Preserving the heritage of humanity?

Obtaining world heritage status and the impacts of listing

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Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research

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CADW	Welsh Historic Monuments Organisation
CONANP	Comisión Nacional de Áreas Naturales Protegidas (Mexican National Commission for Natural Protected Areas)
CONALMEX	La Comisión Mexicana de Cooperación con la UNESCO (Mexican Commission for the Cooperation with UNESCO)
DCMS	Department for Culture, Media and Sport (United Kingdom)
DOCOMOMO	International Working Party for Documentation and Conservation of Buildings, Sites and Neighbourhoods of the Modern Movement
DOENI	Department of the Environment in Northern Ireland
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
ICUCH	International Committee for Underwater Cultural Heritage
INAH	Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia (Mexican National Institute of Anthropology and History)
INBA	Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes (Mexican National Institute of Fine Arts)
INE	Instituto National de Ecología (Mexican National Institute of Ecology)
IUCN	World Conservation Union
IUGS	International Union of Geological Sciences
IUPN	International Union for the Protection of Nature
LNV	Ministerie van Landbouw, Natuur en Voedselkwaliteit (Dutch Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Food Quality)
MECD	Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte (Spanish Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport)
NPS	National Park Service (United States of America)
OCW	Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap (Dutch Ministry of Education, Culture and Science)
OAPN	Organismo Autónomo Parques Nacionales (Spanish Independent National Parks Organisation)
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
RDMZ	Rijksdienst Monumentenzorg (Dutch State Agency for the Preservation of Monuments)
ROB	Rijksdienst Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek (Dutch State Service for Archaeological Investigations)
SECTUR	Secretaría de Turismo (Mexican Ministry of Tourism)
TICCIH	The International Committee for the Conservation of the Industrial Heritage

Preface

River, river carry me on
Living river carry me on
River, river carry me on
To the place where I come from

So deep, so wide, will you take me on your back for a ride
If I should fall, would you swallow me deep inside

River, show me how to float
I feel like I'm sinking down
Thought that I could get along
But here in this water
My feet won't touch the ground
I need someone to turn myself around

(Peter Gabriel, *Washing of the water*)

An excerpt of a conversation between two Polish citizens and my translator Monica Wasilczuk and I on our train journey from Białystok to Warszawa:

"What does a foreigner do in Białystok?"

"We visited Białowieża forest for a PhD research on UNESCO world heritage sites. These sites are internationally recognised as part of humanity's 'most valuable' monuments, historic sites and natural areas."

"Oh, that sounds interesting! Which Polish heritage sites are on the world heritage list?"

"I could give you the names of the eleven world heritage sites in Poland, but I prefer to do a small quiz. What do you think that is on the list, besides Białowieża forest?"

"I think… Kraków… and Warszawa might be on the list…"

"Yes, that is correct."

"I think that Gdańsk and the monastery of Jasna Góra with the 'Black Madonna' in Częstochowa will also be on the list."

"No, the city of Gdańsk was rejected due to a lack of authenticity, and the Black Madonna hasn't been listed as it was primarily regarded as a national Polish symbol."

"Hmn, that's odd… I would say that the inner city of Warszawa is also not authentic. Then cities like Toruń and Zamość will also not be inscribed."

"Not true. These cities are listed as a world heritage site."

"Okay. And you say there are in total eleven sites in Poland?"

"Yes."

"Whew, this is very difficult… Which other exceptional heritage sites do we have in Poland? Can't you give us some clues?"

"I don't like giving clues. Shouldn't every Polish citizen be able to mention the Polish heritage sites that belong to the heritage of humanity?"

"But we really don't know…"

"Okay, I'll give you some hints. One site concerns a large castle…"

"Oh, is that Malbork Castle?"

"Indeed, and another site is a large salt mine…"

"That must be either the salt mine of Wieliczka or Bochnia."

"Indeed, Wieliczka salt mine is a world heritage site. The salt mine of Bochnia, however, is not a world heritage site yet. It may be designated as a world heritage site in the near future, as this site features on a shortlist that has been compiled by the Polish government. I can give you a hint about another site. This one relates to the Second World War…"

"… Is that Auschwitz?"

"Yes, that is correct. And finally, there are three sites with a religious character that have been put on the list in the last four years."

"… We really don't know what they could be. Can you give us the names of these sites?"

"These are the wooden churches in Southern Little Poland, Kalwarija Zebrzydowska and the churches of peace in Jawor and Świdnica."

"Really, we would never have guessed that these sites would be on the list."

I have had many discussions of a similar nature in the last five years. Regardless of whether my conversation partners were Dutch, Scottish, Swedish or French, most of them found it difficult to name (some of the) the world heritage sites in their own country. In relative terms, our Polish travelling companions certainly did not do a bad job. What about me, for example? I did not know any of the four Dutch sites that were on the world heritage list in the spring of 1998 when a Canadian student at Queen's University in Kingston quizzed me about the list.

How does one come up with the idea to carry out a PhD research on a topic that one hardly knows about? The initial idea for this research came from Peter Groote, who then was my supervisor when I wrote my Master's thesis. He wondered, among others, why the Killing Fields in Cambodia were not on the list of world heritage sites. The general lack of knowledge about sites on the world heritage list was an important

reason to pick this topic when Peter Groote and Paulus Huigen gave me the opportunity to write a PhD research proposal after I finished my MA. Even though I had never thought about going for a PhD, the content of the research inspired me to take on the project.

The final research proposal did not only pay attention to the selection of world heritage sites; the research that we had in mind was extended with an assessment of the impacts of a world heritage listing – in terms of preservation and tourism. I still do not know how much a poster that hangs at our Faculty, carrying the caption "The Dead Sea is dying – Register the Dead Sea as a world heritage site before it is too late", has influenced the content of the final research proposal.

What I do know, however, is that the opportunity to write the research proposal was the first of a range of opportunities that Paulus Huigen and Peter Groote have given me. They also arranged that the Faculty of Spatial Sciences would pay for the research if the Dutch research organisation NWO would not award a grant. And they have, together with Gregory Ashworth, given advice, asked critical questions and made suggestions on how to carry out the research. Paulus, Peter and Gregory, I would like to extend my heartfelt appreciation.

My supervisors were also very supportive of my proposal to visit Exeter, south west England, for a period of five months. Their support and encouragement enabled me to conduct some pilot studies – at the Dorset and East Devon Coast, Stonehenge, Avebury and the city of Bath – and to attend Master's courses on heritage studies between February and June 2001. In Exeter, I could follow several heritage courses at the Faculty of Arts and Education, University of Plymouth. It was through Peter Howard that I came to know about Hildesheim's Cathedral, which derives its importance – according to a local citizen – to a large extent from the fact that it is the only world heritage site in the German *Land* Niedersachsen (*Lower Saxony*).

I also recall Antonia Noussia's lectures on 'landscape as heritage', in which she taught us about 'England's green and pleasant landscape'. The next day I made a cycling trip along the Exe Valley to explore a part of this charming rural landscape. At some point I faced a steep decent, which was immediately followed by a steep hill. Just after I had started my way down, a huge dog suddenly appeared on the road at the bottom of the hill and there was no way to escape. The only thing I could do was to accelerate, close my eyes and fervently hope that I would not hit the dog.

More of such encounters 'dogged' me in a later phase of my research, namely when I conducted case studies in six countries. The dogs that I met at some world heritage sites in the United Kingdom and the United States of America have made a profound impression on me. In the English Heritage Office for Stonehenge in Amesbury, a huge dog contentedly slept at my feet when all the staffs were looking for the quadruped. And three teeth-gnashing dogs that 'guarded' the governor's office in Taos Pueblo forced me to drive back, phone the person with whom I had made an appointment and to arrange to meet me outside the office instead.

You will understand that I was glad for the company of translators on my visits to Mexico, Poland and Spain. They would protect me when dogs came our way, I hoped. This gladness evaporated in the city of Guanajuato, however, when my translator in Mexico, Ellen Paap, called the street dogs to come to us. That was the only thing she did wrong in the three weeks. I warned Monica Wasilczuk, my translator during the

visits to Poland and Spain, not to make such friendly advances to dogs. I was and still am glad you did not do so, Monica. Ellen and Monica, you both were a great help in planning the case studies, arranging the interviews and translating them. But most of all, I remember the pleasant time we had when we travelled through these countries.
I have to admit, we travelled at quite a lightning pace through these countries. The research has brought me to many new places and astonishing heritage sites. I have often realised, and I am still aware, that I have been extremely lucky that I could carry out research on this specific topic. I had already been to all six case countries, but I could experience and learn about many more and new aspects of these countries. The six case studies have also made a substantial contribution to the number of world heritage sites that I have visited: from twenty-five sites until 2000 to eighty-four to date. Some employees at world heritage sites even gave me a personal tour. This research would simply have been impossible without the co-operation of the employees at world heritage sites and at national heritage organisations whom I could interview.
There are many other people that I would like to thank, although I may inadvertently omit a few names. Where research was concerned, two student groups offered useful insights in the selection of world heritage sites in the Netherlands and the impacts of their listing. Contributions from Nanka Karstkarel who drew a world map without national borders and Gina Rozario for her useful textual corrections are appreciated. Members of the Department of Cultural Geography and the researchers from the first floor have been pleasant company during coffee breaks. And my roommate Lajos Brons has been accommodating by being extremely quiet all these years.
Another important aspect is what I term the 'social environment'. I enjoyed my activities as a board member of the Groninger Association for PhD Students (GAIOO), today known as GRASP! I am delighted that we have continued our meetings by starting a 'Settlers of Catan' competition. The annual weekend break with the *Chefkes* – a group of friends dating back to my earlier study years – to a Frisian island or the Ardennes is a perfect motivation for a hard year's work. I am glad that two of them, Sjoerd Feenstra and David van de Graaf, are willing to be my *paranimfen* during the public defence of my dissertation. Sjoerd, I sincerely appreciate your attendance at my defence at the expense of a holiday in the west coast of North America. And David, your visit while I was in Exeter and our trip to Bristol are still in my memory.
Last but not least is my family who help me, in Peter Gabriel's words, "to turn myself around". I dedicate this book in loving memory of my parents Jan and Ria. I wonder whether they ever visited a site that is on today's world heritage list. My relatives may not always have understood what my research was about, but they have always shown interest and asked me about the progress of my research project. Finally, Jacqueline has played a very important role. You have always been interested in my research, read my papers and chapters as well as made recommendations. And above all you created a warm and safe place to come home to, 'simply' by being there.

Groningen, 18 January 2004

Chapter 1
Conceptualising world heritage

The establishment of the world heritage convention and subsequent formulation of a world heritage list can be regarded as a logical progression of events. Inheritance of property and objects takes place at different levels of scale. In the past, objects of inheritance could take the form of houses or tools to cultivate the land. Likewise, a whole community could pass their land on to the next generation. These processes at the *family* or *local* scale level can be seen as the instances of the continuity of heritage.

Roughly from the Enlightenment in the eighteenth century onwards, heritage has been used at the national level by countries to underline, among others, their historical roots. Attention to the past has been further increased by the rise of tourism and the appeal of ideas behind the Grand Tour or *Bildungsreise* (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996: 46; Williams 1998: 183). Heritage was a useful tool to show the continuous, long-lasting identity of a country, justifying its existence. Stonehenge (United Kingdom), for example, is "'explained' in terms of roots, and of 'our' 'deep' national past" (Bender 1993: 270). Besides these objects, the landscape itself has also "become a compelling symbol of national identity" (Lowenthal 1993: 6). The use of heritage to construct a national identity falls within the wider framework of 'nation building', and aims at "binding the state and its inhabitants – a nation or nations – together" (Paasi 1996: 42).

Heritage sites are preserved to pass on natural and cultural sites in a reasonable state to the next generation. For example, the consciousness of preserving the natural environment arose in the United States of America in the first half of the nineteenth century. The movement was a response to the destruction of the natural wilderness of Niagara Falls, which had been visibly turned into a man-made environment (Appleton 1993: 160). In 1872, Yellowstone, the world's first national park was established, and the idea of designating national parks spread throughout the world in the following decades.

One hundred years after the creation of the first national park, in 1972, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) introduced 'the convention concerning the protection of the world cultural and natural heritage'. The accompanying world heritage list includes natural, cultural and mixed sites, whereby the last-mentioned category includes sites with both natural and cultural features. The aim of the convention is to preserve the most important heritage sites around the globe for all humanity. The 1972 convention is the research object of this study, which begins with a conceptual discussion on theoretical issues such as the existence and selection of world heritage.

1.1 Background of the world heritage convention

The historical underpinnings of the world heritage convention were laid about forty years before its establishment in 1972. The 1931 Athens Conference organised by the League of Nations created the basis for cultural world heritage; the lobby for natural world heritage sites started in 1948 with the establishment of the International Union for the Protection of Nature (IUPN) (Pressouyre 1993: 20).

After World War II the United Nations (UN) continued the work of the League of Nations and one of UN's sub-organisations UNESCO had "to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among nations" (UNESCO 2004b). UNESCO became an important actor in saving heritage sites around the globe. Notable measures included the emergency projects to save Venice (Italy) and Abu Simbel (Egypt) from flooding in the 1960s. These incidental projects were followed by lengthier renovation projects at the Borobudur (Indonesia) and Moenjodaro (Pakistan) (Turtinen 2000: 9).

UNESCO was engaged in creating an international convention for *cultural* heritage sites to broaden its activities to include more countries and to give its activities a more structural character. At the same time, the IUCN (World Conservation Union), the successor of the IUPN, worked toward introducing a global treaty for *natural* sites. The two international movements led to one convention for both types of heritage sites largely thanks to American influence (Batisse 1992: 15). In 1965, the Nixon government expressed its wish to create a world heritage trust to preserve the most important *cultural* and *natural* sites in the world. President Nixon considered the centennial anniversary of Yellowstone National Park as the opportune moment to introduce a world heritage convention in which all countries would "agree to the principle that there are certain areas of such unique worldwide value that they should be treated as part of the heritage of all mankind" (Train 1995). The envisaged world heritage trust incorporated both natural and cultural heritage sites, which is analogous to the structure of the federal American National Park Service (NPS).

The bottom line has remained unchanged since the Americans formulated their ideas. Till today the world heritage convention for natural and cultural sites still envisions that "the preservation of this common heritage concerns us all" (UNESCO 2004a). The Spanish name of the convention – *Patrimonio de la humanidad*, literally meaning 'heritage of humanity' – stresses even more vigorously that the sites are a concern for all citizens of the world.

1.1.1 There is no world heritage

The world heritage convention has been in existence for more than thirty years, but there is still a fair amount of critique on the viability of the world heritage concept. Lowenthal (1998b: 227-235) underlined that heritage is a private, not public resource: "Heritage is normally cherished not as common but as private property. Ownership gives it essential worth… Claims of ownership, uniqueness, and priority engender strife over every facet of collective legacies". Similarly, Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996: 70) have stressed that "heritage is ultimately a personal affair", and it is likely to become a contested resource when more than one individual claims it. The term 'contested resource' refers here to the notion that various persons have different reasons for preserving or not preserving a site: "all heritage is someone's heritage and therefore logically not someone else's" (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996: 21).

World heritage sites are especially susceptible to contestation, as these sites are claimed for different purposes by various actors at more scale levels than any other kind of heritage. According to Lowenthal (1998b): "Too much is now asked of heritage. In the same breath we commend national patrimony, regional and ethnic legacies, and a global heritage shared and sheltered in common. We forget that these aims are usually incompatible" (p. 227; see also Graham *et al.* 2000: 181).
The contestation of world heritage relates to the varying views about the values that different people attach to heritage, which affects their opinion on the management of the site. Issues such as "should we preserve the site?", "how should we preserve the site?" and, "who is responsible for the site?" are likely to receive different answers from different actors. Various groups hold different views on how to manage a site, but who is in charge? The decision about who decides how to manage a site is either the society that values it (Pearson and Sullivan 1995: 33) or the one who owns it. This is, however, not always the same actor, and certainly not mankind as a whole.
People's contrasting opinions on how to manage a site can be illustrated with an example from the Ninstints village in Northern Canada. The local people prefer to stick to their tradition of throwing the totem poles away after new ones have been carved. They refuse to utilise a long-term high-tech treatment as made available by the national heritage organisation Parks Canada to extend the lifespan of a pole (Cameron 1992a: 4). Likewise, a group's belief can require material elimination rather than preservation, such as in the case of the destruction of the Buddhist statues of Bamiyan in Afghanistan (Gamboni 2001: 10; Ashworth and Van der Aa 2002: 447). Heritage sites related to warfare are especially sensitive to the conquered. Jacques (1995) poses a question for consideration: "does a battlefield where the outcome of one nation's history was determined merit recognition at a world scale? It might even be offensive to other (losing) nations if it does" (p. 99). Heritage often belongs to the past of one specific group, and is not likely to be regarded as the 'heritage of all mankind'.
Similarly, but at lower scale levels, such as at the European level, policy makers have been struggling to define a common cultural heritage (Pavković 1999: 73). Heritage is more often identified with and used for fragmenting rather than unifying processes and the world heritage list is at best a collection of local and national heritages (Ashworth 1997: 12; Ashworth 1998a: 117-118; Pocock 1997a: 267). As such, a truly world heritage convention, which was meant as an international attempt to create a global culture of a common human effort to preserve important heritage sites, does not exist: "a global culture could be only a memory-less construct or break up into its constituent national elements" (Smith 1991: 159).

