works of their past; the aim was to create barren landscapes through which their new ideologies and/or political strategies could be imposed. The ancient royal Polish city of Warsaw and Dresden in Germany are the most striking examples of this.

Warsaw was devastated by the Nazis on at least two occasions (Figure 3.1), once during the first invasion of Poland by Hitler's Germany in late 1939, and again during the counter-insurgency of the Warsaw uprising in August 1944. Approximately 85 per cent of the city was destroyed and an estimated 700,000 residents died. The post-war reconstruction of Warsaw lasted five years and is considered to be the greatest cultural achievement of the post-war era. For the country and its habitants, this undertaking created a high degree of enduring cultural identity which is still present today. The Historic Centre of Warsaw (Figure 3.2) has been recognized as a World Heritage site since 1980, and is acknowledged internationally as a place of outstanding heritage for humanity.

The destruction of Dresden (Figure 3.3) by Allied Forces in February 1945 was prompted by quite different political-ideological motives. The aim was nonetheless to destroy tangible heritage and thereby to destroy citizens' identification with objects that naturally represented their fundamental cultures and systems.

²⁸ The term was adopted in the Hague Convention. It is addressed in Chapter 2. 6.



Fig. 3.1: Warsaw (Poland) in ruins during the Second World War



Fig. 3.2: Warsaw restored



Fig. 3.3: Dresden (Germany) was destroyed in 1945 by Allied bombing, leaving large portions of the historic centre in ruins

Dresden too had evolved into a social and cultural centre that since the 17th century had enjoyed continuous industrial, infrastructural and intellectual development, in addition to numerous splendid buildings. And although the people of Dresden were no more or less convinced of National Socialist ideology than the rest of Germany, the city was fire-bombed by Allied Forces in February 1945. Approximately 25 per cent of the entire area of the city was destroyed and tens or even hundreds of thousands died; the exact number still cannot be proven with certainty.

In addition to those cited above, there are many other examples demonstrating how the destruction of cultures is a component of the historical development of humankind and right up to the present day. The destruction of tangible and intangible culture purposely aims to destroy identity. This is why the preservation of tangible and intangible culture is so important in securing sustainable protection of both individual and collective identity. This is how John Ruskin expressed it in 1849:

“Take good care of your monuments and you won’t need to rebuild them. ... Guard an old building with fearful diligence; ... count their stones like jewels in a crown; post guards around them, like at the gates of a besieged city ... Do all this with tenderness, respectfully and tirelessly and in their shadow a new generation will emerge, live and vanish again” (Huse, 2006 [1984], p. 91).

The destruction of heritage and consequently of identity became more evident than ever in the wake of the Second World War and ultimately prompted the community

of nations to mobilize during the post-war era in favour of peaceful coexistence.²⁹ Such destructive actions carried out by the warring countries also brought about the awareness that tangible cultural assets in particular must also be protected, as they symbolize the power of human creativity and reflect the wide spectrum of the cultural heritage of mankind. It was therefore not surprising that many initiatives of the United Nations³⁰ and its Specialized Agency UNESCO, both established in 1945, were dedicated to safeguarding tangible cultural assets. A series of normative instruments was adopted, which for the community of nations was to serve as the legitimate basis for measures to protect cultural assets that were to be put in place over the years to come. Article 1 of UNESCO's Constitution states:

“The purpose of the Organization is to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations through education, science and culture in order to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law and for the human rights and fundamental freedoms which are affirmed for the peoples of the world, without distinction of race, sex, language or religion, by the Charter of the United Nations” (UNESCO, 1945, art. 1, para. 1).

In order to achieve this goal, an important task for UNESCO is the preservation, expansion and dissemination of knowledge:

“... By assuring the conservation and protection of the world's inheritance of books, works of art and monuments of history and science, and recommending to the nations concerned the necessary international conventions ...” (ibid., art. 1, para. 2).

Such visions were first concretely expressed in 1954 in the first of many conventions adopted to protect cultural assets: the Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict. The Hague Convention already specifically refers to heritage that is worthy of preservation. The importance that tangible heritage was subsequently to enjoy in the course of the further public recognition of its identity-forming qualities was not explicitly expressed here. Heritage was rather understood in functional terms, that is to say its value as *cultural property*. Article 1 of the Convention states:

²⁹ The in-depth reflections in this section are summarized from previous publications by the author. See e. g. Albert (2009, p. 1), Albert (2012, p. 6 f.), Ringbeck (2008, pp. 23 ff., 47).

³⁰ The United Nations (UN) is a union comprising 194 countries. The organization was established in 1945 to promote world peace, friendly relations between nations, social progress, improve living conditions in the developing countries, and secure human rights around the world. The UN today comprises five organs: General Assembly, Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), International Court of Justice, Security Council, Secretariat (see UN, 2006). ECOSOC coordinates the UN's economic, social and cultural work, and that of its special organizations and institutions. UNESCO is a Specialized Agency belonging to ECOSOC, as which it is authorized to be represented on the ECOSOC Council, but without voting or recommendation rights on issues pivotal to the organization (UNESCO, 2013d).

“For the purposes of the present Convention, the term ‘cultural property’ shall cover, irrespective of origin or ownership: (a) movable or immovable property of great importance to the cultural heritage of every people, such as monuments of architecture, art or history, whether religious or secular; archaeological sites; groups of buildings, ... works of art; manuscripts, books and other objects of artistic, historical or archaeological interest; as well as scientific collections and important collections of books or archives or of reproductions of the property defined above; ...” (UNESCO, 1954, p. 8).

The rationales proffered in favour of the adoption of the Hague Convention were nonetheless similar to those put forth in the 1972 Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. The decisive difference is that the 1972 Convention no longer speaks of *movable heritage*. The definitive term *immovable heritage* was designated, which refers to natural heritage on the one hand, and cultural heritage in the sense of classical monument preservation on the other. According to Hubel:

“Every monument is tied to the material matter from which it is made and to which its existence can be traced. It helps us to understand the process associated with the origins of a monument, but also reveals traces of the past to which it has been subjected since its completion, it is a witness to renovations, changes and re-purposing, as well as to the destinies of inhabitants and users, both in good and bad times” (Hubel, 2011, p. 311).

In the chronology of the adoption of internationally recognized instruments³¹ to safeguard cultural property, the Hague Convention was followed by the International Charter on the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (Venice Charter) in 1964, in which the “authenticity” of a monument was established as an important criterion warranting protection. That same year, it was determined which conditions and prerequisites were to be applied in judging whether or not a specific cultural heritage property was worthy of preservation. At that time already, cultural properties warranting preservation were considered to possess “sustainable value”, even prior to the adoption of the World Heritage Convention, a concept that has indeed stood the test of time, despite the many subsequent adjustments and interpretations. The accompanying struggle for power in terms of defining the relevant terminology was won by those supporting the concept of authenticity, a notion that had also been created and expanded by experts in the field.

We cite Jukka Jokilehto in “Considerations on authenticity and integrity in World Heritage context”, one of the most renowned representatives of the notion of “authenticity” in World Heritage. He compares the contemporary understanding of authenticity to philosophical debates in Ancient Greece surrounding continuity,

³¹ In UNESCO terminology, so-called (*legally*) *binding instruments*, used by the community of nations to regulate and implement the Organization’s responsibilities, for example charters or pacts or conventions (UNESCO, 2013e).

transformation and truth, which he sees reflected in Theseus' ship in Plutarch's *Vita Thesei*. He writes:

“The ship was kept by Athenians as a memorial for a long time. Due to gradual replacement of rotten planks, the ship retained its original form but its tangible was entirely renewed. The question was then raised: was it still the ship of Theseus? In modern times ... we can think that the gradual renovation over time still provided a spatio-temporal continuity for the ship, thus retaining a certain identity. In another alternative, one could imagine that the materials that were removed would have been reassembled elsewhere in another ship. What would then be the significance of this other ship?” (Jokilehto, 2006, p.2 f.).

This is why Jokilehto understands the term “authenticity, to mean truthfulness, and not only in an evidentiary sense, but also as a creative activity. In this context he refers to Alois Riegls' concept of *Kunstwollen* (artistic will) and writes:

“Etymologically the concept of ‘being authentic’ refers to being truthful, both in terms of standing alone as an autonomous human creation as well as being a true evidence of something. ... Alois Riegl coined the concept of *Kunstwollen* to indicate the relationship of human creative activity with the relevant cultural context” (ibid., p. 8).

In its reference to *authenticity*, the Venice Charter states:

“Imbued with a message from the past, the historic monuments of generations of people remain to the present day as living witnesses of their age-old traditions. People are becoming more and more conscious of the unity of human values and regard ancient monuments as a common heritage. The common responsibility to safeguard them for future generations is recognized. It is our duty to hand them on in the full richness of their authenticity” (ICOMOS, 1964, preamble).

The Nara Document on Authenticity adopted in November 1994 in Nara (Japan), goes much further in its more modern definition of authenticity citing “the essential factor in establishing the value of an asset” (ICOMOS, 1994, art. 10). Article 9 of the document states:

“The process of restoration is a highly specialized operation. 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. It must stop at the point where conjecture begins, and in this case moreover any extra work which is indispensable must be distinct from the architectural composition and must bear a contemporary stamp. The restoration in any case must be preceded and followed by an archaeological and historical study of the monument” (ibid., art. 9).

The scope of the term was broadened even further in August 1979 in Burra (Australia), upon the adoption of the Burra Charter (revised November 1999 and October 2013), in which the *significance* (heritage value) of cultural properties is emphasized:

“Cultural significance means aesthetic, historic, scientific, social or spiritual value for past, present or future generations” (ICOMOS Australia, 2013, art. 1.2).

It is important to note that the understanding that arose in reaction to war damage – that tangible cultural properties form identity, value and consciousness – was instrumental in achieving an international social awareness in the States Parties involved, with the aid of the UNESCO programme to disseminate preservation concepts and related lawful uses of heritage. Ultimately, Euro-American countries expanded European cultural assumptions and anchored them in conventions and charters. In the developing countries this occurred in association with “forward-looking” development policies tied to aid-to-education programmes.

Particularly noteworthy here are the modernistic developmental and educational concepts of the 1960 s and 70 s, and the pivotal role played therein by UNESCO. One key idea behind UNESCO’s educational planning in those days was the regional implementation of national plans and strategies. The aim was to consider new education-related trends, problems and perspectives in a much broader context (UNESCO, 1997*b*). Already in 1951, just after UNESCO’s 14th International Conference on Public Education and establishment of the International Bureau of Education (IBE) Recommendation No. 32 on compulsory education and its prolongation was adopted, which among other things states:

“The plans should be co-ordinated with plans for reform and for economic and social development; preliminary studies should be made of the economic, financial, social, geographical, political and linguistic factors. Lastly, the plans should be flexible and subject to constant amendment” (ibid.).

From 1961 to 1963, UNESCO set up regional educational planning centres in Beirut, New Delhi, Santiago and Dakar. The International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP) was established in Paris in 1963 (ibid.).³²

32 Between 1960 and 1965 alone, UNESCO dispatched planning groups to some thirty countries and provided technical help in the form of expert services in some fifty countries (Maheu, 1965, p. vi). The conception of educational planning at the time saw education-related expenditures and investments as an investment in economic and social development. In line with the spirit of the times, this approach was actively advanced by most of the governments of the world, particularly those in Latin America (ibid., p. vii). Only later were approaches to education such as “lifelong learning” explored, and most of them disseminated in the 1972 UNESCO report entitled *Learning to Be. The World of Education Today and Tomorrow*, also known as the “Faure Report” after the head publisher Edgar Faure. Four fundamental underlying assumptions were made: the existence of an international community and solidarity between governments and peoples, despite differences and conflicts; a belief in democracy and the rights of all peoples to realize their own potential and self-fulfilment as the goal of development, in addition to the necessity of lifelong learning to meet ever-increasing challenges (Faure et al., 1972, pp. v–vi).

On the other hand, it made use of the technical innovations and developments emerging between the post-war period and the 1970 s³³ that were deployed to “save” cultural assets. Such measures were accompanied by campaigns emphasizing how tangible heritage also played an important function in terms of cross-generational human identification, and as such, the formation of identity. This pertained to the restoration and preservation of the Angkor temple complexes in Cambodia. Also in 1980 the Historic Centre of Warsaw was inscribed on the World Heritage List, even though the condition of authenticity was not applicable because of the extensive damage. This also held true for the successful restoration of the Old City of Dubrovnik (Croatia), which after having sustained serious damage due to artillery fire was inscribed in 1998 on the List of World Heritage in Danger (UNESCO, 2013e).

The most striking example of the significance of tangible heritage for societies was the international campaign to save the Nubian Temples of Abu Simbel, Philae, Kalabsha and other sites in Egypt threatened by an overflow of the planned Aswan Dam.

This campaign was implemented between 1963 and 1968 in the context of a worldwide solidarity movement involving over fifty participating countries. Half of the US\$80 million required to save the site was collected in a relatively short period. The temple complex was to be dismantled into over 1,000 blocks – 807 for the great temple and 235 for the smaller one – and then reassembled on higher ground (Scholz, 1994, p. 181 f.). Even today, this campaign remains unparalleled. Not only with respect to the financial outlay and technical excellence involved in relocating the temple, but also in terms of the degree of international solidarity accompanying the project and the raising of international awareness of outstanding cultural heritage. As planned, with the aid of an innovative computer developed specifically for this purpose, the temple was dismantled into thousands of components, carefully mapped, packed and transported to a location 65 m higher and 180 m further inland, where it was reassembled (*ibid.*, p. 179). Even today this rescue action is seen as a milestone both in terms of the performance of the involved engineers and successful international cooperation. The subsequent adoption of the World Heritage Convention a few years later in 1972 was the logical consequence of this successful international action to preserve cultural property.

The rescue of Abu Simbel motivated the international community to initiate further conservation campaigns such as the preservation of the flood-threatened Venice and its Lagoon (UNESCO, 2013e), preservation of the Archaeological Ruins at Moenjodaro in Pakistan threatened by the effects of salinization (Fodde and Khan, 2010, p. 3), or the restoration of Borobudur Temple Compounds in Indonesia (UNESCO, 2013e), and the development of instruments capable of conserving and protecting

³³ According to statistics provided by the International Patent Institute established in 1947 and integrated into the European Patent Organisation in 1978, the number of patents received each year had already reached approx. 80,000 by the early 1970 s (Shenhav, 2013, p. 12).

such unique cultural heritage properties for future generations. So it was only fitting that the World Heritage Convention was adopted in 1972.

The material-based understanding of culture and cultural assets and the identity-forming values attributed to them were strengthened by such rescue actions, as they were in societal terms. While in the 1950 s, 1960 s and early 1970 s cultural assets were chiefly interpreted through aesthetic expressions and were based on cultural concepts, such rescue actions also brought about a paradigm shift in the form of theoretical, elitist and bourgeois interpretations, which altered the understanding of cultural assets and the necessity to protect them. The preservation of cultural assets increasingly became a task for society at large, indeed an issue that served to strengthen the identity-forming significance of cultural objects vis-à-vis society's awareness of them. In this process, culture in the form of monuments, religious sites or palaces was designated as an authentic and unique common good worthy of preservation.³⁴ As a consequence of Abu Simbel, the social awareness of cultural assets evolved into an appreciation of cultural heritage, which was still termed as "property" in line with the Hague Convention.

The adopted charters and conventions also formed a framework of legitimacy for further expert discussions on the significance of cultural heritage vis-à-vis the identity of succeeding generations. At the same time, the concept of culture remained limited to tangible constructs. An understanding of culture construed as the totality of human expressions of life in fact existed within Anglo-Saxon and French cultural anthropology circles, finding particular expression in the nascent *Cultural Studies* courses. It was not yet accepted by the community itself, which merely identified cultural assets as being worthy of preservation in the context of conventions and charters, and later within UNESCO itself.

Nevertheless, such discourse emphasizing the need for the world to protect tangible heritage brought about the paradigm shift we mentioned. One of the preferred rationales for the 1972 World Heritage Convention was that the concepts of modernization and industrialization might damage tangible goods and tangible heritage. It can thus be concluded that the initiators of the Convention envisioned a world beyond such developmental processes and underlying philosophies and strategies. Despite the existence of the Convention, modernization and industrialization processes moved forward based on an unwavering faith that they would lead to prosperity for the public at large. It was a belief that found expression in all theoretical

³⁴ According to the Hague Convention: "... *Being convinced* that damage to cultural property belonging to any people whatsoever means damage to the cultural heritage of all mankind, since each people makes its contribution to the culture of the world; *Considering* that the preservation of the cultural heritage is of great importance for all peoples of the world and that it is important that this heritage should receive international protection ..." (UNESCO, 1954, preamble).

concepts of society,³⁵ making it difficult to convince the population of the more shadowy aspects of progress and modernism.

These shadowy aspects were formulated by representatives of the school of Critical Theory such as Jürgen Hagerman. He postulated that societies evolve from a communicative system to a system in which human values

“[are] no longer directed toward the consciousness of human beings who live together and discuss matters with each other, but to the behaviour of human beings who manipulate. As a productive force of industrial development, it changes the basis of human life, but it no longer reaches out critically beyond this basis to raise life itself, for the sake of life, to another level” (Habermas, 1974, p. 255).

The understanding of society and development in these years greatly impacted opinions on the significance of nature for humanity and its development. Particularly in 1972, society had not yet been sensitized with respect to dealings with nature and did not perceive nature as vital and essential for life. It was rather perceived as an obstacle to economic and technical development. In those years, the concept of progress that had evolved during the Enlightenment still dominated modern societies. Progress was thought to be an “enlightened” concept in which cultures had the right to exploit natural environments in the name of modernity. It was deeply anchored in the structures of cultural memory and independent of existing capitalist and socialist ideologies of the day, as well as in the various dependent developing countries. The exploitation of nature, and consequently of natural heritage, was perceived to be a human right, directly linked to humanity’s need for development.

Despite all the criticism voiced by international representatives of the cultural and social sciences in relation to the material-based and Eurocentric construct of the World Heritage Convention,³⁶ which had already been designated for nearly all inscribed sites

35 The fundamentals of modernization theories were already dealt with by Max Weber in *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1905), in addition to works by de Tocqueville and Durkheim. Talcott Parsons mentions in his concept (see Brock et al., 2012, p. 211): “Fundamental to the structure of modern societies are ... : bureaucratic organization of collective goal-attainment, money and market systems, generalized universalistic legal systems, and the democratic association with elective leadership and mediated membership support for policy orientations” (Parsons, 1964, p. 356). A leading proponent of the modernization theory, Walt W. Rostow (1960), developed a historical-economic model: the traditional society; the preconditions; the take-off; the drive to technological maturity; and the age of high mass-consumption (pp. 4 ff.); see also Rothermund (1994, p. 80).

36 See among others *Uses of Heritage* by Laurajane Smith (2006, pp. 27, 99 f.). In his contribution to *The 1972 World Heritage Convention: A Commentary*, published by Francesco Francioni, Abdulqawi A. Yusuf also remarked: “First, as originally identified in the Convention, the notion of ‘cultural heritage’ was found to be essentially based on a ‘European-inspired monumentalist vision’ of cultural heritage which isolated its physical dimensions from its non-physical ones” (Yusuf, 2008, p. 29). Denis Byrne has shown how the implicitness of the Western and subsequently international conservation ethic, with the World Heritage Convention as its model, also became embroiled in non-

in Europe, the inclusion of a protection scheme for natural assets in the World Heritage Convention seems almost revolutionary for the 1970 s. It continued to grow nevertheless in the historical context of the life-reform movement (*Lebensreform Bewegung*) starting in the mid 19th century and in particular from the early 20th century onwards.

During these years, expressions of the notion that nature too warranted protection met with approval from anti-modernist and in part conservative representatives of the *Lebensreform Bewegung* through the propagation of natural lifestyles, but remained relatively rare in society as a whole. The few that existed did not yet look forward to a future that would embrace the concept of sustainability, which more importantly was the consequence of the destruction of natural heritage properties in the early 1970 s such as dying forests (Figure 3.4) or urban sprawl (Figure 3.5).

The dominant social consciousness still believed that any project deemed as being good and necessary for society's cultural, political, social, economic and infrastructural development needed to be implemented, even if it was detrimental to nature. The construction of the autobahns through nature reserves is one example of the world view that reigned during these years. Nature reserves were exploited for their resources and mineral deposits, all in the name of human development. The needs of the present were thus not perceived as a potential future problem, even though the projected access road and highway traffic patterns portended enormous congestion problems in the future. Few justifications were required to destroy natural areas in order to make way for industrial development.

The first United Nations Conference addressing environmental concerns was held from 5 to 16 June 1972 in Stockholm under the title United Nations Conference on the Human Environment (UNCHE). Taking part were around 6,000 attendees and delegations from 113 countries, which even then was an indication of an ever-widening awareness of how best to deal with oil-polluted seas and DDT use (Kiss and Shelton, 2007, p. 33 f.). The unprecedented exploitation of non-renewable natural resources caused by global economic developments during the post-war period was also a subject of discussion (ibid.) On the basis of science- and economy-based rationales, the *Stockholm Declaration on the Human Environment* was adopted and an action plan consisting of 109 recommendations was drafted (ibid.). Starting in the 1970 s and 1980 s, international organizations gradually ratified the declaration, which increasingly involved comprehensive Environmental Impact Assessments

Western conflicts, for example the painted Wandjina figures in Australia that the Aborigines felt compelled to repaint time and again: "Aborigines periodically repaint the figures, often superimposing new figures on old, in a practice which is traditionally sanctioned and is an integral part of their relationship with the powerful Wandjina. However, in 1987 their right to continue this practice was threatened after an outcry initiated by a local white landowner that ancient paintings which were 'part of the heritage of all humankind' were being desecrated by Aborigines engaged in a repainting project" (Byrne, 2008, p. 233).



Fig. 3.4: Dying forest in Bavaria (Germany)

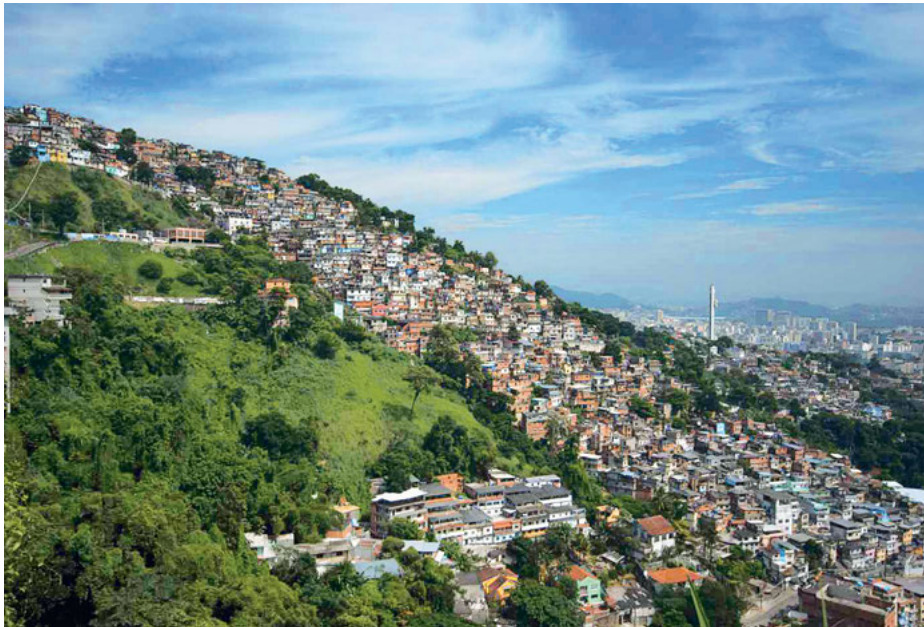


Fig. 3.5: Favelas (slums) in Rio de Janeiro (Brazil)

(EIA) (*ibid.*, p. 112). With respect to the EIA, the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) recommended adherence to general principles such as: “EIA should be applied as a tool to help achieve sustainable development; ... EIA should include meaningful opportunities for public involvement ...; EIA should be carried out in a multi- or inter-disciplinary manner ...” (Abasa et al., 2004, p. 42).

Despite the first-ever worldwide campaign initiated in the early 1970s by the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) to preserve tropical rain forests³⁷ and preliminary attempts to designate specific protected areas – and despite the existence of the World Heritage Convention – such environmentally destructive behaviours of societies did not begin to change until the end of the 1970s or early 1980s, indeed nearly ten years after natural sites had been specifically defined in the Convention as being worthy of preservation. During this period the first science-based discourses on the destructive potential of modernism increasingly took centre stage.

It therefore needs to be reiterated that, despite all the criticism voiced by international representatives of the cultural and social sciences in relation to the development and adoption of this material and Eurocentrically based construct, the World Heritage Convention proved to be innovative as early as 1972. The initiators of the Convention specifically referred to the problem of cultural and natural assets, taking enlightened modernization concepts into consideration in its Preamble. In this sense, the Convention itself was a response to the challenges posed by the modern world. Not least because with the drafting of the so-called List of World Heritage in Danger, there was an instrument in place to provide guidance on how to deal with further modernistic or other developments that might possibly threaten properties worthy of preservation.

Three years transpired after the adoption of the Convention until it officially came into force in 1975. It required ratification by twenty countries.³⁸ The first World Heritage Committee was elected in 1976, and the first implementation recommendations were issued in 1977. These were continually modified, supplemented or expanded over the following years to ensure that the Convention remained practicable against the backdrop of the ever-changing world. In Chapter 4 we take a closer look at the practical implementation of the Convention, which also prompted an unprecedented rise in its popularity; we also outline the four phases of development as defined by Bernd von Droste.³⁹

³⁷ WWF was established in 1973, not only to concentrate on species-specific preservation projects, but also to protect habitats through the establishment of national parks and nature preserves. The creation of the Corcovado National Park (Costa Rica) in 1975 with WWF help is one good example of protecting the tropical rain forests in Central America, as initiated by WWF.

³⁸ Article 8, para. 1, of the Convention specifies that the number of places on the Intergovernmental Committee be increased to twenty-one when at least forty countries have ratified the Convention.

³⁹ See von Droste (2011, pp. 26–41) in the first edition of a journal that presents research on the role of cultural heritage in renewal processes and the sustainable development of cities and regions (Rodgers and van Oers, 2011, pp. 5–14).

3.2 Stages of implementation

Bernd von Droste, the Founding Director of the World Heritage Centre, was instrumental in implementing the World Heritage Convention in its early days at UNESCO. In the first edition of the *Journal of Cultural Heritage Management and Sustainable Development* (Vol. 1, No. 1, 2011) published by Ana Pereira Roders and Ron van Oers, von Droste describes, in practical terms, how the World Heritage Convention was implemented in phases. In his essay *The concept of Outstanding Universal Value and its application: from the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World to the 1000 World Heritage places today* (von Droste, 2011, pp. 26–41) he sketches the development of the concept of tangible heritage and elaborates on how society dealt with the World Heritage Convention, in addition to how it was popularized over time. He also shows how the social consciousness of cultural heritage that formed during this popularization of World Heritage was initially characterized by a strongly conservative and materialistically oriented interpretations, then gradually allowing for intangible influences, and the subsequent understanding of nature as heritage warranting protection by the Convention.

Looking back at this process, he delineates the implementation of the Convention into four fundamental phases. According to von Droste, the first phase lasted from 1978 to 1991, when the Convention was just getting started. The second phase corresponds to the introduction and initial implementation of the so-called Global Strategy between 1992 and 1999.⁴⁰ The third phase, 2000 to 2005, is characterized by a professionalization of the experts involved in the work of the Convention. Here, he refers in particular to UNESCO experts at the local, national and international levels. The fourth phase, starting in 2006, is still ongoing and typifies the Convention's popularity in both its positive and negative lights, as outlined in Chapter 1.

First phase 1978–1991

The period of the World Heritage Convention's initial implementation can be described as its constituent phase. This was when formal structures were introduced such as the General Assembly of States Parties, the highest body overseeing the implementation of the Convention at international level, which according to Article 8 elects the Committee members, and according to Article 16 specifies the financial contributions of the States Parties to the World Heritage Fund. This concerned the election and confirmation of the first World Heritage Committee tasked with imple-

⁴⁰ The Global Strategy is discussed extensively in Chapter 3.3. However, it is important to emphasize the individual developments here, as it would not otherwise be possible to clearly divide them into phases.

menting the World Heritage Convention. To this extent, phase one signals the start of work by the various international committees, following the Convention's ratification by forty countries in 1978. That same year in Washington, the Committee first dealt with the modalities of the World Heritage Fund, in addition to the first inscriptions on the basis of the *Operational Guidelines* adopted in 1977. In retrospect, these first few years were interesting for a variety of reasons.

The Committee acted strictly within the framework of the dominating tendency of societies to dichotomously separate culture and nature as formulated above. In the *Operational Guidelines*, Outstanding Universal Value was delineated in two separate lists, one for cultural heritage (i-vi) and one for natural heritage (vii-x), while as explained above, the concept of "authenticity" was defined in strict accordance with the 1964 Venice Charter. At the same time, the Committee acted in strict compliance with the goals of the Convention, as demonstrated in their efforts to realize a greater balance, for example in terms of cultural and natural heritage inscriptions. During these early years attempts were made to achieve a regional balance. Initial efforts to achieve a balanced World Heritage List with respect to the inscribed sites are illustrated in Table 4.⁴¹

Tab. 4: World Heritage inscriptions according to region, first phase 1978–1991 (author illustration)

Region	Cultural	Natural	Mixed	Total first phase
Africa	16	22	2	40
Arab States	40	2	1	43
Asia and the Pacific	41	17	7	65
Europe and North America	131	26	6	163
Latin America and the Caribbean	32	11	3	46
Total first phase	260	78	19	357

An indication of how seriously the international community had chosen to deal with heritage protection and in strict compliance with the Convention during this period can be seen in the choice of the first property to be inscribed on both the World Heritage List and the List of World Heritage in Danger during the same year – Natural and Culturo-Historical Region of Kotor (Figure 3.6) in Montenegro, after large swathes of that city had been destroyed by an earthquake. In April 1979, after the

⁴¹ While the imbalance in terms of inscriptions between Europe and the rest of the world became apparent, it increased in the further implementation of the Convention. For this reason, the Global Strategy was adopted in 1992 (see Chapter 3.3).



Fig. 3.6: Reconstructed city centre of Kotor (Montenegro)

near total destruction of Kotor, the Yugoslav authorities submitted a nomination application to the World Heritage Committee requesting inclusion on the World Heritage List, in addition to an application for inscription on the Danger List, which in turn would provide access to financial support from the World Heritage Fund and other sources (UNESCO, 1979, p. 1). In support of this initiative, the General Director made a global appeal for aid to help reconstruct cultural heritage in Montenegro (Pichard, 1979, p. 23).

The *delisting* procedure (deletion of sites from the World Heritage List) was also adopted that same year. Delisting would occur if the values formulated in the Preamble and the criteria for justifying the Outstanding Universal Value and stipulating authenticity and integrity were deeply threatened and thus no longer fulfilled the quality criteria justifying World Heritage status (von Droste, 2011, p. 9). The 1980s' version of the *Operational Guidelines* dealt with this issue in Section I.A, para. 6(vii) by stating: "When a property has deteriorated to an extent that it has lost those characteristics which determined its inclusion in the World Heritage List, the procedure concerning the possible deletion from the List will be applied" (UNESCO, 1980, p. 3).

Why over the course of the forty-year history of the implementation of the Convention the Committee has implemented the resolution only twice – once at the behest of the State Party and once in opposition to the vote of a State Party – cannot readily be explained. The *Operational Guidelines* published during these early years also dealt with the procedure of delisting a property from the World Heritage List, a procedure which has not been changed since. Section 1.E "Procedure for the eventual

deletion of properties from the World Heritage List” of the 1980 *Operational Guidelines*, starting at para. 25, states:

“When a property inscribed on the World Heritage List has seriously deteriorated, or, when the necessary corrective measures have not been taken within the time proposed, the State Party on whose territory the property is situated should so inform the Secretariat of the Committee. ... 26. When the Secretariat receives such information from a source other than the State Party concerned, it will, as far as possible, verify the source and the contents of the information in consultation with the State Party concerned and request its comments. ... 27. In all cases except those on which the Chairman decided that no further action should be taken, the Secretariat will request the competent advisory organization(s), (ICOMOS, IUCN or ICCROM), to forward comments on the information received. ... 29. The Committee will examine the recommendation of the Bureau and all the information available and will take a decision. ... The Committee shall not decide to delete any property unless the State Party has been consulted on the question” (UNESCO, 1980, p. 7 f.).

It cannot be explained today why the various Committees have taken the decision of delisting sites only twice in more than forty years; whether they succeeded in removing the threat to Outstanding Universal Value by inscribing properties on the Danger List, or whether the implementation of the Resolution calling for sites to be deleted from the List could not be implemented due to coalitions between policy interest or conflicting resolutions between the States Parties, or because damages to Outstanding Universal Value caused by modernization⁴² were no longer taken seriously. Despite the many repeated inscriptions on the Danger List each and every year over the forty-year history of the World Heritage Convention, the fact is the decision to delist was taken on two occasions only.

The first deletion occurred in 2007 in Oman at the behest of that country’s own government. Oman had decided to reduce the area of the protected zone in question by 90 per cent (UNESCO, 2007*d*), in order to make way for oil production. The Committee’s decision was indeed noteworthy, as it was in direct contradiction to the protective measures laid down in the Preamble to the Convention. The second deletion took place in 2009 against the will of the State Party, Germany. In this case the destruction of the Outstanding Universal Value of Dresden’s Elbe Valley (Figure 3.7) following the construction of now legendary Waldschlösschenbrücke (Figure 3.8) (see Albert and Gaillard, 2012; Ringbeck and Rössler, 2011).

Another political issue that arose during the first phase, and one that continues to concern the Committee, occurred when Jordan requested the inscription of the Old City of Jerusalem and its Walls. The listing passed, despite strong opposition

⁴² One example of this process is Torre Belli in the buffer zone of the historic centre of Seville (see Chapter 5.1).



Fig. 3.7: Direct view from the Elbe Valley towards Dresden (Germany)



Fig. 3.8: View impaired by Dresden's Waldschlösschenbrücke

from the United States, which ultimately resulted in the termination of US contributions to UNESCO from 1984 to 2002.⁴³

A glance at a selection of sites inscribed during those early years reveals that the rationales behind their inscriptions continued to be based on the preservation of cultural assets. Most of the inscriptions fully embraced the vision formulated in the Preamble stating that “deterioration or disappearance of any item of the cultural or natural heritage constitutes a harmful impoverishment of the heritage of all the nations of the world” (UNESCO, 1972*a*, preamble). Sites were inscribed on the World Heritage List on the basis of this logic, for example the Ruins of Kilwa Kisiwani and Ruins of Songo Mnara (United Republic of Tanzania), Amphitheatre of El Jem (Tunisia), Historical Monuments at Makli, Thatta (Pakistan), Chartres Cathedral (France), City of Cuzco (Peru), Historic Town of Ouro Preto (Brazil), Old Towns of Djenné (Mali), Ancient City of Aleppo (Syrian Arab Republic), Fatehpur Sikri (India), Archaeological Site of Olympia (Greece) or the Jesuit Missions of the Chiquitos (Plurinational State of Bolivia) (UNESCO, 1994).

Ruins of Kilwa Kisiwani and ruins of Songo Mnara (Figure 3.9), United Republic of Tanzania, year of inscription 1981, List of World Heritage in Danger 2004, cultural site, criterion (iii).

“The remains of two great East African ports admired by early European explorers are situated on two small islands near the coast. From the 13th to the 16th century, the merchants of Kilwa dealt in gold, silver, pearls, perfumes, Arabian crockery, Persian earthenware and Chinese porcelain; much of the trade in the Indian Ocean thus passed through their hands” (UNESCO World Heritage List, ref. 144).

Amphitheatre of El Jem (Figure 3.10), Tunisia, year of inscription 1979, minor modification 2010, cultural site, criteria (iv), (vi).

“The impressive ruins of the largest coliseum in North Africa, a huge amphitheatre which could hold up to 35,000 spectators, are found in the small village of El Jem. This 3rd-century monument illustrates the grandeur and extent of Imperial Rome” (UNESCO World Heritage List, ref. 38).