1.1.2 World heritage exists

There are, however, also two indications that a world heritage list can be created and sustained. First, the convention is formulated in such a way that *national* and *world* heritage can co-exist side by side, as the international community can support heritage sites. And second, most heritage is in essence not national heritage.

1) National and world heritage can co-exist

The world heritage convention was designed to "complement, but not to compete with, national heritage conservation programs" (Bennett 1977: 22; see also IUCN 1982: 7).

Preserving the heritage of humanity?

Each country is the primary actor over the designated heritage sites within its borders and decides how to manage the site. Other countries will only help when a site is in peril. Countries are likely to help, as the world becomes a global village. For instance, environmental issues are often at the top of the international agenda as they require a common approach (Vogler 1997: 225). The world heritage convention could, for example, "make a contribution to tackling the global climate issue" (Elder 1992: 214).
Countries regard it their moral responsibility to assist foreign sites: "Unlike most of our forebears, we now see the living globe as a common legacy requiring our common care" (Lowenthal 1993: 5; see also Lowenthal 1998b: 228). Likewise, countries with historic links work together to manage their common heritage. For example, Sri Lanka and the Netherlands share dual guardianship for some heritage sites on the island, such as for the old town of Galle that is also included on the world heritage list (Attema and Keesom 1997: 349-350; see also Franssen 1997: 26-27).
Common care for important heritage sites makes its preservation independent from its location. Important heritage sites can be preserved in rich and poor countries alike. This is welcome, as not every country can preserve the heritage within its borders to the same standard (Fitch 1992: 399-400). This seems to be 'fair', as "heritage is no less important for the poor than for the rich" (Thompson 2000: 258). And the inhabitants of richer countries do benefit from the natural reservoirs such as in Africa (Cartwright 1991: 356), by making safaris or using its natural resources.

2) Most heritage sites are not national heritage
Countries consider heritage sites within their borders as their own, while they are often not the only legitimate owner. Some heritage sites originate from the period before the country wherein the site is located was created. Busek (2000: 256) has asserted that heritage related to persons like Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart or Franz Kafka are not national possessions. They have been claimed as a national property, while they were originally European or even global in character: "Bei der Fragestellung vom nationalen zum Weltkulturerbe möchte ich zu allererst festhalten, daß wir eigentlich geprägt durch das 19. Jahrhundert etwas als nationales Erbe verstehen, was in Wirklichkeit in der Tiefe der Geschichte von Haus aus jedenfalls immer ein Erbe einer uns bekannten Welt gewesen ist… Alle diese Dinge sind quasi 'national' geworden" (Busek 2000: 526-527). Likewise, Ashworth (1998b: 278) mentions the built relics of the dynastic regimes that pre-date the creation of the nation-state, such as the Habsburgs, Romanovs and Ottomans, as potential European sites.
The case for universal ownership is legitimate for some natural and cultural sites around the globe that deserve protection by all humanity. There are still some areas in the world, and even in the cosmos, which do not officially belong to any country, such as Antarctica, the marine environment, and the moon. In fact, the world heritage convention is the analogous version of the heritage of all mankind as conceptualised in space law (Van Heijnsbergen 1987: 9). In addition, Tuan (1977), reflecting on Ayers rock (Australia) and Stonehenge, points out: "certain objects, both natural and man-made, persist as places through aeons of time, outliving the patronage of particular cultures" (p. 162-163). Lynch (1960: 9) and Relph (1983) refer to 'imageability' instead of 'aeons of time'. Relph conceives 'aeons of time' in the following way: "Public places with high imageability do… tend to persist and to form an ongoing

focus for common experience – Red Square in Moscow, Niagara Falls, the Acropolis, have all attracted public attention through many changes in fashion and political systems and beliefs" (p. 35). As such, world heritage sites do exist.

1.1.3 The aim of the world heritage convention

The world heritage convention aims to preserve the world's 'best' heritage sites, that is sites that meet certain quality criteria. Other actors, however, may have other goals for obtaining the world heritage status, either for reasons of attracting tourists (Kinnaird *et al.*1994: 3; Richards 1996: 312; Gratton and Richards 1996: 7) or giving identity (Kaplan and Kaplan 1989: 196; Lash and Urry 1994: 247-248). Heritage tourism can offer an alternative source of income when regions have lost their traditional source of income. For instance, the deindustrialisation process has led to the creation of 'industrial heritage sites' (Hewison 1987). Local authorities can use the "valuable legacy of redundant sites" to give the local economy a boost when manufacturing jobs have been lost (Williams 1998: 185; Richards 1996: 312). Heritage sites which do not interest visitors may not become a heritage site (Larkham 1996: 14).

Heritage can also help to give meaning to the space around us as well. We may be in a better position to discover who we are and find shelter from the troubled present and uncertain future (Martin 1989: 3), because "the past is known, familiar" (Lynch 1972: 29). In this way, "the past is something inbuilt in human nature" (Williams 1998: 184) and satisfies "an important human need" (Relph 1983: 38).

1.2 The selection criteria

Each individual ascribes different values to a heritage site and will compose his or her own favourite heritage list: "All places and landscapes are individually experienced, for we alone see them through the lens of our attitudes, experiences, and intentions, and from our own unique circumstances" (Relph 1983: 36; see also Aitchison *et al.* 2000: 101). Drawing up a mutually acceptable heritage list is much more difficult, maybe even impossible, as each member of the group has to agree on its value.

1.2.1 Dimensions of valuating heritage

Determining *the* value of heritage sites is complex, as five dimensions of 'value' can be discerned. These five dimensions are, which values (functional), whose values (person- or group-dependent), where values (scale level), when values (past, contemporary or future), and uniqueness values (exceptional or general).

1) Which values: functional values of heritage

Dix (1990: 388) and Carver (1996: 46) discern a number of functional values under different headings with more or less the same meaning. Dix distinguishes three types of values concerning cultural heritage: emotional, cultural and usage value. The first one deals with "wonder, identity, spiritual and symbolic", the second with "historic, archaeological and scarcity" and the third with "functional, economic, social and political" values. Carver identifies more specific values and distinguishes between the associative, aesthetic, and economic. Feilden and Jokilehto (1998: 18-21) break the functional value down into eight possible dimensions: identity, artistic, rarity, economic, functional, educational, social, and political.

General agreement on the value of a heritage site requires a means to weigh different functional values. This is not an easy task, as demonstrated by Divall (1999) on measuring the value of historic railroads: "One location might be of great technical significance, another of considerable social or economic value. How then can one weigh the two in the balance?" (p. 8).

2) Whose values: person- or group-dependent

Different actors assign different values to sites (Edwards and Llurdés i Coit 1996: 343). The scarcity value is of importance for real estate agents; a site manager might be more interested in the educational values of a site. Similarly, a site valued as highly exceptional in one culture may be less rated by another culture. This comes to the fore in different perceptions of the importance of site authenticity between the West and the Far East. Whereas authenticity in material, form and location is highly appreciated in the West, it is less important in the Far East: "Ise Shrine in Japan… has also been excluded from the world heritage list since it gets rebuilt every twenty years or so, and as such, is not considered 'authentic'" (Pettman 2002: 11). How can one compose a world heritage list while incorporating the values of different cultures?

The appraisal of a site also depends on people's level of education and specialisation (WVC 1993: 188). Should a site be valued by the general public or by experts in a specific field? Experts have commented on the absence of architectural ensembles from the twentieth century on the world heritage list: "No Corbusier. No Wright. No Neutra. No Kahn. No Aalto. No one was able to explain this mystery, which goes to show the distance modern architecture must travel to gain the hearts and minds of the general public" (Lefaivre 2002: 44). The general public has presumably never heard of these architects, let alone that it is bothered about the exclusion of modern buildings.

Heritage lists drawn up by academics and the general public are likely to differ. The problem would not be solved when only experts compose the list, as they have often different, even opposing, opinions on the value of a site (Leblanc 1984: 23). This is exemplified by the situation within the International Working Party for Documentation and Conservation of Buildings, Sites and Neighbourhoods of the Modern Movement (DOCOMOMO), where so many sections have been developed that one cannot reach consensus on the objects that should be nominated for the world heritage list (Meurs 1996: 52-53). The same pluriformity of views would apply in the event where only the general public were to compose lists.

The valuation of heritage sites is often a privilege for "elite groups and individuals rather than an articulated expression of the values of all members of a community" (Relph 1983: 71; see also Larkham 1996: 15). The question of who selects the past "is a question of who is able to identify him- or herself and the other at any given time and place" (Friedman 1994: 142). Powerful groups can deny the existence of identities other than theirs, which can especially affect minority groups. For instance, the cultural heritage of black South Africa was completely absent on South Africa's national monuments list until the 1980s (Tunbridge 1984: 178; Attema and Keesom 1997: 348).

3) Where values: local, national or global level

Heritage sites can be differently held in esteem at various scale levels, ranging between the individual and the global. The difficulty lies in deciding the applicable scale-level,

as this "depends upon our interpretation of history" (Thompson 2000: 257). Inherent danger lurks in over-valuation of one's own sites. Lowenthal (1998b), for example, observes "global agendas are still… recognisably rooted in chauvinism and imperial self-regard. The ideas stem above all from Europeans who rate their own national heritage as so superior it *ought* to be global" (p. 239; see also Lowenthal 1994: 47).
Likewise, Van der Harten (1999: 19) observes that the local population of the city of Willemstad (Curaçao) highly value their historic city. This may be sufficient for a local or national designation, but does it substantiate the claim to universal recognition?

4) When values: past, contemporary or future
The outcome of a heritage valuation varies over time (Dix 1990: 388; Edwards and Llurdés i Coit 1996: 343). Sites regarded as valuable twenty years ago may be regarded as obsolete today. Likewise, today's heritage collection has not always been valued and their survival may well be regarded as an 'accident of history'. The present natural world heritage site of the Aldabra Atoll (Seychelles) was saved from oil-drilling in the late 1960s thanks to "the economic crisis of November 1967, the devaluation of the pound and the abandonment of a British military presence east of Suez" (Stoddart and Ferrari 1983: 25). Likewise, the windmills at Kinderdijk (the Netherlands) could survive, as they were used to house the millers after the opening of the new pumping station in 1927 (Bakker 1998: 32-360). Other, sometimes more impressive windmills, were demolished.
Heritage lists are drawn up in a current context (Lowenthal 1998b: 127). This means that "a world heritage list of hundred, even fifty years ago would have offered a fundamentally different profile of cultural significance than a list prepared in our own day" (Stovel 1994: 259). Similarly, "IUCN has recommended that several sites should be delisted due either to the loss of the values for which they were inscribed, or to the fact that they were mistakes to begin with" (Thorsell 2001: 34). To date the World Heritage Committee has never removed a world heritage site from the list, which is 'surprising' according to Davey (1992: 197).

5) Uniqueness values: exceptional or general
A heritage site can be valued between the two extremes of exceptional and general. Glantz and Figueroa (1997) argue that "nominations of many of the sites proposed for world heritage status use superlatives to describe these sites in order to meet the criteria of outstanding universal [value]: 'the largest', 'the only', 'the last', 'the first', 'the best', 'the oldest', and 'the worst'. Yet in reality, superlative characteristics… may not by themselves be sufficient or even necessary. Not all world heritage sites are superlative in nature but may be of a global importance because they are representative of a genre" (p. 361). Should one only inscribe the exceptional or also more general heritage sites? And how many sites of each genre should be inscribed? Today, several European royal castles grace the world heritage list: Drottningholm (Sweden), Schönbrunn (Austria), Potsdam (Germany), Aranjuez (Spain), Versailles (France), and the Winter palace (Russia). In contrast, Auschwitz concentration camp will remain the only concentration camp ever admitted on the list (Lewin 1998: 682-683). The World Heritage Committee has made a distinction between sites related to positive themes (such as castles and cathedrals) and negative events (like concentration camps).

Preserving the heritage of humanity?

The World Heritage Committee entered Auschwitz on the world heritage list as a "symbol of humanity's cruelty to its fellow humans" (UNESCO 2004a). Would the Aral Sea (Kazakhstan/Uzbekistan) also deserve listing, as it represents an example of human-inflicted destruction described as "one of the worst human-made ecological disasters of the 20th century" (Glantz and Figueroa 1997: 371)? How has the world heritage convention been shaped to warrant a highly selective list?

1.2.2 The criterion of outstanding universal value

The criterion of 'outstanding universal value' is the prime principle behind site selection, but its exact meaning has not been defined in the convention text (Cleere 1998: 23). The World Heritage Committee should have operationalised this criterion, but "amazing as it may seem, the concept… has never been the object of a truly operational definition" (Musitelli 2003: 329). Fontein (2000: 33) even questions whether such an operationalisation is possible. Nonetheless, some indications of what may be understood by 'outstanding universal value' have been given in the course of time. The specified natural and cultural criteria (see also box 1-1) and the 'operational guidelines' give indications of *which* values should be of interest to *whom*, whether the list should only include *unique* sites or *general* sites, as well, at what *scale level* the site should distinguish itself and *when* this valuation takes place.

A world heritage site can be of aesthetic, historic and scientific value (Von Droste 1995b: 337-338). The educated public should be able to judge whether the sites merit the label 'outstanding universal value', as the list includes sites "that the educated public anywhere, without need for esoteric explanations, would be willing to accept as such" (Batisse 1992: 28-31). Cultural properties must be the best representative of their own culture (UNESCO 1978: 3), but the extent of a 'culture' has not been defined. The 'operational guidelines' state that sites should be compared with similar sites inside and outside that country. Both unique sites and best examples are allowed on the list (Layton and Titchen 1995: 177). And, it is only possible to remove a site from the list once it has lost its qualities due to human intervention or natural disasters. A site's devaluation as a consequence of new knowledge about other sites is no reason to remove a site from the list.

Photo 1-1: Two geological sites: Grand Canyon and Dorset and East Devon Coast.

This meaning of the criterion of outstanding universal value leads to contestations. For example, the three identified functional values – aesthetic, historic and scientific –

should be of importance for all educated world citizens. However, scientifically interesting sites are mainly of interest to scientists, while the educated public has most interest for historically and aesthetically appealing sites. A comparison between geological sites – the Grand Canyon (United States of America) and the Dorset and East Devon Coast (United Kingdom) – clarifies this. The Grand Canyon is arguably the world's best-known geological site for its aesthetic scenery. Experts may also value the Dorset and East Devon Coast for its scientific qualities, but the educated public may not agree that both sites are put on the list (see photo 1-1).
The World Heritage Committee can easily change the criteria as formulated in the 'operational guidelines'. In contrast, the world heritage convention text can only be amended after all countries have been consulted. The text has been slightly altered over the years, facilitating among others the inscription of modern architectural ensembles (Kuipers 1998: 55) and geological sites (Cowie and Wimbledon 1994: 72).

Box 1-1: Modifications to cultural and natural world heritage criteria since 1980. Note: Amendments and modifications to the text are indicated in italic or are struck through with a line, with the year given in brackets.

Cultural sites should:	Natural sites should:
i. represent ~~a unique artistic achievement,~~ [1995] a masterpiece of ~~the~~ [1994] human creative genius or;	i. be outstanding examples representing ~~the~~ [1994] major stages of ~~the~~ [1994] earth's ~~evolutionary~~ [1994] history, *including the record of life, significant on-going geological processes in the development of landforms, or significant geomorphic or physiographic features* [1994] or;
ii. ~~have exerted great~~ *considerable* ~~[1980] influence~~ *exhibit an important interchange of human values* [1997], over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture *or technology* [1997], monumental arts, town-planning ~~and landscaping~~ *or landscape design* [1994] or;	ii. be outstanding examples representing significant on-going ~~geological processes~~ *ecological* [1994] and biological *processes in the* [1994] evolution and ~~man's interaction with his natural environment~~ *development of terrestrial, fresh water, coastal and marine ecosystems and communities of plants and animals* [1994] or;
iii. bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony *to a cultural tradition or* [1994] to a civilisation *which is living or* [1997] which has disappeared or;	iii. contain superlative natural phenomena~~, formations or features, for instance, outstanding examples of the most important ecosystems~~ [1994] or areas of exceptional natural beauty or ~~exceptional combinations of natural and cultural elements~~ *and aesthetic importance* [1994] or;
iv. be an outstanding example of a type of ~~structure~~ *building* [1984] *or architectural* [1984] *or technological ensemble* [1997] *or landscape* [1994] which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in *human* [1994] history or;	iv. contain the most important and significant natural habitats *for in-situ conservation of biological diversity,*
v. be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement *or land-use* [1994] which is representative of a culture *(or cultures),* [1994] ~~which~~ *especially when it* [1994] has become vulnerable under the impact of	

irreversible change or; vi. be directly or tangibly associated with events or *living traditions,* [1994] with ideas, or with beliefs, *with artistic and literary works* [1994] of outstanding ~~historical~~ *universal* [1980] significance. *Additional prerequisites* Cultural sites should: a. meet the test of authenticity in design, material, workmanship or setting and in the case of cultural landscapes their distinctive character and components and; *b. have adequate legal and/or traditional protection and management mechanisms to ensure the conservation of the nominated cultural properties or cultural landscapes* [1988].	[1994] including those containing threatened species ~~of animals and plants~~ [1994] of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science or conservation. *Additional prerequisites* Natural sites should: a. fulfil the criterion of integrity, contain all or most of the key interrelated and interdependent elements; b. have sufficient size; *c. include areas that are essential for maintaining the beauty of the site* [1994]; d. contain habitats for maintaining the most diverse fauna and flora; *e. have a management plan* [1988]; *f. have adequate long-term legislative, regulatory, institutional or traditional protection* [1988] and; *g. be the most important sites for the conservation of biological diversity* [1994].

Source: UNESCO (2004a), adapted data.

1.3 World heritage listings

The World Heritage Committee has put sites on the world heritage list since 1978. In May 2004, 754 sites had been designated, comprising 582 cultural, 149 natural and 23 mixed sites in 129 countries. Figure 1-1 shows the spatial distribution of the different kinds of sites over the world. For the moment it is sufficient to note that the majority of cultural sites are located in Europe; natural sites are not really concentrated in particular regions. This spatial pattern will be further elaborated in chapter two.

1.3.1 Fulfilled natural and cultural criteria

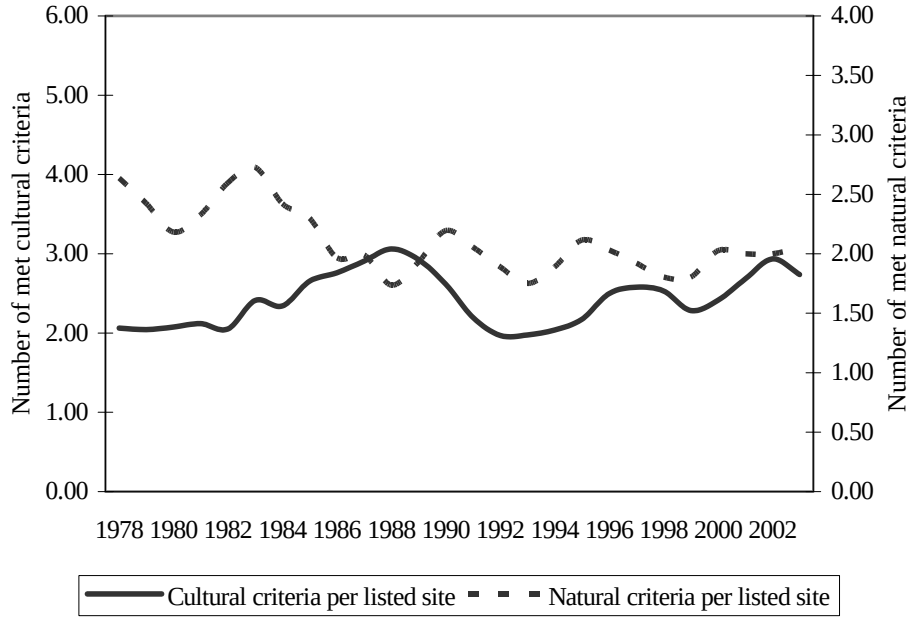
Cultural world heritage sites must meet at least one of the six cultural criteria, natural world heritage sites at least one of the four natural criteria. Figure 1-2 shows the number of fulfilled criteria, which has remained rather stable over time. In general cultural and natural sites fulfil somewhere between two and three criteria, with a rather constant standard deviation of about one.

Cultural sites, however, seem to go through less stringent selection criteria than natural sites. They only meet 2.42 of the six criteria (forty percent), whereas natural sites satisfy 2.16 of the four criteria (fifty-four percent). There are also far more natural sites that meet all four criteria than there are cultural sites that meet all six cultural criteria (in absolute terms sixteen versus three sites).

Figure 1-1: Spatial distribution of world heritage sites.

Source: UNESCO (2004a), adapted data.

Figure 1-2: Average number of met criteria, 3-year average, 1978-2003.



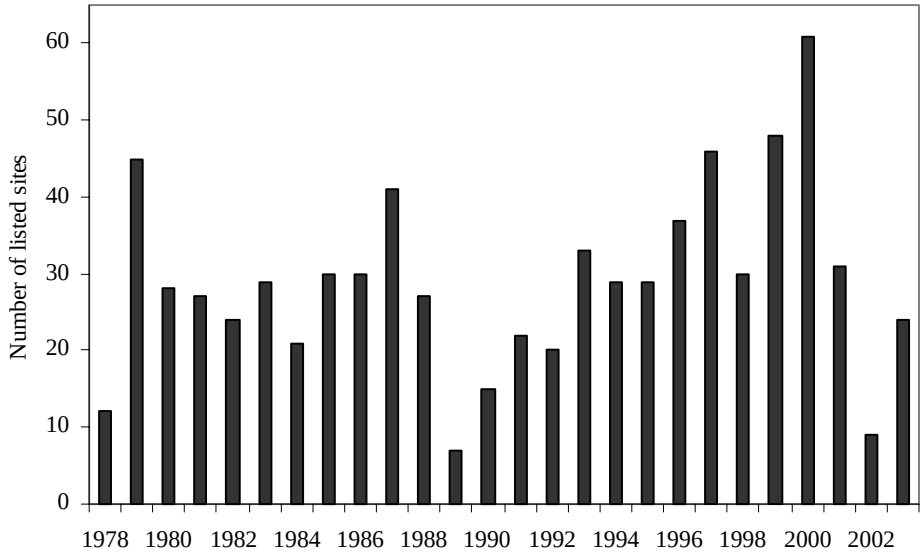
Source: UNESCO (2004a), adapted data.

There are differences between continents and the kind of criterion met. The quality of *natural* sites is arguably lowest in Europe. The number of fulfilled natural criteria is the lowest in Europe (1.83). Almost half of the natural sites that meet only one criterion lie in Europe. The quality of natural sites is highest in Oceania (2.53), just ahead of North America (2.50). Five of the sixteen natural world heritage sites that meet all four criteria are located on the former. About sixty percent of the natural sites fulfil the last three named criteria. Relatively few sites satisfy criterion I, which means that the world heritage list contains few sites that show the earth's history.
The three *cultural* world heritage sites that meet all six criteria are Mogao Caves and Mount Taishan (China) and Venice. All three sites were inscribed in 1987. Ninety-four cultural sites meet only one criterion, and about half of them are located in Europe. This is equivalent to Europe's share in the number of listed sites. Cultural criterion IV – dealing with buildings and architectural assemblages – is the most commonly met criterion (sixty-nine percent, see also Jennings 2003: 45). There are some differences in the average number of met cultural criteria among continents. Cultural sites in North America are arguably of the lowest quality, as they met the lowest number of criteria (1.46), while Europe scores 2.44. The value of Asian sites scores the highest (2.64).

1.3.2 Fame of listed world heritage sites
The present world heritage list contains both well-known and less well-known sites. In the early 1980s, Douglas (1982) came to the conclusion that "not all world heritage sites are well known, and one's parochial notion of nature and culture can be quickly disabused by an encounter with such names as the fourth century tomb of Kazanlak (Bulgaria), the Moenjodaro archaeological ruins, and Ichkeul national park (Senegal)" (p. 6). These three sites meet three and two cultural criteria and one natural criterion, respectively. Stovel (1994) puts Ironbridge Gorge (four criteria), Boyana Church in Sofia (two) and the Roman theatre in Orange (two) under the header of "less obvious worth" (p. 255). Van Galen and Den Outer (2000: 31) distinguish the Chinese sites on the world heritage list between 'very famous' and 'less famous'. Besides the Great Wall of China (five criteria), only heritage sites in Beijing are judged to be 'very famous': the Forbidden City (two), the Summer Palace (three), and the Temple of Heaven (three). The national park of Wulingyuan (one criterion) is considered a 'less famous' site. Finally, the Australian Minister of Environment and Heritage, Kemp (2002: v), has pointed out that the list includes some famous Australian sites, such as Kakadu (three natural, two cultural criteria), Uluru Kata Tjuta (Ayers rock) (two natural and cultural criteria), the Great Barrier Reef (four natural), and the Blue Mountains (two natural). These 'most famous' Australian sites, except the last one, have been listed first, in the first years of Australia's participation in the convention.
Not the number of fulfilled criteria but the number of sites has been a recurring point of debate in the last couple of years. The list may cease to have its high standing if too many sites are inscribed (Batisse 1992: 30; Thorsell 2001: 34). Annually, a whole reservoir of potential world heritage sites clamour for inclusion into the world heritage list. Some years ago – when the number of listed sites totalled just over five hundred – Pocock (1997a: 266) contended that a total of more than one thousand sites would be realistic. He based his estimation on the large number of sites that each country wants to nominate and the number of countries that have no world heritage site yet.

Sites have been inscribed on the list since 1978. On average, about thirty sites are inscribed each year. There are, however, a number of deviations (figure 1-3). The years 1978, 1989 and 2002 are noteworthy for the low number of listed sites. The number of sites put on the list was high in 1979, 1987, in the late 1990s and 2000. Batisse (1992) has argued that regular inscriptions are important, as a static "list would probably lose its stature in public opinion over time" (p. 30). It is unclear, however, how the world heritage list can maintain a high standard with an ever-continuing influx of sites.

Figure 1-3: Number of designated sites per year, 1978-2003.



Source: UNESCO (2004a), adapted data.

1.4 World heritage convention is much celebrated

The world heritage convention is much celebrated. This is apparent from the various superlatives that have been used to describe the list, from its unique combination of both natural and cultural sites and from the large number of countries that are party to the convention as well as the high number of designated sites.

The world heritage list has been widely acclaimed. It has been described as an 'honours list', a list of 'three-star laureates', the best of the best… a stamp of approval, the equivalent of a Michelin Guide 5-star rating, a 'prize list', and the Nobel Prize (Batisse 1992: 16; O'Neill 2002: 60; Evans 2002b: 2; Keating and Kelly 1992: 7; Pressouyre 1993: 27). The list combines both natural and cultural sites, which makes it a unique convention (IUCN 1982: 3), especially as these were considered two distinct categories until the 1970s. The number of countries that have ratified the convention substantiates the convention's success (Cleere 1998: 22; Batisse 1992: 28; Cameron 1992b: 18). The 176 out of 191 UN member countries (ninety-two percent) have ratified the convention, making it UN's most popular convention. Two non-UN members – the Holy See and the island of Niue – have also ratified the convention, making it a total of 178 signatories. The high number of countries that ratified the convention is significant as it gives the convention legitimacy and an assured future (Cowie and Wimbledon 1994: 72).

As a result, Dutt (1999: 221) refers to the convention as one of the few vital UNESCO instruments and Pocock (1997a) describes the convention as "one of humankind's most successful examples of international co-operation" (p. 268). These superlatives and achievements, however, do not say much about the primary aim of the list – the preservation of the 'heritage of humanity'. It is relevant to examine whether the convention accomplishes this aim, as one has expectations about the convention.

1.4.1 Expectations about the world heritage convention

The world heritage list creates hope among scientists, NGOs and site managers alike. Scientists regard a listing as an important step towards a site's preservation, especially for natural sites (Van Heijnsbergen 1991: 684; Kunich 2003: 635). There are plenty of *national* laws that deal with the preservation of biodiversity, but none of these are enough to protect the natural areas with much biodiversity (Kunich 2003: 634).

NGOs often expect the convention to help preserve the heritage that they promote. The IUCN – engaged in forest biodiversity – contends that "the world heritage convention has greater potential to achieve this [biodiversity] goal than any of the other international forest conservation initiatives either in existence or under discussion" (Sayer *et al.* 2000: 306). The International Committee for Underwater Cultural Heritage (ICUHC) believes that the protection of underwater heritage can be secured if UNESCO would list these sites (Smith and Couper 2003: 32). Lobby groups such as Friends of the Earth - Middle East and Expertise '90 have done their best to preserve sites like the Dead Sea (Palestine, Israel, and Jordan) and Lake Baikal (Russia). Both groups firmly believe that a listing will contribute to the preservation of these sites and have actively promoted their listing (Bromberg and Sultan 2003: 25; Brower 1990: 15).

Site managers often have high expectations about a world heritage listing. Stoddart and Ferrari (1983: 28) assert that worldwide recognition would provide increased financial means and improved national legislation to better preserve Aldabra Atoll. Similar expectations have been raised in Bruges (Belgium) (Beernaert and Desimpelaere 2001: 28) and Paramaribo (Surinam) (Sjin Tjoe 1998: 46). Visitors to world heritage sites often have higher expectations (Carter *et al.* 2000: 72).

1.4.2 Unknown impacts of a world heritage listing

Not everything is known about the impacts of a listing. The impact of a listing, for example on cities, is under-researched (Jones 1994: 316). Consequently, stakeholders at potential world heritage sites are not completely aware of the advantages and disadvantages ensuing from such a listing. Dutch, German and Danish decision makers involved in the Wadden Sea trilateral nomination were not fully informed about what to expect (WAR 2000: 38; Van der Aa *et al.* 2004: 297).

According to Parent (1992), "the establishment of the world heritage list is not an academic exercise" (p. 11). Musitelli (2003), however, has taken the opposite stand and finds that in order "to have a fair appreciation of the local impact of world heritage, it is better to consider the sites themselves rather than the number of listings" (p. 335). A critical assessment of the contributions of the world heritage convention more than thirty years after its inception to better preserve the world's most outstanding heritage sites is timely. It is necessary to evaluate the impacts of listing beyond the number of listed sites or the number of countries that have ratified the convention.

1.5 Research questions

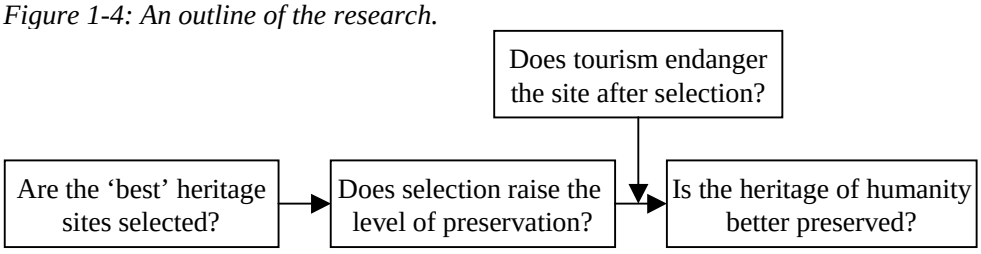
This research tries to answer the question of whether or not the convention has been an effective tool to preserve the world's 'most important' natural and cultural heritage sites. Two aspects will be considered. On the one hand, the *selection* of sites is studied. Does the system assure that the 'most valuable' sites are selected, while less impressive sites are excluded? On the other hand, the research explores the possible *impacts* of a listing. Do sites with more 'heritage value' but without the international recognition miss certain opportunities to be better preserved? Or, are sites more threatened, in view of increased visitor numbers following conferment of world heritage status?