43 “The Old City of Jerusalem and its Walls was inscribed as a World Heritage site in 1981 and in 1982 the Committee decided by 14 votes for, 1 against and 5 abstentions, to inscribe it on the List of World Heritage in Danger” (UNESCO, 2013*f*). “The delegate of the United States had opposed this inscription as he stressed that a property had to be located in territories of the nominating state and Jordan had no standing for such nomination whereas the consent of Israel would be required as it effectively controlled Jerusalem” (ibid.). “The USA eventually withdrew from UNESCO in 1984, with reasons of finances, bureaucracy and political focus cited, until its rejoining in 2002” (Fitchett, 14 September 2002). “The US decision to cancel its funding in October 2011 was blamed on American laws that prohibit funding to any UN agency that implies recognition of the Palestinians’ demands for their own state” (Reuters, 11 October 2013).



Fig. 3.9: Fort on the banks of Kilwa Kisiwani (Tanzania)



Fig. 3.10: View of the Amphitheater of El Jem (Tunisia)

Historical Monuments at Makli, Thatta (Figure 3.11), Pakistan, year of inscription 1981, cultural site, criterion (iii).

“The capital of three successive dynasties and later ruled by the Mughal emperors of Delhi, Thatta was constantly embellished from the 14th to the 18th centuries. The remains of the city and its necropolis provide a unique view of civilization in Sind” (UNESCO World Heritage List, ref. 143).

Chartres Cathedral (Figure 3.12), France, year of inscription 1979, minor modification 2009, cultural site, criteria (i), (ii), (iv).

“Partly built starting in 1145, and then reconstructed over a twenty-six year period after the fire of 1194, Chartres Cathedral marks the high point of French Gothic art. The vast nave, in pure ogival style, the porches adorned with fine sculptures from the middle of the 12th century, and the magnificent 12th- and 13th-century stained-glass windows, all in remarkable condition, combine to make it a masterpiece” (UNESCO World Heritage List, ref. 81).

City of Cuzco (Figure 3.13), Peru, year of inscription 1983, cultural site, criteria (iii), (iv).

“Situated in the Peruvian Andes, Cuzco developed, under the Inca ruler Pachacutec, into a complex urban centre with distinct religious and administrative functions. It was surrounded by clearly delineated areas for agricultural, artisan and industrial production. When the Spaniards conquered it in the 16th century, they preserved the basic structure but built Baroque churches and palaces over the ruins of the Inca city” (UNESCO World Heritage List, ref. 273).



Fig. 3.11: Courtyard of the mosque in Thatta (Pakistan)



Fig. 3.12: Chartres Cathedral (France)



Fig. 3.13: Cathedral on the Plaza de Armas in Cuzco (Peru)

Historic Town of Ouro Preto (Figure 3.14), Brazil, year of inscription 1980, cultural site, criteria (i), (iii).

“Founded at the end of the 17th century, Ouro Preto (Black Gold) was the focal point of the gold rush and Brazil’s golden age in the 18th century. With the exhaustion of the gold mines in the 19th century, the city’s influence declined but many churches, bridges and fountains remain as a testimony to its past prosperity and the exceptional talent of the Baroque sculptor Aleijadinho” (UNESCO World Heritage List, ref. 124).

The visions of the States Parties applying for World Heritage sites towards the end of the first phase and the transition to the second can be perceived in the same light. The need to protect irreplaceable cultural assets remained paramount. The Islamic city of Djenné in Mali is a perfect example of Islamic architecture of the 15th/16th centuries, whose preservation was secured through its inscription in the World Heritage List.

Old Towns of Djenné (Figure 3.15), Mali, year of inscription 1988, cultural site, criteria (iii), (iv).

“Inhabited since 250 BC, Djenné became a market centre and an important link in the trans-Saharan gold trade. In the 15th and 16th centuries, it was one of the centres for the propagation of Islam. Its traditional houses, of which nearly 2,000 have survived, are built on hillocks (*togueres*) as protection from the seasonal floods” (UNESCO World Heritage List, ref. 116).

The historic centre of Aleppo in Syria is also an example of grandiose architecture coupled with an expressive religious quality. It has recently been the focus of destruction caused by the Assad regime.



Fig. 3.14: View of the Historic Town of Ouro Preto (Brazil)



Fig. 3.15: Djenné (Mali)

Ancient City of Aleppo (Figure 3.16), Syria, year of inscription 1986, inscription on the List of World Heritage in Danger 2013, cultural site, criteria (iii), (iv).



Fig. 3.16: Courtyard of the Great Mosque in Aleppo (Syria)

“Located at the crossroads of several trade routes from the 2nd millennium BC, Aleppo was ruled successively by the Hittites, Assyrians, Arabs, Mongols, Mamelukes and Ottomans. The 13th-century citadel, 12th-century Great Mosque and various 17th-century madrasas, palaces, caravanserais and hammams all form part of the city’s cohesive, unique urban fabric, now threatened by overpopulation” (UNESCO World Heritage List, ref. 21).

The Moghul City of Fatehpur Sikri possessed similar significance (Figure 3.17), India, year of inscription 1986, cultural site, criteria (ii), (iii), (iv).

“Built during the second half of the 16th century by the Emperor Akbar, Fatehpur Sikri (City of Victory) was the capital of the Mughal Empire for only some ten years. The complex of monuments and temples, all in a uniform architectural style, includes one of the largest mosques in India, the Jama Masjid” (UNESCO World Heritage List, ref. 255).

Also the Archaeological Site of Olympia (Figure 3.18), Greece, year of inscription 1989, cultural site, criteria (i), (ii), (iii), (iv), (vi).

“The site of Olympia, in a valley in the Peloponnesus, has been inhabited since prehistoric times. In the 10th century B.C., Olympia became a centre for the worship of Zeus. The Altis – the sanctuary to the gods – has one of the highest concentrations of masterpieces from the ancient Greek world. In addition to temples, there are the remains of all the sports structures erected for the Olympic Games, which were held in Olympia every four years beginning in 776 BC” (UNESCO World Heritage List, ref. 517).

The Jesuit missions in Bolivia were witness to the colonial heritage of the continent and representative of Latin America in the early years.



Fig. 3.17: Abdar Khana buildings and Anoop Talao water basin in Fatehpur Sikri city (India)



Fig. 3.18: Ruins of Olympia (Greece)

Jesuit Missions of the Chiquitos (Figure 3.19), Plurinational State of Bolivia, year of inscription 1990, cultural site, criteria (iv), (v).

“Between 1696 and 1760, six ensembles of reducciones (settlements of Christianized Indians) inspired by the ‘ideal cities’ of the 16th-century philosophers were founded by the Jesuits in a style that married Catholic architecture with local traditions. The six that remain – San Francisco Javier, Concepción, Santa Ana, San Miguel, San Rafael and San José – make up a living heritage on the former territory of the Chiquitos” (UNESCO World Heritage List, ref. 529).



Fig. 3.19: Courtyard, Jesuit mission (Bolivia)

Second phase 1992–1999

The second phase, the establishment of the World Heritage Convention, can be seen in both positive and negative terms. On the positive side, based on the work of the World Heritage Centre set up in 1992, the Convention with its variously framed challenges could now be implemented in a more professional and qualitative manner. On the negative side, it must be stated that during the mere twenty-five years of the practical implementation of the Convention, European dominance with respect to the quality and quantity of World Heritage inscriptions was consolidated early on in the process (Table 5). Already in 1999, 50 per cent of all sites on the World Heritage List were located in Europe.

Tab. 5: World Heritage inscriptions according to region, second phase 1992–1999 (author illustration)

Region	Cultural	Natural	Mixed	Total first phase	Total second phase	Total World Heritage sites
Africa	3	7	0	40	10	50
Arab States	8	1	0	43	9	52
Asia and the Pacific	41	16	2	65	59	124
Europe and North America	138	13	3	163	154	317
Latin America and the Caribbean	29	11	0	46	40	86
Total first phase	260	78	19	357		
Total second phase	219	48	5		272	
Total World Heritage sites	479	126	24			629

A striking feature of the second phase was the Global Strategy adopted in 1994. Its purpose was, in theory, to redress the imbalance between European inscriptions and the rest of the world, as well as the discrepancy between cultural and natural heritage assets.⁴⁴ In this context, the criteria to determine Outstanding Universal Value were adapted on several occasions in 1983, 1984, 1988, 1992, 1994, 1996, 1997, 2005 (see Jokilehto et al., *What is OUV?*, 2008). In the middle of this period, in 1994, in the context of introducing the categories “cultural landscapes” and “historic cities”, the *Guidelines* were appropriately expanded. “Following a Committee decision, the cultural and natural criteria are now merged into a single list” (ibid., p. 13).⁴⁵

⁴⁴ As the Global Strategy is detailed in Chapter 3.3, only extracts are presented here.

⁴⁵ Jokilehto meticulously details the development of the criteria right from the first phase. In the context of a meeting of experts in 1976, Outstanding Universal Value was defined in such a way that sites nominated for inclusion on the World Heritage List needed to represent or symbolize a series

The focus continued to be on theme-related formulations in support of the inscriptions, in which tangible heritage was no longer isolated, but rather used to underscore the notion of human expression.⁴⁶

This was expressed at an expert meeting in June 1994 as follows:

“In order to redress the imbalances in the current List, some areas have been identified as having high potential to complete gaps in representation. Areas such as these should be considered in their broad anthropological context through time: human coexistence with the land – Movement of peoples (nomadism, migration), Settlement, Modes of subsistence, Technological evolution, Human beings in society – human interaction, cultural coexistence, spirituality and creative expression” (UNESCO, 1994).

The *Operational Guidelines* were also revised with respect to the broadened range of themes⁴⁷ and the concept of monitoring strategy was expanded as a “benchmark statement of integrity, which involves all stakeholders and is the basis for ongoing continuing monitoring of the state of conservation of World Heritage properties” (UNESCO, 1998b, p. 16). In March 1998, experts in Amsterdam stated that the States Parties should be urged to “implement paragraphs 68 to 75 of the *Operational Guidelines* since the credibility of the World Heritage List as well as the integrity of individual sites depends very much on what happens once the responsibilities of inscription have been formally accepted. A process of two stages could well be considered” (ibid., p. 17).

One absolute innovation introduced during this period was a new heritage type, “cultural landscapes”. Based on the wording of the Convention, even though Article 1 on “cultural heritage” was referred to in justifying this type, it was not directly provided for, nor in Article 2 defining “natural heritage”. The inherent heritage associated with cultural landscapes, that is the evolution of such landscapes by way of human intervention, had thus to first be defined in order to adopt the concept as

or ideas or values that demonstrated a universally accepted significance that has influenced human development as a whole. In the *Operational Guidelines* adopted in 1980, it was explained for the first time that the Outstanding Universal Value of a cultural heritage site must satisfy one of the six criteria listed in Chapter 2.2. Specific criteria needed to define historic sites and cultural landscapes were attached to the *Guidelines* in 1994 (Jokilehto et al., 2008, p. 13).

⁴⁶ See Chapter 2.4.

⁴⁷ The criteria of Article 24 of the *Operational Guidelines* to establish Outstanding Universal Value were accordingly revised in 1994 as follows: “Criterion (i) Remove ‘unique artistic achievement’ from the English version so that it corresponds with the French; Criterion (ii) Re-examine this criterion so as to reflect better the interaction of cultures, instead of the present formulation, which suggests that cultural influences occur in one direction only; Criterion (iii) Removed ‘which has disappeared’, since this excludes living cultures; Criterion (v) Remove the phrase ‘especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change’, since this favours cultures that have disappeared; Criteria (vi) Encourage a less restrictive interpretation of this criterion” (Jokilehto et al., 2008, p. 77 f.).



Fig. 3.20: Rice terraces (Philippines)

a fundamental inscription criteria.⁴⁸ Representative cultural landscapes in this phase included the rice terraces in the Cordillera Central, Philippines (Figure 3.20) and the Hallstein-Dachstein/Salzkammergut cultural landscape (Figure 3.21) in Austria.

Rice terraces of the Philippine Cordilleras, year of inscription 1995, cultural site, criteria (iii), (iv), (v).

“Criterion (iii): The rice terraces are a dramatic testimony to a community’s sustainable and primarily communal system of rice production, based on harvesting water from the forest clad mountain tops and creating stone terraces and ponds, a system that has survived for two millennia. Criterion (iv): The rice terraces are a memorial to the history and labour of more than a thousand generations of small-scale farmers who, working together as a community, have created a landscape based on a delicate and sustainable use of natural resources. Criterion (v): The rice terraces are an outstanding example of land-use that resulted from a harmonious interaction between people and its environment which has produced a steep terraced landscape of great aesthetic beauty, now vulnerable to social and economic changes” (UNESCO World Heritage List, ref. 722).

⁴⁸ See Chapter 2.



Fig. 3.21: Hallstatt (Austria)

Hallstatt-Dachstein/Salzkammergut Cultural Landscape, Austria, year of inscription 1997, cultural site, criteria (iii), (iv).

“Criterion (iii): Humankind has inhabited the valleys between huge mountains for over three millennia. It is the mining and processing of salt, a natural resource essential to human and animal life, which has given this area its prosperity and individuality as a result of a profound association between intensive human activity in the midst of a largely untamed landscape. Criterion (iv): The Hallstatt-Dachstein/Salzkammergut alpine region is an outstanding example of a natural landscape of great beauty and scientific interest which also contains evidence of fundamental human economic activity. The cultural landscape of the region boasts a continuing evolution covering 2500 years. Its history from the very beginning is linked primarily with the economic history of salt extraction. Salt mining has always determined all aspects of life as well as the architectural and artistic tangible evidence. Salt production on a major scale can be traced back in Hallstatt to the Middle Bronze Age” (UNESCO World Heritage List, ref. 806).

Another interesting facet of this phase was the modification of the dominant understanding of authenticity. According to Michael S. Falser, there was a change in the construct of heritage, influenced in particular by the 1994 Document on Authenticity⁴⁹ adopted in Nara (Japan), and the 1999 Charter for Places of Cultural Significance,

⁴⁹ See Chapter 2.3.

adopted in Burra (Australia). Understanding of heritage had mutated from self-evident, tangible monumental heritage, to interpretations that increasingly sought to emphasize tangible heritage in the context of its intangible meanings and functions, and as such, as elements in the implementation of the Global Strategy.

According to Falser, the concept of cultural heritage “shifted from monumental, elitist and exclusively superlative categories to more everyday ones”. This development involved an “expansion of cultural heritage typologies”, which now “in addition to industrial, vernacular, anonymous and commercial heritage, included sacred buildings and historic city centres” (Falser, 2011, p. 6).

Europe’s dominance remained unchanged, despite the increasing number of non-European sites appearing on the List. A further negative development was the intensive and extensive use of heritage for unsustainable tourism. Both trends prompted developments that to date have still not been sufficiently resolved, despite ongoing adjustments to the protection criteria. The faster the idea of World Heritage was propagated as a unique expression of tangible culture worthy of preservation, the more attractive these tangible witnesses to history became for mass tourism. The consequences are obvious. Many sites lost their authenticity, historic buildings were reduced to mere façades, or in many cases demolished and rebuilt as imitations. Other sites such as historic city centres were turned into pseudo-museums. In many cases such properties were repurposed as a kind of “Disneyland”, for example the Historic Fortified City of Carcassonne (Riding, 1997) in France. In sum, particularly the second phase of the implementation of the World Heritage Convention can be assessed as the phase during which the most important negative popularization trends occurred.

Third phase 2000–2005

As demonstrated by further data, the third phase can be described as a consolidating of quantitative success, particularly in Europe, a period in which the growing World Heritage community and diverse actors were confronted with both the positive and negative impacts of such “success”. The World Heritage community not only had to acknowledge that the World Heritage List had not lost any of its Eurocentric, material-based and monumental character, but that it had rather reinforced this bias over time. Few references to the above-mentioned Preamble to the World Heritage Convention could be found in many of the inscriptions. An example of this development is the cultural landscape of the Loire Valley between Sully-sur-Loire and Chalonnes in France (Figure 3.22).



Fig. 3.22: View over the Loire Valley (France)

The Loire Valley between Sully-sur-Loire and Chalonnes, France, year of inscription 2000, cultural site, criteria (i), (ii), (iv).

“Criterion (i): The Loire Valley is noteworthy for the quality of its architectural heritage, in its historic towns such as Blois, Chinon, Orléans, Saumur, and Tours, but in particular in its world-famous castles, such as the Château de Chambord. Criterion (ii): The Loire Valley is an outstanding cultural landscape along a major river which bears witness to an interchange of human values and to a harmonious development of interactions between human beings and their environment over two millennia. Criterion (iv): The landscape of the Loire Valley, and more particularly its many cultural monuments, illustrate to an exceptional degree the ideals of the Renaissance and the Age of the Enlightenment on western European thought and design.” (UNESCO World Heritage List, ref. 933).

The most important characteristic of this period was reflected in the efforts of the international community to limit the effects of such negative developments, insofar as they impacted the goals of the Convention – in other words to reverse these developments. Several measures were introduced in this respect, all of which, however, can be seen to have facilitated the continuation and evolution of the Global Strategy.

This was particularly evident with regard to the continuation of the expert meetings to address thematic development. With the goal of redressing the now clearly perceptible imbalance criticized by many States Parties and initiating the appropriate

strategies, regular expert meetings were also held during this third phase of the implementation of the Convention. Most sought to develop holistic concepts for the purpose of establishing relationships between regional and thematic as well as typological concepts. It was hoped that in this way a fresh impetus for new nominations and a broadening of national Tentative Lists could be achieved, which in turn would allow for alternative interpretations and positions with respect to World Heritage (Table 6).

Tab. 6: World Heritage inscriptions according to region, third phase 2000–2005 (author illustration)

Region	Cultural	Natural	Mixed	Total phases one and two	Total phase three	Total World Heritage sites
Africa	12	2	1	50	15	65
Arab States	8	1	0	52	9	61
Asia and the Pacific	30	10	0	124	40	164
Europe and North America	83	10	0	317	93	410
Latin America and the Caribbean	15	11	1	86	27	113
Total phases one and two	479	126	24	629		
Total phase three	148	34	2		184	
Total World Heritage sites	627	160	26			813

The aim was to establish a representative World Heritage List in compliance with the stipulations of the Preamble (ICOMOS, 2004, pp. 10 ff.). Special attention was given to the “cultural landscapes” category already established in 1994. Furthermore, “other subjects ranging from heritage canals, exchange routes, traditional know-how and spiritual heritage” (ibid.) were also reviewed by the experts and processed as potential nominations.

An action plan was adopted on the occasion of the 12th session of the General Assembly of the States Parties to the World Heritage Convention in 1999, to be subsequently implemented by the Committee. This plan sought “to adopt a regional and multi-year Action Plan for the implementation of the Global Strategy and to evaluate the progress” (UNESCO, 2003*b*, p. 1). It was expanded on the occasion of the 24th session of the Committee in Cairns (Australia) in 2000, through the Committee’s pledge “to proceed with an analysis of sites on a regional, chronological, geographical and thematic basis” (ICOMOS, 2004, p. 2). In October 2003, the 14th General Assembly called on the World Heritage Committee to “submit an evaluation of the Global Strategy to enable the Committee to develop appropriate action plans, following a report by an ICOMOS working group sent to the Centre in January 2003” (ibid., p. 13). The *Filling the Gaps* report was published in February, 2004. It put forth a “typological framework based on categories, chronological-regional framework and

thematic framework” (ibid., p. 2) and is even used today in the assessment of so-called gaps, i. e. under-represented sites on the World Heritage List.

A further milestone on the way to achieving a Representative List was the so-called Cairns Decision, adopted in 2000. Its purpose was to reduce the number of nominations to thirty per year, while countries that were over-represented in terms of listed sites were encouraged to limit their annual applications. Countries which were submitting nominations in terms of under-represented geographical sites were exempted (UNESCO, 2003a, p. 1). It was hoped that this measure would reduce the workloads of the Committee, the Advisory Bodies and the World Heritage Centre (ibid.). “However, at the 28th session of the Committee in Suzhou, the limit per State Party was brought up to two nominations, provided at least one concerns a natural property” (UNESCO, 2007f., p. 2).

On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the World Heritage Convention in 2002, the Budapest Declaration on World Heritage and its four strategic goals were adopted for the purpose of achieving a more balanced World Heritage List. These strategic goals were formulated to:

- “(a) strengthen the *Credibility* of the World Heritage List, as a representative and geographically balanced testimony of cultural and natural properties of Outstanding Universal Value;
- (b) ensure the effective *Conservation* of World Heritage properties;
- (c) promote the development of effective *Capacity-building* measures, including assistance for preparing the nomination of properties to the World Heritage List, for the understanding and implementation of the World Heritage Convention and related instruments;
- (d) increase public awareness, involvement and support for World Heritage through *Communication*” (UNESCO, 2002, p. 7).

Further measures were adopted to improve the professional competencies of the States Parties and facilitate the implementation of communications strategies. Also worth highlighting is the establishment of the World Heritage Partnerships for Conservation Initiative (PACT) network in 2002. At the same time, PACT was meant to broaden the circle of actors involved in the nomination and conservation processes. Whereas until then only a group of experts had driven the discourse on the correct or incorrect interpretation of World Heritage worthy of preservation, “non-experts” were now to participate, and in so doing, expand the circle to include other groups and their knowledge. Even the supposed or presumed experts, which according to Smith belong to the authorized discourse propagated by World Heritage, was modified in a way that the Advisory Bodies including ICOMOS,⁵⁰

⁵⁰ ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites) is an NGO that promotes the theories and methods pertaining to the preservation and protection of architectural and archaeological heritage (ICOMOS, 2011a). The organization was founded in 1965, based on the principles of the Charter of Venice (ICOMOS, 2011b). Today, ICOMOS has more than 11,000 individual members, ninety-five national committees and twenty-seven international science committees (ICOMOS, 2011a).

IUCN⁵¹ and ICCROM⁵² were then able to relegate national UNESCO institutions⁵³ and the UNESCO Chairs to the sidelines.⁵⁴

Unfortunately, the composition of PACT actors was reduced to those private and institutional sponsors from whom financial support might be anticipated to pay for the increasingly costly conservation measures. One of the most urgent issues, the involvement of communities in the appropriation of heritage, could not be achieved by PACT. The introduction of the above-defined strategic “four Cs” can also be termed a failure, as the target groups – the local population – could not be mobilized. Given the way the Convention was implemented, i. e. detached from the interests of local populations, people learned very little about the real goals of the Convention during this phase. While popularization had raised the level of awareness of the existence of World Heritage among the population, awareness of the goals of the Convention did not increase to the same extent. And even though the educational programme *World Heritage in Young Hands*⁵⁵ had been expanded during the third period, it did

51 IUCN (International Union for Conservation of Nature), the first global environmental organization was established in 1948 in Fontainebleau (France). Today, IUCN has more than 1,200 member organizations, including some 200 governmental and 900 non-governmental organizations (IUCN, 2013). It serves to protect biodiversity, of pivotal importance in terms of meeting the greatest challenges facing the world such as climate change, sustainable development and food security.

52 ICCROM (International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property) is an intergovernmental organization that promotes the preservation of movable and immovable heritage. It was founded in Rome in 1959. In 2011, ICCROM consisted of 125 States Parties. Since 1991, ICCROM has also sought “to encourage initiatives that create a better understanding of the conservation and restoration of cultural property” (ICCROM, 2010). It is on this basis that ICCROM emphasizes: “Every element of cultural heritage is particular and irreplaceable ... Every element of cultural heritage is vulnerable and fragile ... Every element of cultural heritage has one or several messages ...” (ibid.).

53 “UNESCO has designated ninety-eight International and Regional Institutes and Centres as Category 2 under its auspices; these are not legally part of the Organization, but are associated with UNESCO through formal arrangements approved by the General Conference, selected upon proposal by Member State(s), based on the strength of their specialization in one of UNESCO’s fields of competence” (UNESCO, 2013g). “Category 2 Institutes and Centres fall under the following sectors: Education; Natural Sciences; Social and Human Sciences; Culture; Communication and Information; Bureau of Strategic Planning” (ibid.). “At its 37th session (November 2013), UNESCO’s General Conference amended the integrated comprehensive strategy for category 2 institutes and centres, as approved in 37 C/Resolution 93 which supersedes all relevant prior resolutions by the General Conference on the subject” (UNESCO, 2013j).

54 “The UNITWIN/UNESCO Chairs Programme established in 1992 consists of UNESCO Chairs and a university twinning and networking scheme, to help promote international inter-university cooperation and capacity-building of higher education through exchange of knowledge and sharing; they serve dual functions as ‘think tanks’ and ‘bridge builders’ between the academic world, civil society, local communities, research and policy making” (UNESCO, 2009a, pp. 1 ff.).

55 “The World Heritage in Young Hands refers to an educational resource kit for secondary school teachers that was developed in 1998, aimed at sensitising young people to the importance of preserving

not result in a deeper understanding of the Convention. The implementation of the strategic goals found expression solely in the technical know-how of the experts; it did not contribute to solving any problems.

A noticeable turnaround emerged during the third phase, even if its impacts turned out to be more effective in the fourth. This occurred because, increasingly, the alternating World Heritage Committee comprised members from developing countries, people who were no longer willing to unquestioningly approve expert opinions on Outstanding Universal Value, authenticity or integrity as formulated by the official Advisory Bodies of the time. The Advisory Bodies also bore responsibility for the Western discourse, one that was put forward as the only accepted discourse in establishing what is, and what is not, worthy of World Heritage status and the validity of which had never been brought into question, was now openly criticized. Particularly the Committee members from Europe had to take note of the fact that, due to political interests and objections, decisions now taken by members from developing countries were increasingly disassociated from the expertise of these advisors and even opposed to it.

A new discourse was beginning to emerge. It shifted the perspective from tangible to intangible cultural heritage, a concept that was introduced in particular – and this is hardly surprising – by developing and threshold countries. Since 2003, intangible cultural heritage enjoys protection under its own Convention, an extension of the 1972 Convention. On this basis, cultural expressions that act to keep alive the human sphere of experience, thought and representation were now also to be protected. The new Convention acknowledged oral traditions as expressions of human communication, in addition to handed-down forms of traditional knowledge and artisanship, art and handicrafts, rituals and customs. The protection of intangible heritage opened new dimensions in communication and new avenues in terms of promoting the cultural diversity in the context of globalization.

Fourth phase (2006 – present)

The fourth phase of the application of the Convention began, according to von Droste, in 2006, and is currently ongoing, as is the boom of European countries with registered World Heritage properties (Table 7).

The most important measure of this last phase can be seen as the addition of a fifth “C” denoting *Community involvement* in the implementation of the Global Strat-

their local, national and world heritage – it discusses World Heritage in relation to issues of heritage and identity, sustainable tourism, environment and peace” (UNESCO, 2013*h*). “It is one of the activities as part of the UNESCO World Heritage Education Programme initiated in 1994, along with international and regional Youth Forums, as well as World Heritage Volunteers projects” (UNESCO, 2013*i*).

egy, which was adopted on the occasion of a session of the Committee in New Zealand in 2007. This decision was meant to return the issue of the protection and use of heritage to its presumed rightful place, i. e. to the local populations. To date, however, this strategy has not been successful in achieving its goals.

Tab. 7: World Heritage inscriptions according to region, fourth phase 2006–2013 (author illustration)

Region	Cultural	Natural	Mixed	Total phases one to three	Total phase four	Total World Heritage sites
Africa	17	5	1	65	23	88
Arab States	12	1	1	61	14	75
Asia and the Pacific	42	14	1	164	57	221
Europe and North America	48	12	1	410	61	471
Latin America and the Caribbean	13	3	0	113	16	129
Total phases one to three	627	160	26	813		
Total phase four	132	35	4		171	
Total World Heritage sites	759	195	30			984

Expanding on Bernd von Droste's above-mentioned essay, it is fair to say that the fourth phase of the implementation of the World Heritage Convention has not yielded any substantial changes vis-à-vis the third phase. What has changed is the diversity of the actors on the World Heritage Committee, with the various discourses having also changed accordingly. The previously dominant Western experts have since made way for political diplomats, who increasingly come from developing countries. One of its positive effects is that, from the outset of this phase, there has been an increase in inscriptions of non-European sites. Among the negative effects is the persisting understanding of cultural assets in the context of heritage inscriptions – as elitist and tangible as it may have been – has since been replaced by politically motivated considerations.

The new members of the Committee are calling for increased global participation, and rightly so. They are implementing this goal on the basis of existing statutes. The people in question, whose heritage and identity are at issue, broadly speaking, remain on the sidelines of this debate. Just how they can be empowered as actors remains to be seen.

3.3 The Global Strategy⁵⁶

The idea of utilizing an action programme such as the Global Strategy to resolve the imbalance in the World Heritage List emerged in the mid 1980 s, when Eurocentrism had become clearly evident. Initial recommendations proffered in developing a strategy for World Heritage inscriptions in combination with the requirements of global site protection concepts were introduced by IUCN in 1982, and ICOMOS in 1983. As early as 1982, the first quality criteria to improve inscription practices were proposed by the United States based on a Yellowstone National Park monitoring scheme. In this report, analogous to Section IV of the *Operational Guidelines*, conservation and management criteria were established for the purpose of monitoring the conservation status of the sites. The following criteria were established therein and were later applied to further monitoring processes:

Section 1:

- general questions on the appraisal and protection of World Heritage properties
- legal and financial frameworks
- education and further training in the relevant areas
- international cooperation

Section 2:

- detailed information on the relevant criteria
- authenticity and integrity
- management and financing
- research, mediation and public relations (UNESCO, 2008a, Section V and Annex 7)

ICOMOS carried out a global study from 1987 to 1993, which determined that Europe with its “historic towns, religious monuments, Christianity, historical periods and elitist architecture (in relation to vernacular) was completely over-represented” (see <http://whc.unesco.org/en/globalstrategy/>), while “living cultures (especially traditional cultures) were under-represented” (ibid.). The ensuing political consequences for the World Heritage Committee resulted in a request to States Parties to compile national Tentative Lists, and on that basis to carry out international reference studies examining the recommended types submitted for inscription, as well as to their Outstanding Universal Value. It was hoped that such overview lists would yield additional information on nomination trends and thereby improve management of the inscriptions (UNESCO, 1993).

⁵⁶ The Global Strategy is a fixed concept (see Glossary).

The working groups established for this purpose in 1987 were tasked with evaluating the Tentative Lists submitted by Member States up to that point in time. The group presented a reference list on the occasion of the 12th session of the World Heritage Committee in Brasilia in 1988; the so-called Global Study containing an overview of all pending worldwide inscriptions. It was hoped that this list would, for the ten years to come, inscription practices based on regional and chronological, thematic and typological criteria would make it easier to compare and thereby re-equilibrate future World Heritage List inscriptions. That is why this List not only reflected the types, but also the themes on which the inscriptions were founded. It was concluded that the *evolution of ideas* that had been so integral to the process of forming cultural heritage was no longer considered relevant. The instrument of *thematic studies* developed in the late 1980s was expanded in 1991 to include *temporal, cultural and theoretic aspects* to determine the Outstanding Universal Value of World Heritage.

Starting in 1992, various World Heritage Committees deliberated on how to integrate the visions of cultural diversity as defined in the Convention in the form of intercultural, religious, authentic or social views of diversity into the overall aspect of heritage. It was hoped that this would provide a holistic alternative to existing national or typological nomenclatures of World Heritage. Here again, the States Parties were asked to “internationalize” their national criteria in line with the emerging Tentative Lists, as there had been no significant change to the distribution of sites, as confirmed in a 1992 study of site distribution by the present authors.

Accounting for 65 per cent of all inscriptions, historic city centres and buildings continued to be over-represented. Christian sites amounted to 20 per cent, with other religions accounting for only 14 per cent. As for chronological inscriptions, the 15th- to 18th-century periods dominated in comparison to prehistoric periods or the 19th and 20th centuries. “Vernacular architecture” was under-represented when compared with “elitist architecture” (16 per cent versus 45 per cent) and only 25 per cent of all sites were natural heritage properties. The recommendations remained abstract. For example, architecture nominations were no longer to focus on “great architects and their aesthetics” as illustrated in the example concerning Gaudi and Barcelona (Figure 3.23).

“Criterion (i): The work of Antoni Gaudí represents an exceptional and outstanding creative contribution to the development of architecture and building technology in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Criterion (ii): Gaudí’s work exhibits an important interchange of values closely associated with the cultural and artistic currents of his time, as represented in el Modernisme of Catalonia. It anticipated and influenced many of the forms and techniques that were relevant to the development of modern construction in the 20th century. Criterion (iv): Gaudí’s work represents a series of outstanding examples of the building typology in the architecture of the early 20th century, residential as well as public, to the development of which he made a significant and creative contribution” (UNESCO World Heritage List, ref. 320).



Fig. 3.23: Works of Antoni Gaudí (Spain)



Fig. 3.24: Brasilia (Brazil)

It was rather the transformation of societies that needed to be expressed through the diverse connotations of materials, technology, work, organization or space, in Brasilia for example (Figure 3.24).

“Brasilia, a capital created ex nihilo in the centre of the country in 1956, was a landmark in the history of town planning. Urban planner Lucio Costa and architect Oscar Niemeyer intended that every element – from the layout of the residential and administrative districts (often compared to the shape of a bird in flight) to the symmetry of the buildings themselves – should be in harmony with the city’s overall design. The official buildings, in particular, are innovative and imaginative” (UNESCO World Heritage List, ref. 445).

World Heritage was also to be perceived and dealt with as a motor for human development. According to this strategy, a broader thematic orientation was also proposed in addition to the typological approach, based on the example of the appropriation of land and space by people. This approach served to increase awareness of the nomadic migrations of different peoples of the world, for example the Saami (Figure 3.25) in Sweden.

“The Arctic Circle region of northern Sweden is the home of the Saami, or Lapp people. It is the largest area in the world (and one of the last) with an ancestral way of life based on the seasonal movement of livestock. Every summer, the Saami lead their huge herds of reindeer towards the mountains through a natural landscape hitherto preserved, but now threatened by the advent



Fig. 3.25: Saami family in Norway around 1900

of motor vehicles. Historical and ongoing geological processes can be seen in the glacial moraines and changing water courses” (UNESCO World Heritage List, ref. 774).

Nominations in this sense were supposed to consider the development of industrial technologies, in association with improved living conditions, liberal mindsets, etc. One example of this is the above-mentioned Berlin Modernism Housing Estates. In line with the 1992 resolution to establish a Global Strategy, ICOMOS initiated thematic studies in 1993. In an initial study the experts dealt with industrial heritage, and in the second they examined the architecture of the 20th century. At the same time, in July 1993, ICOMOS formed an expert group to research three aspects of cultural assets: “using a three-dimensional approach of time, culture and human achievement, including undertaking thematic studies on a geographical and transregional basis rather than on an historico-cultural basis”, and on whose basis a proposal was to be submitted to the World Heritage Committee during its 17th session in December 1993 for the purpose of adopting a:

“methodological approach with and a broader reflection, associating new partners who are representative both of the various disciplines (history, art and architecture history, archaeology, social anthropology, conservation and restoration ... [and] of the different institutions and regions of the world concerned” (UNESCO, 1993).

The results of the studies by the expert groups underscored the previous criticism of the implementation of the Convention in that they identified the imbalance, for example. This was not only triggered by increasing popularization trends in Europe, but also by the lack of knowledge and competencies in terms of preparing nomination submissions for World Heritage properties in developing countries. Poor management or deficient competencies in the preparation and implementation of conservation and safeguarding measures were also identified. On the occasion of the 18th session of the World Heritage Committee in Thailand, these findings were subsequently addressed and implemented. Among other things, it was resolved that the Recommendations put forward to the States Parties in the 1980 s to compile Tentative Lists were now to be understood as a commitment to the *Operational Guidelines*. Since then, all countries have been expressly instructed to compile such lists and to review them every ten years.

A further innovative decision taken during this session was to introduce the cultural landscapes category.⁵⁷ Moreover, starting in 1994, there was an appraisal of the Global Strategy during every session of the Committee, and in that context it formulated and implemented the corresponding measures. Along with the old and new holistic concepts of World Heritage, the typologies were expanded to include mines, industrial heritage, deserts, coastal-marine, small island sites, for exam-

⁵⁷ See Chapters 2.2 and 3.2.

ple, a decision which was taken to promote greater diversity in the typological potentials of sites in the context of the nomination process. As a result, the following measures from the first stage, i. e. introduction and implementation of the following Global Strategy goal, were now implemented.⁵⁸

- All States Parties were to compile Tentative Lists for their intended nominations and anticipated recommendations over a period of ten years in order to make the process more transparent.
- Further causal analyses concerning the unequal regional and typological distribution of sites in order to develop counter measures.
- Extensive training measures to improve the know-how of applicants, particularly in the developing countries.
- Continuation of gap analyses with the goal of closing such gaps.
- Development of an integral concept to detect Outstanding Universal Value based on further thematic, regional-temporal and typological studies.

According to Bernd von Droste, the third phase of the implementation of the World Heritage Convention started around 2000 and lasted until 2005/6. The period was also important for the implementation of the Global Strategy. This concerned in particular an increase in Committee resolutions to limit nominations. The pivotal, so-called Cairns Decision issued in 2000 sought to limit the number of sites to be appraised to thirty per year. And even though this limit was rescinded and then increased to forty-five applications in 2006, for a time it was possible to stem the tide of nominations submitted. More important was the decision by the Committee session in Cairns to allow only one nomination per country per year, with the exception of natural heritage property nominations. The Cairns Decision was followed by a further important step in the implementation of the Global Strategy, the Budapest Declaration on World Heritage, adopted during a Committee session in Budapest in 2002. This declaration definitively established the overall strategy by introducing the “four Cs”, standing for *Credibility, Conservation, Capacity-building and Communication*⁵⁹ for the purpose of countering undesirable tendencies.

In 2004, i. e. ten years after the initial implementation of the Global Strategy, appraisals of existing sites were carried out for the first time in various regions of the world using the Periodic Reporting systems introduced in the late 1990 s. It was determined that most goals had not been reached. Even the European dominance had not diminished in any meaningful way.

⁵⁸ This period corresponds to the second phase, according to von Droste (see Chapter 3.2).

⁵⁹ See Chapter 3.2 on the stages of implementation.



Fig. 3.26: Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape (South Africa)

“As of May 2004, 178 States Parties had become signatories to the convention in comparison with 140 in 1994. As of September 2004, 137 States had submitted Tentative Lists against 33 in 1994, and 788 properties had been included on the World Heritage List as of July 2004 compared with 440 in 1994 ... some of the geographical gaps noted in 1994 have been filled ... thirty-one States Parties have had their first site inscribed on the list since the adoption of the Global Strategy ...” (Labadi, 2005, p. 92).

Furthermore, the ICOMOS report *Filling the Gaps* was also published in 2004, presenting the new and expanded topics, types or periods that had been developed up to that time. In this document there was also the first indication of sites of the “astronomy” type. In particular, cultural landscapes also proved to be an important concept in terms of balancing World Heritage, as illustrated in the example of Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape (Figure 3.26) in South Africa, inscribed in 2003.

“Mapungubwe is set hard against the northern border of South Africa, joining Zimbabwe and Botswana. It is an open, expansive savannah landscape at the confluence of the Limpopo and Shashe rivers. Mapungubwe developed into the largest kingdom in the sub-continent before it was abandoned in the 14th century. What survives are the almost untouched remains of the palace sites and also the entire settlement area dependent upon them, as well as two earlier capital sites, the whole presenting an unrivalled picture of the development of social and political structures over some 400 years” (UNESCO World Heritage List, ref. 1099).



Fig. 3.27: Darjeeling Himalayan Railway (India)

Among the recommendations to strengthen the World Heritage List's consideration of under-represented types: rock art or industrial heritage. One example of this is the Mountain Railways of India (Figure 3.27).

“This site includes three railways. The Darjeeling Himalayan Railway was the first, and is still the most outstanding, example of a hill passenger railway. Opened in 1881, its design applies bold and ingenious engineering solutions to the problem of establishing an effective rail link across a mountainous terrain of great beauty. The construction of the Nilgiri Mountain Railway, a 46 km long metre-gauge single-track railway in Tamil Nadu State was first proposed in 1854, but due to the difficulty of the mountainous location the work only started in 1891 and was completed in 1908. This railway, scaling an elevation of 326 m to 2,203 m, represented the latest technology of the time. The Kalka Shimla Railway, a 96 km long, single track working rail link built in the mid-19th century to provide a service to the highland town of Shimla is emblematic of the technical and tangible efforts to disenclave mountain populations through the railway. All three railways are still fully operational!” (UNESCO World Heritage List, ref. 944).

One of the most important measures introduced during the first ten years of the implementation of the Global Strategy was the concept of serial nominations. Referring to identical or similar topics, contents and types, such serial nominations could be used to identify and to inscribe cross-border or cross-regional World Heritage.



Fig. 3.28: Salt caravans on their way from Agadez to Bilma (Niger)

One of the most important series were so-called *routes*, such as the slave routes registered in the national Tentative Lists of Angola, Benin and Ghana, which tell the story of this brutal epoch.

The salt route (Figure 3.28) in Nigeria should also be mentioned in this context, as the salt trade has flourished for a thousand years.

“Since more than 1,000 years there has been a thriving caravan business on this route neither robbers, droughts nor modern transportation methods could affect it. From October to March, when temperatures drop to a tolerable 30 to 35 degrees Celsius, caravans haul millet, dried goat cheese and everyday goods through the Ténéré. Their destinations are Fachi and Bilma, two of the most remote oases of the Sahara, whose salt works produce salt of exceptionally high quality. This ‘white gold’ is both a blessing and a curse for the oasis, because neither grain nor vegetables grow in its saline soil. The inhabitants of these villages have thus been reliant on trade. Their motto is: millet to the north, salt to the south” (Märting, 2008).

Technological developments emerging around the world were also taken into consideration during the first ten years of the Global Strategy and acknowledged as World Heritage through the inscription of diverse industrial sites. One example of this is the saltpeter works (Figure 3.29) in Chile, inscribed in 2005 according to criteria (ii), (iii) and (iv) with a minor modification in 2011. The description recounts:

“Humberstone and Santa Laura works contain over 200 former saltpeter works where workers from Chile, Peru and Bolivia lived in company towns and forged a distinctive communal pampinos culture. That culture is manifest in their rich language, creativity, and solidarity,



Fig. 3.29: Humberstone and Santa Laura Saltpetrer Works (Chile)

and, above all, in their pioneering struggle for social justice, which had a profound impact on social history. Situated in the remote Pampas, one of the driest deserts on Earth, thousands of pampinos lived and worked in this hostile environment for over sixty years, from 1880, to process the largest deposit of saltpeter in the world, producing the fertilizer sodium nitrate that was to transform agricultural lands in North and South America, and in Europe, and produce great wealth for Chile. Because of the vulnerability of the structures and the impact of a recent earthquake, the site was also placed on the List of Endangered Heritage Sites to help mobilize resources for its conservation” (UNESCO World Heritage List, ref. 1178).

A further innovation contributing to the concept of World Heritage during the first phase of the Global Strategy was the broadening of the understanding of religious heritage beyond the scope of Christian sites. Increasingly, sites such as the Longmen Grottoes (Figure 3.30) were also inscribed.

“The grottoes and niches of Longmen contain the largest and most impressive collection of Chinese art of the late Northern Wei and Tang Dynasties (316–907). These works, entirely devoted to the Buddhist religion, represent the high point of Chinese stone carving” (UNESCO World Heritage List, ref. 1003).



Fig. 3.30: Grottoes of Longmen (China)

In recapping the results of this phase during the first ten years of the Global Strategy⁶⁰ it should be remembered that, whereas there were indeed thematic and typological successes, the imbalance between World Heritage from Europe and the rest of the world persisted. Serious problems with regard to nominations, e. g. due to the lack of financial and human resources, were also identified in the African, Arab, Asian-Pacific, Caribbean and Latin American countries, but none of them were resolved. This became particularly evident when, despite the increase in sites appearing on the Tentative Lists as required by the various Committees, only relatively few countries actually compiled and submitted lists – 126 of the 181 States Parties (69.6 per cent). This was because in many countries in the cited regions, basic knowledge of Outstanding Universal Value, authenticity, integrity, conservation strategies and management was still lacking. At any rate, no comprehensive understanding of the topics and typologies had been achieved, as was demonstrated in the evaluations. The category of “modern heritage” was still unknown in many countries. At this time, the category of “industrial heritage” was equated with “industrial revolution” This is

⁶⁰ This corresponds largely to the second and third phase of the implementation of the Convention, according to von Droste.

why, according to von Droste, the fourth phase of the implementation of the World Heritage Convention for the Global Strategy can be interpreted as a further step towards the elimination of deficits, but during which no real innovation occurred.

The adoption of the fifth “C” for *Community involvement* during the 31st session of the World Heritage Committee in New Zealand in 2007 can be viewed as an important milestone that was achieved during this phase. Community involvement denotes:

“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 where necessary. It should not be done against the interests, or with the exclusion or omission of local communities” (UNESCO, 2007b, p. 2) and complements the previously adopted “four Cs”.

Community involvement not only aimed to involve local and regional groups and further actors more closely in the nomination phases of World Heritage, the decision also acknowledged local and indigenous groups and their values. In this sense, innovative strategies and stagnation went hand in hand during this phase. The 2007 General Conference concluded that it “... expresses its deep concern for the limited results achieved so far” (UNESCO, 2008b, p. 59). Working groups were again formed to develop recommendations on how to redress the persisting North-South divide (UNESCO, 2009c, p. 5). The World Heritage Centre and the Advisory Bodies were urged to present their successes to the General Assembly of States Parties to the Convention on the occasion of its 18th session in Paris in 2011, in particular, activities carried out with regard to the future of the World Heritage Convention. Furthermore, “an independent evaluation by UNESCO’s external auditor on the implementation of the Global Strategy from its inception in 1994 to 2011” (*ibid.*, p. 7) should be undertaken.

The results of the various activities were presented in November 2011 in Paris at the 18th session of the General Assembly. For the first time, tangible successes were reported. This was particularly evident in the increase of States Parties having ratified the Convention, i. e. 193 countries. In comparison, there were 187 in 2010 and 139 in 1994. The number of States Parties with at least one inscribed site thus increased from 72 per cent to 80 per cent. Positive developments were also reported in terms of the diversity of the inscribed sites.

“In 1994, ... specific criteria were introduced into the *Guidelines* to define historic cities, cultural itineraries and cultural landscapes. Criterion (i) has evolved since 2005 from aesthetic properties to more technical ones. Criterion (iii) has been extended to include living cultures. To fill the gaps of cultural heritage ... industrial heritage and 20th century properties, prehistoric and rock art, routes and cultural landscapes, as well as some vernacular architecture were inscribed, but this latter category remains very under-represented” (UNESCO, 2011a, p. 4).

Further problems that were identified pertained chiefly to:

- Formal deficiencies, such as clearly formulated goals of strategies to implement the strategy, including inappropriately defined success indicators or failures. Criticism was voiced that the Committee had not established the required concepts, nor had they been implemented in the *Guidelines*.
- Deficiencies in the monitoring system: “The evaluation of the Global Strategy presented at each session is based on an inadequate mechanism that reduces the notions of credibility, representativity and balance to a series of simplified statistical tables on numbers and regions of World Heritage properties. This tool is not based on scientific criteria, contributing to a drift towards a more political rather than heritage approach to the Convention” (ibid., p. 3).
- Natural heritage remained under-represented, even though the number of natural heritage properties on the Tentative Lists had risen from eight in 1994, to 162 in 2010. It was noted that certain States Parties still had no experts in their administrations who were capable of submitting natural heritage nominations, and that even the World Heritage Centre did not have a sufficient number of experts at its disposal.
- UNESCO’s geographical categorization of the world into Africa, Arab States, Asia and Pacific, Europe and North America, Latin America and Caribbean, was neither representative in historical terms, nor with respect to political, quantitative or qualitative global developments.

These problems were discussed during the 18th session of the General Assembly and corresponding Recommendations were drafted (UNESCO, 2011a, pp. 3 ff.). Yet another working group was organized to envision the future of the Convention. Unfortunately, their work did not result in any real progress. Their findings were presented at the 19th session of the General Assembly in Paris in November 2013. The most important statements contained therein were that the General Assembly:

“appreciates the work of the open-ended working group on the Implementation Plan for the recommendations of the External Auditor on the Global Strategy and the PACT Initiative carried out in 2012 and 2013 and endorses its recommendations. ... Also encourages the continuation of the efforts to link the follow-up to the Implementation Plan for the recommendations of the External Auditor on the Global Strategy and the PACT Initiative with the implementation on the Strategic Action Plan for the World Heritage Convention” (UNESCO, 2013k, p. 5).

Further Recommendations were also drafted such as Periodic Reporting and the procedures to improve the compilation of national Tentative Lists. Whether any of these measures could lead to a credible List will be seen with the next evaluation of the Global Strategy.

4 Discourses Surrounding World Heritage

The various discourses on the theme of World Heritage aim to render the heritage of humanity accessible in such a way that individuals can identify with, protect and sustainably use World Heritage in an appropriate manner. Discourses on the interdisciplinary theme of heritage are, however, much broader and elemental in nature. Starting within the family itself, the notion of inheritance is shaped by cultural, social and economic perspectives. This involves change and the evolution of human traditions, knowledge and tangible possessions, issues that the heirs must indeed confront, in addition to the preservation and protection of heritage.

Societies and their successors are subject to similar demands. Exactly what a society designates as heritage is much more difficult to assess than the heritage of the individual person, or that of humanity. Unlike within families, heritage cannot be derived from the legal norms of inheritance or from any biological-genetic affiliation. Heritage must rather emerge, and be perceived from the point of view of social responsibility. That which a society understands to be heritage is thus the subject of discourses and interpretations.

In the broadest sense, the processes of handing down social heritage have influenced the various programmes, declarations and conventions adopted by UNESCO, which in turn have served to make the issue of heritage an increasingly important topic within social discourse. This is a new development in terms of how a society deals with heritage, as UNESCO's heritage conventions are political norms pertaining to the transmission of heritage that might seem disconnected from the broader social discourse on heritage. Nevertheless, with its heritage conventions and in particular the popularity of the World Heritage Convention, UNESCO has laid a solid foundation upon which the responsible use of the common heritage of humanity can be built. "Social responsibility" comes into play in the sense of the potential capacity to sustain peaceful and sustainable human development. With the establishment of the UNESCO conventions, the notion of heritage has become a key concept in society, but without yet realizing any of the corresponding intrinsic potential.

At the same time, the scientific disciplines dealing with heritage have narrowed the scope of their work to the reconstruction of societal traditions that have evolved in the meantime, such as the protection of monuments through conservation, the digitization and documentation of cultural heritage. These disciplines have neither fully grasped the significance and importance of heritage for the future, nor have they understood its complexity, despite the obvious links that exist between exciting perspectives in scientific theory and practical implementation. In view of the increasing popularity of World Heritage in various societies, discourses on World Heritage have become as popular as the Convention itself. Debates on the topic World Heritage take place at several levels. In addition to and encouraged by the popularity of the Convention, chronological, disciplinary and even epistemological discourses, an increasing number of groups want to participate and provide new impetus.

This was not always the case, as initially, due to the historical process surrounding the Convention's own formation, the World Heritage community⁶¹ never doubted the discourse that it itself had introduced with respect to a tangible and Eurocentric understanding of heritage.⁶² As mentioned in Chapter 3, this community perceives heritage as defined in Articles 1 and 2 of the Convention,⁶³ even though new actors have positioned themselves in the debate over the past few years.

Nevertheless, this special discourse must not be limited to the sphere of World Heritage, but rather needs to be broadened across the various target groups, as otherwise this might hinder the Convention's potential for human development and its intrinsic mission. In this chapter we therefore examine the existing approaches and discourses in the context of a critical analysis of heritage in general, and of World Heritage in particular. What are the perceptions and paradigms upon which these debates are based? How are the manifold constructs of heritage categorized in the discourses themselves? How are they implemented and how can the comprehensive visions of heritage anchored in the World Heritage Convention be used to further elucidate its inherent potential for human development?

We shall therefore first return to a very general understanding of heritage. We would like to explain how the term "heritage" was able to gain such a foothold in the context of its use by international political organizations such as UNESCO. In this respect, it should also be pointed out that such evolving constructions of meaning initially took hold in the English-speaking world. It comes as no surprise that the heritage and World Heritage discourse took place mainly in anglophone regions, and for this reason we cite English-language sources.

In its most general sense, heritage denotes "... those things that are inherited and provide cultural identity and continuity, or a link with the past" (Miura, 2011, p. 101). As a complement to this, the *New Shorter Oxford Dictionary* defines *heritage* as:

- "1. That which is or may be inherited; fig. the portion allotted to a specified person, group, etc.
- b. Property consisting of land etc. that devolved on the heir at law as opposed to the executor. ...
- 3. A gift which constitutes a proper possession ... 4. Inherited circumstances or benefits" (Aplin, 2002, p.13).

61 The World Heritage community denotes a group with corresponding expert knowledge, on the basis of which it legitimates itself and consequently distinguishes itself from other groups that look at World Heritage critically from the outside.

62 The community consisted and consists today primarily of specialists in the fields of monument preservation, archaeology, art history or architecture for cultural heritage, as well as experts in geography or the natural sciences and ecology for natural heritage. See Articles 8.3, 13.7 and 14.2 of the World Heritage Convention (UNESCO, 1972a).

63 See Chapter 2. 1.

A closer look at these definitions reveals that *heritage* is used to denote a material good in most cases. It is passed on to the heirs by the bequeather. Only the latter definition permits an association with societal events and related experiences. “Inherited circumstances or benefits” include experiences with history. These are the “inherited circumstances” that make up human experience and from which people learn. People, cultures and societies have their own experiences in the historical process and use them as a basis to form contemporary or future life. It is through such passed-on events, occurrences or *circumstances* that people form values and norms. They have learned to decide which circumstances they might want to improve, change or preserve. These values are then passed on to succeeding generations and again serve as the basis for constructing individual values.

Although such values are also attributed to the heritage of humanity, they are seldom mentioned in this context in most of the formulations, perceptions or interpretations concerning heritage. It is nevertheless the “inherited historic circumstances” that shape consciousness and are thus sustainable. This concept of heritage is also relevant to the study of identity and is explicitly responsible for the formation of identity – invariably the values of experiences arising from history impact identity development. Here we would like to emphasize that this general function of heritage, i. e. its identity-forming aspects, existed long before the inflation of the concept of “identity” in the context of World Heritage discourses.

We present below a few examples that demonstrate how the subject of heritage is only partially related to the inheritance of objects. In reality, the heritage discourse will always aim to make inherited history understandable for people, and as such, history itself. This is exemplified in remarks made by an American woman on how she planned to shape her own future. In response to a question about her heritage, a 33-year-old US immigrant stated:

“I have a family of my own, and I want to instil a sense of family values in them by being around their extended family. I wasn’t born here in the U.S. I’m a transplant. My family immigrated here. Being around my family gives my children a different culture than what they’re surrounded with. It gives them a broader base. They’re able to see the best of both worlds” (Rosenzweig and Thelen, 1998, p. 59).

This example demonstrates that values and norms are required in order to shape human identity, and it is through a specific heritage and the corresponding norms and historical experiences that identity is acquired. This is because identity formation takes place within the context of the socialization process. To this extent, *heritage research* – as explained in the social science research context cited above – is aimed at people, but only indirectly to the products produced by people.

So much for our initial differentiation between the constructions surrounding the meaning of heritage in the context of World Heritage, and those regarding heritage in more far-reaching discourses. But another interesting view also exists. In this regard, in a definition from the *Oxford Wordpower Dictionary* of 1993, heritage is



Fig. 4.1: Berlin Wall construction: cement blocks being lifted with a crane behind barbed wire (Germany)

understood to be “the traditions, qualities and cultural achievements of a country that exist for a long time and that have great importance for the country: the countryside is of our national heritage. ... We must preserve our cultural heritage for future generations” (Oxford Wordpower Dictionary, 1993, p. 302). This interpretation of the meaning of heritage has left behind the context of any social and cultural event or any effect of societal experiences on the development of values and behaviour patterns. Heritage is perceived in the sense of “the traditions, qualities and cultural achievements of a country” and is thus oriented to tangible and intangible assets. These are also secured through diverse interpretations of the national ethos. Against the background of the formulation “we must preserve our cultural heritage for future generations” the construction of meaning moves closer to a tangible understanding of heritage, the one we know in the context of UNESCO and other national and international organizations. This understanding is comprised of the previously ascribed attribute of heritage, that it must enjoy particular protection, as it serves as a carrier of identity, as best illustrated in the rise (Figure 4.1) and fall of the Berlin Wall.

The Wall divided the city from 1961 to 1989 and was the starkest symbol of the Cold War. Its fall in 1989 signalled the end of its usefulness.

The construction of the Wall directly impacted the German citizenry but had less to do with Germany in political terms. Specifically, the Berlin Wall was a product of the Cold War. It was a geopolitical *mise en scène* and an expression of the

irreconcilable confrontation between the Western and Eastern power blocs that had existed since the Potsdam Conference. It also served as a so-called *barrier against the sphere of Western influence*.

Despite the obvious significance this memorial held during the Cold War for the political legacy of the world and Germany, the geopolitical interests of the powers that built it were never sufficiently mediated, neither in Eastern nor in Western Germany. On the contrary, the Wall divided Germany and the world into two blocs, each with self-constructed enemy stereotypes, so deep and so enduring that despite the fall of the Wall – the *Wall in the Mind and Heart*, as it is called today – they persisted for a long time.

Contemporary consciousness is invariably moulded by such inherited historical events. The division of Germany continues to influence German consciousness to the present day, as have all other historical events impacting the consciousness of nations. This construction of heritage is not only an important aspect of our reflections here, but in the UNESCO conventions as well. Conversely, it needs to be emphasized that it is just such inherited experiences and personal circumstances that sustainably influence the individual and collective consciousness, something that unfortunately is not explicitly protected by the conventions. If the criteria to establish World Heritage status were applied to the nomination of the Berlin Wall, only its tangible relics could be inscribed.

Experiences gained by people and societies in the context of historical processes shape identity and form people. This is a function of heritage that needs to be considered, above and beyond any inherited objects. And while the significance of heritage is also a constituent component of World Heritage and was formulated as such in the rationale provided for the Convention, in its implementation, however, the potential for our changing world inherent in this meaning attributed to heritage is not always clear.

4.1 Tangible discourse of experts, or “authorized discourse”

We have shown that the popularization of World Heritage arose from political and social discourses mainly based on economic perspectives of various actors. Set against this backdrop we first present the *tangible discourse*. The material orientation of the World Heritage Convention is evidenced by its definition of what comprises cultural and natural heritage; and can thus be perceived as a site-based convention, in that the criteria justifying the so-called Outstanding Universal Value of a site emphasize its tangible or natural values only. Of the ten criteria applied to establish the Outstanding Universal Value – as presented in Chapter 2.2 – five (i-v) are used exclusively to describe the tangible nature of a site, one criterion (vi) describes the supplementary intangible attributes of a site, and four criteria (vii-x) emphasize the nature-related significance of the Outstanding Universal Value.

Accordingly, the professional profiles of the respective experts must be appropriate in terms of their ability to assess submissions for the inclusion of sites in the World Heritage List. The applications submitted are generally evaluated by experts from the Advisory Bodies to the World Heritage Committee: the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM), International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) and International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN).⁶⁴ Expert and professional competencies serve as the basis for the opinions formulated by these bodies. In cases where additional consultants are involved, these include experts in the technical and/or conservation sciences on the one hand, and the natural, biological or geosciences on the other, that is to say those who view the tangible and natural components of World Heritage as the sole legitimate aspects.

As one of the most famous critics of this tangible/natural orientation of the Convention, we quote Laurajane Smith, the Australian archaeologist and publisher of the renowned *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, published since 1994 by Routledge in London. Her position is typical of the group she represents within the discourse. In her 2006 book entitled *Uses of Heritage* she writes: “There is, really, no such a thing as heritage ... and ‘heritage’ can unproblematically be identified as ‘old’, grand, monumental and aesthetically pleasing sites, buildings, places and artefacts” (Smith, 2006, p. 11). What this implies in concrete terms is that heritage – in the sense of World Heritage – is monumental and tangible in nature. Furthermore, it is also representative of periods of European cultural history, and as such – as mentioned previously – tends to generalize the monument-based European concept of culture. We would like to demonstrate the views held by the group surrounding Smith using the example of over-represented types of site on the World Heritage List, such as European castles right across all historical periods, inasmuch as the palaces of the Baroque, Rococo, or the Renaissance account for approximately 18 per cent of all inscribed monuments. The cultural values ascribed to sites and their related concepts of culture dominate these periods.

As an example we have chosen Chambord castle (Figure 4.2) on the Loire (France). The Chateau and Estate of Chambord was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1981 as “(i) unique artistic or aesthetic achievement, a masterpiece of the creative genius” (iv) an expression of “a type of structure which illustrates a significant stage in history” and “(vi) directly or tangibly associated with events or with ideas or beliefs of outstanding universal significance” (WHC Nomination Documentation, 1981, p. 5; *Operational Guidelines*, UNESCO, 1980, p. 5).

Chambord represents a Renaissance masterpiece from the early 16th century and therefore a concept of style of the tangible culture of this era. The chateau has been a component of The Loire Valley between Sully-sur-Loire and Chalonnes cultural

⁶⁴ ICCROM, ICOMOS and IUCN are explained and defined in Chapter 3. 2.



Fig. 4.2: Château de Chambord (France)

landscape since 2000, where it is appreciated in the broader context of further castles along the Loire.⁶⁵

In the discourse of UNESCO experts, such tangible attributes demonstrating uniqueness are self-explanatory. To that extent, this masterpiece is no different to any other European castle in terms of its social frameworks or individual preferences of its owners, it is rather an expression of the various styles, materials or construction characteristics. Nevertheless, to understand this masterpiece one must look beyond its architecture and contemplate the reasons that prompted its builder, King Francis I of France, to undertake the project. Such underlying rationales are a reflection of the megalomania of the European kings and emperors of the era and the rivalries between them. In an attempt to impress Emperor Charles the Fifth, Chambord was to be larger,

⁶⁵ The justification for the Loire Valley states: “Criterion (i): The Loire Valley is noteworthy for the quality of its architectural heritage, in its historic towns such as Blois, Chinon, Orléans, Saumur, and Tours, but in particular in its world-famous castles, such as the Château de Chambord. Criterion (ii): The Loire Valley is an outstanding cultural landscape along a major river which bears witness to an interchange of human values and to a harmonious development of interactions between human beings and their environment over two millennia. Criterion (iv): The landscape of the Loire Valley, and more particularly its many cultural monuments, illustrate to an exceptional degree the ideals of the Renaissance and the Age of the Enlightenment on Western European thought and design” (UNESCO World Heritage List, ref. 933).



Fig. 4.3: Mir Castle (Belarus)

more beautiful and better than any other Loire palace. As a consequence, the magnificent architecture is an expression, or even a product, of the particular power constellations of the epoch. Such characteristics that might sharpen the general public’s awareness of history are unfortunately irrelevant to the discourse on tangible heritage.

Similar interpretations can be applied in the nominations submitted for most palaces, which confirm the material basis that is used to establish the Outstanding Universal Value. In its inscription document, Mir Castle Complex (Figure 4.3) in Belarus is described as an extraordinary example of a Middle European palace. Its construction first started in the 15th century and the structure was continuously adapted, so that today, it represents elements from the Gothic, Renaissance and Baroque periods (WHC Nomination Documentation, 2000*b*, p. 1).⁶⁶

Here again, no background information is provided in the nomination as to the motives or constraints of the castle’s builders, which might elucidate its function beyond its style-related architectural aspects. The nomination merely states:

66 Justification for the inscription: “Criterion ii: Mir Castle is an exceptional example of a central European castle, reflecting in its design and layout successive cultural influences (Gothic, Baroque, and Renaissance) that blend harmoniously to create an impressive monument to the history of this region. Criterion iv: The region in which Mir Castle stands has a long history of political and cultural confrontation and coalescence, which is graphically represented in the form and appearance of the group” (UNESCO World Heritage List, ref. 625).

“The place of foundation is abundant lands situated in moderate continental climate in geographic centre of Europe, on the cross-roads of the most important North-South and East-West trade directions, which were at the same time at the epicentre of the most crucial European and global military conflicts between neighbouring powers with different religious and cultural traditions. The struggle of powers for spheres of influence was being expressed in ideological and culturological forms as well” (WHC *ibid.*, p. 28).

While the nomination document for Kronborg Castle (Figure 4.4) in Denmark indicates, in particular, the role the Renaissance played in northern Europe, it does not mention the national and power constellations in force at the time (WHC Nomination Documentation, 2000*a*, p. 1).

“Located on a strategically important site commanding the Sund, the stretch of water between Denmark and Sweden, the Royal Castle of Kronborg at Helsingör (Elsinore) is of immense symbolic value to the Danish people and played a key role in the history of northern Europe in the 16th-18th centuries. Work began on the construction of this outstanding Renaissance castle in 1574, and its defences were reinforced according to the canons of the period’s military architecture in the late 17th century. It has remained intact to the present day. It is world-renowned as Elsinore, the setting of Shakespeare’s *Hamlet*” (WHC Nomination Documentation, 2000*a*, p. 1).⁶⁷

The example of Litomyšl Castle (Figure 4.5) in the Czech Republic also underscores how the material nature of a structure is greatly emphasized, which can be seen as an adaptation of the Italian Renaissance for the Central European region and its aristocracy. This adaptation is cited in association with its “immaculate” preservation status in order to establish its Outstanding Universal Value in the nomination:

“Litomyšl Castle, is in origin a Renaissance arcade-castle of the type first developed in Italy and adopted and greatly developed in central Europe in the 16th century. Its design and decoration are of high quality, including the later High Baroque features added in the 18th century. It preserves intact the range of ancillary buildings associated with an aristocratic residence of this type” (WHC Nomination Documentation, 1999, p. 1).⁶⁸

The emphasis placed on the tangible values of sites by the World Heritage Convention has the advantage that authenticity and integrity must also be established on the

67 Justification for inscription: “Criterion (iv): Kronborg Castle is an outstanding example of the Renaissance castle, and one which played a highly significant role in the history of this region of northern Europe” (WHC Nomination Documentation, 2000*a*, p. 1).

68 Justification for inscription: “Criterion (ii): Litomyšl Castle is an outstanding and immaculately preserved example of the arcade castle, a type of building first developed in Italy and modified in the Czech lands to create an evolved form of special architectural quality. Criterion (iv): Litomyšl Castle illustrates in an exceptional way the aristocratic residences of Central Europe in the Renaissance and their subsequent development under the influence of new artistic movements” (WHC Nomination Documentation, 1999, p. 1).



Fig. 4.4: Kronborg Castle (Denmark)



Fig. 4.5: Lytomyšl Castle (Czech Republic)

basis of such material requirements. The disadvantage is that it precludes, or at the very least complicates, the fulfilment of the potential of such sites to promote further concepts of cultural assets – for example their socio-cultural, socio-economic or political-institutional interpretations are either difficult or impossible to achieve. The palaces of the Renaissance are good examples of how such interactions occurring between the Christian Church, the popes and their secular and religious opponents can be presented. Heritage – as formulated at the outset – could also be used in the socialization of future generations, were it portrayed on the basis of such illustrations. While such educational processes are currently endorsed in the context of the World Heritage Convention, they remain difficult to implement given the limitations of such tangible constructs.

It is, however, not only the material undertone of the Convention that is the object of criticism of an increasingly large group of experts. It is also the criticism of those tangible constructs of culture that are used to justify Eurocentrism. Smith writes in this regard:

“... the World Heritage Convention further institutionalized ... the European sense of the historical monument as universally significant ..., which inevitably universalizes Western values and systems of thought ... A glance at the World Heritage List today demonstrates the degree to which the sense of the monumental underwrites the convention, with cathedrals and grand buildings of state dominating the listing process” (Smith, 2006, p.27). “It is thus no accident that the World Heritage List is heavily represented by European ‘universally significant places’, as Europeans attempt to come to terms with the changing place of their nations in a world where the European colonial and imperial pasts (and present) are increasingly being reconsidered, and as European states redefine themselves as part of a unified Europe” (ibid., p. 100).

Such criticism has not subsided in reaction to measures initiated by the various committees in the context of the Global Strategy aiming to redress the List’s Eurocentrism by including less well-represented types of heritage, as has been encouraged by those closely involved in the *tangible discourse*.⁶⁹ Sites of this type include masterpieces of engineering such as Völklingen Ironworks (Figure 4.6).

“The ironworks, which cover some 6 ha, dominate the city of Völklingen. Although they have recently gone out of production, they are the only intact example, in the whole of western Europe and North America, of an integrated ironworks that was built and equipped in the 19th and 20th centuries and has remained intact” (UNESCO World Heritage List, ref. 687).

⁶⁹ In the 2011 Evaluation of the Global Strategy and the PACT initiative, a number of concerns were addressed and discussed. These include mainly issues in respect to the Representative, Balanced and Credible World Heritage List, which furthermore includes the review of Outstanding Universal Value, examination of the manner in which “studies on the disparities of the List” carried out by ICOMOS and IUCN have contributed to the implementation of the Global Strategy and to study the possible link between all inscriptions withdrawn or deferred during the period 1994–2010 and the Global Strategy (UNESCO, 2011a).



Fig. 4.6: Völklingen Ironworks (Germany)

While such engineering masterpieces are under-represented when compared with other types on the List, they are, however, no less Eurocentric in nature than are palaces or Christian cathedrals. The achievements of engineers represent Europe’s heritage at least as well as palaces do. In comparison with the above-mentioned castles of the Renaissance, Baroque or Rococo periods, Europe’s industrial heritage at best represents just another era in the development of power structures. For Europe it even represents one of its most important historical phases, i. e. most of the 19th century, indeed a symbol of the development of an entire region.

The industrial development of Europe is not only the result of new ways of organizing work. It is also characterized by an evolving social structure based on new ownership, property and power relationships. Industrialization in Europe not only continued to impact the continent, it also provided the opportunity to appropriate other regions, whether in the context of colonial or neocolonial frameworks. In this regard, Smith comments that the sites created during this era not only document the hegemony of Europe over the rest of the world, but that they are also indicative of how the continent’s requisite conservation strategies also dominate the discourse. They served to introduce and legitimize “... the nineteenth-century conservation ethic and the ‘conserve as found’ ethos” (Smith, 2006, p. 27), in addition to contemporary conservation concepts. A good example of this is the inscription of Austria’s Semmering Railway (Figure 4.7) in 1998. This site was included on the World Heritage



Fig. 4.7: Semmering Railway (Austria)

List based particularly on the outstanding technical solutions it represents in its role in the development of new regions, as evidenced in the rationale given to the justification of the Outstanding Universal Value in the nomination:

“The Semmering Railway represents an outstanding technological solution to a major physical problem in the construction of early railways. The railway, built over 41 km of high mountains between 1848 and 1854, is one of the greatest feats of civil engineering from this pioneering phase of railway building. The high standard of the tunnels, viaducts and other works has ensured the continuous use of the line to the present day. Furthermore, with its construction, areas of great natural beauty became more easily accessible and as a result these were developed for residential and recreational use, creating a new form of cultural landscape” (WHC Nomination Documentation, 1998, p. 1).

As such, it was inscribed as a total work of engineering art (*Gesamtkunstwerk*) and even today, it is still considered as a prototype for railway bridges. Civil engineering sites are, as outlined above, symbols of industrialization, which due to various framework conditions were executed chiefly in Europe, where they also gained their reputations. Nonetheless, this aspect is not dealt with in such nominations. At the same time, rationales in support of the inscriptions do not speak to the cultural-historical events which made such tangible products possible in the first place, which brings us back to our example of the Semmering Railway.

Even if we expand on the justification given for this inscription,⁷⁰ as was the case for the inscription of Chambord, the overall context is missing here as well. The bridge took shape during the Industrial Revolution in Europe and the resulting massive changes in people’s living conditions. These also prompted revolutionary changes (1848/49) in the political structures of Europe as a whole and had interrelated impacts throughout the world. These events can be substantiated today in philosophical, cultural and architectural writings on the 19th century and should thus be considered when justifying the suitability of World Heritage sites.

Lastly, the World Heritage discourse proffered by the Association of Critical Heritage Studies, an institution established by Smith herself in Gothenburg (Sweden) in 2012, has also been critical of the *authorized discourse*. The term “authorized” pertains to the monument-based understanding of heritage as seen through the eyes of the European educated middle class, and the role played by European experts in determining what is, and what is not, World Heritage. In its manifesto, the Association states:

“The study of heritage has historically been dominated by Western, predominantly European, experts in archaeology, history, architecture and art history. Though there have been progressive currents in these disciplines they sustain a limited idea of what heritage is and how it should be studied and managed. The old way of looking at heritage – the Authorized Heritage Discourse – privileges old, grand, prestigious, expert approved sites, buildings and artefacts that sustain Western narratives of nation, class and science” (Campbell and Smith, 2012).