The research will focus on whether the world as a whole and its constituent parts feel committed to preserve listed sites. A world heritage site is the heritage of all humanity, so its geographical location should not have any impact on how well it is preserved. All 'heritage of humanity' should be accorded equal opportunity for inscription, be they located in Peru or Poland. By the same token, preservation of all listed sites, whether situated in China or Chad, should be undertaken without discrimination.

In summary, this study comprises three research questions:

1) Are the 'best' heritage sites selected?
2) Does inscription on the world heritage list raise the level of preservation?
3) Does tourism endanger the site after its selection on the world heritage list?

Figure 1-4: An outline of the research.



Research question 1: Are the 'best' heritage sites selected?

A heritage collection – at every scale level – is always a *selection* of the properties of the past (Ashworth 1994: 18; Hewison 1987: 47). Often, pragmatic reasons apply for making selections, for example to keep the maintenance costs at a reasonable level (Herbert 1995: 8; Daifuku 1979: 20-21). From the outset, one of the pragmatic decisions was to include only immoveable heritage sites in the world heritage convention. For this reason, the nomination of the mid-nineteenth-century-built SS Great Britain (United Kingdom) – the largest iron ship in its time and designed by Isambard Kingdom Brunel – was rejected in 1988. An important reason to exclude moveable properties was due to the wide range of laws in force over these objects (Pressouyre 1993: 30).

More recently, UNESCO has been critiqued about certain kinds of heritage being omitted from the world heritage list. This would especially concern important sites in non-Western parts of the world, such as "art heritage, in terms of literature, music or painting" (Pocock 1997a: 261). Subsequently, UNESCO drew up a complementary world heritage programme entitled "Proclamation of masterpieces of the oral and

intangible heritage of humanity" (UNESCO 2004b) in 1998. This programme includes oral traditions; performing arts; social practices, rituals and festive events; knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe; and traditional craftsmanship (UNESCO 2004b). This research, however, only focuses on immoveable heritage.

Uniqueness or representativeness

The first research question is an attempt to explain the composition of the present UNESCO world heritage list, for example why there are famous and less famous sites on the list. The question can be approached with two arguments. First, the world heritage list is only open to unique sites with universal importance. Second, the world heritage list is also open to less impressive sites to guarantee that all regions and cultures will be represented on the world heritage list.

One could argue that the world heritage list requires, more than heritage lists at other scale levels, a very strict selection to only include the world's 'very best' sites. Such stringency allows – from a worldwide perspective – only the 'undisputedly best' sites to be listed. For example, the committee for the founding of a world heritage trust recommended in 1965 the following sites to be included: "the Grand Canyon of the Colorado; the Serengeti Plains; Angel Falls; the ruins of Inca, Mayan and Aztec cities; historic structures such as the pyramids, the Acropolis or Stonehenge. Also important but in a somewhat different way are the areas whose main value lies in the spectacular animal species they support – the Indian rhinoceros, mountain gorilla and the orang utan, for example… the trust include[s] only those areas and sites that are absolutely superb, unique, and irreplaceable" (Train 1973: 3). Most, if not all of these sites, can be considered well known to the general public.

However, one could argue that descriptions such as 'heritage for all mankind' and 'common heritage of humanity' must lead to a world heritage list that is not restricted to the 'best' heritage sites. The manner of phrasing stresses inclusiveness instead of exclusiveness. The selection of world heritage sites should contain the sites from all possible (ethnic) population groups, countries, cultures, and time eras.

These two contradictory positions affect whether the world heritage list only consists of universally, unique sites that are spatially concentrated in specific regions or whether the list will also include lower quality sites from all regions. Thorsell (2001) has summarised this issue as follows: "Is the world heritage list meant to be an inventory of all the important heritage places around the world, or a select list of the 'best of the best'?" (p. 34). In other words, has the quality criterion been sustained to assure a list of only the 'best' sites? Parent (1992: 11) stated that "there should be no question of inscribing unworthy properties on the list". Does Parent's value judgement that "fortunately this is not the case" still apply?

The decision *what* to nominate is influenced by *who* takes the decision (Aitchison *et al.* 2000: 95). Also within the world heritage convention much power resides with the participating countries, as will be discussed in the next chapter. These countries, however, can both over- and underestimate the value of their heritage in an international perspective. On the one hand, countries may overestimate the quality of their sites, as a unique site at the national level is not necessarily exceptional at the international level. On the other hand, common features in one's country without seemingly much value may be a unique phenomenon from a global perspective. These

contradictory positions have been labelled as "geographical nearsightedness" and "geographical bias" (RLG 1999: 23).

Research question 2: Does selection raise the level of preservation?
The aim of listing natural and cultural sites under the world heritage convention is to give these sites the preservation they deserve, if necessary, for all humanity. These sites merit attention, as humanity has made a commitment to prevent the loss of outstanding quality inherent in the identified world heritage sites. Hoffman (1993), however, poses the following question: "… does the world heritage convention really have an impact on the future of the earth's most important, often threatened, monuments, natural habitats, and cultural sites?" (p. 58).
The maintenance of a listed world heritage site remains the responsibility of the country in which it is located. This country undertakes to take care of the site after its world heritage inscription. The world heritage convention text is "designed to incite action rather then to prescribe action" (Musitelli 2003: 324). The world heritage convention primarily "provides an important symbolic protection" (Wilson 1992: 259). National attention can increase voluntarily or under pressure from other countries. The listing can lead to more or strengthened legal protection or more financial or human resources to manage the site. Furthermore, countries that are not able to preserve the world heritage sites within their borders may ask for international assistance. Glantz and Figueroa (1997: 364) rightly suggest that all world citizens will become legatees of the Aral Sea if it would be designated as world heritage site.
This research also looks into the question of whether or not countries that ratified the convention feel committed to their obligations (Keating and Kelly 1992: 7). Do listed sites receive special attention from their own government and the international community (Leblanc 1984: 29)? Are world heritage sites not affected by the internal political situation (Kunich 2003: 638)? Does it lead to more legal protection at the national, regional and local level (Van Dockum *et al.* 1997: 27)? Do countries really feel responsible for foreign world heritage sites in peril (Leblanc 1984: 29; Lowenthal 1994: 45)? And are countries willing to receive help from abroad or do they view this as a humiliation? In other words, are world heritage sites indeed showcases of best practice (Parent 1992: 11)?

Research question 3: Does tourism endanger the site after selection?
The number of visitors might increase after world heritage designation. For example, tour operators may use the world heritage list to draw up tourist itineraries. However, does the number of visitors really increase? Is this numerical increase registered at all kinds of sites? And which visitors are attracted to internationally recognised sites?
It can be questioned whether increasing visitor numbers should be regarded as a success (Burns and Holden 1995: 183). It can be argued that the heritage of all humanity should be accessible to the public (Van der Aa and Ashworth 2002: 7), but the number and kind of visitors may also endanger the prime aim of the convention, which is to preserve the internationally most important sites because it is "essential that the values which put it [a site] on the list are not dangerously eroded" (Bennett 1977: 28). Von Droste *et al.* (1992) properly illustrated this by expressing the hope that "tourist buses do not turn into Trojan horses" (p. 8). Damage as a result of tourism is

most likely at sites that apply in the first place for the world heritage status to promote tourism, despite awareness of the potential damage resulting from tourism (Boniface and Fowler 1993: 154; Boniface 1995: 4). Do short-term economic benefits dominate over the long-term preservation needs of these sites?
The equivocality of heritage may be the same at the national and international level. Abrahamse and Van der Wal (1989: 141-142) and Sellars (1997: 38) mentioned this ambivalent character with the creation of national parks in the Netherlands and the United States of America alike. National parks are established to further the preservation of the environment. Their new park status, however, often leads to more visitors with deleterious effects on the quality of the site. It might be better to exclude the 'best' heritage sites from the world heritage list to prevent the most outstanding sites from being 'loved to death'.

1.5.1 Research design

This research tries to answer the three research questions by performing both quantitative analyses for all ever-nominated world heritage sites as well as case studies. The first method, quantitative analysis, is used to get a first impression of the dynamics in the world heritage nomination process. Which sites are listed? And where are they located? This quantitative research, however, is not the most appropriate method to answer the formulated research questions.
The second method, case studies, is used to get a better insight in the reasons for nominating certain sites and the impacts of a world heritage listing. This method, predominantly executed by conducting interviews with key stakeholders at the local and national level, allows for more precise information gathering to answer questions such as: Who has taken the initiative to propose the site for the world heritage list and what were the reasons for doing so? Does the level of preservation increase after listing? And how have the number and kind of visitors changed after inscription?
Interviews allow room for asking new questions to deepen the lines of inquiry of the research, an opportunity not offered by quantitative research or surveys. In-depth interviews afford more leeway to ascertain the nature of the relationship between changes in the preservation of or visitation to the site and the world heritage listing. At the same time, however, the labour-intensive method of case studies has limited the number of researched sites.

1.5.2 Structure of the thesis

This thesis is guided by three research questions. The first research question of whether or not the criterion of outstanding universal value has been sustained is discussed over two chapters. Chapter three deals with the factors that have influenced countries' nominations for the world heritage list and countries' selection mechanisms are closely examined in chapter four. Chapter five deals with the preservation of sites. Chapter six discusses the impacts of a world heritage listing on the number of visitors. The last chapter, seven, will discuss the benefits of preserving important heritage sites at the international level in an attempt to sketch the future of the world heritage convention. But first, in chapter two, it will be explained in more detail how the world heritage convention works and how this research is framed.

Chapter 2
Practising world heritage

The question of whether or not the world's 'best' heritage sites are inscribed on the world heritage list is first answered by doing quantitative analyses by country and continent. The analyses deal with the nomination process, the dynamics of the list, and the global spatial distribution of sites. It appears that countries play a significant role in the nomination and management of world heritage sites. Focus on the dominant role that a country can play in world heritage affairs clearly indicate that the most fruitful approach is to study the selection of sites and the impact of listing in specific countries.

2.1 The nomination process

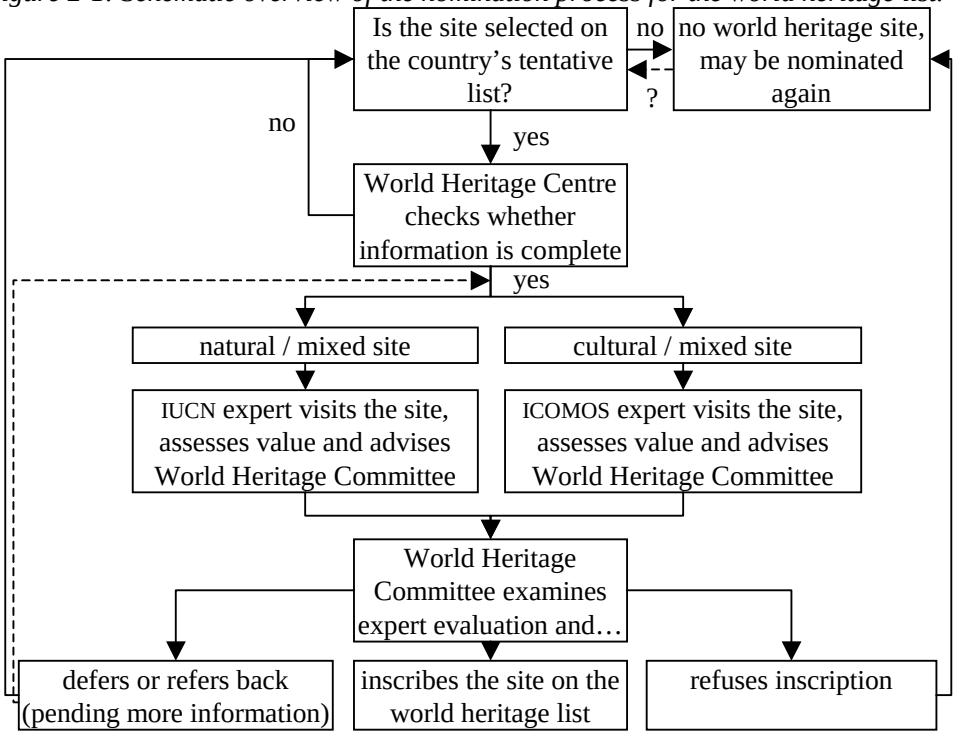
The world heritage convention is international in character, but the nomination of potential sites starts at the national level. A country is the only body that can nominate sites (figure 2-1). The first step is to compose a tentative list of sites that might be nominated in the next five or ten years. A single person or various working groups and advisory councils can compose this list. Mayors, district governments or heritage experts may only make proposals for inclusion on the tentative list. Sites are only officially nominated when a country hands in a complete nomination document at the World Heritage Centre in Paris. This document should explain which site is nominated, why this site possesses outstanding universal value, how its quality relates to other more or less similar properties, and how it is managed.

The World Heritage Centre checks whether the information is complete. Depending on whether the site is natural or cultural in character, an expert from the World Conservation Union (IUCN) or the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) assesses the quality of the site. An expert appraiser writes a report on the quality of the site, the way it is managed and makes a recommendation on whether or not to include the site in the world heritage list. The report is sent to the World Heritage Committee – consisting of twenty-one, rotating country representatives – that takes the final decision (see appendix 2 for overview committee). The decision of the World Heritage Committee has hardly ever differed from IUCN's or ICOMOS's recommendation. Sites that are referred back at any stage of the trajectory or that have been rejected by the committee can be nominated again.

Countries have been asked to hand in a tentative list to facilitate IUCN's and ICOMOS's comparison with other, potential world heritage sites. The aggregate of all tentative lists would be helpful to discern the "obscure, but very significant sites" from the ones that do not meet the criterion of outstanding universal value (Charleton 1989: 15).

Countries can update their tentative list at any time. Most countries have acted reservedly on the request to hand in a tentative list. In 1997, Pocock (1997a: 266) mentioned that less than half of the countries participating in the convention had submitted a tentative list. This number increased to sixty-eight percent in January 2000 (Smith 2000a: 400) and to sixty-nine percent in 2002. Some tentative lists are quite outdated by now, such as that by the United States of America (Araoz 2002: 7).

Figure 2-1: Schematic overview of the nomination process for the world heritage list.



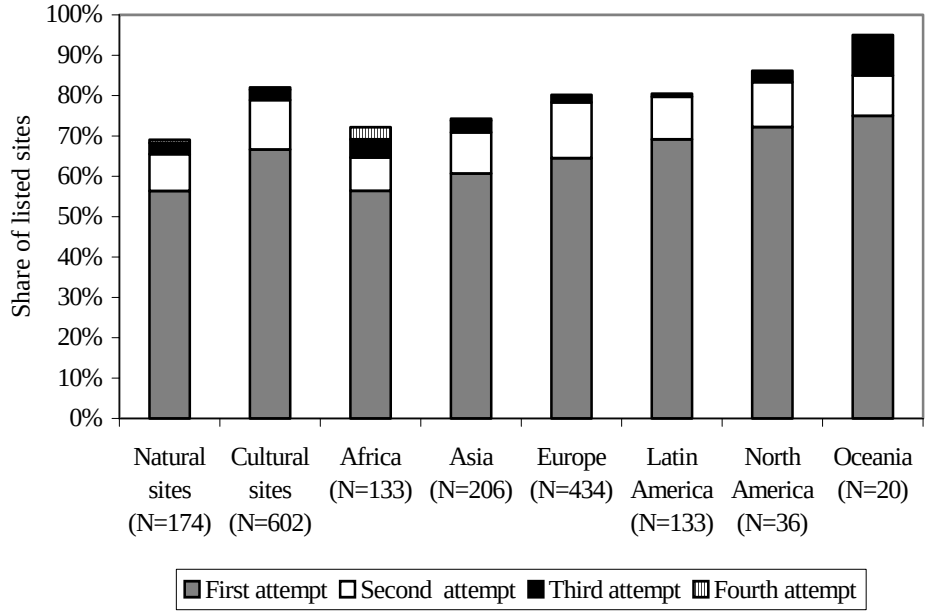
Source: UNESCO (2004a), adapted.

2.1.1 Rejections, re-nominations and their reasons

Cultural sites have a significantly higher chance of inscription on the world heritage list than natural sites. Between 1978 and 2003, eighty-two percent of the nominated cultural sites (602 sites) and sixty-nine percent of the nominated natural sites (174 sites) have been designated (figure 2-2; p-value chi-square is 0.00). Cultural sites are more often re-nominated than natural sites. Fifty-nine percent of the rejected cultural sites have been re-nominated (hundred and one sites), as opposed to forty-one percent of the rejected natural sites (sixty-five sites). Cultural sites have more chances to be listed, which may be due to less strict criteria, imprecise nomination documents in the first phase or more pressure from stakeholders. A similarity in the nomination trajectory of the natural and cultural sites is that eighty-one percent of the listed sites is inscribed in the first attempt, about fifteen percent in the second, three percent in the third and one percent in the fourth or fifth. Africa is the only continent where sites have been listed in the fourth attempt. There are differences between continents (p-value chi-

square is 0.06). Where nomination attempts are concerned, Oceania has the highest share of listed sites (ninety-five percent), Africa the lowest (seventy-two percent).

Figure 2-2: Share of listed world heritage sites per attempt, per kind and continent.



Source: UNESCO (1978-2003), adapted data.

The nomination process lasts at least eighteen months (Leask and Fyall 2000). Stakeholders interested in a world heritage nomination of 'their' site need time before the site is accepted on the country's tentative list and until it is officially nominated. The nomination process of the Dorset and East Devon Coast (United Kingdom) lasted about eight years. Six years elapsed before it was included on United Kingdom's tentative list. Another two years passed by before the site was inscribed on the world heritage list in 2001. Lengthy nomination procedures necessitate persistency.

Some European sites that have been rejected are the Lake District National Park, Cambridge colleges (both in the United Kingdom), the Wadden Sea (Germany), and the old city of Mostar (Bosnia-Herzegovina). About twenty-five percent of the *rejected* sites did not meet the criterion of outstanding universal value according to the World Heritage Committee. The Sydney Opera House (Australia), the city of Gdańsk (Poland), Tripoli (Libya), and Sarajevo (Bosnia-Herzegovina) have been rejected for this same reason. The other seventy-five percent were rejected on other grounds than quality. More than forty percent of the rejected sites were not listed due to procedural reasons – ranging from an incomplete nomination document to late submission of the nomination, from the inability to do a comparative study by an advisory body to an incorrect boundary of the site. Another twenty-five percent was not sufficiently protected and ten percent was rejected for undisclosed reasons.

About half the number of sites rejected for procedural or protection reasons have been listed in a later year. However, a site like Babylon (Iraq) – rejected on procedural and

protection grounds – has not been re-nominated despite claims that the site is of outstanding universal value (Prott 1992: 4). 'Only' about seventy out of about thousand *nominated* sites are declared not to be of outstanding universal value. Either countries are highly competent in determining the quality of their proposed sites or the international selection committees do not apply the selection criteria very strictly.

2.2 Selection of world heritage sites largely nationally determined

A 'truly' world heritage convention, supposedly, establishes a supranational structure to govern a system of selecting and managing sites. The World Heritage Committee is such a body. Most decisions, however, are taken at the national level. Almost all world heritage sites have been nominated by the country wherein the site is located. An NGO, such as IUCN, is unable to nominate certain sites even though it has pointed out that some large forests are missing from the world heritage list (Sayer *et al.* 2000: 307; Holdgate, 1992: 10). Also blind spots identified by individual scientists such as Plachter (1995: 349-350) fall on deaf ears. Only some world heritage nominations have been initiated by the World Heritage Committee, such as Angkor Wat (Cambodia), Bamiyan Valley (Afghanistan) and Ashur (Qal'at sherqat) (Iraq).

Nomination of potential world heritage sites which is initiated by the country itself has to pass three critical stages. Countries must be willing to participate in the convention, be willing to nominate sites, and be able to nominate sites.

2.2.1 Countries must be willing to participate

The ability to nominate a site is restricted to countries that have signed the convention. The United States of America was the first country that ratified the convention, but it was primarily the African countries that adhered to the convention initially. Nine of the first twenty participating countries were African. France, the Federal Republic of Germany, and Italy participated when the first sites were designated in 1978, while the United Kingdom, Spain and the Soviet Union stood on the sidelines. European countries were generally late in ratifying the convention (Lazzarotti 2000: 13), but there were also some other 'omissions' until the mid-1980s, such as Mexico and China. The absence of large countries made it disputable whether one could speak of a real world heritage list and "for a number of years, the committee looked forward somewhat anxiously to the participation of some countries whose continued absence would have left little meaning to the idea of a world heritage" (Batisse 1992: 16; see also Pressouyre 1993: 34). The desire to include all countries continues until today (2004), with countries in the Pacific region being approached to ratify the convention. It can be argued, however, that it is unnecessary for a country to ratify the convention when it does not have a site of outstanding universal value. The necessity of including certain countries would only become important when "prime candidates from non-signatory nations as Machu Picchu, Stonehenge, and the Great Wall of China… grace the list" (Douglas 1982: 8) or when one wants all countries to (financially) contribute to the preservation of identified world heritage sites.

Three reasons why countries did or still do not participate in the world heritage convention can be identified. First, some countries state that the convention is too much a Western concept. Second, the convention is not a priority in some countries. And third, the countries outside the international arena cannot participate.

1) The world heritage convention is a Western concept
Participation in the world heritage convention implies that countries agree with an international concept that is defined from a Western point of view. However, not every country wants to conform to a set of Western regulations. Countries vary "in their willingness to 'open' sites to the management and monitoring which follow official inscription… Saudi Arabia, with Mecca and Medina within its borders, technically has accepted, not ratified the convention; low response is characteristic of several Islamic countries, reticent on nominating functioning religious buildings" (Pocock 1997a: 267). Some essential sites for an all-encompassing world heritage list – such as Mecca, the 'heart' of Islam – are still not nominated (see also Bennett 1977: 29). Likewise, Iraq, has not nominated its superb archaeological sites of Nimrut and Ur (Prott 1992: 4).

2) The world heritage convention is not a priority
The world heritage convention is not always a priority, as countries do not expect much benefit from a world heritage listing. The Netherlands had the intention to sign the convention in 1981, but that was not done until several years later "due to other priorities" (Van Heijnsbergen 1987: 11-12). The low priority was partly grounded in the notion that the Dutch national heritage was already sufficiently preserved (Chouchena and Van Rossum 1999: 5). The impetus to ratify the convention finally came from the desire of Willemstad, the capital of the Dutch Antilles in the Caribbean, which required national nomination in its application for world heritage status.
The low priority in the Netherlands in signing the world heritage convention also stemmed from UNESCO's reputation in the mid-1980s that led to the withdrawal of the United States of America and the United Kingdom from UNESCO. The first-mentioned country left UNESCO in 1984 as "it was growing both corrupt and politicised" (Jennings 2003: 45) whilst the latter left UNESCO due to the "politicisation of the specialized agencies of the United Nations, a 'statist' approach to the solving of problems and higher levels of budgetary growth" (Hocking 1985: 75). The Dutch ratification of the convention became possible after the "recovery of UNESCO as an organisation for international intellectual co-operation" (OCW 1996: 43), whereby also the "idealistic component… [of] the common concern for… cultural heritage… handed on to us" (WVC 1993: 181) became a point of consideration.
The decision of the United States of America and the United Kingdom to leave UNESCO did not lead to a suspension of these countries' activities in the world heritage convention (Van Heijnsbergen 1987: 11). Both countries remained members of the world heritage convention. Notably, the United Kingdom continued its participation in only five UNESCO activities (Dutt 1999: 218-219). The United States of America and the United Kingdom re-joined UNESCO in 2003 and 1997 respectively (UNESCO 2004b).

3) Outside the international arena
Countries that placed themselves outside the international arena sometimes do not participate in the world heritage convention. Lazzarotti (2000: 13) reports that Cambodia and South Africa could not participate due to respectively the presence of the Red Khmer in the former and the imposition of apartheid in the latter. Ultimately, these countries signed the convention in 1991 and 1997.

2.2.2 Countries must be willing to nominate sites
The right to nominate a site for the world heritage list is exclusively in the hands of the one national state organisation that is appointed as UNESCO's official contact partner. No individual or NGO can directly submit its 'own' favourite heritage site to UNESCO. This leads to three problems. Countries can overlook important sites, can exclude the heritage of minorities and may not nominate sites that hold extractable resources.

1) Overlooking important sites
Potential world heritage sites can be overlooked without intent. Pressouyre (1993: 33) wondered why Chile, which ratified the convention in 1980, has never nominated Easter Island. The island was eventually listed in 1995. Singh (1997) has pointed out that the holy Hindu city of Varanasi – or Benares – meets the world heritage criteria, but the city is not nominated "mainly due to… lack of interest by the Indian Government" (pp. 109-110). And Potter (2003: 7) wonders why the natural landscapes of Iceland with its geysers and glaciers have not been put forward yet.

2) Excluding a minority's heritage
The possibility that minorities may not be given the opportunity to nominate sites prevents the convention from functioning flawlessly (Aplin 2002: 352; Nuryanti 1996a: 7). It can be the case that only the heritage of the dominant group is nominated, especially when the heritage of others undermines the preferred image of a lengthy and united history (Fontein 2000: 57). Turkey has not nominated any Armenian or Georgian heritage site (Pressouyre 1993: 36), while many African countries have been hesitant in proposing sites that date from the colonial era (Turtinen 2000: 20).
Another 'notorious' country in this instance is China. In 2001, two of the twenty-four world heritage sites represented minority cultures while most other sites highlight the glories of Han culture (Gilley 2001: 60-62). The European and colonial heritage in Shanghai, Hong Kong and Macao is generally ignored (Agnew and Demas 2001: 16). And if the Chinese government nominated a minority site, it was mainly in its own interests. The mountain resort at Chengde suggests, according to the nomination document, nationwide historical unity. The site is a "typical example of the perfect harmony of ancient China's Imperial gardens and temples" and provides "historic evidence of the final formation of a unitary, multicultural China" (Hevia 2001: 223). The original purpose for building the site, "to awe the people of Inner and Central Asia into submission" (Hevia 2001: 234), is not even alluded to the world heritage listing.

3) No nomination of sites with exploitable resources
The desire to exploit areas for economic purposes in the future may forestall any world heritage nomination of these areas, as the exploitation may be hindered after worldwide recognition (Eagles and McCool 2002: 54). This especially affects natural areas that can be used for the timber industry or for mining (Plachter 1995: 349). However, not every important site has been kept from the list due to the presence of natural resources. In Kakadu National Park, Australia, only about one square kilometre is zoned for mining, making up 0.04% of the conservation area (Davis and Weiler 1992: 318). And the government of New Zealand stopped the logging in Te Wahipounamu to enable a world heritage nomination in the late 1980s (Watson 1992: 14).

2.2.3 Countries must be able to nominate sites

The nomination process of at least eighteen months demands much energy and resources from the country proposing a site. There are countries that "deserve the recognition and assistance that listing would bring, but [they] often lack the means to inventory, nominate, and protect their sites" (Charleton 2000). Nomination is more difficult in the following three instances: countries have no national heritage tradition, social unrest prevents a nomination, and stateless areas cannot be nominated.

1) No national heritage tradition

The absence of national parks or designated monuments is often a consequence of a shortage of trained personnel, political instability, lack of recognition or a low priority. In 1982, Blower (1982: 722) noted that many, especially Third World countries, have no national system of national parks or at best something that only exists in theory, not in practice. Cartwright (1991: 358-359) summarises the cultural, economical and demographic reasons why heritage, or conservation in general, is difficult in Africa. A population that has doubled exacts its toll on the natural resources. Furthermore, the urban elite regards forest and wildlife as a form of backwardness, and there is no sacred principle that fosters respect for and the preservation of the wildlife.

The absence of a heritage tradition can preclude a world heritage listing. The Vietnamese had problems to propose the inner city of Hanoi, as it was unable "to prepare… an indicative list" (Logan 1995: 334). This has prevented a nomination of the old sector of Hanoi. However, Australia and France have done some restoration work in Hanoi within the context of bilateral cooperation.

2) Social unrest

Social unrest, such as civil wars, forms a major obstacle to nomination for the world heritage list. Sudan ratified the world heritage convention in 1974 and underwent a civil war from 1983 onwards. The pyramids at Meroe (Kush), Sudan, which "would surely qualify" (Jones 1994: 316), could only be nominated for the world heritage list when the civil war waned temporarily in 2002.

A counter-example is the case of Lebanon. This country was able to get four of the seven nominated sites listed in 1984, even though the armed conflict between the Lebanese Muslims and Maronite-dominated Phalangist militias lasted from 1975 until 1992 (Van Voorden and Van Oers 1998: 104). A world heritage status may be especially useful during civil wars, as it can function as an extra added shield of protection against destruction.

3) Stateless areas

The concept of 'a common heritage of humanity' is based on a similar idea in the field of 'space studies' (Joyner 1986: 190). However, the most obvious shared entities that might qualify for listing – like Antarctica, the ocean floor, outer space, or the moon – cannot be nominated, as no country officially owns these areas. This is "an illustration of the political weakness of the convention" (Wilson 1992: 259; see also Thorsell 2001: 34). Others, such as Rogers (2004: 5-6), have been unsuccessful proponents of the nomination of Tranquillity Base on the moon for the world heritage list. Rogers persuasively argued his case by quoting the text that is still readable on the spacecraft *Eagle* that was left behind on the moon: 'We came in peace for all mankind' (p. 6).

2.2.4 High-quality sites may not be nominated

Countries' inability to nominate sites does not say anything about the quality of the sites. Sites may be excluded from listing on other grounds than their quality and are denied the opportunity of being preserved within a worldwide framework. Tonglushan (China) would have qualified for listing in the 1980s, but "is today so reduced by continued mining operations that it no longer fulfils criteria which would have caused it to be selected some ten years ago" (Pressouyre 1993: 28). Also natural areas with a high, but threatened biodiversity, so-called *hotspots*, are almost entirely absent on the world heritage list (Kunich 2003: 647; Plachter 1995: 349). Rogo and Oguge (2000: 522) make the case for the necessity to better preserve the forests of Taita Hills (Kenya) – a hotspot that is neither on the world heritage list nor on Kenya's tentative list. International assistance is welcome, as the national Forestry Department cannot manage the site due to a lack of funds, corruption and resource exploitation in the area (see also Sayer *et al.* 2000: 307-308; Kunich 2003: 644).

2.3 Dynamics of the world heritage list

Unique obstacles peculiar to some countries may have led to a world heritage list that is not representative of the earth's heritage. Certain categories of heritage may be over- or underrepresented on the world heritage list. This section looks at two of these biases: the kind and spatial distribution of world heritage sites.

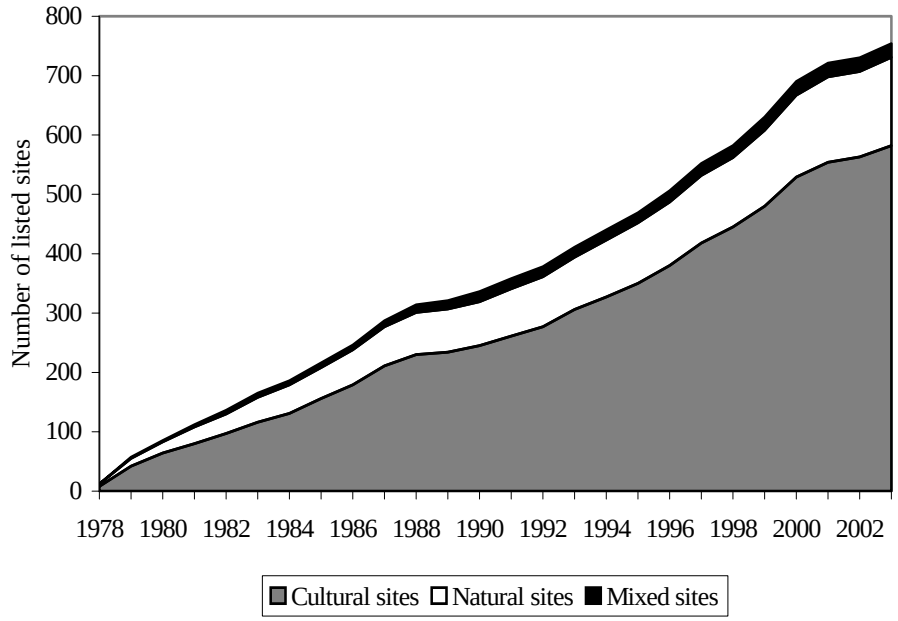
2.3.1 Kind of world heritage sites

A balance in the number of natural and cultural world heritage sites may be of minor importance when drawing up a list of the world's 'best' heritage sites. However, the World Heritage Committee has stressed the importance of such a balance from the outset (see also Train 1973: 4). It has been reported that "a balanced natural-cultural presentation is necessary to help the committee effectively carry out its work" (*Ambio* 1983: 140), although this necessity is not further elaborated.