In the estimation of the Association, the expert discourse is thus self-referential in nature. It is a discourse which, as formulated above, is driven by a small group of *bona fide* or self-appointed – generally Euro-American – experts, who on the basis of real or supposed objective criteria, review the Outstanding Universal Value and the authenticity and integrity of a nominated site and offer their specific positive or negative recommendations emanating from their Euro-American and expert points of view. As we have mentioned, this quantitative dominance of European sites on the World Heritage List infers that European heritage is the most representative heritage of the world. Because the European experts and specialized non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and commissions (Figure 4.8), dominate the debate, the ensuing ramifications are even more wide-reaching.

Heritage nominations – whether for World Heritage or intangible heritage – require explicit knowledge of all related specialist terms pertaining to the nomination, preservation and sustainable use of a site. This denotes knowledge specifically

⁷⁰ Justification for inscription: “Criterion (ii): The Semmering Railway represents an outstanding technological solution to a major physical problem in the construction of early railways. Criterion (iv): With the construction of the Semmering Railway, areas of great natural beauty became more easily accessible and as a result these were developed for residential and recreational use, creating a new form of cultural landscape” (WHC Nomination Documentation, 1998, p. 1).

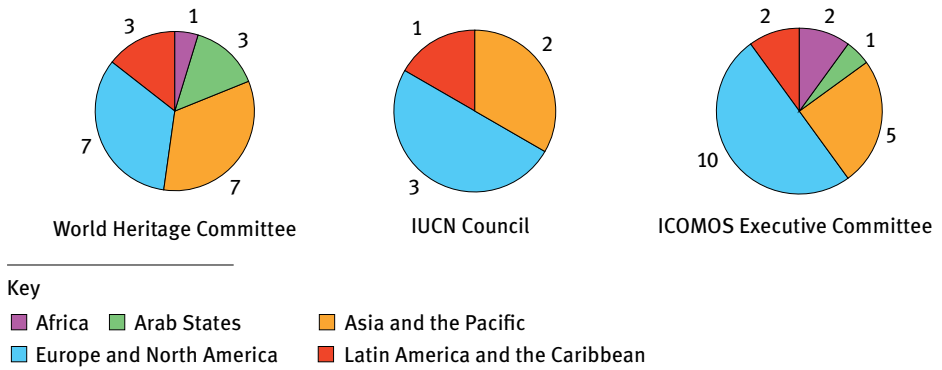


Fig. 4.8: Composition of leadership positions in the sphere of World Heritage by region, 2013 (author illustration)

related to the type of site to be nominated, in addition to financial, visitor and maintenance management, and extending to knowledge of sustainability or authenticity. In view of how members are currently acquired for such NGOs – respectively based on personal recommendation by members of the expert commissions – and in view of the quantitative dominance of even these members, with the European dominance in terms of heritage sites a European dominance of experts exists, which Smith describes as the *authorized discourse*.

The consequences and effects of these developments are that, except for one intergovernmental organization – ICCROM, partly financed by the States Parties to the World Heritage Convention – other representatives such as some ICOMOS and IUCN members, frequently work simultaneously on multiple assignments.

As Advisory Bodies they review the applications and determine the suitability of nominated sites for inscription on the World Heritage List based on the criteria for Outstanding Universal Value, authenticity and integrity. On the other hand, such experts owning private consultancy firms working for the applicants are often hired for the purpose of compiling heritage nomination applications in their capacity as NGOs or private persons. Just this dual function alone displays a lack of any real objective and professional independence, and brings into question ad absurdum the repeatedly emphasized objectivity with respect to the listing of sites.

In this connection, we again leave the final word to Smith, who characterizes this *authorized discourse* as being incompatible with the objectives of the Convention. She writes:

“Part of the authority of the European Authorized Heritage Discourse, subsequently, lies in its own legitimizing assumptions that it is universally applicable and that there is, or must be, universal cultural values and expressions. ... Although the claims to universality within the text of the World Heritage Convention and associated directives, practices and debates appear to offer a straightforward description of a value that simply is, it is nevertheless an explicit argument about the legitimacy of European cultural narratives and values” (Smith, 2006, p. 99).

4.2 Discourse on the appropriation of heritage into the social process

One World Heritage discourse that has gained increasing recognition over the past few years is the *non-authorized discourse*. This discourse, also known as the explanatory approach, in which heritage is perceived in procedural terms, was conceived and published as a counter-model to the *authorized discourse*. For supporters of this discourse heritage, in particular World Heritage, consists only indirectly of monumental objects. Heritage is rather seen to be comprised of formative social and cultural ideas of people, their capacities and practices, in addition to the corresponding forms and processes associated with the appropriation of heritage. In comparison with tangible heritage as defined in terms of monument preservation, archaeology or architecture, this discourse is interspersed with social science positions. Its epistemological access ranges from post-structural to those of critical theory, and post-colonial positions. Below we present the most important positions of those researchers that perceive heritage as a process.

In the self-conception of representatives of the procedural discourse on heritage, it is the contexts and constructs, the interpretations and representations of heritage that people use to position themselves in political, social, economic and cultural terms and through which they form and preserve identity. It is based on the mentioned elements on whose basis they can construct heritage. This discourse first arose within the Association of Critical Heritage Studies environment. Today, it is increasingly conveyed by sociologically positioned representatives. Among others, criticism of the tangible understanding of heritage has also been voiced in the context of the International Graduate School in Heritage Studies (IGS) of the UNESCO Chair in Heritage Studies. All critics of the *tangible discourse* consider heritage in a holistic way and in analogy to their conceptual interests, such as by establishing a connection to tangible World Heritage in its cultural contexts and perceiving it to be a dynamically developing phenomenon.

One good example of such discernment is Berlin's Museum Island (Berliner Museumsinsel) (Figure 4.9).

"The Museum Island in Berlin is considered 'a unique ensemble of museum buildings which illustrates the evolution of modern museum design over more than a century'. It is 'an outstanding example of the concept of the art museum, going back to the time of the enlightenment and the French Revolution'" (DUK, n. d.).

This was the rationale provided for the inscription of Museumsinsel (Museum Island), Berlin as a cultural World Heritage site in 1999. At first, World Heritage is expressed in terms of the entire ensemble, in combination with the harmony of the museum buildings and the interdependent characters of the objects exhibited therein. In addition to the architectural and conservational values of the island, it is a reminder of the educational and scientific aspirations of the 19th century, while



Fig. 4.9: Alte Nationalgalerie in Berlin (Germany)

at the same time it highlights components across temporal, locational and target-group meanings. Against the backdrop of cultural and societal developments, these meanings have undergone adaptation processes, i. e. despite the Museumsinsel's orientation vis-à-vis time and place, it can also be presented as a dynamically evolving object. As opposed to other objects of cultural heritage and even in comparison with other museums, the Museumsinsel represents, as it were, an abundance of intangible values that reflect humankind's drive to create in an ever-changing world.

The UNESCO evaluation criteria used to justify World Heritage do not embrace such intangible values. An interpretation process is required in order to perceive heritage in terms of a holistic construct. This also pertains to the significance of the Museumsinsel as an exceptional example of how a cultural institution as urban centre in urban planning was conceived and implemented. Because the justification criteria for Outstanding Universal Value are based on material aspects, this inscription served to protect this site as cultural World Heritage, in which its intangible, historic, societal, cultural, social and economic potentials were emphasized to a greater extent compared with other World Heritage sites, but in the self-conception of the members of the *authorized discourse* it remains even further removed from its wide spectrum of meaning.

In particular, the justification given for the inscription of this museum complex on the World Heritage List neglected to mention that, in the wake of ideas emanating

from the French Revolution, it had been conceived as a place of education for the public at large and right from the beginning was open to the entire population of Berlin.

To this extent, the Museumsinsel constitutes an inexhaustible treasure for the social and cultural enabling processes in the interest of a sustainable understanding of World Heritage, one whose potential has not yet been fully realized. Moreover, the island with its approximately 3.4 million visitors is today one of the most popular destinations in the German capital and thereby providing *heritage activists* with a broad range of target groups to communicate with.⁷¹ Both national and international visitors to the Museumsinsel and the people of Berlin themselves are ideally positioned to experience the potential of the object as a process in terms of cultural and intercultural meaning constructs, and in so doing to make good use of heritage for the process of history acquisition. But the object itself, even in its role as a World Heritage asset, must also permit such a procedural approach.

This also applies to the proportions of the island's individual houses vis-à-vis the overall World Heritage ensemble, and again to the related collections and exhibitions.⁷² In particular the latter would be suited to promoting the inherent potential of World Heritage in terms of gaining insights and understanding of the past and present in the sense of international and intercultural communication processes. When tangible heritage is conceived in a static manner it fails to comply with the goals of World Heritage status, i. e. to confront the peoples of the world with their common and mutually shared cultural and social objects and to use them for new forms of peaceful, cross-border cooperation. This characterizes the approach of those who understand heritage as a social process. Such positions held within the sphere of critical heritage studies are, however, not new. They are based on the studies carried out by pioneers in heritage studies,⁷³ who as early as the 1980 s identified and established a relationship between history, heritage and identity.

The economic exploitation of World Heritage criticized by members of the Association of Critical Heritage Studies had also been anticipated by authors such as

71 In 2010, some 3.35 million people visited the Museumsinsel. In 2011, the number of visitors increased to 3.4 million. Data provided by the Visitor Services of the National Museums in Berlin (Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz).

72 “The Alte Museum houses an antique collection of the National Museums in Berlin (Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz); The Neue Museum today houses the Egyptian Museum and Papyrus Collection, as well as the Museum of Prehistory and Early History (Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte); The Alte Nationalgalerie is home to sculptures and paintings of the 19th century; the Bode Museum features the Sculpture Collection and the Museum of Byzantine Art (Museum für Byzantinische Kunst). At the present time, the Pergamon Museum exhibits the Antique Collection, the Museum of Islamic Art and the Levantine Museum” (Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, n. d.).

73 Positions taken by the so-called pioneers of heritage studies can be found in detail in the first volume of the World Heritage Studies series (Albert et al., 2013).

Ashworth or Larkham (Ashworth and Larkham, 1994). David C. Harvey belongs to those who early on postulated a clear delineation between heritage and its tangible and Eurocentric constructs as interpreted by the World Heritage community. His work gave direction to the heritage discourse: “beyond the confines of present-centred cultural, leisure or tourism studies” (Harvey, 2001, p. 320), which in turn created the foundations of the above-outlined paradigm: an understanding of heritage as a long-term social process. This means that the much-maligned, object-related static term of heritage needs to be revised, and the exclusive right of the so-called UNESCO experts to determine the veracity of the various interpretations of heritage needs to be revoked. Both elements are represented in the *tangible discourse* on World Heritage and criticized by representatives of the *non-authorized discourse* as being conservative and Eurocentric, and as such no longer in keeping with the times. It is not only the altered disciplinary and epistemological contexts that have given rise to *heritage constructs*, it is the object of investigation itself that brings together the corresponding research methods, and not least the research paradigm.

The paradigm of heritage as a social process was also picked up on by Laurajane Smith. In referring to Harvey she writes:

“Heritage is not a ‘thing’, is not a ‘site’, building or other tangible object. ... these things ... are not themselves heritage. Rather, heritage is what goes on at these sites, ... Heritage I want to suggest, is a cultural process that engage with the present, and the sites themselves are cultural tools that can facilitate, but are not necessarily vital for, this process” (Smith, 2006, p. 44).

Smith’s quote: “heritage is not a site” explicitly refers to the World Heritage Convention, in which – as explained above – it is specified which sites are to enjoy particular protection, and which are not. According to the World Heritage Convention sites are to be protected and preserved if they can demonstrate the presence or absence of Outstanding Universal Value, which must be established on the basis of formal criteria.

Their relevancy is, however, legitimized by a group of Advisory Body and UNESCO experts. Based on this supposed legitimacy, it follows that there is a claim to a particular notion of heritage as identified by this group, which in turn can be perceived as the heritage of all peoples. Critics of the *authorized discourse* oppose this view because they are of the opinion that all values, including those identified as establishing tangible heritage, are construed in social and cultural terms. In the construction of World Heritage values, only an elitist minority is involved. According to critics, this minority group has taken over and universalized heritage in the form of World Heritage for its own purposes. According to the critics of this interpretation, the validity of heritage can neither be objectively identified exclusively within the connotations of tangible, nor can it be seen to be objectively valid. All heritage is subject to dynamic and different interpretations. This also applies to the role heritage plays in the development of identity. Even if heritage did actually represent *except-*

tional objects of the history of humanity, the sites themselves would not be identity-forming per se. To be identity-forming, they need to involve the people and processes on whose basis identity can be constructed.

The ascribing of an identity-forming function to tangible heritage can thus be rejected from a socio-scientific point of view. This objection has been most strongly articulated from within the sphere of *post-colonial studies*. As far as the potential of heritage is concerned, they characterize the *authorized discourse* as elitist, and the goals to which they are linked as counterproductive. All members of the *non-authorized discourse* roundly criticize any heritage that is constructed in such a way so as to elevate obviously tangible and static objects to a socially relevant phenomenon; they see this as an inadmissible generalization.

They believe that all heritage is rather construed at the social level and within a dynamic process. It is in the context of the process alone that the potential acquisition of heritage and World Heritage lies, and as such the development of identity. Whether or not the object can be assigned an Outstanding Universal Value in this process is not significant in terms of identity formation, as this entails experiential processes and awareness-building. That is why societal and identity-forming potential can only be established in the procedural enabling of World Heritage. The representatives of a procedural understanding of heritage see this position as a paradigm shift that opens up fields of experience for those who seek increased participation of all actors in the processes of identifying, examining and inscribing World Heritage.⁷⁴

Further critics of the *tangible discourse*, such as the members of the Association of Critical Heritage Studies, are tackling the contradiction that exists between certain determinative institutional structures of World Heritage and a more targeted grass-roots orientation. They examine the backgrounds and effects of the fact that an institution such as UNESCO is allowed to exert its sovereignty in terms of demarcating the “real” meaning of World Heritage, while at the same time demanding input from local stakeholders. The Association also has reservations about UNESCO initiatives themselves, and various committees in which NGOs are striving to set new accents in the context of World Heritage. NGOs are constituent components of civil society, and as such, for the Association, real representatives of heritage. As contact partners for World Heritage they are irrelevant in the eyes of official political bodies such as the World Heritage Committee or the General Assembly, despite all ongoing modifications to the *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention*.⁷⁵ As per Article 5 of the Convention, each State Party is responsible for the protection, conservation and presentation of the cultural and natural heritage

⁷⁴ See in particular Chapter 3.3 on the Global Strategy.

⁷⁵ Latest edition 2013. <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide13-en.pdf>

situated on its territory, and as such must also ensure that its value is duly etched in the social consciousness.

Accordingly, this new group also perceives the World Heritage Centre critically in the context of the paradigm of *sustainable development*, as formulated on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Convention. Any sustainable development of World Heritage that, from their point of view, does not deal with the effects of the tangible valuation of heritage, is incapable of seizing the various concepts of sustainability. Critics of the *tangible discourse* thus demand that heritage – in the form of more global justice – be implemented by 2015 in the context of the UN Millennium Development Goals, by defining the social process of the stakeholders. This presupposes an examination of whether and how the societal groups can be integrated into the process of identifying and nominating World Heritage, and what their specific contributions to preservation should be. If communities and societal groups are indeed to be included in heritage preservation and safeguarding measures, a vision will be required to elaborate what such a “community” means in terms of heritage itself, and in turn what heritage means to such a group. It is important to examine who they are and why they should, and must, be interested in the sustainable preservation of heritage. It is only with such considerations that directly address sustainability, and only on the basis of this definition of sustainability, that it will be possible to directly involve communities in identifying heritage.

We illustrate this with an example, which although a component of the official heritage discourse allows the actors to set new accents through the generation of *heritage constructs*. It is an interesting example concerning the practical implementation of heritage management, because the management of World Heritage is a field otherwise reserved for the experts. Within the *authorized discourse* community, these experts relate to the issue in terms of their formal and professional qualifications. They acquire the necessary know-how through formal university degrees as economists, curators of monuments, architects or heritage studies graduates.

This is in contrast to concepts of *joint management systems*, for example in Australian National Parks, which also employs formally qualified experts. This system also comprises many components of the *non-authorized discourse*, as underscored by the excellent example of the cultural and natural heritage site Kakadu National Park. Participation in this management system entails not only a sharing of responsibilities, but also close involvement in the site itself – the only way that sustainability can be achieved.

“This unique archaeological and ethnological reserve, located in the Northern Territory, has been inhabited continuously for more than 40,000 years. The cave paintings, rock carvings and archaeological sites record the skills and way of life of the region’s inhabitants, from the hunter-gatherers of prehistoric times to the Aboriginal people still living there. It is a unique example of a complex of ecosystems, including tidal flats, floodplains, lowlands and plateaux, and provides a habitat for a wide range of rare or endemic species of plants and animals” (UNESCO World Heritage List, ref. 147).

The site management plan states: “Aboriginal people must be empowered, through legal ownership of some, or all, of the land involved, and have the principal role in the decision-making process, most importantly through a majority on the Board of Management” (Press et al., 1995, p.14). This is the only way to achieve the desired degree of identification.

The site itself was first inscribed in 1981 and has since been extended or modified on several occasions. All actors were involved in both the communicative and decision-making processes at each step of the way. Perhaps for this reason it was possible to prevent the appropriation of the site by the Australian Government after uranium had been discovered there (Australian National Periodic Report, 2002, p. 20 f.). In constructing heritage, the park embraced all societal interests because it considered the respective groups to be joint owners of the site and with a vested interest in its preservation. The park management’s grasp of this issue is the best example of this paradigm shift. A management approach of this kind is based on knowledge, whether locally or professionally acquired, in addition to modern management skills. But more important here is how the discourse has been shifted from the experts to the actors. And it is precisely this example that opens up new options, not only for this site, but also in terms of an overall understanding of heritage, one that enables societal identification with the object, and thereby stresses the pivotal importance of sustainability.

4.3 Heritage Studies discourse – protection and use of heritage in the interest of human development

The line of reasoning proffered in this chapter with respect to the emerging *Heritage Studies discourse – protection and use of heritage in the interest of human development* can be seen as the initial outcome of a holistic approach to heritage. Its varied facets have, since 2010, been the object of scrutiny by the IGS. The *Heritage Studies discourse* is based on wide-ranging analyses of the previously outlined discourses, as well as the protagonists. It takes into account the Global Strategy requirements formulated by the World Heritage Committee seeking to include local populations in nomination processes. However, it reflects more profoundly on these requirements in terms of possible implementation options. These pertain to the sustainable protection and sustainable use of cultural and natural heritage sites in a political-practical context. They also relate to systematic, disciplinary and interdisciplinary-oriented research activities. The *Heritage Studies discourse* strives to identify gaps in the research, to deal with them in a scientific manner, and as far as possible, to close the gaps.

One further goal of this discourse is to develop heritage studies into an academic discipline, and in doing so to differentiate between the political mechanisms of the *authorized discourse* and those of the *non-authorized discourse*. The approach taken

here is similar to those followed by the globally recognized discipline of cultural studies.⁷⁶ The *Heritage Studies discourse* also perceives the subject of heritage in a multidimensional way. As mentioned, however, this conception extends far beyond the outlined discourse. We are of the opinion that in the service of heritage it is important to express the various representations of its enormous diversity of paradigms, scientific terms, constructions and approaches.

As opposed to all previously mentioned discourses, the *Heritage Studies discourse* first emerges at a very general level in the form of the scientific identification of disciplinary, interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary interpretations of heritage under the conditions imposed by globalization. As far as these pertain to the meanings implied in the UNESCO conventions as far as they define heritage in terms of tangible⁷⁷ or intangible cultural heritage,⁷⁸ natural heritage properties or cultural landscapes,⁷⁹ such considerations are to be expanded to include the challenges posed by globalization. These also apply to the meaning of *memory*⁸⁰ as formulated in a UNESCO context.

The impacts of globalization on the heritage of humanity affect the population itself in many ways. These concern their heritage as tangible and intangible assets, by the constant revaluation of its meanings in dynamically changing cultural and social processes, but sometimes devalued as well. The most striking examples relate to the evolving characteristics attributed to World Heritage sites or ensembles of monuments. Contemporary examples include Liverpool - Maritime Mercantile City (Figure 4.10), as well as Seville (see Chapter 5.1).

“... In terms of visual perception, the redevelopment scheme will fragment and isolate the different dock areas, instead of integrating them into one continuous historic urban landscape. The mission considers that the development scheme does not reflect, nor evolve from the fragile and subtle yet significant heritage structures present in the dock areas. Instead it treats the inscribed site and its buffer zones very differently (in terms of building height), while introducing the same mass and typology throughout. It also considers that the introduction of a cluster of high-rise buildings, with towers three times the height of the Three Graces, would destroy the

76 Cultural studies derived from texts of Marxist-oriented philologists such as Raymond Williams, Richard Hoggart or E. P. Thompson of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at the University of Birmingham in the 1950 s. These authors and subsequently a growing community rejected the elite materialistic concept of culture of the day, in order to understand culture as a holistic phenomenon incorporating the past, the present and the future together with the conditions of life that shape them (Hepp, 1999).

77 The 1972 World Heritage Convention (UNESCO, 1972a).

78 The 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (UNESCO, 2003c).

79 Natural heritage is defined in the World Heritage Convention, cultural landscapes in the *Operational Guidelines*.

80 *Memory of the World* programme, established in 1992 (see e. g. DUK, 2010).



Fig. 4.10: Newly constructed office buildings at Liverpool Docks (United Kingdom)

more or less symmetrical city profile which is expressed as a three-tiered urban structure including the waterfront, the massing and height of the Three Graces, and the shoulders of the Anglican Cathedral on the ridge overlooking the city, with the historic docklands to the north to complement those to the south, putting the Three Graces centre-stage” (UNESCO, 2012*h*, p. 184).

In Cologne, Vienna and Potsdam also, a balance had to be achieved between the modern urban development interests of city planners and investors on the one hand, and the restoration of the UNESCO criteria for Outstanding Universal Value, authenticity and integrity on the other, as mentioned in Chapter 2.6 in association with the topic of endangered World Heritage. While Vienna and Potsdam succeeded in blocking the implementation of construction plans to modernize their inner cities that would have destroyed the integrity of the World Heritage at a time when these cities had not yet been inscribed on the List of World Heritage in Danger; Cologne Cathedral, in contrast, was on this List from 2004 to 2006.

Further facets, equally diversified, of the heritage of humanity influenced by globalization are examined in the *Heritage Studies discourse* concerning the impacts of climate change (Figure 4.11) on human life and nature, for example, in order to identify its imminent destructive potential for human development. The aim here is to elaborate a comprehensive concept of strategies for sustainable development that also include the topic of heritage tourism. Many involved in the tourist industry are unaware of the danger posed by worldwide tourism to the substance, authenticity and presentation of heritage properties. And, lastly, the *Heritage Studies discourse* examines the contradictions that exist between the calls for diversity versus the



Fig. 4.11: Great Aletsch Glacier (Switzerland), left in 1979, centre in 1991, and right in 2002

actual nominations of tangible and intangible heritage sites⁸¹ and, not least, the still unmet demand to use heritage in the interest of human development.

The migration processes created by globalization are among the most comprehensive influences on the *Heritage Studies* discourse. They impact the heritage of the local population in the same way they do immigrants and emigrants. However, in each case they change it differently,⁸² just as they changed the heritage of the established population, as illustrated in the example of a suburban community of a major English city reported by Norbert Elias in the 1960 s. Due to migration, the living spaces of the *established population* were taken over by the incoming *outsiders* and were altered accordingly. It is in this way that each respective heritage is interrelated vis-à-vis the changing environment, in the same way as heritage and environment themselves are interrelated. Regardless of whether such migration is voluntary or motivated by economic needs, people who leave willingly or are forced to emigrate from their ancestral surroundings are constantly changing their environment and themselves in both their old and new environments. Temporary migrants, i. e. those who return home after years of living in foreign cultures, also return to their places of origin with new experiences (so-called *re-pats*), which in turn contributes to the existing heritage. They introduce new knowledge into an existing knowledge culture and learn something new themselves. They are multipliers of knowledge and trans-

⁸¹ This concerns commonly cited examples such as the material inheritance of the Christian Churches and the flood of artistic work in the case of intangible heritage.

⁸² Norbert Elias produced one of the best studies of such a process of change in *The Established and the Outsiders* (Elias, 1965).

formers of cultures and cultural heritage. In this respect, the *Heritage Studies discourse* needs to put more emphasis on expressions of human life in its entirety and incorporate them more fully into the processes of human development.

In addition to migration processes, technological change is also impacting the heritage of societies. Technological advances have found their way into new regions and have been adapted in various ways to meet local needs. Historically, this has been expressed in cultural discontinuities, such as the transitions from image to speech, speech to writing, and reinforced even further by the more image-based culture of the 20th and 21st centuries. Technological change today takes many different forms. One of the most striking examples is the genuine or supposed loss of privacy brought on by the technical revolution in communications media. This also concerns the phenomenon of permanent accessibility and the dissolution of time and space through the advent of the internet.

Although the centralization of economic activities in particular is both an old and a new topic, its effects on World Heritage and expressions of cultural diversity have not yet been examined in any noteworthy manner. The worldwide centralization of economic processes impacts heritage in all its facets and representations. This holds true regardless of the type of heritage. It impacts World Heritage to the extent that the cultural heritage of different interest groups is marketed and used for tourism. It concerns intangible cultural heritage that is commercialized through souvenirs. Both types of heritage are increasingly monopolized by international networks of companies, manufacturers and merchants. These processes are increasingly undermining the basis for local management, for example by hindering locally organized production and sales of souvenirs from the sites.

Further processes that also impact and alter heritage due to globalization and the related needs of tourism include a shift in values and awareness with respect to the real significance of heritage. This shift is evident regardless of the status of a particular heritage – for example a World Heritage property such as Angkor Wat (Figure 4.12) is now marketed essentially as a tourist destination, receiving approximately 2 million visitors each year – it is no longer perceived as World Heritage, but rather as an event.⁸³

“Angkor is one of the most important archaeological sites in South-East Asia. Stretching over some 400 km², including forested area, Angkor Archaeological Park contains the magnificent remains of the different capitals of the Khmer Empire, from the 9th to the 15th century. They include the famous Temple of Angkor Wat and, at Angkor Thom, the Bayon Temple with its countless sculptural decorations. UNESCO has set up a wide-ranging programme to safeguard this symbolic site and its surroundings” (UNESCO World Heritage List, ref. 668).

83 See in particular Chapter 5.2 on World Heritage and tourism. <http://www.tourismcambodia.com/>



Fig. 4.12: Mass tourism among the temple complexes of Angkor (Cambodia)

This also holds true for national monuments such as the Brandenburg Gate (Figure 4.13) in Berlin, a site that is also “hyped” as a tourist attraction in travel guides, such as the *Marco Polo* tourist guide (Berger, 2013).

Globalization and migration change the local heritage of ethnic groups and their unique traditions. Heritage is immanently depersonalized and separated from the respective cultural and social contexts, making it possible to commercialize and popularize such valuable assets. This also concerns various protection and usage concepts. Such developments interfere with the inherent development potential of heritage for the individual and the community.

Furthermore, the influence of demographic change on heritage in the context of globalization in the broadest sense also needs to be considered. It is no longer just a matter of the consequences of ageing societies, an extreme form of which can be found in China, for example (Figure 4.14), and exacerbated by that country’s one-child policies. In particular, this concerns the qualification options that can ensure the future of young people in and for societies that are changing rapidly and thus require new forms of qualification.⁸⁴

⁸⁴ In 2013, China relaxed its one-child policy to counteract increasing demographic change (*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 2013).



Fig. 4.13: Tourists in front of Berlin's Brandenburg Gate (Germany)



Fig. 4.14: Demographic changes in China



Fig. 4.15: View of the Favela da Rocinha in Rio de Janeiro (Brazil)

And lastly, heritage is influenced by climate change, for example in once normally populated areas that are now either overpopulated or have partially vanished (Figure 4.15) or where rural spaces have been submerged under water (Figure 4.16). Particularly because these questions continue to be handled on the basis of academic expertise, for example migration⁸⁵ or climate research,⁸⁶ the development of holistic concepts is still in its very early stages.

Constructions of heritage under the conditions of globalization – only a few examples are expected to emerge over the course of the 21st century – therefore pose theoretical and practical challenges that can no longer be mastered solely on the basis of the expert discourse of UNESCO Advisory Bodies or through the political *non-authorized discourse*. It is thus necessary to broaden the existing expertise of the representatives of the various heritage discourses by expanding it to include the *Heritage Studies discourse*. This challenge needs to be addressed in several ways. For example, the various approaches to the understanding of the heritage of humanity can be identified and positioned as fundamental contributions to the discourse. In this publication, we emphasize the evolution of World Heritage from a protection

⁸⁵ Among others: De Haas (2006), GCIM (2005), Hoerder (2002).

⁸⁶ Among others: Schönberger (2013), Annan (2009), Stern (2009).



Fig. 4.16: The last house standing on Holland Island in Chesapeake Bay (United States), impacted by flooding and erosion

strategy to a brand, and as such, to an economic factor. To put it another way, this development can also be understood in paradigmatic terms. The heritage discourse, as far as we perceive it in terms of future perspectives, is – as formulated above – multidimensional. Initially, a preferably disciplinarily structured system needs to be developed, one that embraces the spectrum of the potential and genuine expert competencies required to engender the various constructions and representations. The question of whether the heritage of humanity, as interpreted in the context of the World Heritage Convention, can be more sustainably safeguarded on the basis of human ecological, legal, architectural, historical, art history, planning or social science approaches, rather than through the current methodologies, has in our view not yet been answered.

We do not concern ourselves with the scientific discourse per se. We rather seek to encourage a holistic and deeper understanding of the topic founded solely on the concept of the diversity of heritage, as presented above, with a view to closing the gaps with respect to yet unidentified perspectives and practical options. In other words, it is not our intention to limit the political-practical positions put forward in the context of the *authorized discourse*. We are of the opinion that any knowledge obtained from political-practical sources is needed more than ever. Nevertheless, we would like to broaden the existing discourse to include academic, disciplinary and interdisciplinary, theme-oriented and systematic approaches. In particular, the *Her-*

itage Studies discourse needs to steer the interest of *heritage communities* towards the issue of sustainability in its broadest sense. Another aim is to disentangle sustainability from its populist frameworks and make it the object of scientific research.

It is thus indispensable that we take a fresh look at past concepts of sustainability, inasmuch as such sustainable development concepts on the use of cultural assets were compiled as early as the 1980 s and 1990 s, in particular in the context of development policies (Taylor, 2012). Another idea developed during the 1990 s presented an understanding of sustainability that should be absolutely relevant to the heritage discourse, i. e. the concept of *commons*. This concept can be traced back to the now deceased Nobel Prize Laureate Elinor Ostrom; it perceives scarce resources such as clean air, water and heritage not as private or public assets, but rather as common pooled resources, which need to be dealt with accordingly.

The community, comprised of responsible citizens, assumes responsibility for such common pooled resources. Within the sphere of heritage, sustainability pertains to the cultural and natural assets of humanity. On this basis, these assets can also be regarded as common pooled resources, and the responsible citizens would then preserve the desired identity-forming characteristics. It has been demonstrated in many projects that people are capable of assuming responsibilities of all kinds, and they are especially willing to do so when it concerns their heritage.

A further thematic area that should be a concern for the political sphere of UNESCO Committees and Advisory Bodies in terms of application-oriented research is the calls for heritage to be used in the interest of economic development and linked directly to sustainability and participation. As evident as these concepts may seem in the wake of the initial international discussions on sustainable development as first outlined in the *Brundtland Report* of 1987, which called for the elaboration of theories for innovative utilization strategies, such themes remain nevertheless rare in expert discourses, where it has merely been stated that sustainability and participation are necessary.⁸⁷ In other words, demands for sustainability and local participation in the developmental processes have been sufficiently considered and are relatively widespread. It is a known fact that a comprehensive educational, training and consciousness-raising concept is required in order to implement this strategy. Such concepts are also anchored in the heritage discourse.⁸⁸ The question remains of why such political ambitions based on the demanded and even implemented strategies do not function. Our view is that such demands have been detached from any real concerns and power constellations and are thus inherently contradictory. We offer the following example to provide evidence for this statement.

Stronger national integration of individual countries in educational, training and normative procedures has been anticipated with the help of UNESCO's Category

⁸⁷ This statement pertains to the Global Strategy in particular.

⁸⁸ See comments on the Global Strategy in Chapter 3. 3.

2 Institutes.⁸⁹ But just how can such international standards be achieved while national institutions are compelled to represent their national political classes, and while such international standards contradict the respective national or cultural value systems? Or why would countries with entrenched non-democratic structures be interested in involving their local actors? Why should countries that are incapable of even feeding their own populations be concerned with heritage nominations? Or why should developing countries with World Heritage tourist attractions, indeed countries whose gross national product now largely profits from the World Heritage tourist boom, voluntarily sacrifice such income due to sustainability concerns? This in contrast to the rich European countries that have legitimized their World Heritage nominations for years to boost tourism, despite the known inherent destructive potential.

In other words, calls for greater participation or sustainability often do not go beyond problem identification and proposed solutions, and frequently only within the confines of the UNESCO experts' self-legitimized systems and strategies. They are thus inconsistent vis-à-vis their own promulgated concepts. The related goals have counterproductive effects as well. It is precisely this issue that needs to be elucidated in heritage studies and corrected accordingly on the basis of suitable research approaches, which must be able to dissolve the epistemological and methodological dichotomies and offer alternatives through political-historical-societal oriented research approaches.

This presupposes broader disciplinary and interdisciplinary epistemological interests. To mention just a few: the credibility of the World Heritage List could be largely restored through a change in policies, and not – as attempted to date – through education and training schemes in the developing countries or by way of unheeded calls to Europe to limit its nominations, for example. A change in perspective of how heritage is viewed overall might be suggested. Instead of appraising the African countries from the dominant European point of view, the interests and behaviour of the actors involved in the countries in question could themselves be made the object of heritage studies. A perspective of this kind refers to an innate heritage, which despite or even because of globalization competes with Western heritage.

The best example of the impact of the World Heritage Convention thus far is the ongoing striking imbalance between Europe and the rest of the world with regard to sites inscribed on the World Heritage List. There are many political responses to

⁸⁹ Ninety-eight International and Regional Institutes and Centres have been designated as Category 2 under the auspices of UNESCO. Though not legally part of the Organization, these Institutes and Centres are associated with UNESCO through formal arrangements approved by the General Conference. They are selected upon proposal by Member State(s), based on the strength of their specialization in one of UNESCO's fields of competence. Through capacity-building, knowledge sharing and research, they provide a valuable and unique contribution to the implementation of UNESCO's strategic programme objectives for the benefits of Member States (UNESCO, 2013j).

such problems. What we propose is, in the context of heritage studies, to disentangle the discourse from attempts to define normative standards and return it to the level of analytic reflection. Further expanding on the example of the disparity in the distribution of sites on a world scale, it is time to squarely face the fact that, in actual practice, the legitimations formulated in the heritage Conventions used to judge heritage sites are out of date. For most Europeans, heritage is no longer an asset but rather a commercial product, and products are naturally not subject to cultural criteria, but rather to economic benchmarks. It is thus essential that economic criteria also be taken into account in political strategies. This in turn presupposes that the inconsistency that is imminent in political discourse on heritage can be properly identified. Moreover, the cause and effect factors responsible for the relative failure of the Global Strategy need to be analysed systematically and in consideration of the pertinent criteria. This is why we need the *Heritage Studies discourse*.

This not only means that a paradigm change is required, but a change in perspective as well. Only a change in perspective will permit us to understand why the justifications and measures developed on the basis of Western rationality for the purpose of balancing the List have not, or cannot, be effective due to their Eurocentric nature. Thus it is important to ensure that the ongoing calls for participation and sustainability should now be put into action. And finally, once and for all, put an end to the self-appointed Eurocentric authority to define the meaning of heritage. Whether such demands are expedient, adequate or realistic can only be answered in the context of heritage studies, but no longer through the expert discourse.

In the context of the *Heritage Studies discourse*, we would like to emphasize how the goals formulated in the heritage conventions cannot be reached without the need for theoretical methods. The jargon surrounding world history such as *sustainable development*,⁹⁰ *human development*,⁹¹ *community and local involvement*,⁹² *cultural diversity and heritage*,⁹³ etc. is full of cultural, technical or economic connotations, without having sufficiently examined their prospects for failure or success. Neither have questions been raised about the possibilities and limits of societal involvement, nor their national potentials or opposing views.