The 'operational guidelines' have always included a paragraph on the "Balance between the cultural and the natural heritage in the implementation of the convention" (UNESCO 2004a). The organisational structure of the convention, such as the partition of responsibilities at the international level between IUCN and ICOMOS as well as between the science and the culture sector at the UNESCO secretariat in Paris may have contributed to the desire for a nature-culture balance (see also box 2-1). IUCN sees "the preponderance of culture over nature… reflected in all aspects of the work of the convention" (Thorsell 2001: 34), even though "more than culture, nature attracts concerted protection" (Lowenthal 1998a: 174).

At present the ratio of cultural and natural sites in the world heritage list is 4:1 (figure 2-3). The share of natural sites has steadily decreased from about twenty-five percent in the early 1980s to twenty percent in 2004. The share of natural sites varies significantly between continents. The share of natural sites is highest in 'new' continents, where human intervention started relatively late. Fifty-eight and seventy-four percent of the sites in North America and Oceania are natural in character. The concept of wilderness also underpins American, Canadian and Australian inheritance (Thompson 2000: 256; Aplin 2002: 26). In the other 'new' continent of Latin America, however, 'only' twenty-eight percent of the sites are natural.

Figure 2-3: The number of listed world heritage sites in three categories, 1978-2003.



Source: UNESCO (2004a), adapted data.

The possible, future exploitation of natural areas is one reason for the low number of natural world heritage sites. Two additional reasons can be given. The criterion of integrity is more strictly applied than the criterion of authenticity, and the number of natural regions is much smaller than the number of cultural regions because of a different classification system.

1) Strict application of the criterion of integrity

The criterion of integrity has long been regarded as a reliable and irrefutable explanatory factor for the nature-culture disparity. This criterion requires that natural zones with "the greatest number of geological, climatic, and biological characteristics would be preserved from all human endeavour destructive of ecological balance" (Pressouyre 1993: 14). This prerequisite favours the selection of untouched natural sites in large countries with a developed national parks system (Pocock 1997b: 381).

Relatively densely populated countries without a strict national park policy, such as most European countries, have few natural world heritage sites. The national park idea has permeated the European continent, but European park policies have been less rigorously than their American and Australian counterparts. European parks, for example, frequently include whole villages (Aplin 2002: 26). The English world heritage selection committee was restricted to the least affected natural areas, such as estuaries, cliff areas and some geological sites (DCMS 1999: 10). And Germany has almost completely refrained from nominating natural sites (Plachter 1995: 354). At the same time, both England and Germany have nominated several cultural sites.

Natural areas are often spread out over the territory of more than one country. A multilateral world heritage nomination is more complicated than a nomination by one

country. The nomination process of the Wadden Sea by Denmark, Germany and the Netherlands slowed down after the World Heritage Committee decided to reject the nomination of a German part in 1989 (Van der Aa *et al.* 2004: 299). Also the Dead Sea basin might not have been nominated for a similar reason. The NGO Friends of the Earth actively supports this nomination, but this requires an agreement between Jordan, Israel and Palestine, while Palestine has not even ratified the convention yet.

Research by Sayer *et al.* (2000) has indicated that also "many… [natural world heritage sites] have significant human populations. Of the… sites located in non-OECD [Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development] countries seventy of the seventy-five have extractive activities occurring within the borders of the protected area with poaching, agriculture, grazing, logging and mining being widespread" (p. 307). Either the criterion of integrity has not been applied consistently or resource extraction in these sites has been going on despite their world heritage listing.

Nominated cultural sites have to pass the test of authenticity – which stipulates criteria such as originality in design, material, workmanship or setting (UNESCO 2004a) – instead of the test of integrity. The listing of the old town of Warszawa (*Warsaw*), which was largely destroyed during the Second World War, shows that the application of the criterion of authenticity is flexible. Ultimately, Warszawa was listed as "an outstanding example of a near-total reconstruction" (UNESCO 2004a). Likewise, the Buddhist statues of Bamiyan are listed, among others, as it is "testimony to the tragic destruction by the Taliban… which shook the world in March 2001" (UNESCO 2004a).

2) Different classification systems

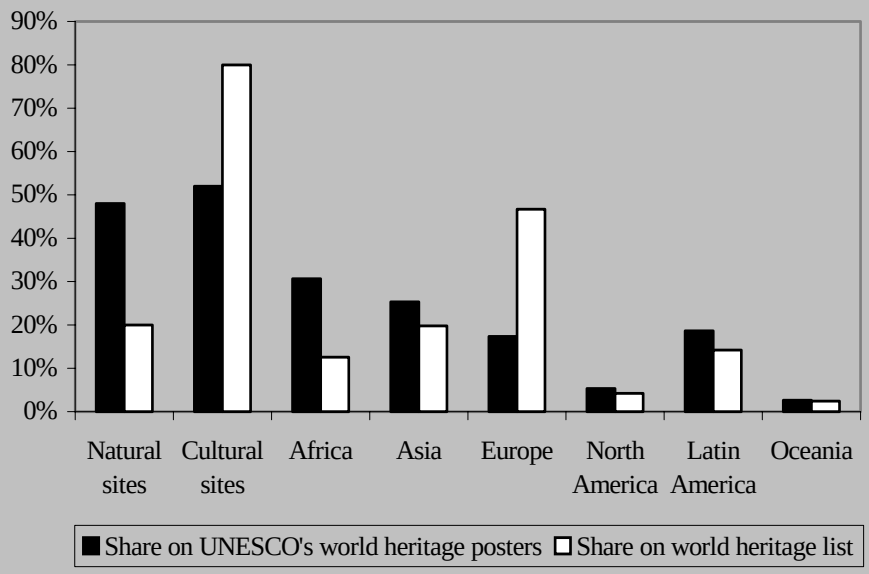
The criterion of outstanding universal value requires that listed sites have to be the best representative within their 'region'. To this end, IUCN (1982) has divided the world into eight natural realms. Natural sites have to be of outstanding universal value in their entire realm, often covering whole continents. ICOMOS has not defined comparable cultural regions. The world would be divided in many more cultural regions than eight, if such a subdivision would ever be realised: "the nuances and varieties of cultural sites are of huge importance to national or local history and pride and to human sensitivity and emotion" (Batisse 1992: 17). The entire *natural* Mediterranean region falls into the Palaearctic realm, whereas the *cultural* Mediterranean region can be divided into at least an Egyptian, Greek, Roman, and Islamic part. IUCN is better able to judge a site's outstanding universal value than ICOMOS: "it is surely easier to perceive a consensus on… sites in the natural world… than in the cultural world" (Pocock 1997a: 266-267). Thirty-nine percent of the ninety-six rejected natural sites did not meet the criterion of outstanding universal value, while twenty-seven percent of the 232 rejected cultural sites is not listed for the same reason.

A counter argument would be that not only the number of natural and cultural sites should be counted. Natural world heritage sites have a much larger surface area than cultural sites. One natural site can represent a number of unique phenomena, while cultural sites are normally listed under separate headings. The distinction between the two categories is also open to debate, as natural sites are also a kind of cultural site. Both kinds of sites have only meaning for humanity when meanings are ascribed to them (Pettman 2002: 6). In this sense, the distinction between natural and cultural sites is somewhat artificial (Creaser 1994: 75; Pressouyre 1993: 11).

Box 2-1: Representations of world heritage sites on UNESCO's world heritage poster.

UNESCO prefers the number of listed natural and cultural world heritage sites to be in balance, the spatial distribution of sites over the world to be even and an equal number of earlier and later listed sites. This strive for balance between kinds of listed sites, spatial distribution, and earlier and later listed sites is not only apparent in its published policy documents, but also from the annual world heritage poster distributed by the UNESCO World Heritage Centre between 1997 and 2003.

Figure 2-4: Share of world heritage sites on world heritage posters and list.



Sources: UNESCO (1997-2003) and UNESCO (2004a) adapted data.

The natural or cultural character, the geographical location and the year of listing of the world heritage sites on the posters have been analysed. It can be seen that the number of pictured natural and cultural sites is roughly equal, whereas there are four cultural sites for every natural one on the list (figure 2-4). Almost one in three photos is an African world heritage site, making it the most illustrated continent. Meanwhile Europe is the only continent that has a lower share on the poster than on the world heritage list (seventeen versus forty-seven percent). And UNESCO portrays world heritage sites independent of the year in which the sites have been listed, effectively dispelling the suggestion that earlier listed sites are of higher quality than more recently inscribed world heritage sites. In total, the world heritage poster shows thirty-five 'earlier' and thirty-two 'later' listed sites (world heritage sites were classified as earlier listed if they were listed before the midpoint of the period between 1978 and the year of publishing the poster).

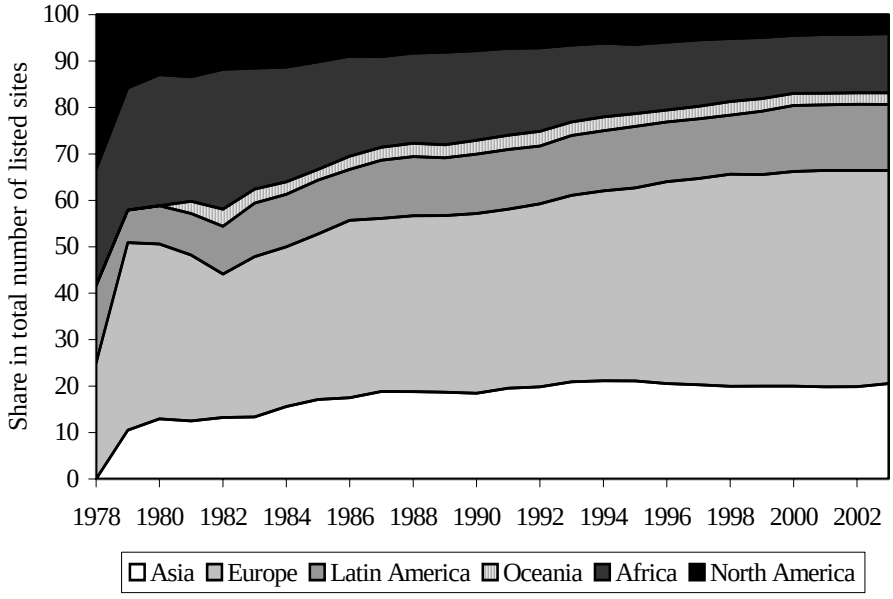
The posters have been designed in such a way that it conveys the impression that world heritage sites are less spatially concentrated. Europe, the smallest continent, is portrayed on a much larger scale than Africa and the Americas. This creates the perception of an even distribution of world heritage sites on each continent.

2.3.2 Spatial distribution of world heritage

UNESCO has, in the same vein with regard to the low number of natural world heritage sites, expressed its concern over the list's under-representation of non-Western heritage sites. UNESCO prefers a geographical balance, as the inception of the list is "an attempt to create a world inventory which will be as comprehensive, representative and coherent as possible" (*UNESCO Courier* 1992: 12) and a reflection of cultural diversity (UNESCO 2004a). UNESCO's 'judgement call' is often reiterated: "the roll-call of sites is currently neither an accurate reflection of the world's balance and range of cultures or of actual prime heritage as judged by global value" (Boniface 2001: 77; see also Droste 1995a: 20; Pearson and Sullivan 1995: 42). In more general terms, Graham *et al.* (2000) point out that "it has been argued that modernity – and consequently its heritage – is largely defined in masculine, middle-class, urban and Eurocentric terms" (p. 44).

A list of heritage sites that forms the 'heritage of humanity', according to UNESCO, is only truly universal when all countries and cultures are included, as "everyone is entitled to it" (Lowenthal 1998a: 173). Inclusiveness should guarantee the list's credibility, which has been a major focus of UNESCO politics articulated under headings like 'global study' and 'global strategy' from the late 1980s onwards (Rivet and Cleere 2001: 234). The 'global strategy' is spelt out in a series of policy documents to achieve spatial and typological balances. The viewpoint that participation of all countries or cultures is necessary for a genuine world heritage list is countered by the argument that the list should only register sites that meet the criterion of outstanding universal value. Heritage may be a "ubiquitous resource" (Ashworth 2000: 23), but the 'best' heritage sites are likely to be concentrated in certain areas of the world.

Figure 2-5: Year-end proportion of listed sites on each continent.



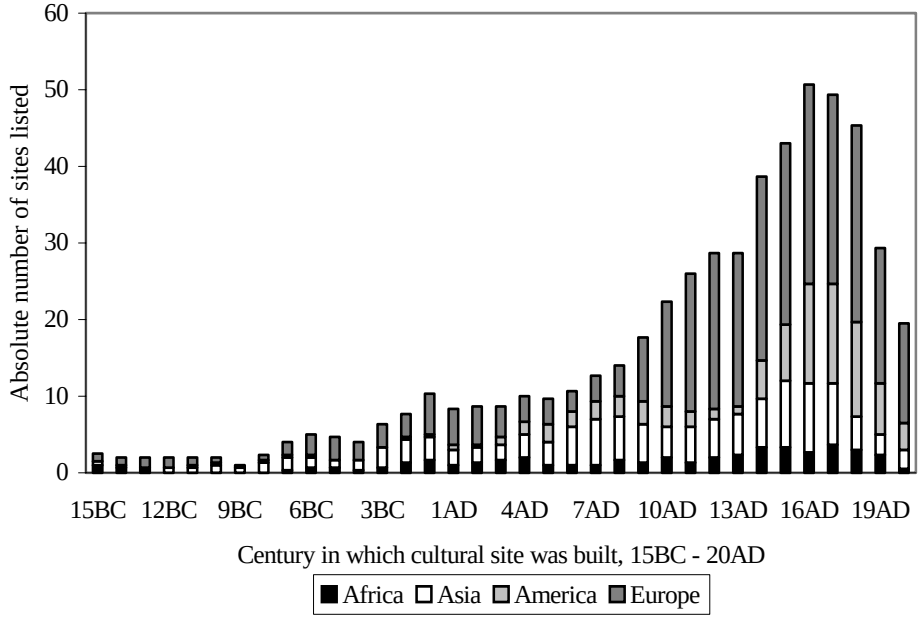
Source: UNESCO (2004a), adapted data.

Figure 2-5 shows the shifts in the spatial distribution of sites over six continents between 1978 and 2003. The share of sites in Europe has gradually increased to forty-six percent, while the number of sites in Africa has decreased from thirty percent in 1982 to thirteen percent in 2003. The 'global strategy' tried to arrest the opposing trends. At the same time, the interest in the convention has weakened in North America in contrast to the heightened interest in Asia and Latin America. Do the convention's mechanisms exclude more sites with outstanding universal value in certain continents than in others?

2.4 Why has Europe so many world heritage sites?

Europe's over-representation on the world heritage list is often attributed to the convention being written from a white, middle-class, male's perspective (compare McCullagh 2000: 41) which favours Western ideas of heritage. The world heritage convention, an American idea that was shaped in the 1960s and 1970s, is referred to as "an international extension of the concept of national parks" (Train 1973: 2) or "the international equivalent of the [American] national historic landmarks program" (Charleton 1984: 22). Originally, experts from the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM), ICOMOS and IUCN were responsible for the wording of the convention text in the 1970s (Pressouyre 1993: 9). These organisations, more symbolically, are located in Europe: Rome, Paris and Gland in Switzerland (Turtinen 2000: 7). The World Heritage Centre is located in Paris, and the Parthenon, the symbol of UNESCO (Yale 1991: 228), is in Athens.

Figure 2-6: Dates when listed cultural world heritage sites were built, three-century average.



Source: UNESCO (2004a), adapted data.

Preserving the heritage of humanity?

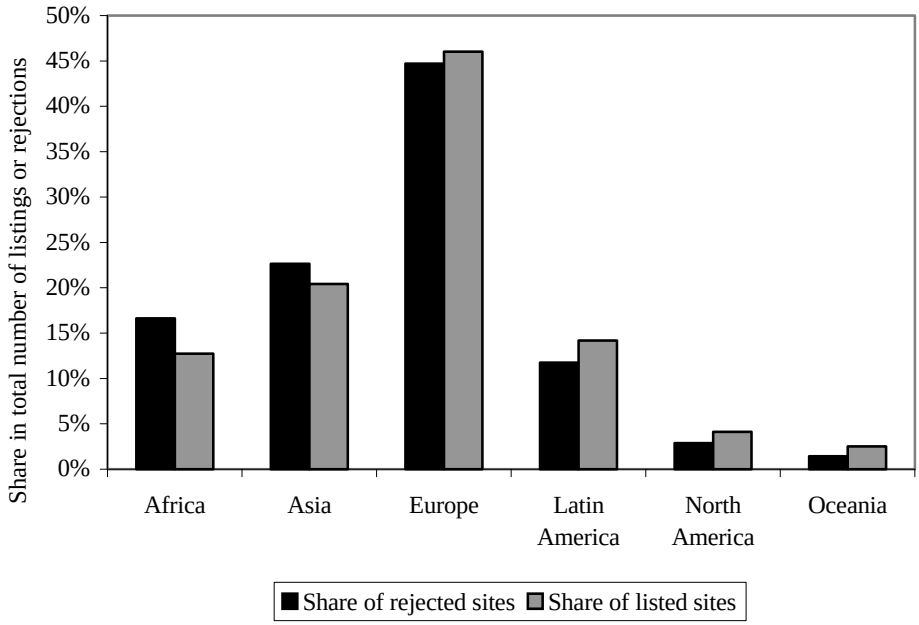
The final convention text primarily corresponds with Western perceptions of heritage. Cultural heritage was understood as the built relics of the past, incorporating castles, cathedrals and entire settlements: "For the World Heritage Committee, culture manifests itself principally in the form of archaeological sites and monuments from classical Greece and Rome, European architecture from the later Middle Ages to neo-classicism, and the art and architecture in the Indian sub-continent and imperial China" (Cleere 1998: 28; see also Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996: 275-276). The convention text and the 'operational guidelines' have been regarded as the bedrock of the supposed imbalance (Fontein 2000: 40; Turtinen 2000: 16). This particular notion of heritage excluded, among others, "living cultures, especially those of traditional 'societies'" (Von Droste 1995a: 21), and contributed to the under-representation of African cultural heritage. In 1994, the World Heritage Committee adopted the recommendation to adapt the cultural criteria to enable nominations from living cultures.
The majority of cultural sites stem from the period between the tenth and the eighteenth century (figure 2-6). Especially Europe and America (with the majority of sites from Latin America) have most sites from between the fourteenth and eighteenth century. World heritage sites in Asia and Africa, in contrast, show a more even representation from different eras. The emphasis on the colonial era in Latin America stands out, as there are several old civilisations like Inca, Maya, and Aztecs. Van Hooff (1995: 355) poses the following question: "Identifizieren sich Regierung und Eliten jener [Latin Amerikanischer] Länder kulturell und ideologisch mehr mit der kolonialzeit… Oder begünstigt das Auswahlverfahren, die Anwendung sowie Bewertung der Kriterien des Welterbekomitees jene historische Phase?… Die Situation in Latinamerika illustriert ein weltweites geographisches, typologisches und historisch-zeitliches Ungleichgewicht und einen fehlenden repräsentativen Querschnitt". However, is Latin America's stress on colonial heritage really a problem or are colonial sites indeed the most available valuable heritage sites on this continent at present?

2.4.1 Factors influencing the number of world heritage sites
Europe's overrepresentation might be largely explained by the convention's preference for sites regarded as important by Europeans, highlighting European cultural and economic hegemony then – that is between the sixteenth and the twentieth century. Western countries are also better able to nominate more sites. Thanks to their greater prosperity, they can select heritage sites from a rather recent period where materials which were used have a relatively long lifespan. These arguments are, however, less robust under closer scrutiny. First, heritage in Western countries is not automatically valued more highly by international NGOs. Second, more countries should be able to nominate sites when they get richer. And third, listed sites become increasingly younger, facilitating more nominations from countries.

1) Even geographical distribution of rejections
Reports from the World Heritage Committee meetings do not support the theory that Western sites are less often rejected than non-Western sites. The share of rejected sites is almost equal to the share of sites that is listed on every continent (figure 2-7). Europe makes up forty-six percent of the world heritage list, but also forty-five percent of the

rejected sites are European (156 of the 349 rejected sites). Europe is even the continent (after Oceania, with only five rejections) with proportionally the most number of sites rejected due to insufficient quality, whereas Africa scores the lowest.

Figure 2-7: Share of rejected and listed sites per continent, 1978-2003.



Sources: UNESCO (1978-2003) and UNESCO (2004a), adapted data.

2) More countries are able to nominate sites

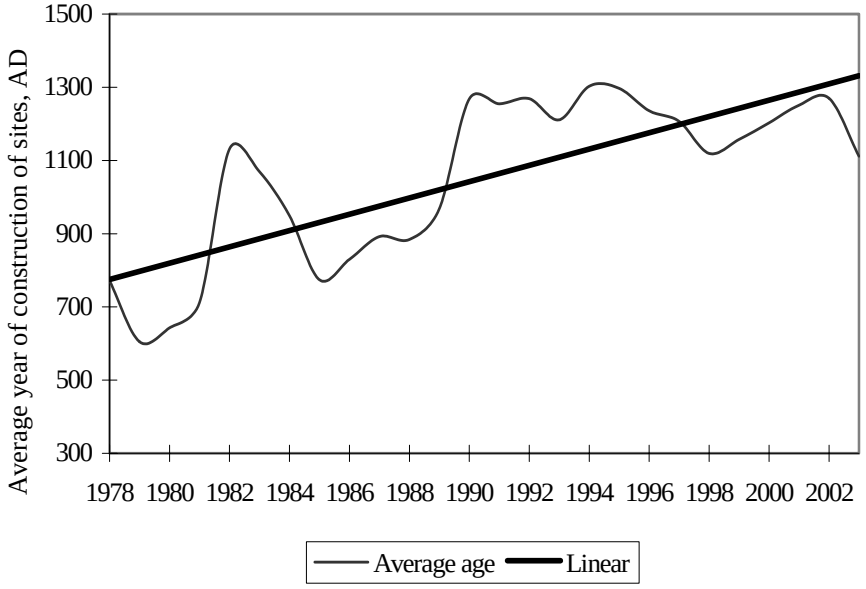
It is asserted that citizens of wealthy countries have greater interest in heritage, as the care for the built and natural environment becomes more feasible after primary needs are met (Franssen 1997: 26; Lynch 1972: 29; Mabulla 2000: 212). This could explain why more European heritage sites are on the world heritage list, as world heritage sites are predominantly located in richer countries. The world's twenty-one richest countries have on average thirteen world heritage sites. The other 146 countries that ratified the convention have on average a little more than three world heritage sites. However, increasingly more countries should be able to nominate sites as they become richer.

3) World heritage sites are increasingly younger

More and more countries should be able to nominate sites, as the average date of construction of a site gradually becomes more recent. In 1978, the average year of the construction of cultural sites was about 800 AD. Nowadays, sites date on average from about 1200 AD (figure 2-8). The shift towards less old monuments can be explained by the appearance of international heritage organisations that promote new kinds of heritage. The International Working Party for Documentation and Conservation of Buildings, Sites and Neighbourhoods of the Modern Movement (DOCOMOMO) promotes the architecture of the twentieth century and The International Committee for

the Conservation of the Industrial Heritage (TICCIH) focuses on industrial heritage. Countries deliberately jump on this bandwagon to maintain their active participation in the convention. Furthermore, Kuipers (1998: 55) mentions that many countries have followed a historical chronology when selecting potential world heritage sites.

Figure 2-8: Average year of construction of listed world heritage sites according to year of listing, three-year average.



Source: UNESCO (2004a), adapted data.

2.4.2 Cultural productions per region

UNESCO's statement concerning Europe's overrepresentation of world heritage sites suggests that the organisation has an idea of the number of sites that each region is entitled to. These claims, however, have only been backed by calculations of Europe's share *in proportion to* the share of other continents. Cleere (1998) poses a more relevant question: "Is the rest of the world underrepresented on the list or is Europe overrepresented?" (p. 27).

The number of sites that a country 'deserves' may not be dependent upon the number of sites in other countries. In contrast, a country may be entitled to a number of sites based on the quality of its heritage. Certain academics have argued that Europe is the continent with the richest history, paving the road to legitimate Europe's share on the world heritage list. Two proponents are David Landes (1998) and Jared Diamond (1997) whose arguments are found in *The wealth and poverty of nations: Why some are so rich and some so poor* and *Guns, germs and steel: The fates of human societies*, respectively. Both authors argue that Europe is more dominant than other civilisations, largely thanks to favourable environments (Blaut 1999: 391). Davies (1997: 46-47) stresses Europe's outstanding natural environment and contends that: "it is impossible to deny that Europe has been endowed with a formidable repertoire of physical

features. Europe's landforms, climate, geology, and fauna have combined to produce a benign environment that is essential to an understanding of its development… there is no comparison between the relative ease of travel in Europe and that in the greater continents".

Some authors have stated that Europe possesses most of the earth's heritage. Not backed by any calculations, Borley (1994: 7) asserts that "half the monuments of the world are to be found in Europe" and Van der Borg and Costa (1996: 215) call attention to a study: "according to a much cited, but never officially published, study by UNESCO, more than fifty percent of the global cultural and historical heritage is concentrated in Italy". These arguments may be just as invalid as UNESCO's contention, as they are merely opinions. There is a danger of judging representations on the basis of beliefs: "The scientific relevance of representativity in relation to heritage can always be contested… If it is not based on scientific premises, the representativity of world heritage would risk being reduced to questionable political arithmetic" (Musitelli 2003: 330). The 'fairness' of a spatial heritage distribution can be estimated, as "the locations of the sites are the chance products of history and geography" (Batisse 1992: 28). The major problem is how to measure the quality of a region's heritage sites.

2.4.3 History as indicator for cultural production

A region's importance in history is a possible way to measure the number of heritage sites a region 'deserves'. Both heritage and history make continually changing *selections* of the *past*. Historians select the history that they think is relevant, heritage "is what contemporary society chooses to inherit" (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996: 6). The selection of history and heritage are contemporary phenomena: "History… is not a fixed entity but an activity. History is the story we are constantly telling ourselves… We history" (Brett 1993: 186). History is not a selection of what was important in the *past*, but what one *today* thinks is important about the past (Friedman 1994: 118).

The convergence between heritage and history possibly makes history a useful indicator for the number of heritage sites that each region 'should have'. The usage of history as a parameter for heritage raises, however, the challenge of identifying a source to measure the role of various continents in world history. A common source for analysing representations is written material in any form, varying from leaflets to books. In this case, handbooks seem to be most useful. In theory, such handbooks should encompass the history of all countries, should run from the origin of the human race until the present day, and should be as objective as possible, preferably put together by people from different parts of the world. Evidently, such an ideal source is hard to find.

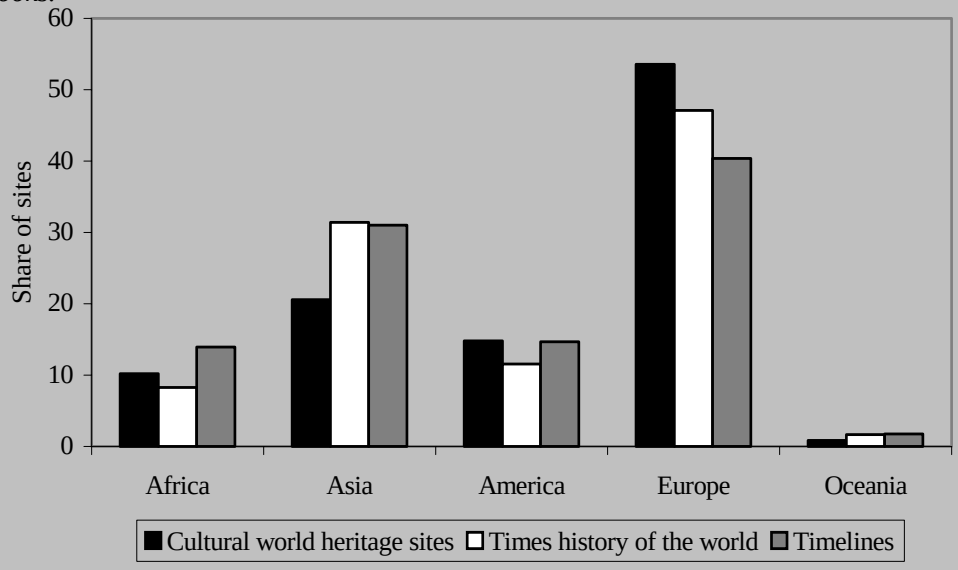
A preliminary analysis of the prominence of various continents in history is presented in box 2-2. World history is narrated in two books, *The Times history of the world* and *Timelines of world history*. The usefulness of these two handbooks for assessing various continents' cultural productivity is highly contested and the number of consulted books should be much higher to lend more validity. Despite these disadvantages, the books seem to indicate that it is too naïve to simply conclude that Europe is over-represented on the world heritage list because it has the most number of sites. UNESCO's aim of achieving spatial balances as formulated in their 'global strategy' may be incorrect, or even 'unfair'.

Box 2-2: History books as indicator for the number of world heritage sites.

Possible books to analyse the role of various continents in world history are *The Times history of the world* and *Timelines of world history*. Both books cover the whole world and all time eras, whereby the first-mentioned book explicitly attempts "to avoid too Eurocentric a treatment" (Overy 1999: 13) and *Timelines*'s objective is "to provide a reference work which looks at the world as an outsider… there is no country or civilisation at its centre" (Teeple 2002: 3). The disadvantages of these sources also abound. The editor of *The Times history*, as well as twenty-four of the twenty-five contributors were then academics at universities in the United Kingdom, while *Timelines* was written by someone from the United States of America. These books do not necessarily deal with cultural productions, but "provide an authoritative history of the world" (Overy 1999: 13) or present "the chronological… factual data, who, what, where, when, and why" (Teeple 2002: 3).

The attention of these two sources to the various continents has been analysed as follows. In *The Times history*, the 365 themes, ranging from man's origin until 1870, have been ascribed to the dominant continent. In *Timelines*, the more than six thousand events between 10,000 BC and 1900 AD have been assigned to one of the five continents.

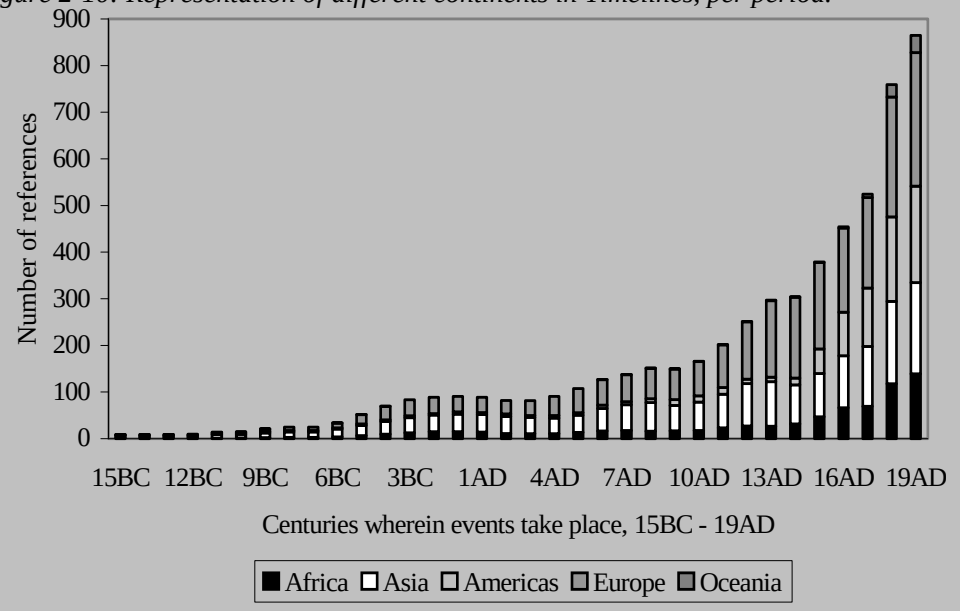
Figure 2-9: Continents' share of world heritage sites and attention given in two history books.