More than ever, the heritage discourse requires an independent science-based approach, and how better to implement this demand than on the basis of the *Heritage Studies discourse*? The young discipline of heritage studies, whose traditional approaches lie in the spheres of anthropology, archaeology, architecture, ethnology, monument preservation, ecology and art history, is increasingly reaching out to interdisciplinary approaches from the humanities and social sciences, but – as does

⁹⁰ Among others: Baker (2006), Egelston (2013), Middleton and O’Keefe (2001).

⁹¹ Among others: Richtscheid (2011).

⁹² Among others: de Britto (2011).

⁹³ Among others: Albert et al. (2010).

the *non-authorized discourse* – also profits from cultural studies and post-colonial studies and the scientific and epistemological, phenomenological methodologies upon which they are based. And finally, the increased scientific interest in interdisciplinary approaches in the context of heritage studies has also become evident in numerous new publications.⁹⁴

Heritage studies, as developed in the context of the *Heritage Studies discourse – protection and use of heritage in the interest of human development* within *IGS Heritage Studies*, and by other important international research institutions, first emerged, to a certain extent, from the political-practical constructions of the cited UNESCO conventions. They are thus confronted by the research fields and needs whose origins must first be analysed against the backdrop of the hegemony discourse. The increasing fragility of Western paradigms further reinforces the notion that a certain nomenclature pertaining to heritage, and understanding of it, no longer meets the needs of diverse cultural expressions.

The origins of this research topic and its implications initially emerged from contributions by Smith⁹⁵ and by Albert.⁹⁶ Its hegemonic claims are brought into question through both disciplinary and cross-institutional approaches. It is on the basis of this development that the heritage discourse presented here seeks to achieve holistic, interdisciplinary theoretical approaches and, as such, to promote comprehensive theoretical and methodological foundations for heritage studies.

Accordingly, in this discourse we will work to identify and explore constructions of heritage that are the basis for classical disciplinary approaches, as well as to contemplate the prospects for a holistic and interdisciplinary understanding of heritage.

⁹⁴ Among others: Albert et al. (2013), Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2004), Logan and Reeves (2008), Silverman (2011).

⁹⁵ Smith (2006); Smith and Akagawa (2009).

⁹⁶ Albert (2013).

5 Effects of Popularization

As noted in Chapter 1, the World Heritage Convention was adopted because, among other factors, the cultural and natural heritage deemed to be of Outstanding Universal Value for humanity was under threat both from conventional wear and tear and destruction in the context of social and economic change. The large number of sites inscribed on the World Heritage List bears witness to the acceptance of such protection measures.⁹⁷ Furthermore, the national Tentative Lists containing the medium-term prospective nominations of the States Parties to the World Heritage Convention scheduled for the next ten years also propose a large number of sites.⁹⁸

The increase in the number of World Heritage properties is an indication of a regional focus and related typological approach, as we have mentioned on several occasions.⁹⁹ The boom in European inscriptions since the 1990s became the driving force behind the popularization of World Heritage in the region. The effects of this increase have not yet been reversed, despite a series of measures introduced by various World Heritage Committees. In particular, the boom associated with a change in values, as expressed in the transformation of World Heritage from an asset worthy of protection into a mere commodity, could not be stopped.

The thesis put forward here is that World Heritage is subject to shifts in meaning, just like other areas of public and private culture and nature policy. Culture in particular has been turned into a commodity. This is mirrored in many developments such as commercially-oriented mega exhibitions staged by national and international museums. With around 8.4 million visitors each year, the Louvre with its Mona Lisa is the most visited museum in the world.¹⁰⁰ A further example is the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) in New York with some 3 million visitors each year. The number of visitors to MoMA has doubled since its reopening in 2004 (Vogel, 2012). This also becomes evident in commercialized arts performances such as the Bayreuth Festival, whose jubilee year 2013 celebrated the 200th birthday of Richard Wagner with a comic crossover opera entitled *Hojotoho*, complete with the Austrian brass ensemble Mnozil Brass (Deutsche Welle, 2013).

In an Interview with *Die Zeit*, the artist Eric Fischl cited the plastic arts as an example of this trend towards the commercialization of the artist. When asked about the relationship between art and money and at what point did “pecuniary consid-

⁹⁷ In 2013, 981 sites in 160 countries maintained World Heritage status. Of these 981 sites, 759 were inscribed as cultural heritage sites, 193 natural heritage sites, and 29 as mixed cultural and natural heritage sites (UNESCO, 2013a).

⁹⁸ For example, in the Federal Republic of Germany, the current Tentative List includes fourteen sites that cannot be finalized for nomination before 2022. This means that the next list might not be finalized before the 50th anniversary of the adoption of the Convention.

⁹⁹ See Chapter 1 (Introduction) and Chapter 3.3 on the Global Strategy.

¹⁰⁰ Visitor figures from <http://de.globometer.com/kultur-louvre.php> (accessed 25 March 2014).

erations enter the art world”, he answered that since the 1980 s “art has become part of the entertainment industry”, in which “people see art, but are not involved in it at a personal level”. He terms this “the transformation of art into a brand”, also in the perceptions of those who study art at university level (Fischl, 2014, p. 47).

The transformation of cultural goods into consumer commodities has found its way into social awareness by way of commercialization. The transformation of World Heritage and other cultural assets is thus also a component of social and economic development within societies. To the extent that such assets are deemed worthy by UNESCO, diverse legal instruments such as recommendations, declarations or conventions¹⁰¹ for heritage assets have been adopted. This concerns intangible cultural heritage in the context of the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, but also cultural products that are marketed under the aegis of creative industries.¹⁰² And finally the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions was adopted in 2005 (UNESCO, 2005) in order to safeguard these forms of expression from the mechanisms of the international market.

It is against this backdrop that we discuss whether the World Heritage Convention still stands for the principles upon which it was adopted, to sustainably protect cultural and natural sites of Outstanding Universal Value for all the peoples of the world. Whether, and if so, the societal developments impacting the World Heritage Convention also need to be examined. Above all, it is imperative that questions are posed on the appropriate and balanced relationship between the protection and use of a site, and criticism voiced in cases where disequilibrium exists.

5.1 World Heritage and politics

The effects of the popularization of World Heritage are manifold. The aim here is to present developments that illustrate how the members of successive World Heritage Committees have dealt with the rules of the World Heritage Convention in policy terms. In the Chapter 3.3 we refer to the Global Strategy, on the basis of which the international qualitative and quantitative imbalance of the assets inscribed on the

101 A complete list of UNESCO recommendations, declarations and conventions on culture can be found at http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=13649&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=-471.html (accessed 21 May 2014).

102 Creative industries are categorized as culture and defined by UNESCO as follows: “The cultural industries, which include publishing, music, cinema, crafts and design, continue to grow steadily apace and have a determinant role to play in the future of culture. Their international dimension gives them a determining role for the future in terms of freedom of expression, cultural diversity and economic development. Although the globalization of exchange and new technologies opens up exciting new prospects, it also creates new types of inequality” (UNESCO, 2013).

World Heritage List was to be redressed. Furthermore, with the help of the 2008 study compiled by Jukka Jokilehto et al., we allude in Chapter 3.2 to the interpretations of Outstanding Universal Value in the context of the historical process.¹⁰³ The discussion surrounding criterion (vi) should also be mentioned due to its significance for the intangible values of sites, as well as for the historical contexts of tangible heritage, an issue that was again highlighted at a meeting of experts in Warsaw in March 2012, which resulted in the drafting of important recommendations on its use. Among others, the World Heritage Committee, the States Parties and the Advisory Bodies were encouraged to provide applicants with “further in-depth guidance on the recognition and management of cultural associations as part of the Outstanding Universal Value of properties and on the appropriate use of the various criteria for such recognition” (UNESCO, 2012*f.*, p. 5). Just how this support might be concretely implemented was subsequently formulated in several articles.

In this way, many activities accompanying the popularization of the World Heritage Convention can further broaden and underpin its goals and contents. However the fact that a negative change in meaning can also be achieved through popularization cannot be denied. This negative change in meaning experienced by World Heritage in the process of its popularization was manifested as the transformation of heritage from an asset into a commodity. In this chapter we illustrate this shift on the basis of several policy decisions taken by successive World Heritage Committees.

A temporal orientation with respect to the handling of the World Heritage Convention by the political representatives surely exists in the decision taken by the World Heritage Committee in 2009 to delete Dresden from the World Heritage List. This was in reaction to damage caused to the integrity of its landscape by the construction of the Waldschlösschen Bridge. After a heated debate inside the Committee and without the approval of Germany in its role as the affected State Party, the decision received the two-thirds majority it needed to pass (Ringbeck and Rössler, 2011, pp. 205–212).

This decision was made despite the changes that could be observed at that time in terms of the decision-making processes of the World Heritage Committee, which is seemingly no longer guided primarily by the need to protect Outstanding Universal Value worthy of preservation, but was rather influenced by the notion that, in a globalized context, World Heritage constitutes a “national” brand that confers prestige, and particularly so with respect to lesser-known sites, as a valuable factor in the development of tourism.

This change in the perceived significance of World Heritage can also be illustrated in how new applications were handled. Of the eighteen applications recommended

¹⁰³ The last listing of these modifications in chronological and systematic terms appeared under the title *What is OUV?*, published by ICOMOS (Jukka Jokilehto et al., 2008).

for *deferral* by the Advisory Bodies in 2011,¹⁰⁴ only three of them were actually deferred, while four were evaluated according to less stringent terms, as *referral*, and then returned to the applicants. The expert appraisals were completely ignored for nine of the applications and these *sites were ultimately inscribed* (UNESCO, 2011c). In 2012, of the eight applications receiving deferrals, two were referred, and four were even subsequently inscribed (UNESCO, 2012g). In 2013, this concerned nine nomination applications, which despite having been rejected by the Advisory Bodies were appraised on the basis of the weaker criteria and referred. Three of these were also inscribed (UNESCO, 2013m).

These developments have been highlighted, among others, by Bernd von Droste. In Chapter 3.2 of his widely discussed essay on the stages of implementation of the World Heritage Convention, he already alludes to a change in values occurring in association with the popularization of the Convention. Von Droste identifies a politicizing of the World Heritage Committee derived from economic interests, which in particular emerged during the fourth phase of the implementation of the Convention. This phase lasted from 2006 to 2011 and, according to von Droste, was a time when the successive committees were caught up in the spirit of a society-based evaluation of the World Heritage “label”. He writes:

“The period of the past five years has been marked foremost by the sheer number of WH properties inscribed on the WH List (close to 1000), and in fact that practically all Member States of UNESCO have now joined the WH Convention. These quantitative aspects have now clearly caused an overload of work for all international organizations involved, as well as for the agenda of the WH Committee’s annual sessions. There is in fact no more room for substantial debate in the Committee, which is, moreover, now dominated by career diplomats (rather than heritage specialists) who often seem to care more about political correctness and the purely formal aspects of resolutions, rather than about recommendations provided by the Advisory Bodies and other substantive issues” (von Droste, 2011, p. 38 f.).

To that extent, in this representative political framework it also becomes increasingly clear that the UNESCO diplomats were often less concerned with representing the tenets of the Convention itself than they were with the cultural, political and economic World Heritage interests of their delegating countries.

The effects of this economically motivated politicization can be illustrated on the basis of the rationales put forward both for and against the inscription of sites on the List of World Heritage in Danger. It seems that this “Danger List” had also undergone a change in meaning in the minds of the Committee members. The best example of this process is the official handling since 2010 of the problematic Torre

104 The recommendations of ICOMOS and IUCN, and the decisions of the World Heritage Committee to inscribe sites on the World Heritage List can be divided into four categories: (a) applications for inscription; (b) applications involving a decision not to inscribe; (c) applications receiving a referral; (d) applications receiving a deferral (UNESCO, 2013b, paras 153–60).

Pelli in the buffer zone of the historic centre of Seville by various World Heritage Committees,

Located in the buffer zone of the Cathedral, Alcázar and Archivo de Indias in Seville, which was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1987, the Torre Pelli, also called Torre Cajazol, had been identified as early as 2010 by the ICOMOS appraisal as being problematic for the integrity of the World Heritage site and historic centre.¹⁰⁵ Ever since, demands for Spain to introduce measures to protect the integrity of the site and its Outstanding Universal Value have gone unheeded. And even though this ongoing site integrity violation was again ascertained during the 2013 session of the World Heritage Committee in Phnom Penh (Cambodia), it was not possible to obtain the majority required to enter the site on the Danger List. Instead, yet another report was requested.¹⁰⁶ For the first time, the argument was put forward that the authen-

105 Decision 34.COM/7B.100: “The World Heritage Committee, 1. *Having examined* Document WHC-10/34.COM/7B; 2. *Recalling* Decision 33.COM/7B.123, adopted at its 33rd session (Seville, 2009); 3. *Acknowledges* the information provided by the State Party on the conclusions of the Expert Committee set up to assess the impact of the proposed Torre Cajazol on the Outstanding Universal Value of the property, and that this tower will have a potential adverse impact on the ‘transitional’ area of the historic city; 4. *Regrets* that the State Party did not halt the construction works on this project and takes note that the State Party has started preliminary works on this project; 5. *Requests* the State Party to reconsider the current project in order to avoid any possible adverse impact on the Outstanding Universal Value of the property; 6. *Also requests* the State Party to submit to the World Heritage Centre, by June 2011, a report on the state of conservation of the property and on the steps taken in order to avoid any possible adverse impact on the Outstanding Universal Value of the property, for examination by the World Heritage Committee at its 35th session in 2011” (UNESCO, 2010b, p. 144). Decision 34.COM/8B.61: “The World Heritage Committee, 1. *Having examined* Documents WHC-10/34.COM/8B and WHC-10/34.COM/INF.8B1.Add; 2. *Approves* the buffer zone for the Cathedral, Alcázar and Archivo de Indias in Seville, Spain; 3. *Notes* that the City Council has agreed to complete the remaining catalogues for the sectors within the buffer zone and urges the State Party to ensure that these are in place as soon as possible; 4. *Also notes* that development outside the buffer zone in the wider setting will be subject to impact assessments on the inscribed property under the 2007 Historical Heritage Act and also urges the State Party to ensure that these are applied rigorously” (ibid., p. 249).

106 Decision 37.COM/7B.84: “3. *Notes* the progress with finalising and approving Special Protection Plans for sectors of the Conjunto Histórico, due for completion in 2013; 4. *Also notes* that the buffer zone will be completely covered by these Plans which should provide it with adequate protection; 5. *Further notes* that for the wider setting, the local authorities will be tasked with establishing adequate control measures for new constructions; 6. *Considers* that impact assessments for new constructions which can potentially impact the Outstanding Universal Value should be carried out in line with the ICOMOS Guidance on Heritage Impact Assessments; 7. *Takes note* that no collaboration with ICOMOS has so far been undertaken on studies necessary to avoid further high-rise buildings that would impact adversely on the Outstanding Universal Value, but *notes furthermore* the request made by the State Party to ICOMOS to start this process; 8. *Requests* the State Party to submit to the World Heritage Centre, by 1 February 2015, a progress report on the implementation of the above” (UNESCO, 2013m, p. 131).

ticity and integrity of urban landscapes, and as such their exploitation to meet the economic and social challenges needed, should be assessed in consideration of increasing populations, modernization and infrastructure development. While these decisions might seem relevant to the above-mentioned processes, they remain a problem nevertheless. They express the very same contradiction that the World Heritage Convention itself must face. Based on the criteria laid down in the Convention, it is precisely heritage endangered by the processes of societal development that must be safeguarded.

The Archaeological Areas of Pompei, Herculaneum and Torre Annunziata World Heritage site is a good example of how the Convention is at risk of becoming a toothless agreement. The actions – or more aptly the lack thereof – by the States Parties to the World Heritage Convention, including the Italian Government and the European Union, to deal with the largest and most prominent ancient excavation site in the world creates the impression that the Convention may have already outlived its own objectives. It has been known for years that ancient ruined cities are endangered by all kinds of environmental influences (Figure 5.1).

“No one outside the local area is interested in extensive damage caused by winter. Italy fatalistically accepts the statistics presented by researchers each year, which reveal that 82 per cent of the communities are threatened with water-related catastrophes: floods and landslides. More than 16,000 cultural sites are in danger. As many as 487,000 earthquake zones have been officially documented, including both active mudflows, and those that have been dormant for centuries. Due to a lack of funds a national map showing the endangered areas has never been compiled. Even though landslides are increasing at an astonishing pace: there were 162 between 1850 and 1900, and 2204 over the past 50 years” (Kreiner, 2014).

If such facts were not frightening enough and not considered sufficient grounds to better safeguard this site by inscribing it on the Danger List, the latest discoveries have driven the political will to deal with the protection of cultural property ad absurdum (Figure 5.2). According to the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ)* newspaper of 19 March 2014 (Bartetzko, 2014), the lack of protection measures for these sites is reported in addition to their commercial significance.

“The sawed-off breast of Artemis sells well. ... Thieves in Pompeii have stolen an ancient fresco. That this robbery wasn’t even noticed until several days later is symptomatic of the how World Heritage is handled. The Camorra are pulling the strings. ... As just announced, one week ago thieves in the ‘Casa di Nettuno’, a city palace in Pompeii, stole an image of Artemis and his twin brother Apollo from a mural. To be more exact, they cut out a 20 × 20 cm piece from the profile and upper bodies of the gods – suitable for hawking to the highest bidder as a very pretty portrayal. According to initial investigations, there is not doubt that this is the work of professionals. It is thus quite certain that the stolen Artemis will be restored before being offered on the black market. Not that it wasn’t in need of refurbishing: The fresco of these god-like brothers was in a disastrous state, covered with streaks and so faded by wind and weather that it was hardly recognizable. All frescos and mosaics in the ‘Casa di Nettuno’ and its surrounding area are unfortunately in the same condition” (Bartetzko, 2014).



Fig. 5.1: Excavation sites in Pompei (Italy) destroyed by erosion

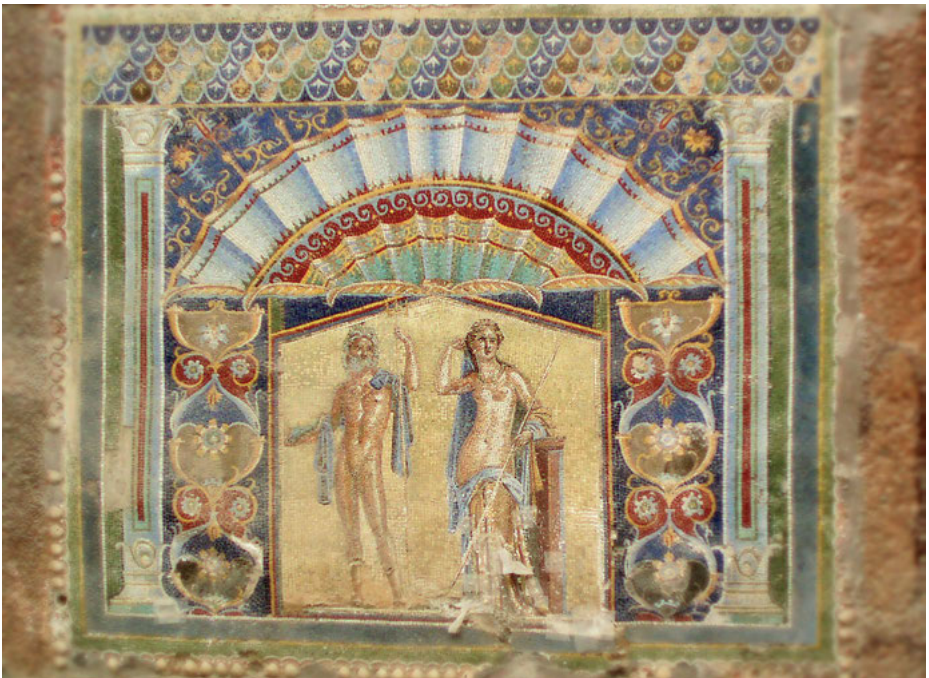


Fig. 5.2: Wall frescos in Pompei

The protection of World Heritage is even more important under difficult political and economic conditions. This is the political message of the World Heritage Convention, one that the States Parties are to implement on the basis of the agreed international frameworks, despite frequently divergent national interests.

5.2 World Heritage and tourism

In 2014, the German National Tourist Board selected “UNESCO World Heritage in Germany” as their topic of the year. A brochure was published under the title *UNESCO World Heritage in Germany – Time Travel – from the distant past to the near future* (DZT, 2014), in which the thirty-eight World Heritage properties in Germany are advertised in glowing terms. They are explained and interpreted and set in their specific contexts. In its preface, the Chair of the German National Tourist Board states:

“Germany is rich in varied cultural history and unites its traditions with an historic heritage of inestimable value. The resulting vibrant and exciting contemporary culture is attracting more travellers each year. Since 2012, Germany has ranked first among all cultural destinations with respect to cultural tourism undertaken by Europeans worldwide” (*ibid.*, p. 3).

Thanks to this and other initiatives, World Heritage tourism has since been established as an important sector of the tourist market. It was possible to anchor the significance of World Heritage in the human consciousness by expanding the scope of national and international tourism to include World Heritage sites. As such, tourism offers important potential in terms of disseminating the concept of World Heritage. It thus follows that World Heritage sites would be interested in having travel agencies include them in their catalogues. That such ambitions receive support from the administrative authorities responsible for policy, cultural or monument protection issues, as well as from the World Heritage Centre in Paris, goes without saying. However, whether a relationship exists between increasing numbers of visitors to World Heritage properties and a strengthening of the international awareness of the Outstanding Universal Value of World Heritage, has not yet been demonstrated.

Quite different developments can be presumed: World Heritage properties are components of a world boom in cultural tourism. As tourist destinations, they largely represent their own values in terms of historical experiences and culture. A study by Chris Smith as early as 1997 – admittedly carried out under quite other assumptions – states: “Many reports have pointed to specific evidence that WHS status increases the popularity of a location or destination with visitors. However, the causal relationship between inscription and tourism is often difficult to establish” (PricewaterhouseCoopers, 2007, p. 39). According to the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO), tourism currently accounts for 9.3 per cent of the world’s gross domestic

product.¹⁰⁷ Tourism is one of the fastest growing industries in the world today. While it is true that the tourist industry, and in particular the cultural tourism sector, also regularly offers World Heritage properties as destinations¹⁰⁸, they are seldom offered as main destinations. Travel to such World Heritage properties is rather tied to more contemporary and interesting topics such as “industrial heritage routes”. Examples of this in Germany include the Zollverein Coal Mine Industrial Complex in Essen, Völklingen Ironworks, or the Monastic Island of Reichenau under the aegis of “600 years of the Council of Constance”, etc. (Wörlitz Tourist, 2014). These developments have also become apparent in the more overseas tourist destinations. For many countries, particularly in Asia¹⁰⁹ or Africa,¹¹⁰ cultural tourism has since become their most important source of income. Here as well, visits to World Heritage properties are generally bundled together with other attractions offered in the context of culture tourism programmes; it is this very growth in worldwide cultural tourism that also holds great potential for World Heritage.¹¹¹ In other words, it could be said that worldwide cultural tourism to World Heritage sites is less about emphasizing the *unique expressions of humankind*, but rather about functionalizing World Heritage

107 <http://www.wttc.org> (accessed 26 March 2014).

108 In the catalogues of the tourist agency Studiosus there are sixty-eight tour offerings to destinations in countries of the Eastern and Western Mediterranean, which are aggressively marketed on the basis of their UNESCO World Heritage status. These include popular tourist destinations such as Italy with sixteen offerings and Turkey with twelve offerings (Studiosus, 2014a; 2014b).

109 The overall contribution of tourism to the GDP in individual countries: India 6.6 %, China 9.2 %, South Korea 5.8 %, Cambodia 26.8 %, Thailand 17.0 %, Viet Nam 9.5 %, Philippines 7.1 %, Malaysia 15.8 %, Indonesia 9.0 %. Source: <http://www.wttc.org> (accessed 5 March 2014).

110 Example of Egypt: Following a statement from the Egyptian Central Bank the tourism sector in 2010 represented about 11 % of GDP and generated approximately 20 % of foreign currency exchange, as well as 25 % of value added tax. Approximately 12.5 % of all jobs were either directly or indirectly dependent on tourism. Additional important branches of service include commerce, transport, administrative activities and the construction industry. The revolution significantly affected the tourist industry. Approximately 10 million, that is, about a third fewer tourists visited Egypt in 2012 than in the year before the revolution. Source: <http://liportal.giz.de/aegypten/wirtschaft-entwicklung/> (accessed 3 March 2014).

The example of South Africa: South Africa’s tourist sector is among the most rapidly rising in the country. It accounts for 8 % of GDP taxes. In 2010, the year of the FIFA World Cup, the number of tourists amounted to barely 10 million. Approximately 7 % of those employed in South Africa are active in the tourist sector. Source: <http://liportal.giz.de/suedafrika/wirtschaft-entwicklung/> (accessed 3 March 2014).

111 The example of Indonesia: A hot, tropical climate characterizes Indonesia due to its proximity to the equator. Peak seasons and off seasons have more to do with periods of rain and drought. The island of Bali is by far the most significant tourist destination in the country. As the island’s dependence on tourism is very significant, its share of the tourist sector in Indonesia’s economy as a whole being a mere 6 %, Indonesia is a good example of a country in which significant regional differences exist regarding economic dependence on tourism. Source: http://www.dbresearch.de/PROD/DBR_INTERNET_DE-PROD/PROD000000000221332.PDF (accessed 3 March 2014).



Fig. 5.3: Taj Mahal (India)

– just as with any other attractive cultural tourist destination – to fit the economic goals of society.

Studies on the potential relationships between World Heritage status and number of visitors were carried out in 2005 by Van de Baart at eighty-six cultural heritage properties. Although this study was conducted ten years ago and its methods were not clearly divulged, at the time it surveyed sites in relation to the number of annual visitors before and after acquiring World Heritage status, revealing that

“51 of these sites suggested that there had been no increase and of the remainder, 22 said there had been a large increase and 13 a small increase in visitor numbers. The research pointed to the fact that those tourist sites that were already well established destinations in their own right did not register any increase in visitor numbers as a result of WHp” (PricewaterhouseCoopers, 2007, p. 24).

These findings can be confirmed on the basis of representative World Heritage properties such as the Taj Mahal, Cologne Cathedral, Angkor, or the Forbidden City in Beijing.

The Taj Mahal (Figure 5.3), for example, was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1983. The site received 1.5 million visitors in 1997. One decade later, in 2007, 3.2 million tourists visited the site. Of these, 18.2 per cent came from abroad – a considerable proportion of foreign visitors – confirming the thesis that the vast majority of visitors had not purposely chosen to visit a World Heritage property per se. Even though the visitors were not queried as to the reasons for their trip, it can be presumed that approximately 80 per cent of the Indian nationals visiting the site perceive the Taj Mahal as a national symbol. It reflects their historical perception of the glorification of the Mughal ruler Shah Jahan and what he built in memory of his

Tab. 8: Changes in the number of visitors to the Taj Mahal (Uttar Pradesh Tourism, 2012, p. 4)

Year	Indian nationals	Foreign nationals	Total
2007	2,624,085	586,105	3,210,190
2008	2,635,284	591,560	3,226,844
2009	2,585,560	491,554	3,077,114
2010	4,081,426	647,428	4,728,854
2011	4,604,603	692,332	5,296,935
2012 (until August)	3,373,615	418,606	3,792,221

favourite wife Mumtaz Mahal. The entrance fee is 20 rupees for citizens of India,¹¹² while foreign tourists pay 750 rupees to visit this national cultural site of international significance. In 2011, the Taj Mahal received 5.3 million visitors (Uttar Pradesh Tourism, 2012, p. 4). The statistics do not differentiate among the intentions of international visitors to the Taj Mahal, that is to say whether they chose to visit the site as they would have any other advertised Indian cultural site, or expressly chose to visit a World Heritage cultural site, and whether and how such interest may have impacted the increasing number of visitors (Table 8). It is reasonable to assume that the former is correct, first, since the Taj Mahal has always been an important cultural tourism destination as an Indian religious site in and around South-East Asia. To this extent it can be claimed that most visitors to the Taj Mahal perceive its outstanding significance as World Heritage more or less in addition to its religious and cultural site status. These suppositions can be confirmed on the basis of the various tours offered by travel agencies such as Gebeco or Thomas Cook. Their tours of northern India invariably include a visit to the Taj Mahal, but without any emphasis on the site's cultural World Heritage status. Furthermore, the information given in the printed travel guides hardly even mentions this status; if mentioned at all, it is generally as a component of an overall tour similar to the above example of selected routes or themes. The reasons for its inscription on the World Heritage List and related potential in terms of promoting peaceful coexistence beyond the sphere of tourism remain unmentioned.

A second example is Cologne Cathedral (Figure 5.4). It was declared a World Heritage site in 1996, and the number of visitors has increased since the early 2000 s. Starting in 2004, Cologne Cathedral receives approximately 6 million visitors each year.¹¹³ This number did not drop between 2004 and 2006, when the site was included on the Danger List. A glance at the City of Cologne's marketing material reveals that the significance of the site's World Heritage status is not of primary im-

¹¹² <http://www.tajmahal.org.uk/timings.html> (accessed 3 March 2014).

¹¹³ http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kölner_Dom (accessed 3 March 2014).



Fig. 5.4: View of Cologne Cathedral (Germany)

portance. The study *Cologne – Its People and their Image*¹¹⁴ published in 2002 confirms that 77 per cent of the surveyed visitors to Cologne Cathedral saw it as a symbol of the city, but not in World Heritage terms. To this extent the example also demonstrates that World Heritage status does not generally increase the attractiveness of the site for its visitors.

Angkor (Figure 5.5) was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1992. At that time there were 7,650 visitors to the site. In 2010, eighteen years after its inscription, 3 million visitors were reported to have visited the Angkor complex (Smith, 2007). Here too, the increase in the number of visitors is not due to its World Heritage status, but rather the positive effects of the immense investments made in the Cambodian tourist infrastructure, in addition to marketing the site as an important sector in the cultural tourism category (Starr, 2012, p. 101). Angkor, like the Taj Mahal, is now advertised and sold in all brochures on cultural tourism across the entire sector.

¹¹⁴ Stadt Köln: empirical studies of the internal and external perception of Cologne in the framework of its 2020 Mission Statement, *Kölner Statistische Nachrichten*, 2002, No. 7. <http://www.stadt-koeln.de/mediaasset/content/pdf01/leitbild/koeln-analyse.pdf> (accessed 3 March 2014).



Fig. 5.5: Mass tourism at the temple complexes of Angkor (Cambodia)

Against this backdrop, World Heritage tourism can be seen as nothing more than a product line of the booming cultural and natural tourist industry, one that seeks to expand this sector in terms of offering especially attractive routes or religious sites for consumers.

To take another example, in a brochure advertising its cultural sites, the Historic Fortified Town of Campeche (Mexico) describes itself as follows:

“Campeche is a magical place whose greatness and history is reflected at every turn, either in its wonderful natural landscapes, colourful neighbourhoods where time seems to have stood still, quiet beaches, beautiful colonial streets or its stunning Mayan legacy. All this splendour is the legacy of its glorious heritage when ancient rulers, Spanish settlers, brave pirates and enlightened men and artists shaped the history of the peninsula. ... Simply by taking a walk around the city one is able to explore the historical legacy which sets Campeche apart; declared a World Heritage City by the UNESCO where strongholds, manor houses, plazas and neoclassical temples blend the past with the present” (Campeche, n. d., p. 2).

The hope that expanding the cultural tourism sector to include visits to World Heritage properties might result in an increased overall number of visitors is contra-

dicted by the above examples, even if individual sites are indeed visited exclusively for heritage purposes.

If, however, World Heritage sites are merely elements of the tourism sector as a whole, how effective can World Heritage be in terms of generating the expected revenues? This question can only be answered by the sites themselves, if at all. For World Heritage properties that are not allowed to charge entrance fees, such as historic city centres, the figures are limited to estimates or statistics obtained in isolated cases. The City of Weimar, for example, has been recording the number of overnight stays since 1999 and it reports an increase of 100,000 during the intervening fifteen years. However, it is not reported whether this increase can be attributed to its World Heritage status as part of Bauhaus and Sites in Weimar and Dessau, or if the cultural tourism sector is responsible. Such a relationship must first be established on the basis of quantitative and qualitative data. As mentioned, destinations such as the Taj Mahal or Angkor are not explicitly visited for their World Heritage value. They are rather elements of the global and regional tourism sectors. Whether and to what extent a similar interest exists in cultural assets in Europe in general or in World Heritage properties, in particular among visitors from China, India or Japan, has not yet been investigated. It can, however, be assumed that these target groups belong to the cultural tourism sector, and – just as European tourists in Asia – they perceive European World Heritage sites as decorative embellishments.

The potential that tourism holds for World Heritage can be deemed insignificant, as formulated above. The potential of this kind of tourism can only be achieved by acquiring and developing a deeper understanding of the significance of World Heritage for humanity as a whole. As long as interpretations specific to World Heritage are not properly elaborated, World Heritage tourism cannot be differentiated from mass tourism. The danger here is that the potential of World Heritage in terms of creating a sustainable understanding of history – against the backdrop of the change in meaning that has occurred in the context of its popularization – might now result in an opposing development and a distortion of the original idea. The following example of the nomination of Buchenwald Concentration Camp Memorial (Figure 5.6) for the German Tentative List is meant to underscore this concern.

The public announcement by the federal state of Thuringia of its intentions to nominate the Buchenwald Concentration Camp Memorial for inscription on the German Tentative List mobilized the German press. In their ignorance, they equated the goals, contents and meanings of World Heritage in populist terms with tourism and economic development. *FAZ* (edition of 31 August 2012; article by von Altenbockum) referred to Thuringia's recommendation as “world cultural heritage bric-a-brac”. *FAZ* not only discredited Thuringia's ambition to nominate Buchenwald as a World Heritage site for the German Tentative List, but also World Heritage in general.

It should be noted that a paradigm shift has occurred in conjunction with the popularization of World Heritage as a label or brand. This is reflected in the decisions and justifications of successive World Heritage Committees, but also – as illustrated



Fig. 5.6: Buchenwald Concentration Camp (Germany)

by the Buchenwald example – in how the print media deal with cultural and natural World Heritage sites. Media productions showing cultural and natural World Heritage in films and TV seek to make the experience of the heritage of humanity accessible to the public. They act outside the classical framework of information dissemination through textbooks and expert journals, thereby frequently reaching other and wider spectrums of target groups.¹¹⁵ It would appear that the intrinsic value of the sustainable use of World Heritage cannot be properly conveyed via the media.

We would like to touch on another issue, that of the tourism-related use of World Heritage, and ask whether the increasing numbers of visitors to World Heritage sites can be translated into economic benefits, and even if this expectation were feasible, to ask who can achieve these benefits and what can generate such economic advantages. Is it the properties themselves? Is it the communities or regions in which the sites are located? Furthermore, the benefits themselves also need to be examined

¹¹⁵ The topic of World Heritage is not only reflected in tourism; it also owes its popularity to the media. In the meantime, there have been boundary-transcending special sites in *Die Zeit* since 2005, in TV, *Hören* and *Sehen* since 2009, in *Hörzu* since 2013, but also in a special edition of *Merian* 2007. There are additional reports in *Deutsche Welle* or the series *Treasures of the World – Heritage of Mankind* on 3sat.

and brought into question. Is it the monetary gains from revenues generated by the tourists themselves, for example entry fees, etc.?¹¹⁶ But not only revenues from the use of sites by tourists need to be studied, the costs associated with creating and/or provisioning the various tourist offerings at the sites themselves need to be addressed. The aim is to find out whether economic advantages can be achieved, and if so, how.¹¹⁷

Cost-benefit analyses need to be conducted. Not only can tourism-related profits be ascertained on the basis of such calculations,¹¹⁸ but rather the damage caused to sites by such use as well. This concerns the costs of infrastructure development, the implementation of protective measures or the elimination of damage caused by tourism. This also applies to normal wear and tear and the destructive potential of over-exploitation or the insufficient protection of objects, and lastly, damage caused by vandalism. In “Zeit Reisen”, the travel insert of *Die Zeit* weekly, Olav Clemens said in an interview:

“Increasingly, World Heritage is becoming a product line for so-called incoming tourism. Tourism, which includes World Heritage properties, is organized by private enterprises that have no interest in improving the available resources. They rather follow private sector principles by exploiting the sites to maximize their profits. According to this logic, protection is only desirable when it can be commercialized. The same applies to infrastructure development. This too follows private sector principles and is thus considered in cost-benefit analyses, and as such, remains outside the preservation requirements pertaining to World Heritage sites as defined in the criteria the World Heritage Convention. It is for this reason that cost calculations for direct conservation measures in World Heritage properties are seldom outlined in detail and are thus rarely available. Culture is used, which in many cases has fatal consequences for World Heritage” (Olav Clemens, “Zeit Reisen”, summary of an interview on 8 March 2014 on the occasion of the International Tourism Trade Fair Berlin).

During the 2009 to 2012 period, 1.2 billion euros of investment was granted in support of the hotel and gastronomy sector. In the area of economic infrastructure, 717 million euros were granted in support of structural development and public tourist fa-

116 According to information provided by Horst Wadehn, Chairman of the UNESCO World Heritage Sites Germany Association, the annual visitor count to the thirty-nine German UNESCO World Heritage sites is estimated at 60–70 million people. The assumption is that 30 euros per person per day is spent at a site. On the basis of the estimated number of visitors, this means an annual income of 1.8 billion euros (Schwoon, 2013).

117 According to an article in *FAZ* from 7 March 2014: “Expensive handbags, expensive watches, expensive clothing”: when Asians visit Switzerland they spend their money more freely, However, in choosing their hotels they are remarkably frugal. The luxury hotels suffer because Asian tourists make do with two or three-star hotels” (*FAZ*, 2014, p. 21).

118 For example, in the 17th tourism policy report of the Federal Government (print ref. 17/13674), in 2012 more than 400 million overnight stays in Germany generated 100 billion euros, involving 2.9 million employees.

cilities. Between 2009 and 2014, in the context of the programme to promote investments in national UNESCO World Heritage properties, the Federal Ministry of Transport, Building and Urban Development (BMVBS) allotted 220 million euros for the preservation and further development of German UNESCO World Heritage properties. In the context of urban development and monument protection programmes, the federal government ring-fenced 455 million euros in 2013 for the purpose of strengthening historic city centres of cultural and tourist interest (Bundestag, 2013).

As with World Heritage sites, not only had the visitors assimilated their behaviour to such commercial needs, in many cases the behaviour of the local stakeholders as well. They too frequently no longer perceive heritage as their main point of interest, but rather the “bric-a-brac” mentioned by FAZ. These are sold as real or imagined variations of related multicultural, multi-ethnic or multireligious relics, replete with their dedicated production facilities, now in fact the central *raison d'être* of World Heritage sites. This trend has turned many sites into marketplaces, in which old and new forms of commercial trade are practised. As important as trade was and still is, one would expect that at least the merchants operating at World Heritage properties would understand the significance of the site or location of their place of activity. This is unfortunately rarely the case, an indication that even they are more interested in the functionality of economic interests than in the significance of a heritage property.

As paradoxical as this may seem, it is becoming reality in more and more countries: while cultural tourism has succeeded in popularizing the prestige of World Heritage on the basis of its universal uniqueness, the sites themselves have profited little from this trend. It would appear that, at the very least, the boom in tourism has harmed World Heritage in equal measure. The examples speak for themselves. They become evident in the stresses and damage to the authenticity of World Heritage properties, in particular in the form of ground wear and erosion caused by hundreds of thousands of trampling feet. These are obvious in intentional or unintentional pollution of sites or in gradual violations of the visual qualities by the invasion of kiosks selling “bric-a-brac”. While the industrialized countries, given their economic and material potential, are still able to repair such damage, with respect to World Heritage in the developing countries this frequently means the systematic destruction of the tangible and intrinsic value of the site itself, as evidenced in the tombs of the pharaohs in Egypt, for example.

Memphis and its Necropolis – the Pyramid Fields from Giza to Dahshur site has been recognized as World Heritage since 1979 according to criteria (i), (iii) and (vi). The number of tourists first exceeded the 1 million mark in 1980. Starting in 1986, the Mubarak government increasingly promoted the development of tourist infrastructure and stressed “in particular the value of diversifying tourist offerings. In addition to cultural tourism, there is diving, bathing and beach tourism on the Red Sea and Sinai” (Steiner, 2004, p. 368). This increasingly strong commitment to transnational companies and the broadening of the spectrum of tourist offerings resulted

in 5 million visitors for the first time in 2000. Setbacks in the political environment and travel warnings reduced the number of tourists visiting Egypt from 14 million in 2010 to 9.4 million in 2011. The following year the tourism sector was able to recover, receiving 11.5 million guests who in the context of the booming cultural tourism trend trudged through the narrow passageways and tombs of the pyramids (Grieshaber and Batrawy, 2013). Statistical data on visitors to these sites are not available either. For 2010, the UNWTO yearbook recorded the “arrivals of non-resident visitors”: approximately 3.9 million visitors from the usual West European countries, 106,227 from a booming China, 126,393 from Japan, and approximately 2.8 million from Russia (UNWTO, 2012, p. 194 f.), with a mere 491,416 from all the African countries combined. Statistics provided in the yearbook do not explicitly imply that most of these travellers were motivated by tourism, although this is no doubt the case. The impact of this utilization of heritage properties by tourists is fatal, according to unofficial expert reports, for example in the opinion of Professor Gabhur of the University of Cairo, who stated in an interview conducted by the Author in Berlin 2012:

“The tourists, through their sweat and other secretions, have generated such moisture at these sites that the colours of the murals are fading and the walls are becoming porous. It cannot yet be predicted what the further consequences might be.”

A further impact of the tourist-related use of World Heritage by promoters interested in using culture “as a pretext to make money”, as Olav Clemens put it, is the increasingly disrespectful behaviour of visitors to religious heritage sites. The commercialization of cultural properties transforms their inherent values from a cultural asset into a product expressed in terms of market value. Whether the mercantile behaviour of Christians from Europe visiting Buddhist temples in India or Indonesia, or modern urban Chinese seeking vestiges of ancient Chinese on the Silk Road, or Buddhist or Taoist traditions – they all lack the proper respect for religious norms and behave rather as consumers. As a result, such sites are not only endangered by the presence of tourists, they lose their attractiveness for the local population as well. For many local users these heritage sites lose their value as religious, cultural or prayer sites because they are profaned by tourists, who frequently behave in an impious manner, for example by wearing inappropriate clothing, taking unauthorized photographs, or simply by disturbing the respectful silence. As a result of such disdainful use of heritage properties they are gradually ignored by the local population and subsequently no longer maintained.

Some of these sites have been turned into a kind of Disneyland, whose sole function is to do business with tourists. In such cases the authenticity of heritage properties is not only threatened by tourists but by travelling and established merchants as well. Their only interest in preserving heritage properties is to earn a living. Such utilization of heritage not only implies wear and tear on stones or other

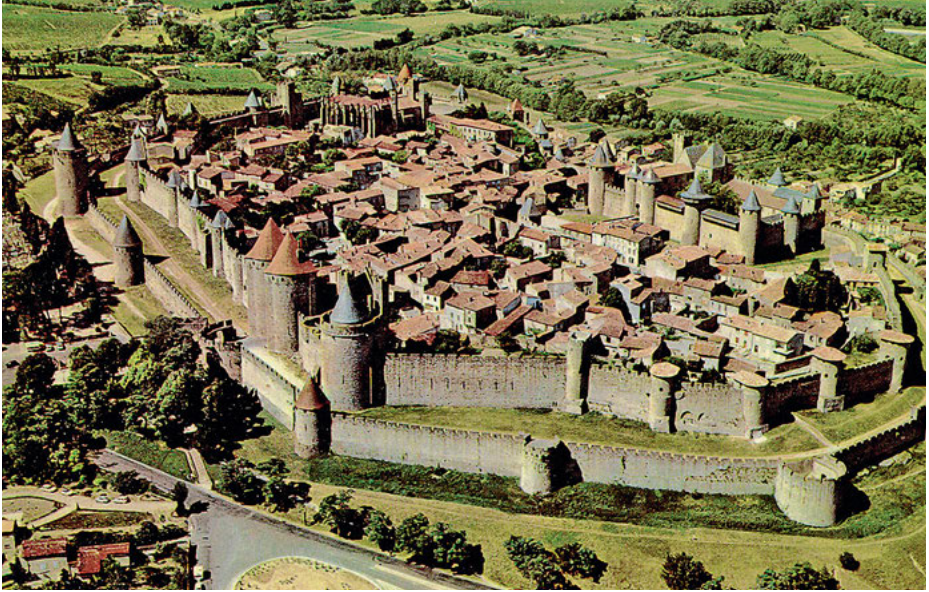


Fig. 5.7: Aerial view of the Historic Fortified City of Carcassonne (France)

materials, but also the unresolved waste disposal and supply problems arising from an overburdened infrastructure.

And lastly, a new development should be mentioned, one that completely contradicts the notion of authenticity. It occurs particularly in historic city centres that need to be old to be attractive, but at the same time functional in order to attract economic interests. Functionality here means that various merchants are allowed to offer a wide selection of goods in order to cover the entire spectrum of tourist attractions.

How can an ancient or medieval city come to terms with its historical substance on the one hand and the infrastructure required to meet tourist needs on the other? It cannot! This is why authentic substance is often reduced to façades, removed or rebuilt as a “fake” or as a functional reconstruction. World Heritage “fakes” can now be found worldwide. The Terracotta Army in China exists as a reproduction, just like Carcassonne (Figure 5.7) in France or the tomb of Tut Ench Amun in Egypt’s Valley of the Kings. Such copies are meant to create the illusion of reality that is more or less reminiscent of the original façades. Strategies of this kind are, however, at least able to reduce some of the stress on the actual sites. Whether such use of World Heritage is appropriate or whether it is a further devaluation of the Convention and its underlying idea cannot be answered with certainty here. The fact remains that such strategies based not least on technical megalomania diminish the uniqueness and authenticity of World Heritage, and reduce it to a visual fantasy.

The popularization of the World Heritage Convention has many facets. Those presented here in the context of the booming cultural tourism trend expose only some of the ambivalence confronting World Heritage in relation to this kind of use. The notion that such developments can be rectified through sustainable tourism approaches such as those proposed in the World Heritage and Sustainable Tourism Programme, adopted during the 36th session of the World Heritage Committee in Saint Petersburg (Russian Federation) in 2012, is doubtful. As is the case with most UNESCO programmes, this too is a declaration of political intent, in which mistakes made with respect to the use of World Heritage for tourism are only partially identified, but on whose basis the problems are to be rectified nevertheless. In place of “mass tourism” only one type of tourism is now to be promoted for World Heritage properties, which through the participation of all stakeholders also aims to mobilize the assumption of responsibility for World Heritage.¹¹⁹ With this programme, UNESCO also hopes that the community of nations will rediscover World Heritage as a cultural asset, together with its potential for sustainable development. However the question remains unanswered as to whether, and if so how, this programme can put an end to transformation of World Heritage from a cultural asset to a commercialized product.

Sustainability in tourism, as in all other areas, presupposes knowledge and a willingness to actively implement it. The obstacles put in the way go far beyond the generally short-term economic activities of private sector partners. Sustainable tourism cannot be achieved on the strength of political statements, as illustrated by the use of the Emperor’s Palace in Beijing for purposes of tourism.

The Forbidden City in Beijing (Figures 5.8 and 5.9) is part of the World Heritage site Imperial Palaces of the Ming and Qing Dynasties in Beijing and Shenyang, inscribed in 1987, as were further Chinese sites with equivalent histories in 2004. According to the site’s homepage it receives 40,000 tourists each day, and a tour

119 The key elements of the programme are: “... realising the vision and mission:

- (a) An interpretation and implementation of the World Heritage Convention that embraces sustainable tourism;
- (b) National, regional and local governments have policies and frameworks that recognise sustainable tourism as an important vehicle for managing their cultural and natural heritage;
- (c) All stakeholders are aware and committed to sustainable development, and have the capacity to manage tourism sustainably;
- (d) Local communities take pride in and have a sense of responsibility and empowerment towards the World Heritage properties and contribute to property conservation and the sustainable management of tourism at the World Heritage destinations;
- (e) The tourism sector values World Heritage and engages in its preservation while ensuring that its activities based at World Heritage properties are responsible, and support social and economic development; World Heritage Tourism Programme;
- (f) Visitors understand and gain an appreciation of the meaning of Outstanding Universal Value of World Heritage and adopt responsible behaviours” (UNESCO, 2012d, p. 4 f.).



Fig. 5.8: Mass tourism in Beijing's Forbidden City (China)



Fig. 5.9: Mass tourism in Beijing's Forbidden City (China)

guide gives as many as 60,000. During the national holidays in early October approximately 80,000 tickets were issued. Of these visitors, 80 per cent were Chinese from all parts of the country. They do not visit this site because of its World Heritage status. Most visitors, including the tour guide, were unaware of this fact. All Chinese must visit the Forbidden City at least once during their lifetime, just as Muslims are obliged to travel to Mecca. Even today the Forbidden City symbolizes central China, i. e. the middle of the country, which since the Ming Dynasty has been perceived to be the centre of the world.

How is the concept of sustainable use implemented at this site? The Ministry of Tourism responsible for the property's management, and as such, for the concept of protection and use of this site as well, maintains a relatively simple point of view. Sustainability means ensuring that all Chinese people – all 1.3 billion of them – have the opportunity to visit this historic centre of Chinese civilization. The aim is to sustainably strengthen national identity and thereby represent the Chinese national consciousness. This understanding of sustainability was set in motion in association with China's growing economic strength. The problems of overuse and potential damage to authenticity are known. According to the Ministry, it is not possible to simply reduce the number of visitors to this World Heritage property, an approach that has been implemented at other sites. This would negatively impact all people who come from every corner of the country to pay their respects to the fountainhead of their cultural identity.

To this extent, Chinese reflections on the issue of sustainability do not fundamentally differ from the notions of sustainability put forward in other parts of the world. Here, sustainability means minimizing the negative effects of mass tourism on the site and its visitors, without reducing the number of visitors. As is the case at overcrowded destinations elsewhere, the option of allowing access through all entrances to the palace is under consideration, in order to avoid masses of visitors trying to gain access through the main entrance. This might be achieved through theme-based tours that would distribute the flow of visitors throughout the entire area. Online tickets are also sold for predetermined visiting timeframes. The manufacture of replicas and their exhibition in any remaining unused areas is under discussion.¹²⁰ The building of a replica and its presentation at another location was not being considered at this point in time. However, this could change at short notice.

In other words, not only is the massive use of this site by tourists and associated effects on the tangible substance legitimized politically and ideologically, but also in the context of the changed meaning of sustainability. The Forbidden City is just one example of an understanding of sustainability which is still valid in the context

120 The Beijing World Park opened in 1993 and attracts approximately 1.5 million visitors annually. The site houses more than 100 replicas of known building structures of human history, generally in a scale of 1:10. <http://www.china.org.cn/english/travel/126712.htm> (accessed 27 March 2014).

of World Heritage, and this despite positions taken by UNESCO, which were formulated long before 2012.¹²¹ What these political goals and corresponding implementation plans to preserve this site have in common with the World Heritage Convention remains questionable. And even if – using this site as an example – it is clearly determined that uses beyond those of customary tourism should be allowed, it remains a World Heritage property nevertheless, and as such must adhere to a specific protection concept.

It is thus with great reservation that it must be stated that approaches to the sustainable use of World Heritage properties will indeed remain difficult to implement while the often contradictory usage interests of diverse stakeholders are not taken into account. This is also why sustainability concepts applied to real practices in tourism need to be vetted, preferably concepts that emphasize strategic partnerships and appropriate awareness-raising concepts, such as those as formulated in the recommendations for the UNESCO World Heritage and Sustainable Tourism Programme during the 36th Committee session (UNESCO, 2012*d*) or understood as catchphrases such as ecotourism, sustainable tourism, or more recently monument-compatible tourism. Even if this approach to tourism can successfully combine ecology, economy and social acceptability, these concepts are simply insufficient in terms of solving the fundamental problem – the exploitation of World Heritage in the sphere of cultural tourism for purposes of big business. What can and should happen is that we anticipate the impacts and minimize them by offering alternatives.

121 “In future, integrated protection of the values of the Imperial Palaces of the Ming and Qing Dynasties will be conducted through implementing and improving the conservation management plan, adhering to the conservation principle of minimal intervention, and improving the scientific and technological measures, so as to ensure the sustainable protection of the authenticity and integrity of the property. All the regulations concerning the protection and management of the Imperial Palaces should be strictly implemented, and the number of tourists, especially in the Forbidden City, should be effectively controlled, so as to reduce the negative impact on the property. The protection of the setting should be strengthened, especially that of the Imperial Palace of the Qing Dynasty in Shenyang. The needs of the stakeholders should be coordinated to maintain the rational and effective balance between the protection of the Imperial Palaces and the development of tourism and urban construction. The research on interpretation and promotion should be enhanced to better showcase the scientific, historic and artistic values of the Palaces to tourists from home and abroad and provide spiritual enlightenment and enjoyment to people, in order to give play to the social and cultural benefits of the Imperial Palaces in a reasonable way, and promote the sustainability of the protection of the Imperial Palaces within the context of the development of the cities” (UNESCO, 2012*e*, p. 95).

6 World Heritage versus Intangible Cultural Heritage

The increasing criticism of the Eurocentric nature of the World Heritage List, the materialization of the understanding of heritage and commercialization of World Heritage status has yielded new programmes and conventions over the years. The most important of these is the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (see UNESCO, 2003c), which was adopted in 2003 and entered into force in 2006 after ratification by thirty Member States. This Convention has sparked worldwide interest in a short time, as shown not only by the rapid increase of inscriptions, but also the strong commercial interests linked to these inscriptions.

Despite the fact that this kind of heritage rapidly gained public recognition in Germany in the wake of the first inscriptions, the Convention was not ratified there until mid 2013.¹²² The reasons for this late appreciation of the Convention were, on the one hand, the view that the cultural expressions to be safeguarded by this Convention were not easily definable (DUK, 2007a, item 4) and that a “national and international standardized commitment is not absolutely required, inasmuch as the protection of culture falls under the purview of German law” (Bundestag, 2009, p. 1). On the other hand, because the decisions regarding the inscription of intangible cultural elements by UNESCO were often difficult to understand, much criticism and even rejection was voiced. Among other things, a bureaucratization of real-life experiences and a museification of living expression and cultural practices were feared. Additionally, an increasing economic interest was emerging in the context of international inscriptions. Germany was one of the last countries to ratify this Convention, which was less due to those involved, who sought to inscribe certain elements of living and intangible cultural heritage in Germany, than to recognition of certain international policy developments that made ratification in Germany inevitable.

Intangible cultural heritage is generally characterized by improvisation, development and change, to the extent that it is based on a dynamically interpreted definition of culture and heritage.¹²³ As a consequence, the implementation of the Convention should not allow museification of intangible cultural heritage but rather strive to preserve living expressions and traditions. The intended “safeguarding” of intangible cultural heritage by UNESCO does not seek to suppress new inspiration or developments.

122 *Feasibility Study: Implementation of the UNESCO-Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003) in Germany* (Disko et al., 2011) was a template for ratification by Germany. Mandated by the permanent Conference of Cultural Ministers of the States of the Federal Republic of Germany (KMK), this study was developed by the Chair of Intercultural Studies at BTU Cottbus-Senftenberg and published by *IGS Heritage Studies*. It is referred to frequently and parts are included in this chapter without further citation.

123 Intangible cultural heritage always consists of values and norms that are passed on from generation to generation. See Albert et al. (2010), *World Heritage and Cultural Diversity*, and Albert (2013), *Understanding Heritage – Perspectives in Heritage Studies*.

In fact, intangible cultural heritage, as clearly evident in the Convention, should foster the development of the identity of the people who represent this heritage. The aim was to enable sustainable development and, more important, to empower local and regional populations to assume responsibility for their own developmental processes.¹²⁴

It is striking that an understanding of tangible heritage developed in such a short period of time, despite the fact that the term itself appeared much later than that of World Heritage and is more difficult to grasp. Intangible heritage was conceptualized as a separate category of heritage, which must be preserved just as cultural and natural heritage, cultural landscapes and documents of the Memory of the World. In terms of popularity, it almost surpassed the previous concepts of heritage. In just six years (2008–2013), in 98 countries, 327 expressions of intangible cultural heritage were inscribed on the three lists (Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity, List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding and Register for programmes, projects and activities that best reflect the principles and objectives of the Convention) (UNESCO, 2014*b*, chap. I.1-I.3). Of these, 46 elements were attributed to Africa, 132 to Asia including Australia, 48 to Latin America, and 109 to Europe and the United States. Of the 195 UNESCO Member States, 160 have signed the Convention and 129 have ratified it. It is remarkable that when compared with the World Heritage Convention, the very countries seeking to safeguard intangible cultural heritage are those that are still under-represented on the World Heritage List, except for China, France, India, Japan and Spain. The question can thus be asked whether the Eurocentric nature of the World Heritage Convention is being replaced by a certain *Asiacentrism* in terms of intangible heritage (China 38 elements, Japan 22, Republic of Korea 16, India 10).

What makes the 2003 Convention so popular, particularly in those countries that do not have the resources needed to nominate tangible heritage sites to the World Heritage Convention, for example? What kind of added value does this Convention offer specifically for African and Asian countries? It is our view that, for the first time, this Convention can directly stimulate interest in expressions of cultural identities of groups or individuals, and that it will help these countries to vitalize their cultures.

As opposed to World Heritage, intangible heritage embraces the experiences of peoples and their histories. These are the so-called *inherited circumstances* (Aplin, 2002, p. 13), a framework within which people experience life and from which they can learn. Every person, every society and every culture gathers experiences from historical processes and uses these to shape their contemporary and future lives.

¹²⁴ Article 15 – “Participation of communities, groups and individuals”, states in this respect: “Within the framework of its safeguarding activities of the intangible cultural heritage, each State Party shall endeavour to ensure the widest possible participation of communities, groups and, where appropriate, individuals that create, maintain and transmit such heritage, and to involve them actively in its management” (UNESCO, 2003*c*).

People develop values and norms from the events, occurrences or circumstances they inherit. They have learned to decide which circumstances they want to improve, change or keep. These values are subsequently passed on to following generations, which they then use to construct their own values and norms. An example of this is alluded to in Chapter 4 in the context of the construction and fall of the Berlin Wall.

So-called *inherited circumstances* are generally not referred to the context of the 2003 Convention. Nevertheless, it is these *inherited historic circumstances* which are raising awareness and are thus sustainable. It is the construction of intangible heritage which is relevant for research in terms of identity. Furthermore, the identity-building function of intangible heritage was one of the justifications for the 2003 Convention. It is always the experiences and their values gained through history that influence the development of identity. We would like at this point to emphasize that this general function of heritage, which is the formation of identities, existed long before the inflation of identity-related terminology in the context of *tangible heritage discourse*, as presented in detail in Chapter 4.

It should be stated that within the general understanding of intangible heritage this discourse is linked with the formation and transformation of the values and norms necessary for the emergence of identity. The construction of intangible heritage is also referred to implicitly without instrumentalizing the objects of intangible cultural heritage. Values and norms are explained as being essential for the development of human identity. Identity develops in the context of socialization. In the previously mentioned examples from the humanities and social sciences, heritage research focuses directly on people and only indirectly on what they produce. Heritage needs to be protected because it is a “carrier of identity” (Marana, 2010, p. 11) as Irina Bokova, Director-General of UNESCO, has stated. And this is exactly why the 2003 Convention emphasizes the protection of tangible heritage even more strongly than the 1972 Convention.

6.1 Transformation processes: from tangible to intangible

The background for understanding the Intangible Heritage Convention, more than that of the World Heritage Convention, strongly represents the process of globalization and related ambivalent process of diverse constructions of the meaning(s) of heritage. On the one hand, there is a globalization-related levelling of cultural expressions and accordingly of intangible heritage as well. A worldwide tendency can now be observed with respect to a growing conformity of the living expressions and needs of people, even extending to the infrastructures of less-developed regions. On the other hand, it was globalization that served to disseminate the cultural expressions of humanity on the basis of innovative technological developments in communication and information systems. These systems changed the world and influenced the cultures of the world and their identities.

In the context of UNESCO, culture, heritage and identity were interpreted in material terms until the 1980 s. This changed with the Mexico City Declaration on Cultural Policies, which was adopted on the occasion of the UNESCO World Conference on Cultural Policies held from 26 July to 6 August 1982 (UNESCO, 1982). This declaration not only served to transform the material understanding of heritage, it was also extended to include cultural terminology with its diversity of intangible expressions. In this declaration culture was defined to be

“the whole complex of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features that characterize a society or social group. It includes not only the arts and letters, but also modes of life, the fundamental rights of the human being, value systems, traditions and beliefs” (ibid., p. 1).

The identity-developing function of culture was also recognized. The text goes on to state:

“that it is culture that gives man the ability to reflect upon himself. It is culture that makes us specifically human, rational beings, endowed with a critical judgement and a sense of moral commitment. It is through culture that we discern values and make choices. It is through culture that man expresses himself, becomes aware of himself, recognizes his incompleteness, questions his own achievements, seeks untiringly for new meanings and creates works through which he transcends his limitations” (ibid.).

Today, some thirty years later, it can be stated that globalization would not have been possible without such contributions from the cultures of the world. By the same token, the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage would not have continued to gain in importance over the years without the Mexico City Declaration. As mentioned above, intangible heritage is an element of the individual and collective identity of humanity. The process of how UNESCO determines the value of the potential inherent in intangible heritage is therefore outlined briefly here. The Mexico City Declaration was followed in 1987 by the World Decade for Cultural Development proclaimed by the United Nations.¹²⁵ The *Brundtland Report*¹²⁶ was published that same year, and in 1989, the UNESCO Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore¹²⁷ was adopted.

125 The key subjects were covered in the following four areas: “Acknowledgement of the cultural dimension of development, affirmation and enrichment of cultural identities, broadening participation in culture and promotion of international cultural co-operation” (UNESCO, 1990, p. 8).

126 This report, *Our Common Future*, includes various prognoses and ideas on the sustainable use of energy and an environmentally friendly development (UN, 1987).

127 The Recommendation (UNESCO, 1989) includes various aspects such as the identification, preservation and protection of concerned expressions, but also elucidations for international cooperation in this area.

The recognition by UNESCO of the values of intangible heritage for identity and development not only served to create a global awareness of the fundamental importance of heritage for humanity in the context of globalization, the Member States of UNESCO were also obliged to assume responsibility for the sustainable protection of this heritage. Intangible heritage was still perceived as “folklore” in the Recommendation Concerning the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore of 1989, which states:

“Folklore (or traditional and popular culture) is the totality of tradition-based creations of a cultural community, expressed by a group or individuals and recognized as reflecting the expectations of a community in so far as they reflect its cultural and social identity; its standards and values are transmitted orally, by imitation or by other means. Its forms are, among others, language, literature, music, dance, games, mythology, rituals, customs, handicrafts, architecture and other arts” (UNESCO, 1989, para. A).

Nevertheless, the process linked to the international community’s political goals of protecting the diversity of intangible heritage as human expressions of life and preserving them for future generations could no longer be stopped. In the chronology of the societal and political valorization of intangible heritage the 1989 Recommendation was followed by UNESCO’s Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity of 2001, and that same year a programme was established to register so-called Masterpieces of intangible heritage from all over the world. This programme did not specifically aim at intangible heritage, but rather acknowledged and protected the products of diverse forms of memory, indeed a representative precursor to the institutionalization of the acknowledgement of intangible heritage.

The Memory of the World programme was established to protect the world documentary heritage and thus promote collective memories. Documents of all kinds create and represent the collective memory of humanity, cultures and societies, thereby contributing to the preservation of such memory. World document heritage consists of written, filmed or printed material deemed to be of significance in the history of human development. Key examples of this include the Gutenberg Bible, Ludwig van Beethoven’s Symphony No. 9, Fritz Lang’s cult movie *Metropolis*, and the Nebra Sky Disc (Figure 6.1).

The next step taken to honour intangible heritage followed in the 1995 UN publication *Our Creative Diversity*, edited by Javier Pérez de Cuéllar (Pérez de Cuéllar, 1995). It presented the findings of a group of representatives on development policies aiming to achieve sustainable human development worldwide by involving the stakeholders in question, especially in developing countries. The close association that exists between culture understood in intangible terms, cultural development, heritage and identity was presented for the first time. As discussed in this publication, the direct and indirect connections between expressions of human development within societies and their interdependencies are still very relevant today. While the significance given to intangible heritage was not as explicit as in the 1989



Fig. 6.1: Nebra Sky Disc – since 2013 part of the UNESCO Memory of the World Register

Recommendation with regard to traditions or folklore, it did not constrict the important intangible contributions that are required for the development of humanity.

In the following years additional practical steps were taken by UNESCO to further enhance the recognition of intangible heritage by the world community. This included broadening the understanding of cultural expressions to include languages in risk of becoming extinct through globalization.¹²⁸ To this end, a programme was established in 1996 to protect these languages, and the *Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger* was introduced in 2001 to keep track of the endangered languages. This was also achieved by broadening existing instruments, for example by introducing the concept of cultural landscapes into the World Heritage Convention.¹²⁹

¹²⁸ See *Interactive Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger* (UNESCO, n. d.). <http://www.unesco.org/languages-atlas/>

¹²⁹ See Chapters 2.1 and 3. 3.

In *World Heritage Cultural Landscapes* (ICOMOS, 2009) the concept of cultural landscapes was also defined with respect to its material significance:

“The term ‘cultural landscape’ embraces a diversity of manifestations of the interaction between humankind and its natural environment. Cultural landscapes often reflect specific techniques of sustainable land-use, considering the characteristics and limits of the natural environment they are established in, and a specific spiritual relation to nature” (ibid., S. 7).

In this way, the inseparable character of the natural, tangible and intangible expressions of humanity is underscored, as well as the continuous transformation of the heritage process from one generation to the next. The significance of the tangible and intangible heritage of cultural landscapes was further augmented by intangible heritage through its recognition by the World Heritage Convention, in which cultural landscapes are particularly intangible representations of ethnicities and minorities and are deemed to require special protection. Examples such as the First Nations of North America or the Sami people of Sweden are witnesses to the significance of traditions. In the context of how cultural landscapes are defined, this heritage is also linked to the habitats of these groups, and thereby conceptualized far more holistically than the concept of heritage itself as defined in the 2003 Convention.

6.2 Intangible heritage in the 2003 Convention¹³⁰

Introduction

Since 2006, the year the 2003 Convention entered into force, intangible heritage could henceforth be directly protected in reality. As opposed to the previously discussed elements, intangible cultural heritage is defined in Article 2, para. 1 as “practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage” and then are “transmitted from generation to generation” (UNESCO, 2003c). This implies that such heritage is constantly expressed by the actors in new ways through interaction with their environment, thereby creating a sense of identity and continuity for the respective societies and groups.

Intangible cultural heritage in Article 2, para.1 of the Convention is intentionally defined in the broadest sense, because a narrower definition would not be able to fully embrace the global diversity of cultural heritage. Terms such as *folklore*, *folk*

¹³⁰ Much of this section was first published in January 2011 in the *Feasibility Study* mentioned in Note 122.

culture, national identity, popular culture, nation and even *tradition* were thus not included in the definition (Jacobs, 2007, p. 12). UNESCO emphasizes that, in the context of the 2003 Convention, intangible cultural heritage not only comprises inherited traditions from the past, but contemporary practices as well – it is rather “at once traditional, contemporary and alive” (UNESCO, 2009*d*) The special attention given to the vibrancy and contemporaneity of intangible cultural heritage is important, to the extent that any limitation of the concept of inherited, “traditional” elements might lead to the museification of intangible cultural heritage. The protections laid down in the Convention should never act to suppress the further development of intangible cultural heritage, in that immaterial cultural heritage itself is characterized by processuality and change. Nevertheless, a certain degree of continuity is naturally unavoidable if traditions are to be handed down from one generation to the next and if cross-generational traditions are to be preserved as central elements of “heritage”. The Convention explicitly adheres to the notion that intangible cultural heritage will only be considered if it is in accordance with existing international legal instruments in the area of human rights, as well as the need for mutual respect between communities, groups and individuals.

The Convention identifies five categories to which intangible cultural heritage might generally be assigned. These include oral traditions and expressions, with language acting as the vehicle of intangible cultural heritage and taking the form of narratives, legends, folk tales, fables, poems, rhymes, riddles, songs, sayings, idioms and prayers.

Canto a tenore, Sardinian pastoral songs (Figure 6.2), year of inscription 2008.

“Canto a tenore has developed within the pastoral culture of Sardinia. It represents a form of polyphonic singing performed by a group of four men using four different voices called bassu, contra, boche and mesu boche. One of its characteristics is the deep and guttural timbre of the bassu and contra voices. It is performed standing in a close circle. The solo singer chants a piece of prose or a poem while the other voices form an accompanying chorus. Most practitioners live in the region of Barbagia and other parts of central Sardinia. Their art of singing is very much embedded in the daily life of local communities. Often it is performed spontaneously in local bars called *su zilleri*, but also at more formal occasions, such as weddings, sheepshearings, religious festivities or the *Barbaricino carnival*” (UNESCO Intangible Heritage Representative List, ref. 165).

The second category comprises the performing arts to include music, chanting, typical forms of dance, mask dance, theatre, marionettes, puppets and mimic plays, forms of circus, traditional singing such as shepherd or polyphonic singing.

Nôgaku theatre (Figure 6.3), year of inscription 2008.

“Nôgaku theatre had its heyday in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but actually originated in the eighth century when the *Sangaku* was transmitted from China to Japan. At the time, the term *Sangaku* referred to various types of performance featuring acrobats, song and dance as



Fig. 6.2: Sardinian pastoral songs performed by the singing quartet Tenores di Bitti “Mialinu Pira”



Fig. 6.3: Nôgaku theatre (Japan)

well as comic sketches. Its subsequent adaptation to Japanese society led to its assimilation of other traditional art forms. Today, Nôgaku is the principal form of Japanese theatre and has influenced the puppet theatre as well as Kabuki” (UNESCO Intangible Heritage List, ref. 12).

The third category of heritage, which can be considered to reflect intangible heritage, comprises a group of social practices, rituals and festive events such as forms of greetings, gift-giving, playing, habitation, eating, dressing, rites of birth, initiation, marriage or funerals, seasonal festivals and ceremonies, processions, carnival rituals and traditional lifestyles.

Human towers (Figure 6.4), year of inscription 2010.

“Castells are human towers built by members of amateur groups, usually as part of annual festivities in Catalan towns and cities. The traditional setting is the square in front of the town hall balcony. The human towers are formed by castellers standing on the shoulders of one another in a succession of stages (between six and ten). Each level of the tower, the name given to the second level upwards, generally comprises two to five heavier built men supporting younger, lighter-weight boys or girls. The *pom de dalt* - the three uppermost levels of the tower – comprises young children. Anyone is welcome to form the *pinya*, the throng that supports the base of the tower. Each group can be identified by its costume, particularly the colour of the shirts, while the cummerbund serves to protect the back and is gripped by castellers as they climb up the tower. Before, during and after the performance, musicians play a variety of traditional melodies on a wind instrument known as a *gralla*, setting the rhythm to which the tower is built. The knowledge required for raising castells is traditionally passed down from generation to generation within a group, and can only be learned by practice” (UNESCO Intangible Heritage List ref. 364).

The fourth category consists of knowledge and practices relating to nature and the universe, i. e. cosmologies, knowledge of the healing properties of plants and their use, in addition to agricultural knowledge.

Shrimp fishing on horseback in Oostduinkerke (Figure 6.5), year of inscription 2013.

“Twelve households in Oostduinkerke are actively engaged in shrimp fishing: each has its own speciality, such as weaving nets or an extensive knowledge of Brabant draft horses. Twice a week, except in winter months, the strong Brabant horses walk breast-deep in the surf in Oostduinkerke, parallel to the coastline, pulling funnel-shaped nets held open by two wooden boards. A chain dragged over the sand creates vibrations, causing the shrimp to jump into the net. Shrimpers place the catch (which is later cooked and eaten) in baskets hanging at the horses’ sides. A good knowledge of the sea and the sand strip, coupled with a high level of trust and respect for one’s horse, are the shrimpers’ essential attributes. The tradition gives the community a strong sense of collective identity and plays a central role in social and cultural events, including the two-day Shrimp Festival for which the local community spends months building floats, preparing street theatre and making costumes. The shrimp parade, and a contest involving hundreds of children being initiated into shrimp catching, attract over 10,000 visitors every year. The shrimp fishers function on principles of shared cultural values and mutual dependence. Experienced shrimpers demonstrate techniques and share their knowledge of nets, tides and currents with beginners” (UNESCO Intangible Heritage List, ref. 673).



Fig. 6.4: Human towers at the La Merce Festival in Barcelona (Spain)



Fig. 6.5: Shrimp fishing on horseback in Oostduinkerke (Belgium)

The last category consists of traditional craft techniques such as the processing of stone, clay, wood, metal, animal skins, glass, paper, weaving techniques, knitting techniques, lace making, mixing of pigment, painting, and traditional preparation of food.

Traditional skills of carpet weaving in Kashan (Figure 6.6), year of inscription 2010.

“Long a centre for fine carpets, Kashan has almost one in three residents employed in carpet-making, with more than two-thirds of the carpet-makers being women. The carpet-weaving process starts with a design, elaborated from among a series of established styles, including motifs such as flowers, leaves, branches, animals and scenes taken from history. Woven on a loom known as a dar, the warp and woof are of cotton or silk. The pile is made by knotting wool or silk yarns to the warp with the distinctive Farsi knot, then held in place by a row of the woven woof, and beaten with a comb. The Farsi weaving style (also known as asymmetrical knotting) is applied with exemplary delicacy in Kashan, so that the back side of the carpet is finely and evenly knotted. The colours of Kashan carpets come from a variety of natural dyes including madder root, walnut skin, pomegranate skin and vine leaves. The traditional skills of Kashan carpet weaving are passed down to daughters through apprenticeship under instruction from their mothers and grandmothers. Apprenticeship is also the means by which men learn their skills of designing, dyeing, shearing, loom-building and tool-making” (UNESCO Intangible Heritage List, ref. 383).



Fig. 6.6: Carpet weaver (Islamic Republic of Iran)

Goals

According to Article 1 of the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage its goals are (a) to safeguard the intangible cultural heritage; (b) to ensure respect for the intangible cultural heritage of the communities, groups and individuals concerned; (c) to raise awareness at the local, national and international levels of the importance of the intangible cultural heritage, and of ensuring mutual appreciation thereof; (d) to provide for international cooperation and assistance (UNESCO, 2003c). The concepts underlying these goals are formulated in the preamble to the Convention. They include all previously formulated aspects, in which intangible heritage has been shown to hold great potential in the furthering of human development.

It is interesting to note that the term *safeguarding* is used in this Convention, which differs from the word used in the World Heritage Convention. While the term *protection* is used in the 1972 Convention to preserve the heritage of humanity for future generations, the term *safeguarding* is employed in the 2003 Convention. Within the meaning of Article 2, para. 3 of the Convention, this denotes measures that focus on securing the viability of intangible cultural heritage and can therefore be categorized as dynamic elements. To properly safeguard heritage it must be duly identified, documented, research conducted on the possibilities for its preservation and passing on, in particular through formal and informal education. As in the 1972 Convention, the States Parties to the Convention are the most important stakeholders in this regard (*ibid.*, art. 2, para. 4; art. 11). They are tasked with preparing the measures required at national level in order to safeguard intangible cultural heritage and cooperate to achieve these goals at bilateral, regional and international levels. In addition to basic safeguarding initiatives, strengthening the awareness of the importance of intangible cultural heritage is an important goal. The Convention is meant to supplement previous international legal instruments pertaining to cultural and natural heritage that focused solely on the protection of movable and immovable cultural and natural goods in times of war and peace.¹³¹ It is meant to enrich and complement these legal instruments and oblige the States Parties to the Convention to strive for a holistic cultural heritage policy.

The Convention considers intangible cultural heritage to be a hands-on and dynamic aspect of the identity of communities, groups and individuals, which in its overall processuality is to be further implemented and promoted in practical terms. The Convention thus addresses the “contextual circumstances under which the

¹³¹ Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict, 1954; Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property, 1970; Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, 1972; Second Protocol to the Hague Convention, 1999.

intangible cultural heritage is practiced, applied and passed on in perpetuity” (EDI, 2006, p. 19). All of the applicable measures aim to “safeguard” and secure the “viability” of intangible cultural heritage in its dynamic and versatile character. The danger of heritage becoming a museum should be avoided. The German Commission for UNESCO stresses that “the safeguarding requirements laid down in the UNESCO Convention should not result in the suppression of new momentum or the further development of cultural forms of intangible heritage. Intangible cultural heritage is invariably characterized by improvisation and change” (DUK, 2007a, item 33). It is thus of the utmost importance that the actual carriers of intangible cultural heritage be fully included (communities, groups and, if applicable, individuals that can create, safeguard and pass on the cultural heritage) in implementing the Convention, in identifying intangible cultural heritage, and in carrying out all safeguarding and support measures.

Obligations of the States Parties

The obligations of the States Parties implied in the Convention are diverse. Within a framework of common responsibilities the Convention obliges the States Parties to safeguard, develop and support any intangible cultural heritage within their territories on the basis of the appropriate institutions and safeguarding measures (UNESCO, 2003c, arts 11a, 13) and to ensure the widest possible participation of those actually entrusted with heritage (art. 15). This obligation arising from the intention of the Convention is to include the populace and foster their identification with it. The States Parties are called upon to undertake a variety of measures in order to fulfil their central task of ensuring safeguarding (arts 13 and 14). Because these regulations are not legally binding they can be viewed as a catalogue of potential protection and promotion measures, which all States Parties should strive to implement to the best of their abilities. Furthermore, the States Parties should include the promotion of intangible cultural heritage in their cultural policies (art. 13a) and appoint one or more competent bodies for the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage (art. 13b). Furthermore, scientific studies are to be promoted with a view to effective safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage (art. 13c), to create training opportunities, to set up documentation institutions and to facilitate access to them (art. 13d). By way of educational, awareness-raising and information programmes aimed at the general public, or educational and training programmes within the communities and groups concerned (art. 14a), efforts should be made to keep the public informed of the dangers threatening intangible cultural heritage (art. 14b). The States Parties to the Convention are also called on to cooperate at international level (art. 19).

In addition to delineating general obligations, the Convention also contains specific obligations such as those defined in Articles 11, 12, 26 and 29. One of the most

important obligations is to identify the various elements of the intangible cultural heritage within the territories of the States Parties and to compile one or more inventories of their respective intangible cultural heritage (*ibid.*, arts 11b, 12). Further specific obligations include a biannual contribution to the UNESCO Fund for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, in addition to periodic reports to the Intergovernmental Committee on measures that the States Parties have taken to implement the Convention (art. 12, para. 2; art. 29). This pertains to the compiling of national inventories and the measures listed in Articles 11, 13, 14 and 19. These reports must also include information on the status of the elements included in the international lists within the territory of the State Party.¹³² (see *Operational Directives*, UNESCO, 2014a, chap. V)

The inventories

The recommended implementation directives of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage differ somewhat from those of the World Heritage Convention. For example, to systematically identify and inventory existing intangible heritage. This pertains to the use of any potential heritage under the consideration of the added value by the purveyors of heritage themselves. The purveyors of intangible cultural heritage are communities, groups or possibly individuals. Additionally, non-governmental organizations, experts and research institutes (UNESCO, 2003c, arts 11b, 12, 15; UNESCO, 2014a, chap. III) accompany the process of the valorization of this heritage. Although the Convention does not delegate any legal rights or entitlements to the individual purveyors of intangible cultural heritage to facilitate the inclusion of their element(s) in the inventory, it explicitly focuses on the participation of the communities, groups or individuals concerned in order to promote their identification with heritage. The inclusion of an element in the inventory does not place any further obligations on the carrier of cultural heritage in question. The existing rights and obligations of carriers of intangible cultural heritage, especially in the area of intellectual property, are not affected by the Convention (BAK, 2010, p. 6).

When the Convention was being drafted, some states criticized the systematic creation of inventories for intangible cultural heritage at national level, which was seen as an inappropriate procedure for such heritage. They objected to the disproportionately high costs of governmental administration, which ultimately would negatively impact the promotion of cultural practices, and that the inventories themselves might lead to the museification of otherwise dynamic cultural forms of expression. The inventory practice was in fact included as a central element of the

¹³² See *Operational Directives for the implementation of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Heritage* (UNESCO, 2014a). <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/en/directives>

Convention, in that it would not be possible to selectively safeguard and promote individual elements without first identifying the specific intangible cultural heritage. In addition, inventories at national level provide a meaningful basis from which elements of the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity can be selected, as required by the Convention. The aim here was to improve the visibility of intangible cultural heritage and strengthen the general awareness of its significance (EDI, 2006, p. 12; Blake, 2006, p. 63).

In fact, the Convention does not contain exact instructions as to the content and degree of detail required in the inventories. However, what can be inferred from the Convention is that inventories are not an end in themselves but rather “to ensure identification with a view to safeguarding ... the intangible cultural heritage” (UNESCO, 2003c, art. 12). Hence it follows that elements included in the inventories should be described and documented to such an extent that they contribute to a safeguarded status and provisional base that can be used for further initiatives to promote intangible cultural heritage.

In any case, the carriers of intangible cultural heritage must be involved in the preparation and documentation of inventories. This means above all that respective communities, groups and, where appropriate, individuals need to be in agreement with inscription on the inventory and with the content of the inscription. This principle of “free, prior and informed consent” is one of the most innovative elements of the Intangible Heritage Convention when seen in the context of international development policies and the strengthening of indigenous organizations (UNESCO, 2014*b*; GIZ, 2012 and UN, 2005).

State of implementation

To 2013, 160 countries have signed the Convention and 129 have ratified it. Of the total 327 inscribed expressions of intangible heritage, 281 are inscribed on the Representative List. The List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding currently includes thirty-five cultural expressions in twenty countries. These include for example the Qiang New Year festival (China), Sanké mon, collective fishing rite of the Sanké (Mali), the Suiti cultural space (Latvia), Watertight-bulkhead technology of Chinese junks (China) and the Traditional music of the Tsuur (Mongolia). The Register of Best Safeguarding Practices currently includes eleven programmes or projects, which according to the Intergovernmental Committee represent the foundations and goals of the Convention in an outstanding way. For example, Safeguarding the intangible cultural heritage of Aymara communities (Bolivia, Chile, Peru), Education and training in Indonesian Batik intangible cultural heritage for elementary, junior, senior, vocational school and polytechnic students (Indonesia) and Centre for traditional culture – school museum of Pusol pedagogic project (Spain) in which knowledge on cultural and natural heritage is being integrated into the school curricula.

Education and training in Indonesian Batik (Figure 6.7), year of inscription 2009.

“Indonesian Batik is a traditional hand-crafted dye-resist textile rich in intangible cultural values, passed down for generations in Java and elsewhere since the early nineteenth century. The batik community noted the younger generation’s interest in batik was waning, and felt the need to increase efforts to transmit batik cultural heritage to guarantee its safeguarding. The main objective of the programme is therefore to increase the awareness and appreciation of the cultural heritage of Indonesian Batik, including its history, cultural values and traditional skills, among the younger generation. Law No. 20 of 2003 makes it possible to include batik culture in curricula as ‘local content’ in areas having batik cultural heritage, such as Pekalongan City” (UNESCO Intangible Heritage List, ref. 318).



Fig. 6.7: Batik workshop in Ketelan (Indonesia)

As in all UNESCO conventions, the most important body is the General Assembly of the States Parties, which meets every two years and is, among other things, responsible for the election of the Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage. The Committee is composed of representatives from twenty-four States Parties. They are elected by the General Assembly for a four-year term in office. The General Assembly must heed the principles of equitable geographical representation and of rotating States Parties on the Committee during elections. The Committee has been given the task to support and monitor the implementation of the Convention and to foster its aims.

For the execution of its tasks the Intergovernmental Committee has drafted a set of *Operational Directives*, a kind of “work in progress”, which is revised regularly by the Committee and General Assembly. The currently valid *Directives* (UNESCO,

2014a) include selection criteria for the inscription of elements on the three international lists, regulations on the nomination procedure, regulations on the periodical reports that are to be submitted by the States Parties, as well as a set of rules for the granting of funds and the financing of the Fund for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. Moreover, they contain principles that are meant to guide States Parties in their education, awareness and information programmes, in addition to regulations for the participation of communities, groups and other non-governmental agents in the implementation of the Convention and regulations for the accreditation of non-governmental organizations as consultants to the Committee.

During its third ordinary session in November 2008, the Intergovernmental Committee launched the Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage. As made possible by the Convention, the Masterpieces of Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity – proclaimed by UNESCO in the years 2001 to 2005 – were included on the Representative List. With this inscription the list already included ninety elements from regions around the world. The Committee decided on the first new inscriptions for the Representative List in Abu Dhabi during its autumn 2009 session. The Committee had received more than 100 proposals from 35 countries, of which 76 were approved. In November 2010, another 47 elements were included on the Representative List, 18 were added in 2011, 27 expressions were added in 2012, and an additional 25 in 2013. The list thus contains 281 elements of intangible cultural heritage in 93 countries.

Some exceptional examples are Argentinean and Uruguayan Tango, Spanish Flamenco (Figure 6.8), Tibetan opera in China and Carnaval de Negros y Blancos in Colombia. The Houtem Jaarmarkt in Belgium, Acupuncture and moxibustion of traditional Chinese medicine in China (Figure 6.9) or the Traditional art of Azerbaijani carpet weaving in the Republic of Azerbaijan should also be mentioned here.

Flamenco, year of inscription 2010.

“Flamenco is an artistic expression fusing song (cante), dance (baile) and musicianship (toque). Andalusia in southern Spain is the heartland of flamenco, although it also has roots in regions such as Murcia and Extremadura. Cante is the vocal expression of flamenco, sung by men and women, preferably seated, with no backing singers. The gamut of feelings and states of mind – grief, joy, tragedy, rejoicing and fear – can be expressed through sincere, expressive lyrics characterized by brevity and simplicity. Flamenco baile is a dance of passion, courtship, expressing a wide range of situations ranging from sadness to joy. The technique is complex, differing depending on whether the performer is male (heavier use of the feet) or female (gentler, more sensual movements). Toque or the art of guitar playing has long surpassed its original role as accompaniment” (UNESCO Intangible Heritage List, ref. 363).

Acupuncture and moxibustion of traditional Chinese medicine, year of inscription 2010.

“Acupuncture and moxibustion are forms of traditional Chinese medicine widely practised in China and also found in regions of south-east Asia, Europe and the Americas. The theories of acupuncture and moxibustion hold that the human body acts as a small universe connected by



Fig. 6.8: Flamenco in a café in Madrid (Spain)

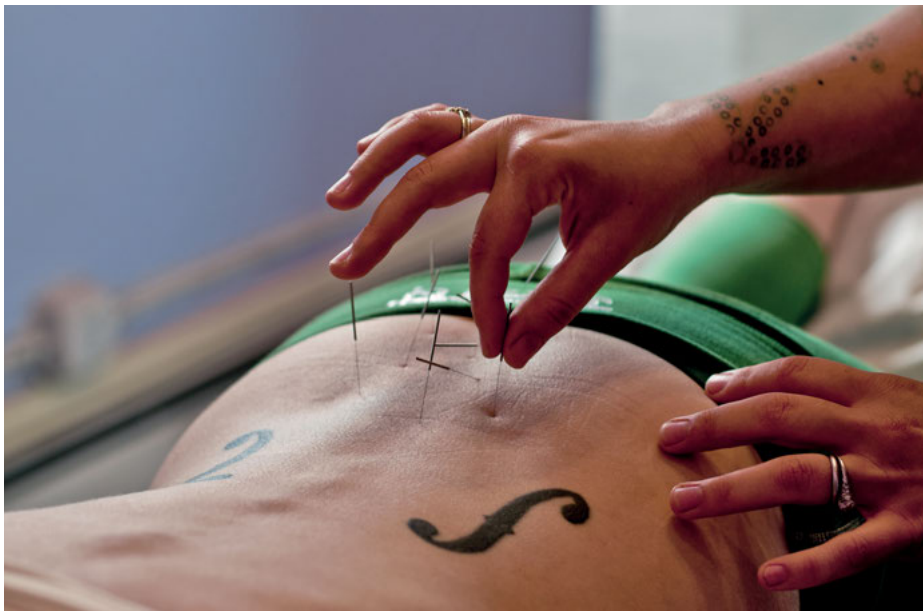


Fig. 6.9: Appliance of acupuncture (China)

channels, and that by physically stimulating these channels the practitioner can promote the human body's self-regulating functions and bring health to the patient. This stimulation involves the burning of moxa (mugwort) or the insertion of needles into points on these channels, with the aim to restore the body's balance and prevent and treat disease" (UNESCO Intangible Heritage List, ref. 425).

When one considers the ambitions of the German beer brewers, bread bakers or associations of commercial organ builders, a change in values can be seen with respect to how the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage was applied. The Convention was originally intended to foster the potential of heritage for the building of identity and sustainable development, especially in those countries that have been under-represented on the World Heritage List. Considering the current policy of inscriptions – on the Representative List – qualitatively as well as quantitatively, it cannot be denied that in the context of its popularization the Convention has become commercialized. So here also the question needs to be posed whether, and if so to what extent, such practices are still in line with the stated goals.

Outlook

Claude Lévi-Strauss gave a speech on the occasion of UNESCO's 60th anniversary celebrations in 2005, in which he again underscored the guiding principles of the Organization. He explained that UNESCO principles take full account of the fact that heritage and identity are fundamental aspects of culture and cultural development, regardless of where or when they are expressed. He stated:

"The true contribution of a culture consists, not in the list of inventions which it has personally produced, but in its difference from others. The sense of gratitude and respect which each single member of a given culture can and should feel towards all others can only be based on the conviction that the other cultures differ from his own in countless ways" (Lévi-Strauss, 1952, p. 45).

UNESCO embraces these goals in all its projects. However, they are particularly apparent in the ideas pertaining to the safeguarding of intangible heritage in the interest of sustainable human development. In this sense, the safeguarding of intangible heritage is being implemented within the framework of the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity and sees its future in that context.

"Culture takes diverse forms across time and space. This diversity is embodied in the uniqueness and plurality of the identities of the groups and societies making up humankind. As a source of exchange, innovation and creativity, cultural diversity is as necessary for humankind as biodiversity is for nature. In this sense, it is the common heritage of humanity and should be recognized and affirmed for the benefit of present and future generations" (UNESCO, 2001, art. 1).



Fig. 6.10: Speech in Jemaa el-Fna Square (Morocco)

Cultural space of Jemaa el-Fna Square, year of inscription 2008.

“The Jemaa el-Fna Square is one of the main cultural spaces in Marrakesh and has become one of the symbols of the city since its foundation in the eleventh century. It represents a unique concentration of popular Moroccan cultural traditions performed through musical, religious and artistic expressions” (UNESCO Intangible Heritage List, ref. 14).

7 Prospects for the Future

The World Heritage Convention can be considered to be the most successful of all UNESCO conventions. Nevertheless, its success is not without a high degree of ambivalence. On the one hand, the international community has succeeded in recognizing heritage as a set of tangible cultural and natural assets worthy of safeguarding for future generations and has anchored this concept in both the public and private consciousness. On the other hand, in association with the growing importance of the Convention, there is an increasing danger of it functioning to meet diverse interests and their various representatives. Exploitation of the Convention for political-economic interests within the World Heritage Committee or for a booming tourism industry has been widely discussed in previous chapters. References have also been made to the Eurocentric nature of World Heritage and the related decrease in the diversity of types of heritage, as well as the dominance of European sites.

In this chapter we look at the potential that World Heritage holds for *sustainable human development* in the broadest sense. We also emphasize the significant potential of World Heritage with respect to forming identity and promoting peace. It is also important to soundly anchor World Heritage's inherent potential of sustainability and sustainable development in corresponding ideas regarding the use of heritage. This in turn requires initiatives that can qualify and empower stakeholders to behave responsibly, both as individuals and as societies. Visions of how the future might be shaped are required in order for people or groups to behave responsibly. This necessitates both knowledge and an awareness of the significance of heritage as a whole, whether in the context of globalization and migration, against the backdrop of climate change, or in consideration of demographic change, and in particular, in the light of the media revolution.

The proposals presented in this final chapter on prospects for the future elaborate on the projected needs and present implementation options in the form of recommendations and strategic action plans. We take into consideration the fact that the future of the World Heritage Convention had already been formulated in the Constitution of UNESCO, although the Convention itself was not adopted until 1972. To that extent, our look forward is dialectically conceived. A reflection on the present is an essential part of the historic mission of UNESCO, from which concepts of a peaceful path to the future can be derived. As such, the World Heritage Convention can be seen as an instrument in the service of UNESCO's political representation activities for over sixty years. As with other such instruments with their varying measures of political importance, the Convention strives to achieve world peace on the basis of equitable collaboration among all peoples. It embraces the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted and implemented in 1948, in addition to conventions to safeguard cultural property and to protect the heritage of humanity, such as the Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict adopted in 1954, or the Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Pre-

venting the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property adopted in 1970. The resolutions and implementation proposals in the sense of a formal UNESCO developmental concept were compiled as so-called legal instruments, beginning in the 1980s with the 1982 World Conference on Cultural Policies,¹³³ the 1987 *Brundtland Report*,¹³⁴ and the 1995 report *Our Creative Diversity* from the World Commission on Culture and Development, headed by Javier Pérez de Cuéllar.¹³⁵ The proposals for action were explicitly in line with the Millennium Development Goals.¹³⁶ With these tools at its disposal, the United Nations can further reinforce the close relationship between the national and international bodies that are to implement these adopted instruments and structures in civil society.

The aim has always been to harness the enormous development potential of world cultures and their heritage and thereby gain new knowledge on the impact of the effectiveness of such tools when used in the processes of social transformation. Heritage is a constituent component of culture. It thus requires no explicit justification to insist that cultural development in the form of *human development* and heritage in all its facets is made available to all, in that: “Human development, as an approach, is concerned with what I take to be the basic development idea: namely, advancing the richness of human life, rather than the richness of the economy in which human beings live, which is only a part of it” (Sen, 2007, p. 4).

In our understanding, human development entails concepts and reflections on sustainability in the broadest sense of the term. And even if today in theoretical discussions the notion of sustainability continues to focus on the protection and use of the world’s natural resources, its implementation is nevertheless taking place in the institutions and structures of civil society. So it is at this point that we have now come full circle. Human development is not possible without the sustainable use of resources, while at the same time, sustainability cannot be achieved without the active participation of civil society.

133 The World Conference on Cultural Policies was held from 26 July to 6 August 1982 in Mexico City. The resolutions summarized in the Mexico City Declaration on Cultural Policies also included themes such as cultural identity, cultural dimension of development, culture and democracy, cultural heritage, etc.

134 Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987, *Our Common Future*. This report contains numerous prognoses and ideas on the sustainable use of energy and environmentally friendly development (UN, 1987).

135 Report of the World Commission on Culture and Development, 1995, *Our Creative Diversity*. This report outlines the central ethical and cultural issues and also contains sections on gender and people (Pérez de Cuéllar, 1995).

136 The eight Millennium Development Goals are: (1) Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger; (2) Achieve universal primary education; (3) Promote gender equality and empower women; (4) Reduce child mortality; (5) Improve maternal health; (6) Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases; (7) Ensure environmental sustainability; (8) Develop a global partnership for development (UNDP, 2000).

7.1 Heritage and empowerment of stakeholders

The empowerment of stakeholders to assume responsibility is a strategy that was elaborated in the context of the development policies of the 1980 s in the wake of the failure of “economism”. The aim of this strategy was to facilitate the *participation* of all possible stakeholders in the processes of democratization and development.

“Participation is an important prerequisite for successful and sustained DC (development cooperation). Participation contributes to the participants’ feeling of ownership for the programs and projects, while enabling them to invest their own given cultural values and interests. This way participative DC supports self-determination in the improvement of conditions of life in the partner countries. It expands the possibilities and capacities of the target groups to work for the improvement of general conditions” (BMZ, 1999, p. 2).

Although these ideas were formulated during the 1980 s and were still greatly influenced by a strong link to economic and policy issues, from the very beginning they were based on a foundation of human rights and therewith implicitly tied to human development objectives. Over time, this strategy has been gradually embraced by institutions such as the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), in addition to European Union bodies concerned with policy development, and not least the UN organizations and UNESCO in particular; these institutions further developed or adapted the strategy in relation to themes and target groups. In the literature, the strategy appeared under the catchphrase *participatory development and good governance* (OECD, 1995), which has since been abbreviated to *sustainable development* and *popular or local participation* (UNESCO, 2006).

How successfully this participatory understanding of development has been implemented, together with its cultural and environmentally sustainable or democratic and demographic development – and last but not least – as one that makes the same assumptions about different target groups – becomes evident from the work of institutions functioning at the international level, as well as from theoretical reflections on the effectiveness and efficiency of the instruments developed (see e. g. BMZ, 1999; DUK, 2009; BMBF et al., 2009; Bleckmann and Krüger, 2007; Henderson and Vercseg, 2010).

Today, instruments relating to World Heritage can be found in a whole series of resolutions. The most important of these is the Budapest Declaration on World Heritage emanating from the 2002 World Heritage Committee, in which is stated that in future nominations, sustainable strategies of *Credibility, Conservation, Capacity-building and Communication* should be taken into account, while the 2007 Resolution of the Committee session in New Zealand called for *Community involvement* in order to achieve a more representative and balanced World Heritage List.¹³⁷

¹³⁷ The so-called “5 Cs” formulated here refer to the evolution of the Global Strategy (see Chapter 3.3).

The explicit inclusion of local stakeholders was formulated in the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. This meant that the Committee would reject any application for inscription on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity that did not involve all stakeholders in the nomination process. World Heritage itself was again distinguished by a special reference in the theme to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the World Heritage Convention: *World Heritage and Sustainable Development: the Role of Local Communities*. Mid- and long-term plans include participation strategies and the empowering of those in a position to protect and use heritage in the context of the strategy for achieving the Millennium Development Goals.

Just how the goals and contents are to be achieved through *human development* and the stakeholders are to be empowered has been clearly defined. However, there are currently no viable implementation strategies or application-oriented research activities and their related methods to draw on. One suitable approach might be the paradigm developed in the context of cultural studies, which assumes that cultures are made by people and consequently can also be destroyed by them. This paradigm embraces both tangible and intellectual culture, in addition to art and its cultural institutions. According to this view, cultures are considered to be integrative units consisting of people, technology and society, which in the context of a historical process have formed from the heritage of individuals and societies and that continue to develop within the framework of such processes. To this extent, heritage – as culture – is itself a highly dynamic category that affects the collective identity of the peoples of the world in an ongoing manner. It is this very collective heritage that establishes the foundation within which peoples develop their own identities.

As formulated in the context of cultural studies, the effects of such interactions between culture, heritage and identity with respect to the participation of peoples to sustainably protect and use their heritage might represent an approach to the elaboration of more detailed and multidimensional strategies of qualification and empowerment. Curricula for academic and non-academic studies can be developed by experts on the basis of an epistemological approach to heritage as formulated in cultural studies. Empowerment based on knowledge gained in cultural studies could also be incorporated into continuing education programmes specifically developed for World Heritage. At the same time, they might also serve to expand the diverse constructions of heritage, those which even today are dealt with in very materially defined discourses in the scientific context surrounding hermeneutical interpretations of history, and sociologically shaped epistemologies and methods. It also appears necessary to expand such approaches to a discussion of global governance to include the concepts of sustainable development, heritage and participation of stakeholders.

At a structural-practical level, the instruments applied to interpret and categorize the World Heritage Convention can and should be rendered comprehensible for non-experts, because they are used to measure the potential value of heritage assets.

For example, in the justification criteria for World Heritage as interpreted to date, Outstanding Universal Value specifically addresses the target group of experts, even though the related constructions of heritage extend far beyond the interests of a specific region or local population. The same applies for identification and nomination processes. Qualification and empowerment strategies should consider the following points. For all issues involving nominations, protection and use of heritage, the local population should identify who the various stakeholders are, which interest (group) they represent, and how the interrelationships are to be defined. It is the *locals* who should analyse which forms of social organization are possible and which decision-making structures are required to define them. For the stakeholders, it is interesting to learn how both they themselves and other social groups interpret heritage in the sense of a holistic development, and which resources they can mobilize for its implementation. With respect to potential heritage assets in their local environment, the participants themselves should identify the extent of local interest and, in particular, consider the tangible values of the prospective site. That people attach considerable significance to their own creative power goes without saying.

Through these and similar processes, heritage properties not only gain greater acceptance among local populations, they can also offer great potential in terms of sustainable socio-economic development for the places and societies in which the sites are located. On a larger scale, heritage can contribute to the development of the personalities of the participating stakeholders on the basis of the above-mentioned empowerment measures.

7.2 Culture, heritage and diversity

“The best thing in the world is diversity and the universes contained therein” (Galeano, 2001, p. 64). The preservation of this diversity is indeed a challenge for the future. Nature with its biodiversity and culture are significant elements in the diversity of universes. In this sense, culture is holistic, comprising both the tangible and substantive, in addition to its intangible and intellectual aspects. At least since the Budapest Declaration on World Heritage of 2002, the need for World Heritage properties based on thematic, cultural and geographical diversity has been acknowledged.¹³⁸ Also acknowledged are the demands from countries to represent the diversity of human cultures in World Heritage, to contribute to human development. The fact that it is always the same types of site from the same regions within the same historic contexts that receive recognition stands in stark contrast to such demands. It is rather, to put it bluntly, that narrow-mindedness takes precedence over diversity

¹³⁸ See Chapter 3.2, 3. 3.

when determining World Heritage. This too is unjust, if we are ever to achieve sustainable development on a global basis.

On the other hand, with the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003) and the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (2005), legal instruments have been adopted by UNESCO for the purpose of slowing down the trend to standardize cultural heritage, and which may actually be able to do so. The significance of cultural diversity itself in terms of forming identity in the interest of sustainable development has not yet been taken into account, despite the implementation of these conventions (see DUK, 2007*b*). The potential that is inherent in the various facets of culture and heritage in the interest of sustainable human development thus remains unexploited. Cultural diversity is represented by a very wide spectrum of human expressions of life and needs, as well as by a high degree of variation in how the given cultural and natural resources are handled. Cultural diversity is expressed in numerous subcultures replete with their respective preferences in terms of traditions, art, economy or religion. The needs and expressions of humanity, marked by national or regional, cultural or social influences, make it possible for people to understand and interpret their own histories, also allowing them to overcome present challenges and shape their futures.

It is thus the concern of the international community to assume responsibility for protecting this natural and cultural diversity which is expressed in compliance with a series of conventions and declarations. On the basis of the latest of these (2005), the international community has consolidated national cultural expressions, such as those represented in art and cinema, photography or theatre. The advancing liberalization of the global market, which in turn also incorporates the cultural expressions of humanity, has been slowed with the help of the 2005 Convention. Sabine von Schorlemer, a specialist in international law from Dresden who took part in the German side of these negotiations has stated: “At its core, the UNESCO Convention addresses the relationship between the ‘market’ and the ‘state’, as well as the relationship between the culture industry and cultural policy” (Scheytt, 2008, p. 48).

The paradigm that theoretically underlies the diversity of cultures is on the one hand based on approaches that articulate the cultural differences and interspaces, with which people interact across borders and class differences (Bhabha, 2007). On the other hand, it is based on the transformations of cultural representations emanating from cultural memory research (Assmann, 1993; 1997; 2004). In this respect, diversity itself, together with its social perception, is exposed to dynamic processes.

The perception of diversity in the world is based, among other factors, on experience that can be gained through travel. Even in the 1980 s and 1990 s, travel was associated with exploring the unlimited potential for living and experiencing cultural “otherness”. For that matter, this was also true during the early stages of mass tourism that emerged during this period. Travel made it possible to experience unique tangible and intangible cultural expressions in any country of the world.

Visits to local markets were a sensory experience that conveyed expressions of life and an appreciation of the diversity of local products. It was possible to barter and in this way to be immersed in local traditions. These activities corresponded to people's cultural needs, that is to say cultural expressions of intangible memories in the form of smells or images, and first-hand experience of intangible assets such as music or traditional artisanship. Although these needs still exist, such intangible experiences are hardly even possible today. According to Nigel Barley writing in *Der Spiegel*, we are "more or less all just tourists wearing Hawaiian shirts" (Barley, 2000), travellers in other words, who today more than ever should profit from the diversity of the world, but for whom this diversity is usually reduced to products.

Products arising from diversity no longer convey experience-rich worlds in and of themselves, but are rather imitations of cultural expressions in the form of computer animations in gated hotel complexes, or mere interpretations of cultural goods produced for the mass market such as the Hawaiian shirts mentioned in *Der Spiegel*, or other products connoting the "wider world". Local markets now offer the same industrially produced figures, vessels or other bric-a-brac. To this extent, international diversity has mutated into a notable narrow-mindedness, starting with fast food and ending with nearly exactly the same clothing, anywhere in the world. Global styles are mere copies of those seen on global TV series, while music, literature and artistic styles are characterized by a strict code of uniformity.

The diversity of cultures and hence the constructions of heritage lie in the fact that they are virtually predestined to take on subcultural forms of life and diverse forms of expression. Cultures are by no means finite entities. Even cultures ruled by autocratic systems and cut off from the outside world continue to differentiate from within, develop themselves further, and create new tangible and intangible expressions. Forms of cultural diversity are the constituent components of cultural development itself. This is not a phenomenon that can be ascribed to current societal developments. Cultural diversity surges from a dynamic process, one in which the cultures of the past move towards the future. In doing so, they creatively master the challenges that confront them, and at the same time they make good use of them to shape their futures.

It must therefore be asked how must diversity be comprehended and conveyed in order to make it rewarding for people? This question pertains not only to the diversity of human cultures with its values and norms, it also concerns religions and their representations. Diversity has always been expressed in music, dance, artistic styles or anywhere that people seek to transform their material living conditions into cultural expression, as in multifaceted contemporary youth culture. This diversity also relates to the heritage of humanity and how the categories used to determine this heritage can be interpreted so as to reflect the geographical, cultural, religious, tangible and intangible diversity that is World Heritage.

The question of an appropriate interpretation of diversity and its implementation into strategies for action must be answered by national and international institutions

such as UNESCO, as well as by the academic and scientific spheres. There is also a challenge to the scientific community to research whether, and in what way, cultural diversity and heritage can be constructively implemented for human development, and what needs to be emphasized with respect to diversity, for example by better protecting heritage and utilizing what it offers. How can local stakeholders use their cultural, religious, economic and political diversity that represent them at and in the heritage sites to promote human development, without abolishing the existing categories?

A number of pertinent questions need to be addressed in the context of the conventions to safeguard intangible heritage, to protect and promote the diversity of cultural expressions and to protect World Heritage: how can such dynamically changing cultures be protected – their intangible cultural heritage and cultural expressions in particular – without hindering cultural innovation? What is the purpose of safeguarding intangible heritage, and at what point do such life-support measures result in museification? So where should the line be drawn between the safeguarding of culture and its exotification? Should we not preserve traditions and pass them on to ensure that they do not become static? To put it bluntly, what needs to be done to ensure that the protection of tangible and intangible cultural sites does not prove to be counter-productive with respect to the development of diverse lifestyles and innovations?

7.3 World Heritage and sustainable development

Triggered by industrialization and in connection with massive logging in the great forests of Europe, the idea of sustainability first emerged in the 19th century. Woodsmen saw their economic livelihood threatened by over-cutting and thus committed themselves to ensuring that the forests were replanted. The term was adopted by the nascent environmental movement in the mid 1950 s.

The significance the term holds today came from its integration into the concept of sustainable development, which was further advanced by the United Nations in 1987 in the context of the so-called Brundtland Commission, named after its chair the Norwegian Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland. This Commission was considered the first to have addressed the issues of population development and human resources, nutrition, ecosystems, energy, industrial development and urbanization against the backdrop of global sustainable development. Under the aegis of the World Commission on Environment and Development, the report *Our Common Future* was published, which continues to serve as a reference work.

Sustainable development is defined as: “Development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (UN, 1987, chap. 2, item 1). The term *sustainability* cannot be separated from that of *development*, so should also be used when looking forward. Sustainable development means economic development but based on the consciousness of people

to consume natural resources in such a way that successive generations can still profit from them. The consumption of resources reminds us that they are indeed finite.

This is why the possibilities and limits of sustainable use of UNESCO World Heritage properties need to be investigated to determine how the future can be shaped in view of contemporary economic exploitation trends. So we arrive at our main thesis: we are of the opinion that it is the wrong strategy to place all our bets on tourism and its inherent terminologies and marketing strategies as the solution.

Sustainability not only impacts heritage properties, but also plays a role in the context of their social and cultural environments, from short-, medium- and long-term perspectives. It also concerns the setting of comprehensive and/or contextual and methodological priorities. Criticism of the constructs of the sustainable use of World Heritage properties is aimed at those approaches that promote sustainability in the context of social and economic development, without incorporating the interests of the stakeholders. In other words, sustainability and local participation in developmental processes is a sufficiently well-known and fairly widespread demand within the framework of political discourse. It is also known that qualification, training and empowerment schemes are required in order to implement this strategy. The question that needs to be answered nevertheless is why the strategies employed are seldom successful.

If we perceive heritage in terms of economic criteria, then innovative entrepreneurial concepts will need to be implemented, such as those presented by Günter Faltin in *Brains versus Capital* (2013) or through concepts of public-private partnerships, for example the cooperation between the German Commission for UNESCO and the pressure-washer manufacturer Kärcher to clean German World Heritage properties. Such approaches can, however, also be derived from the concept of “common pool resources” elaborated by the recently deceased Nobel Prize Laureate Elinor Ostrom, which she developed and propagated in the 1990 s (see Ostrom, 1990). The idea behind common pool resources is that scarce resources such as air, water and the heritage of humanity should not be considered as private or public resources, but rather as common resources and thus treated accordingly.

The community comprised of informed citizens bears responsibility for protecting common pool resources. World Heritage is a common resource and it needs to be treated as such, if the people themselves want to preserve its identity-forming aspects to benefit responsible citizens. It is evident that people are in every way willing and able to dedicate themselves to such a commitment. To do this, they do not need to have had prior experience in movements such as the “Stuttgart 21” protests, or citizens’ initiatives against new runways at airports. Moreover, local populations have demonstrated a high degree of commitment to protecting World Heritage, whether in Dresden or in the case of Australia’s Kakadu National Park. Another pivotal aspect is that the sustainable use of heritage must be communicated to responsible citizens, rather than simply demanding it of them, as has been the practice in political-administrative circles.

Glossary

Advisory Bodies to the World Heritage Committee: “The Advisory Bodies to the World Heritage Committee are ICCROM (the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property), ICOMOS (the International Council on Monuments and Sites), and IUCN – the International Union for Conservation of Nature” (UNESCO, 2013*b*, para. 30).

Authenticity: “The ability to understand the value attributed to the heritage depends on the degree to which information sources about this value may be understood as credible or truthful. Knowledge and understanding of these sources of information, in relation to original and subsequent characteristics of the cultural heritage, and their meaning, are the requisite bases for assessing all aspects of authenticity” (UNESCO, 2013*b*, para. 80).

Brundtland Report – Our Common Future: The report entitled *Our Common Future*, also known as the Brundtland Report, published in 1987 by the United Nations World Commission on Environment and Development, was the first to formulate the guiding principle of the sustainable development of societies.

Buffer zones: A “buffer zone is an area surrounding the nominated property which has complementary legal and/or customary restrictions placed on its use and development to give an added layer of protection to the property. This should include the immediate setting of the nominated property, important views and other areas or attributes that are functionally important as a support to the property and its protection” (UNESCO, 2013*b*, para. 104).

Convention: “International Conventions are subject to ratification, acceptance or accession by states. They define rules with which the states undertake to comply. Member States who sign or agree to abide by the convention are added to the list of States Parties” (UNESCO, 2013*o*).

Cultural heritage: As cultural heritage are considered: “monuments, ... groups of buildings, ... [and] sites ... which are of Outstanding Universal Value from [different] points of view” (UNESCO, 1972, art. 1).

Cultural landscapes: “Cultural landscapes are cultural properties [which] represent the ‘combined works of nature and of man’ designated in Article 1 of the Convention” (UNESCO 2013*b*, para. 47).

Cultural property: The term cultural property was introduced with the Hague Convention and covers: “(a) movable or immovable property of great importance to the cultural heritage of every people ...; (b) buildings whose main and effective purpose is to preserve or exhibit the movable cultural property ...; (c) centres containing a large amount of cultural property” (UNESCO, 1954, art. 1).

Declarations: “Declarations are another means of defining norms, which are not subject to ratification. Like recommendations, they set forth universal principles to which the community of States wished to attribute the greatest possible authority and to afford the broadest possible support” (UNESCO, 2013n).

Empowerment: “Refers to increasing the spiritual, political, social or economic strength of individuals and communities. It involves awareness-raising, building self-confidence, expansion of choices, increased access to and control over resources and actions to transform the structures and institutions which reinforce and perpetuate gender discrimination and inequality” (UNICEF 2011, p. 1).

Executive Board: “The Executive Board ensures the overall management of UNESCO. It prepares the work of the General Conference and sees that its decisions are properly carried out. The functions and responsibilities of the Executive Board are derived primarily from the Constitution and from rules or directives laid down by the General Conference” (UNESCO 2013o).

General Assembly of States Parties to the Convention: The General Assembly “includes all States Parties to the Convention. It meets once every two years during the ordinary session of the General Conference of UNESCO to elect the members of the World Heritage Committee, to examine the statement of accounts of the World Heritage Fund and to decide on major policy issues” (UNESCO, 2008c).

General Conference: “The General Conference consists of the representatives of UNESCO’s Member States. It meets every two years, and is attended by Member States and Associate Members, together with observers for non-Member States, intergovernmental organizations and non-governmental organizations (NGOs)” (UNESCO, 2013o).

Global Strategy: “In 1994, the World Heritage Committee launched the Global Strategy for a Representative, Balanced and Credible World Heritage List. Its aim is to ensure that the List reflects the world’s cultural and natural diversity of Outstanding Universal Value” (UNESCO, 2013q).

Good governance: “Good governance is a concept that has come into regular use in political science, public administration and, more particularly, development management. It appears alongside such terms such as democracy, civil society, participation, human rights and sustainable development” (UNESCO, 2005b).

ICCROM: “ICCROM (the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property) is an international intergovernmental organization with headquarters in Rome, Italy ... ICCROM’s statutory functions are to carry out research, documentation, technical assistance, training and public awareness programmes to strengthen conservation of immovable and movable cultural heritage” (UNESCO, 2013b, para. 32).

ICOMOS: “ICOMOS (the International Council on Monuments and Sites) is a non-governmental organization with headquarters in Paris, France. Founded in 1965, its role is to promote the application of theory, methodology and scientific techniques to the conservation of the architectural and archaeological heritage. Its work is based on the principles of the 1964 International Charter on the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (the Venice Charter)” (UNESCO, 2013*b*, para. 34).

Intangible Heritage: “The ‘intangible cultural heritage’ means the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage” (UNESCO, 2003*c*, art. 2).

Integrity: “Integrity is a measure of the wholeness and intactness of the natural and/or cultural heritage and its attributes” (UNESCO, 2013*b*, para. 88).

IUCN: “IUCN – The International Union for Conservation of Nature was founded in 1948 and brings together national governments, NGOs, and scientists in a worldwide partnership. Its mission is to influence, encourage and assist societies throughout the world to conserve the integrity and diversity of nature and to ensure that any use of natural resources is equitable and ecologically sustainable” (UNESCO, 2013*b*, para. 36).

List of World Heritage in Danger: “... under the title of List of World Heritage in Danger, a list of the property appearing in the World Heritage List for the conservation of which major operations are necessary and for which assistance has been requested under this Convention” (UNESCO, 1972, para. 11.4).

Member States: “The Organization has 195 Members and 9 Associate Members. Membership of UNESCO is governed by Articles II and XV of the Constitution and by rules 98 to 101 of the Rules of Procedure of the General Conference. Membership of the United Nations carries with it the right to membership of UNESCO” (UNESCO, 2013*r*).

Mixed sites: “Properties shall be considered as ‘mixed cultural and natural heritage’ if they satisfy a part or the whole of the definitions of both cultural and natural heritage laid out in Articles 1 and 2 of the Convention” (UNESCO, 2013*b*, para. 46).

Natural heritage: Are “natural features consisting of physical and biological formations or groups of such formations, ... geological and physiographical formations and precisely delineated areas which constitute the habitat of threatened species of animals and plants of Outstanding Universal Value, ... (and) natural sites or precisely delineated natural areas of Outstanding Universal Value” which is defined from different points of view” (UNESCO 1972, art. 2).

Operational Guidelines: “The Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention ... aim to facilitate the implementation of the Convention

concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage ... by setting forth the procedure for: (a) the inscription of properties on the World Heritage List and the List of World Heritage in Danger; (b) the protection and conservation of World Heritage properties; (c) the granting of International Assistance under the World Heritage Fund; and (d) the mobilization of national and international support in favor of the Convention” (UNESCO, 2013*b*, para. 1).

Outstanding Universal Value (OUV): “Outstanding Universal Value means 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” (UNESCO, 2013, para. 49).

Participation: “Participation, ... is a process through which all members of a community or organization are involved in and have influence on decisions related to development activities that will affect them” (ADF, 2014, p.1).

Periodic Reporting: Periodic Reporting is a tool to assist the States Parties to the Convention to manage a World Heritage site according to the inscription criteria (UNESCO, 2013*b*, para. 201).

Ratification: The procedure in which a State Party wishes to become party to the Convention (UNESCO, 2013*t*).

Reactive Monitoring: Reactive Monitoring is the reporting on the state of conservation to be carried out by the Secretariat, other sectors of UNESCO and the Advisory Bodies (UNESCO, 2013*b*, para. 169).

Recommendations: “Recommendations are instruments in which the General Conference formulates principles and norms for the international regulation of any particular question and invites Member States to take whatever legislative or other steps may be required in conformity with the constitutional practice of each State and the nature of the question under consideration to apply the principles and norms aforesaid within their respective territories” (UNESCO, 2013*n*).

Secretariat: “The Secretariat consists of the Director-General and the Staff appointed by him or her” (UNESCO, 2013*o*).

States Parties to the Convention: “States Parties are countries which have adhered to the World Heritage Convention. They thereby agree to identify and nominate properties on their national territory to be considered for inscription on the World Heritage List” (UNESCO, 2014).

Strategic Objectives: “Strategic Objectives ... are periodically reviewed and revised goals and objectives of the Committee to ensure that ... threats placed on World Heritage are addressed effectively” (UNESCO, 2013*b*, para. 25).

Sustainable development: “Sustainable development is the overarching paradigm of the United Nations. The concept of sustainable development was described by the 1987 Brundtland Commission Report as ‘development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs’” (UNESCO, 2013s).

Tentative List: “A Tentative List is an inventory of those properties situated on its territory which each State Party considers suitable for inscription on the World Heritage List. States Parties should ... include, in their Tentative Lists, the names of those properties which they consider to be cultural and/or natural heritage of Outstanding Universal Value and which they intend to nominate during the following years” (UNESCO, 2013b, para. 62).

UNESCO: The United Nations Organization for Education, Science and Culture, now the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), was founded on 16 November 1945 with the mandate of the international community to create and keep peace in the world (UNESCO 2013o).

World Commission on Culture and Development: On 8 December 1986, the United Nations declared 1988 to 1997 as the World Decade of Cultural Development. In 1991, at the behest of the UN Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, an independent expert World Commission on Culture and Development was formed, which under his chairmanship compiled the report *Our Creative Diversity* from 1992 to 1995.

World Heritage Centre: The World Heritage Centre is a Secretariat appointed by the Director-General of UNESCO with the function of assisting and collaborating with the States Parties and the Advisory Bodies. The Secretariat works in close cooperation with other sectors and field offices of UNESCO (UNESCO, 2013b, para. 27).

World Heritage Committee: “The World Heritage Committee meets once a year, and consists of representatives from 21 of the States Parties to the Convention elected for terms up to six years. The Committee is responsible for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention, allocates financial assistance from the World Heritage Fund and has the final say on whether a site is inscribed on the World Heritage List. It examines reports on the state of conservation of inscribed sites and decides on the inscription or removal of sites on the List of World Heritage in Danger” (UNESCO, 2008c).

World Heritage Fund: “The World Heritage Fund is a trust fund, established by the Convention in conformity with the provisions of the Financial Regulations of UNESCO” (UNESCO, 2013b, para. 223).

World Heritage List: The World Heritage List contains all the sites recognized by UNESCO as cultural, natural or mixed World Heritage sites.

World Heritage properties: World Heritage properties have been designated as such by the World Heritage Committee. In 2013 there are currently 981 properties in 160 countries inscribed on the World Heritage List, of which 759 are cultural sites, 193 natural sites and 29 mixed sites. In 2015: 1007 properties in 161 countries inscribed on the World Heritage List, of which 779 are cultural sites, 197 natural sites and 31 mixed sites

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List of Figures

- Fig. 1.1: Distribution of World Heritage properties in 2013 by region (author illustration), Source: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/stat> (Accessed 22 October 2013)
- Fig. 1.2: Distribution of World Heritage properties in 2013 by region (author illustration), Source: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/stat> (Accessed 22 October 2013)
- Fig. 1.3: Historic city wall in Toledo (Spain), Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/wentzelepsy/3261228941>, author: Larry Wentzel
- Fig. 2.1: Imperial Palace in the Forbidden City, Beijing (China), Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/alanandanders/4890763130>, author: Alan Lam
- Fig. 2.2: Messel Pit Fossil Site: plaster tooth crocodile (Germany), Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/erestor0404/4470380512>, author: Patrick Bürgler
- Fig. 2.3: Pyramids of Giza (Egypt), Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/isawnyu/7832659646>, author: Institute for the Study of the Ancient World
- Fig. 2.4: Entry gate to the Auschwitz Birkenau memorial (Poland), Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/69694546@N02/12170246284>, author: Steve Hunt
- Fig. 2.5: Schiller Park Housing Estate in Berlin (Germany), Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/28179929@N08/3878478599/>, author: Sludge G
- Fig. 2.6: Wachau Cultural Landscape (Austria), Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/89649959@N00/2224123842>, author: jay8085
- Fig. 2.7: Versailles Orangerie (France), Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/68777787@N00/202917381/>, author: netcfrance
- Fig. 2.8: Relict landscape of Lopé-Okanda (Gabon), Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/briangratwicke/4395602536>, author: Brian Gratwicke
- Fig. 2.9: Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park (Australia), Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/nosha/2836119312>, author: nosha
- Fig. 2.10: View of Mont Perdu (Pyrenees), Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/84554176@N00/9709415119>, author: Guillaume Baviere
- Fig. 2.11: Aboriginal rock paintings in Kakadu National Park (Australia), Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/albertoog/3892548096>, author: albertoog
- Fig. 2.12: Caves in the Vézère Valley (France), Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/dynamosquito/2531512743>, author: dynamosquito
- Fig. 2.13: Historic Town of Goslar (Germany), Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/swynt/9255410880>, author: swynt
- Fig. 2.14: Bamiyan Valley (Afghanistan), Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/crw3/8662549911>, author: Calvin Wilhelm
- Fig. 2.15: Church Town of Gammelstad, Luleå (Sweden), Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/bahadorjn/140292259>, author: Bahador
- Fig. 2.16: Semmering Railway (Austria), Source: https://www.flickr.com/photos/michael_hanisch/4279181748, author: Michael Hanisch
- Fig. 2.17: Forts and Castles, Volta, Greater Accra, Central and Western Regions (Ghana), Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/fran001/3587087813>, author: Francisco Anzola
- Fig. 2.18: Pilgrimage route to Santiago de Compostela (France and Spain), Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/freecat/6116470448>, author: José Antonio Gil Martínez
- Fig. 2.19: Royal Tombs of the Joseon Dynasty (Republic of Korea), Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/davidstanleytravel/5063812324>, author: David Stanley
- Fig. 2.20: Destroyed Buddha statues in the Bamiyan Valley (Afghanistan), Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/dvids/7408738172>, author: DVIDSHUB

- Fig. 2.21: Cologne Cathedral (Germany), Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/55899047@N04/16112537729/>, author: Rolf Heinrich
- Fig. 3.1: Warsaw (Poland) in ruins during the Second World War, Source: [http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Old_Town_Warsaw_waf-2012-1501-31\(1945\).jpg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Old_Town_Warsaw_waf-2012-1501-31(1945).jpg), author: unknown, copyright: : Marek Tuszyński's Kollektion des zweiten Weltkrieges
- Fig. 3.2: Warsaw restored, Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/guillaumespeurt/8121510499/>, author: Guillaume Speurt
- Fig. 3.3: Dresden (Germany) was destroyed in 1945 by Allied bombing, leaving large portions of the historic centre in ruins, Source: http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/9/96/Bundesarchiv_Bild_183-Z0309-310%2C_Zerst%C3%B6rtes_Dresden.jpg, author: Beyer, G., Bundesarchiv, Bild 183-Z0309-310
- Fig. 3.4: Dying forest in Bavaria (Germany), Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/michaelpollak/7488296860/>, author: Michael Pollak
- Fig. 3.5: Favelas (slums) in Rio de Janeiro (Brazil), Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/kj-an/2359557473/>, author: Kevin Jones
- Fig. 3.6: Reconstructed city centre of Kotor (Montenegro), Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/ashlynpai/13553214045/>, author: Ashlynn Pai
- Fig. 3.7: Direct view from the Elbe Valley towards Dresden (Germany), Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/jbid-post/9565871550/>, author: János Balázs
- Fig. 3.8: View impaired by Dresden's Waldschlösschenbrücke, Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/jbid-post/6983671413/>, author: János Balázs
- Fig. 3.9: Fort on the banks of Kilwa Kisiwani (Tanzania), Source: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Kilwa_Kisiwani_Fort.jpg, author: Gustavgraves
- Fig. 3.10: View of the Amphitheater of El Jem (Tunisia), Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/archer10/7847033730/>, author: Dennis Jarvis
- Fig. 3.11: Courtyard of the mosque in Thatta (Pakistan), Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/adeelanwer/7473119410/>, author: Adeel Anwer
- Fig. 3.12: Chartres Cathedral (France), Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/stevecadman/752594655/>, author: Steve Cadman
- Fig. 3.13: Cathedral on the Plaza de Armas in Cuzco (Peru), Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/theodorescott/2517644318/>, author: Theodore Scott
- Fig. 3.14: View of the Historic Town of Ouro Preto (Brazil), Source: https://www.flickr.com/photos/filipe_dilly/3955013062/, author: Filipe Soares Dilly
- Fig. 3.15: Djenné (Mali), Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/kartlasarn/12030043155/>, author: Göran Höglund
- Fig. 3.16: Courtyard of the Great Mosque in Aleppo (Syria), Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/varunshiv/5347872305/>, author: Varun Shiv Kapur
- Fig. 3.17: Abdar Khana buildings and Anoop Talao water basin in Fatehpur Sikri city (India), Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/dalbera/8511795693/>, author: Jean-Pierre Dalbéra
- Fig. 3.18: Ruins of Olympia (Greece), Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/troymckaskle/6179074104/>, author: troy mckaskle
- Fig. 3.19: Courtyard, Jesuit mission (Bolivia), Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/franciscojgonzalez/6286847872/>, author: Francisco Gonzalez
- Fig. 3.20: Rice terraces (Philippines), Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/bigberto/2190743807/>, author: Schubert Ciencia
- Fig. 3.21: Hallstatt (Austria), Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/riessdo/8008485496/>, author: Riessdo

- Fig. 3.22: View over the Loire Valley (France), Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/pdeaudney/251259704>, author: Paul de Audney
- Fig. 3.23: Works of Antoni Gaudí (Spain), Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/oprior/3866860>, author: Owen Prior
- Fig. 3.24: Brasilia (Brazil), Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/dalnunes/3631372244>, author: Dal Nunes
- Fig. 3.25: Saami family in Norway around 1900, Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/tonynetone/13570014703>, author: tonynetone
- Fig. 3.26: Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape (South Africa), Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/wfeiden/1476842995>, author: wfeiden
- Fig. 3.27: Darjeeling Himalayan Railway (India), Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/ciamabue/8660412403>, author: Jon Connell
- Fig. 3.28: Salt caravans on their way from Agadez to Bilma (Niger), Source: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Billma-Salzkarawane1.jpg>, author: Holger Reineccius
- Fig. 3.29: Humberstone and Santa Laura Saltpeter Works (Chile), Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/c32/8348275868>, author: Carlos Varela
- Fig. 3.30: Grottoes of Longmen (China), Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/kevinpoh/3578878087>, author: Kevin Poh
- Fig. 4.1: Berlin Wall construction: cement blocks being lifted with a crane behind barbed wire (Germany), Source: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bundesarchiv_Bild_173-1321,_Berlin,_Mauerbau.jpg, Bundesarchiv, Bild 173–1321/CC-BY-SA, author: Helmut J. Wolf
- Fig. 4.2: Château de Chambord (France), Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/lamouroux/7989572147>, author: flamouroux
- Fig. 4.3: Mir Castle (Belarus), Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/gusevg/2585104972>, author: Grigory Gusev
- Fig. 4.4: Kronborg Castle (Denmark), Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/caspermoller/2527405529>, author: Casper Moller
- Fig. 4.5: Lytomyšl Castle (Czech Republic), Source: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Z%C3%A1mek_Litomy%C5%A1_1.JPG, author: Michael Louc
- Fig. 4.6: Völklingen Ironworks (Germany), Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/twicepix/8857397905>, author: Martin Abegglen
- Fig. 4.7: Semmering Railway (Austria), Source: https://www.flickr.com/photos/michael_hanisch/4278444889, author: Michael Hanisch
- Fig. 4.8: Composition of leadership positions in the sphere of World Heritage by region, 2013 (author illustration), Sources: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/committee/>; <http://www.icomos.org/en/about-icomos/governance/general-information-about-the-executive-committee>; http://iucn.org/about/union/council/iucn_council_2012_16/ (Accessed 29 November 2013)
- Fig. 4.9: Alte Nationalgalerie in Berlin (Germany), Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/dalbera/6094709790>, author: Jean-Pierre Dalbéra
- Fig. 4.10: Newly constructed office buildings at Liverpool Docks (United Kingdom), Source: https://www.flickr.com/photos/karen_od/2585593656, author: Karen
- Fig. 4.11: Great Aletsch Glacier (Switzerland), left in 1979, centre in 1991, and right in 2002, Source: <http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Gletscherschmelze.jpg>, author: L. Albrecht/Pro Natura Zentrum Aletsch, German Wikipedia, original upload 25 July 2004 by Zuecho
- Fig. 4.12: Mass tourism among the temple complexes of Angkor (Cambodia), Kambodscha, Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/85258471@N00/1710896192>, author: tartahart

- Fig. 4.13: Tourists in front of Berlin's Brandenburg Gate (Germany), author and copyright: Stefan Simon
- Fig. 4.14: Demographic changes in China, Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/124765246@N04/14487873996>, author: stardust kay
- Fig. 4.15: View of the Favela da Rocinha in Rio de Janeiro (Brazil), Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/c32/6857699871>, author: Carlos Varela
- Fig. 4.16: The last house standing on Holland Island in Chesapeake Bay (United States), impacted by flooding and erosion, Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/baldeaglebluff/4640582389/>, author: baldeaglebluff
- Fig. 5.1: Excavation sites in Pompei (Italy) destroyed by erosion, Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/tintedglasssky/4094771722>, author: jbarreiros
- Fig. 5.2: Wall frescos in Pompei, Source; <http://www.flickr.com/photos/20466740@N00/6333879401>, author: Caroline
- Fig. 5.3: Taj Mahal (India), author and copyright: Hans-Joachim Aubert
- Fig. 5.4: View of Cologne Cathedral (Germany), Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/kjunstorm/8480219766>, author: Lori Branham
- Fig. 5.5: Mass tourism at the temple complexes of Angkor (Cambodia), Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/52058725@N04/6091087433>, author: Eyeofj
- Fig. 5.6: Buchenwald Concentration Camp (Germany), Source: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/larskjensen/4046343878/>, author: Lars K Jensen
- Fig. 5.7: Aerial view of the Historic Fortified City of Carcassonne (France), Source: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/24736216@N07/6345347088>, author: Roger Wollstadt
- Fig. 5.8: Mass tourism in Beijing's Forbidden City (China), Source: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/whatleydude/5683312816/>, author: whatleydude
- Fig. 5.9: Mass tourism in Beijing's Forbidden City (China), Source: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/watchsmart/502023721/>, author: watchsmart
- Fig. 6.1: Nebra Sky Disc – since 2013 part of the UNESCO Memory of the World Register, Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/patsch/373262976>, author: Patrick Tschudin
- Fig. 6.2: Sardinian pastoral songs performed by the singing quartet Tenores di Bitti "Mialinu Pira", Source: http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/5/56/Tenores_di_bitti_mialinu_pira_2.jpg, author: Sardegnabella (Accessed 10 September 2014)
- Fig. 6.3: Nôgaku theatre (Japan), Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/aak/42653902>, author: raichovak
- Fig. 6.4: Human towers at the La Merce Festival in Barcelona (Spain), Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/tomczak/6184603217>, author: Stasiu Tomczak
- Fig. 6.5: Shrimp fishing on horseback in Oostduinkerke (Belgium), Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/inessaraiva/9551569753>, author: ines saraiva
- Fig. 6.6: Carpet weaver (Islamic Republic of Iran), Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/ninara/4018378455>, author: ninara
- Fig. 6.7: Batik workshop in Ketelan (Indonesia), Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/shkizzle/5981170339>, author: Stephen Kennedy
- Fig. 6.8: Flamenco in a café in Madrid (Spain), Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/icyfrance/200292602>, author: Brandie Heinel
- Fig. 6.9: Appliance of acupuncture (China), Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/marniejoyce/5080409314>, author: Marnie Joyce
- Fig. 6.10: Speech in Jemaa el-Fna Square (Morocco), Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/bryceedwards/316381918>, author: Bryce Edwards

List of Tables

- Tab. 1: The three categories of World Heritage cultural landscape (Rössler 2002, S. 31)
- Tab. 2: Overall distribution of properties inscribed on the World Heritage List from 1978 to 2013 in consideration of the criteria applied (author data), Source: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/stat> (Accessed 22 October 2013)
- Tab. 3: Typological frameworks: ICOMOS Filling the Gaps report (2004)
- Tab. 4: World Heritage inscriptions according to region, first phase 1978–1991 (author illustration), Source: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/stat> (Accessed 22 October 2013)
- Tab. 5: World Heritage inscriptions according to region, second phase 1992–1999 (author illustration), Source: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/stat> (Accessed 22 October 2013)
- Tab. 6: World Heritage inscriptions according to region, third phase 2000–2005 (author illustration), Source: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/stat> (Accessed 22 October 2013)
- Tab. 7: World Heritage inscriptions according to region, fourth phase 2006–2013 (author illustration), Source: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/stat> (Accessed 22 October 2013)
- Tab. 8: Changes in the number of visitors to the Taj Mahal (Uttar Pradesh Tourism, 2012, p. 4)

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Index

A

- Association of Critical Heritage Studies 7, 109, 111, 113, 115
- Authenticity 4, 9, 10, 17, 25–27, 39, 41, 45, 50 f., 53, 60 f., 75 f., 81, 83, 93, 104, 109, 110, 119, 135, 146–148, 151 f.
- Authorized Discourse 79, 100 f., 109–112, 114–117, 125

B

- Brundtland Report 126, 156, 175
- Buffer Zones 27, 39, 44, 118
- Burra Charter 51

C

- Cairns Decision 79, 88
- Categories of World Heritage 4 f., 17–19, 28, 72, 76, 78, 133, 160, 180 f.
- Climate Change 44, 80, 119, 124, 174
- Commercialization 121, 123, 130 f., 145, 147, 149, 153, 172
- Commons 126, 182
- Community 1, 3 f., 10, 23, 37, 40, 42, 45, 49, 50, 52–54, 60, 74, 76 f., 97, 114, 116, 118, 120, 123, 126, 128, 149, 157, 158, 162, 169, 174, 179, 181 f.
- Convention
 - Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage 118, 131, 153, 155 f., 165, 167 f., 172, 177, 179
 - Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property 165, 175
 - Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions 131, 179
 - Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict 40, 46, 49, 50, 54, 165, 174
 - World Heritage Convention 1, 3–7, 9 f., 17, 23, 25 f., 37, 39, 40 f., 45 f., 50, 53–56, 58–60, 62, 72, 76, 78 f., 82, 88, 93–97, 100, 104,

106, 110, 114 f., 118, 125, 127, 130–133, 135, 137, 145, 149, 152, 154 f., 158 f., 165, 167, 174, 177

Core Zones 2, 44, 179

Cultural and Natural Properties 4, 40 f., 45, 79

Cultural Diversity 81, 84, 121, 128, 131, 172, 179–181

Cultural Landscape 4, 16 f., 19, 26–28, 31 f., 34, 41, 72–78, 87, 89, 94, 102, 108 f., 118, 154, 158 f.

Cultural Properties 5, 25, 45, 50–52, 147

D

Declaration

– Declaration of Human Rights 174

– Mexico City Declaration on Cultural Policies 156, 175

– Stockholm Declaration on the Human Environment 56

– Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity 157, 172

Development

– Cultural Development 156

– Development Policies 52, 126, 157, 168, 176

– Economic Development 126, 131, 143, 149, 178, 181 f.

– Human Development 3, 56, 73, 86, 96, 97, 117, 119–121, 128 f., 157, 165, 172, 174–179, 181

– Industrial Development 55 f., 107, 181

– Sustainable Development 58, 80, 116, 119, 126, 128, 149, 154, 172, 174, 176, 177, 179, 181

E

Eurocentrism 5, 6, 83, 106

F

Filling the Gaps report 28, 78

Five Cs

– Capacity-building 79, 88, 176

– Communication 79 f., 88, 176

– Community Involvement 81, 93 f., 176

- Conservation 2 f., 7, 12, 18, 23, 25, 27, 39, 40, 42, 45, 49, 53, 55, 73, 79 f., 83, 87, 91, 93, 96, 101, 107, 115, 134, 145, 149, 152
- Credibility 73, 94, 127

G

- Globalization 1, 81, 118–121, 123 f., 127, 131, 155–158, 174
- Global Strategy 34 f., 59 f., 72, 76–78, 82 f., 87–92, 94 f., 106, 115, 117, 126, 128, 130 f., 176
- Groups of buildings 18

H

Heritage

- Cultural Heritage 1 f., 4–6, 8, 12, 14, 17 f., 25–27, 34, 40, 44–46, 49 f., 53–55, 58–61, 73, 76, 80 f., 84, 94, 96 f., 99, 112, 118, 121, 130 f., 139, 143, 153–155, 159 f., 165–170, 175, 179, 181
- Industrial Heritage 34, 87, 89, 93 f., 107, 138
- Intangible Heritage 2, 81, 109, 120, 154–159, 162, 165–168, 172, 181
- Natural Heritage 1–6, 11, 16–18, 21, 25–27, 39 f., 44, 46, 50, 55 f., 60, 64, 72 f., 84, 88, 94 f., 97, 100, 115–118, 130, 149, 154, 165, 168
- Protection and Use of Heritage 82, 117, 129, 178
- Tangible Heritage 2, 45 f., 49, 53 f., 59, 73, 76, 103, 111, 113–115, 132, 154 f.
- Heritage Studies 1, 101, 111, 113, 117–120, 124, 126, 128 f., 153

I

- ICCROM 2, 23, 62, 80, 101, 110, 183
- ICOMOS 6, 13, 16, 23, 27 f., 34, 37, 42, 51, 62, 78 f., 83, 87 f., 101, 106, 110, 132–134, 159
- Identity
 - Carrier of Identity 99, 155
 - Collective Identity 48, 156, 162, 177
 - Cultural Identity 46, 97, 151, 175
 - Identity Formation 53, 98, 115
- Integrity 4, 10, 17, 25–27, 39, 41–44, 50, 61, 73, 81, 83, 93, 104, 109, 110, 119, 132, 134 f., 152

- International Cooperation 53, 83, 156, 165
- IUCN 23, 44, 62, 80, 83, 101, 106, 110, 133

L

Lists of Intangible Cultural Heritage

- List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding 154, 168
- Register of Best Practices 154
- Representative List 79, 154, 160, 168, 170, 172, 177
- Lists of World Heritage
 - List of World Heritage in Danger 27, 40 f., 43 f., 53, 58, 60, 64, 69, 119, 133
 - Tentative List 37, 78, 83, 84, 87 f., 90, 92, 94, 95, 130, 143
 - World Heritage List 3–7, 10–12, 14–16, 18 f., 23 f., 29, 31 f., 34, 38 f., 41 f., 44, 53, 60–62, 64, 66, 68, 70–79, 83 f., 86, 88–92, 101–103, 106, 108–110, 112, 116, 121, 127, 130, 132–134, 139–141, 153 f., 172, 176

M

- Management 23, 27, 36, 39 f., 83, 87, 93, 110, 116 f., 121, 132, 149, 151 f., 154
- Memory of the World 118, 154, 157 f.
- Migration 73, 120 f., 123 f., 174
- Millennium Development Goals 116, 175, 177
- Monitoring 40, 73, 83, 94
- Monument Preservation 3, 50, 97, 111, 128
- Monuments 2, 6, 13, 15, 18, 27 f., 31, 35, 41, 45 f., 48–51, 54, 70, 77, 83, 96, 101 f., 116, 118, 123

N

- Nara Document on Authenticity 26, 51
- Natural Features 18
- Natural Sites 10, 17, 23, 25, 58, 131
- Non-Authorized Discourse 111, 114–117, 124, 129

O

- Operational Guidelines 6, 19, 23, 25, 27, 39, 60 f., 73, 83, 87, 101, 115, 118
- Outstanding Universal Value 1, 4, 8–10, 16–18, 23, 25–27, 38–41, 59–62, 72 f., 79, 81,

83 f., 88, 93, 100, 103 f., 106, 108–110, 112, 114 f., 119, 130–132, 134, 137, 149, 178

P

Participation 3, 82, 115, 126–128, 149, 154, 156, 166 f., 170, 175–177, 182
 Periodic Reporting 39, 88, 95
 Popularization of World Heritage 59, 100, 130 f., 143
 Post-Colonial Studies 26, 111, 115, 129
 Preamble of the World Heritage Convention 4, 17, 40, 51, 54, 64, 165

R

Recommendation
 – Recommendation concerning the Protection, at National Level, of the Cultural and Natural Heritage 39
 – Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore 156
 Regions
 – Africa 5, 36–38, 64, 89, 95, 138, 154
 – Arab States 5, 95
 – Asia and Pacific 95
 – Europe and North America 5, 39, 95, 106
 – Latin America and Caribbean 95

S

Sites
 – Agricultural, Industrial and Technological Sites 32, 91
 – Archaeological Sites 12, 18, 27, 29, 50, 116, 121
 – Burial sites 34
 – Cultural Routes 6
 – Military Sites 32
 – Mixed Sites 21
 – Rock Painting Sites 28
 – Urban and Rural Settlements/ Historic Cities and Villages 6, 29, 34, 72, 94
 – Vernacular Architecture 34, 94
 Society 1, 2, 34 f., 45, 54–56, 59, 73, 80, 96, 115, 133, 139, 154, 156, 162, 175, 177
 Sustainability 56, 110, 116 f., 126–128, 151 f., 174 f., 181 f.

T

Tourism
 – Cultural Tourism 137, 138, 140–143, 146 f., 149, 152
 – Heritage Tourism 119
 – Mass Tourism 76, 143, 149, 151, 179
 – World Heritage Tourism 137, 142 f.
 – World Heritage Tourism Programme 149

U

UNESCO
 – General Assembly 37, 49, 59, 78, 94 f., 115, 169
 – General Conference 17, 80, 94, 127
 – Member States 83, 127, 133, 153 f., 157
 – Secretariat 49, 62
 United Nations 49, 56, 156, 175 f., 181

V

Venice Charter 26, 50 f., 60

W

World Heritage
 – Experts 7, 26, 37, 50, 59, 72 f., 78 f., 81 f., 87, 95, 97, 100–102, 106, 109, 110, 114, 116 f., 127, 132, 167, 177 f.
 – Inscriptions 5, 6, 9, 18, 34, 37, 60, 62, 64, 72 f., 76, 78, 82–84, 106, 108, 130, 153, 170, 172
 – Nomination 4, 9, 10, 21, 35, 37, 61, 64, 78 f., 83 f., 87 f., 90, 92, 94 f., 100, 103 f., 108–110, 117, 120, 127, 130, 133, 143, 170, 176–178
 – Preservation of World Heritage 2, 80, 101
 – Strategic Goals 79, 81
 – World Heritage Centre 59, 72, 79, 94 f., 116, 134, 137
 – World Heritage Committee 19, 23, 25, 27, 39, 41–44, 58 f., 61, 78, 81–84, 87, 93, 101, 115, 117, 132–134, 149, 174, 176
 – World Heritage Fund 59, 60 f.
 – World Heritage Partnerships for Conservation Initiative (PACT) 79