Sources: UNESCO (2004a), Overy (1999), and Teeple (2002), adapted data.

The spatial distribution of cultural world heritage sites largely coincides with the attention given to the various continents in *The Times history* ($R^2 = 0.89$) and *Timelines* ($R^2 = 0.83$) (figure 2-9). The latter shows another striking feature. The distribution of events over time in *Timelines* (figure 2-10) resembles the age of world heritage sites in different continents (figure 2-6).

Figure 2-10: Representation of different continents in Timelines, per period.



Source: Teeple (2002), adapted data.

2.4.4 Failure of the 'global strategy'

A number of 'imbalances' and 'gaps' have been discerned on the world heritage list by UNESCO (1994: 3), including the over-representation of historic towns, religious buildings, and European sites. And sites from prehistory, the twentieth century and 'living cultures' were thought to be underrepresented. The noted imbalances prompted action, such as the establishment of the World Heritage Centre in Paris, the introduction of the concept of cultural landscapes in 1992 (Pocock 1997a: 267; Rössler 2003: 14), and the implementation of the 'global strategy' in 1994 (Fontein 2000: 41). The harder UNESCO tried to redress these 'imbalances', however, the more the spatial and typological alleged imbalances have grown. This is inferred from four indications.

First, thirty-one countries have ratified the convention since 1994, but especially the new European countries have put forward sites. The new European countries have designated four sites on average, new countries on other continents about two. The new countries got seventy-five sites listed, but only three of them deal with the prehistory or an archaeological zone. Apparently, there were initial attempts to include countries with relics from extinct civilisations, at the expense of countries without such remains.

Second, European countries make the best use of the opportunities offered by the 'global strategy'. Regardless of whether one looks at cultural landscapes, modern twentieth century heritage, industrial heritage, or prehistoric heritage, Europe benefits most from the opportunity to nominate sites in these categories. Between 1995 and 2003, twenty-nine of the forty-four cultural landscapes (sixty-six percent; see also Fowler 2003: 24), thirteen of the fourteen industrial heritage sites (ninety-three percent; see also Van Hooff 2002: 2-3), seven of the ten modern heritage sites (seventy percent) and four of the eleven prehistoric sites (thirty-six percent) are located in Europe.

Third, the two kinds of cultural sites that are already sufficiently represented on the world heritage list according to UNESCO – historic towns and religious buildings – still inundate the world heritage list in great numbers. Especially European countries have continued to nominate these sites. They have successfully nominated forty-seven historic towns (fifty-three percent of the total) and twenty-four religious structures (fifty-seven percent of the total) since 1994.
And fourth, the share of natural sites shrunk, from twenty-five percent in the period 1978-1994 to eighteen percent in the period 1995-2003. During its 2000 meeting in Cairns, Australia, the World Heritage Committee changed its tack by introducing a 'waiting list'. From 2003 onwards, the number of annually inscribed sites was limited to thirty and priority is given to sites in not- or underrepresented countries or regions (UNESCO 2000: 10). It is yet too early to evaluate this new policy.

2.5 Conducting country studies

Countries are the most powerful actor in designating world heritage sites. The aggregated country and continent data as analysed so far, however, does not offer insight into why and how countries select sites. Mexico, for instance, has two natural world heritage sites, which is relatively low for a large and not densely populated country. The motives of various actors in Mexico have to be analysed in more detail to better understand the low number of natural world heritage sites in this country. The large role accorded to the geographical entity 'country' within the world heritage convention makes it logical to conduct studies at the level of countries.

2.5.1 Scale level of case studies

The evaluation of the effectiveness of the world heritage convention is best carried out at two scale levels, the national and the local levels. Both the selection and the preservation of sites depend on the country in which the site is located as well as on the local heritage site. Each country under study is defined as a different case and each case consists of the activities at the national level and site studies at the local level.
Countries that ratified the convention have promised to take necessary steps to better preserve listed sites (Batisse 1992: 16), but primary responsibility rests with the country in which the site is located. The management of sites is likely to vary between countries because of different traditions in managing heritage sites. National parks had existed for more than a century in the United States of America when Yellowstone National Park became a world heritage site. The average Asian national park has been in existence for about thirty years when it becomes a world heritage site.
The research also focuses on the meaning of a listing in the local context. There is a need to look at different kinds of sites, as the impacts of a listing are likely to be site-dependent: "Any analysis of the implications and significance of world heritage status is rendered problematic by the diverse nature of the sites, and is complicated further by the range of contexts in which they are located" (Smith 2003: 108-109).

2.5.2 Case study methodology

The conducted case studies should contribute to the insight whether different countries nominate the 'best' heritage sites and only the 'best' for the world heritage list. The research at the national level focuses on the decision makers that work at national

heritage organisations. What are the reasons to nominate certain sites, what are their powers and limitations to nominate certain sites and what actions have been taken at the national level to strengthen the preservation of listed world heritage sites?
The world heritage convention's effectiveness is predominantly evaluated at the local level, as the insight into the impacts of listing – day-to-day preservation and the impact of tourism – are largest at the local level. There are three alternatives for measuring the impacts of a world heritage listing. First, by comparing the situation at a site before and after the listing. Second, by comparing the situation at a site with a comparable non-world heritage site in the same country or region. And, third, by comparing the situation at a world heritage site with the situation at a higher scale-level.
The second and third options meet with more problems than the first one. The second option – comparison with a comparable site – abounds with operational problems. How to find a comparable site when world heritage sites are by definition unique? And, will the world heritage status or other intervening variables, such as location or fame, explain differences between sites? Research based on the third option would yield statistical data, such as the number of visitors at particular sites. This may lead to useful insights, but it would not be sufficient to answer the research questions. Higher visitor numbers after listing are an indication that a world heritage designation leads to more visitors. Field data remain necessary, however, to check that the increase does not follow the opening of a new visitor centre or a new road. Data on the number of visitors have – whenever available – only been used as a check.
The first option has been chosen as the primary method to track the impacts of a world heritage listing. In-depth interviews are conducted at the local level with key actors, often site managers, who could supply information on trends and changes in protection and visitor numbers over a period of time. Ideally, the respondent should be able to give information on management issues from a couple of years before the listing until the present. The respondents should preferably have several years of work experience at the site. In instances when the respondent did not meet that requirement, the researcher interviewed the person that was most appropriate.
The decision to conduct in-depth interviews at two scale levels has impacts on the validity of the research. The validity of the research will increase with an increasing number of cases, but in-depth interviews are also a time-consuming way of data gathering. The 'trade-off' between the wish for a large number of sites and restricted available time has placed some limitations on the validity of the outcomes of the research. First, studied countries – and sites – are restricted to a certain geographical region. And second, not more than one local stakeholder per world heritage site and at most three actors at the national level have been interviewed.

2.5.3 Criteria for selecting case studies

The research was envisioned as an exploratory one, as not much research had yet been done on the selection and impacts of world heritage listings (Jones 1994). Swanborn (1996: 61) recommends keeping the variation between the cases – or the differences between the countries – low in an exploratory research. At the same time, the research should contribute to the understanding of how world heritage works in different kinds of countries. As such a *multiple* case study – a study in more than one country – is the most suitable line of approach.

Not all 178 countries that ratified the world heritage convention qualify as case studies. The research aims to understand the impacts of a world heritage listing at the local level, so the research is restricted to countries that have at least one world heritage site. The choice between the remaining 129 countries has been made on both pragmatic grounds and reasons concerning the content of the research as Swanborn (1996: 73) advises. One country, the Netherlands, was solely selected for pragmatic reasons. Five criteria for selecting case countries have been formulated, while keeping in mind that it is important to select cases that are thought to produce most insight in the matter of interest (Swanborn 1996: 61).

First, the impacts of a world heritage listing are not expected to happen overnight. Presumably a couple of years will pass by before the legal protection of sites has improved or until world heritage sites are included in tourist guides. A time-lapse of ten years was set to assure that potential effects have taken place. In 2002 – when this criterion was formulated – eighty-six countries had at least one world heritage site.

Second, case study research is expected to deliver the most valid and reliable information when this is done at more than one site. Validity increases when similar patterns are found at more sites (see also Turtinen 2000: 8). No absolute number can be calculated and the exact number is not a paramount issue (Hamel *et al.* 1993: 34-35), but the minimum number of researched world heritage sites per country was limited to six. Therefore, the number of countries that qualify shrunk to twenty-four.

Third, case countries should have at least one natural and one cultural world heritage site, as research at various kinds of sites will result in more robust findings that are applicable to a larger range of sites (Schofield 2000: 79-80). Other classifications can be made – such as hominid sites, industrial sites, rock art sites, cultural landscapes and historic cities and towns (UNESCO 2004a) – but in this research the choice was made for the most basic division of sites. This reduced the number of potential sites to nineteen.

Fourth, the need for geographical restrictions led to the prerequisite that countries should be located in a limited number of continents. A more pragmatic prerequisite was then added. It would be helpful if the researcher – who speaks Dutch and English – could effectively communicate with the respondents in at least a number of countries. The focus of the research was directed at the three continents of Europe, North America, and Latin America. This criterion reduced the number of possible countries to twelve (table 2-1).

And fifth, countries should possess different characteristics regarding their political, cultural and economic circumstances. Different domestic circumstances are liable to have an impact on the reason behind nomination of sites and the ability to preserve world heritage sites. The country's political organisation – federal or non-federal – might affect whether world heritage sites will be spatially concentrated or evenly distributed. Political changes might influence a country's willingness to participate in the convention. The inclusion of countries with different cultures or multi-cultural societies will make clear whether all groups have access to the world heritage list. Varying economic circumstances will have an influence as well, as poor and rich countries – identified according to their gross domestic product (GDP) per capita – are likely to have different aims in nominating sites. Another issue to be looked at is whether or not economically poor countries receive foreign help to enable them to preserve their world heritage sites better.

Table 2-1: Overview of countries that qualify as case studies.

	Country	Continent	Cultural sites in 1992	Natural sites in 1992	Total sites in 1992	GDP/capita in 1998 (€)
1	France	Europe	19	1	20	18244
2	*Spain*	*Europe*	*16*	*1*	*17*	*13726*
3	*USA*	*North America*	*8*	*9*	*17*	*25146*
4	Greece	Europe	13	2	15	12135
5	*UK*	*Europe*	*11*	*3*	*14*	*17470*
6	Canada	North America	4	6	10	19620
7	*Mexico*	*Latin America*	*9*	*1*	*10*	*6407*
8	Peru	Latin America	6	4	10	3595
9	Bulgaria	Europe	7	2	9	4027
10	Turkey	Europe	7	2	9	5671
11	Brazil	Latin America	7	1	8	5556
12	*Poland*	*Europe*	*5*	*1*	*6*	*6487*

Note: Finally selected case studies are in italics.
Sources: UNESCO (2004a) and Wolters-Noordhoff (2001: 207-212).

Ultimately the United Kingdom and the United States of America were selected for their high GDP per capita and the varying perceptions over time in the usefulness of UNESCO. These two countries, together with Spain, can be labelled as federal countries. Spain is also selected as it had – together with Italy – the most world heritage sites in 2002 (thirty-six). The country also has several population groups with a distinct cultural identity, such as the Catalans, the Galicians and the Basques. Finally, Mexico and Poland were chosen, as they are relatively poor. Also the presence of different population groups – Indian, white and mestizo – makes Mexico an interesting case. The different political ideologies in Poland before and after 1990 could give insight in the effectiveness of the convention under various political systems. Furthermore, another consideration was whether heritage sites in areas that until the Second World War belonged to Germany (Prussia) would be just as eligible for a world heritage listing as the heritage sites in the historic core of Poland.

2.5.4 Executing and analysing case studies

The case studies were carried out between November 2002 and December 2003, and in the following order: the Netherlands, United Kingdom, United States of America, Mexico, Poland and Spain (see appendix 1 for a detailed overview of interviewed organisations and dates). Most of Yin's (1994: 78) identified sources of information have been used – documents, interviews, direct observation, archival records, participant observation, and physical artefacts – but the emphasis was on conducting focus, or in-depth, interviews. Translators assisted during the case studies in Mexico, Poland and Spain. The large number of cases – sixty-seven sites at the local level and twelve organisations at the national level – made it helpful to derive the questions from a case study protocol (Yin 1994: 84).

In the first four countries examined, all except five world heritage sites listed by 1992 and situated on the mainland were included. The Tower of London was left out, as it was hard to get in touch with the management of the site. Redwood National Park and

Chaco Culture National Historic Park had to be omitted because of the three-week period allotted for case study. The same applied to the historic centre of Mexico City and El Tajín in Mexico.
An important omission became clear after the first four case studies. The criterion that only sites listed before 1992 would be included in the research excluded an important category from the research, the recently listed sites. These sites are different in that they have often applied for the world heritage status themselves, frequently for other reasons than pride alone. The inclusion of this category of sites was necessary to understand comprehensively the dynamics of the effectiveness of the world heritage convention. Accordingly, more recently listed sites were also included in the cases of Poland and Spain.
In Poland, all world heritage sites were researched, except two sites which were listed the latest – the churches of peace in Jawor and Świdnica and the wooden churches of Southern Little Poland, listed in 2001 and 2003. The inclusion of 'newer' sites necessitated a new selection approach in Spain, as it would be practically impossible to study all thirty-eight world heritage sites. The focus on six autonomous regions on the mainland –Catalunya, La Rioja, Castilla y León, Galicia, Communidad de Madrid, and Andalucía – reduced the number of possible sites significantly. No site could be selected from Euskadi (*Basque country*), as there is no world heritage site in this autonomous region. The final selection of sites was made according to the principle that both single monument and city centres, as well as earlier and later listed sites should be included.
Almost all respondents allowed the interviews to be taped and all interviews have been transcribed. The results of the interviews have been analysed by using NUD*IST, a computer package to analyse qualitative data. The insight gained from these case studies will be discussed in the following three chapters.

Chapter 3
Nominating world heritage sites

Which sites are nominated for the world heritage list largely depends upon who takes the initiative. As to the question 'Who has initiated the nominations for the world heritage list?', the answer differs by country, over time as well as according to the kind of site. The differences between countries are most apparent when sites are centrally selected – the initiative for a nomination is taken at the national level – during the initial period after signing the convention. Decentralised nominations replace central ones over time. And actors in the field of natural heritage have always been less interested in the convention than those involved in the field of cultural heritage.

3.1 Different national selection approaches

The outcome of the central selection in each country largely depends upon its specific historical, cultural, or political domestic circumstances. National selection mechanisms can be classified according to three trajectories. The first trajectory concerns nominations by a central organisation, possibly assisted by an advisory council, which focuses on (a certain part of) a historical core of its country. Poland and the Netherlands follow this trajectory. The second trajectory concerns countries with a central selection organisation that attempts to represent the diversity of cultures within the country. Two countries in the New World, Mexico and the United States of America, adopt this trajectory. The third trajectory includes selections by more than one organisation and by people from different parts of the country who take sites from all (political) regions into consideration. Spain and the United Kingdom conform to this trajectory.

3.1.1 Trajectory one – Central, highlighting one historical core

1) Poland

Poland has been an active partner in the world heritage convention from the outset. It nominated five sites during the first session of the World Heritage Committee in 1978 and all these sites were listed by 1980. These sites were centrally selected and highlight a political-historical core of Poland, while less typically Polish sites were excluded until the 1990s.

Centrally selected

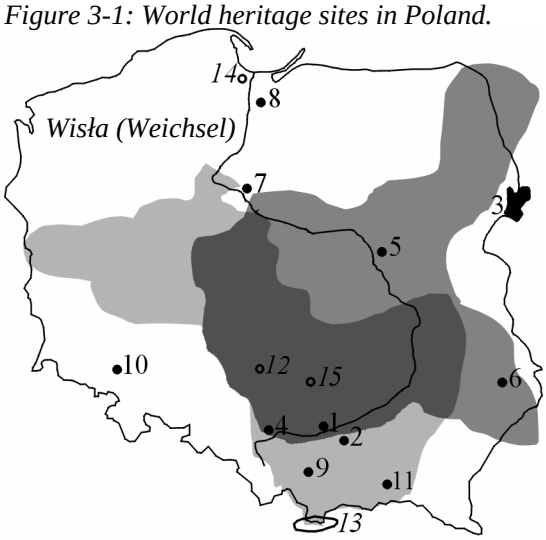
The leading person behind the Polish world heritage nominations was Krzysztof Pawłowski, the acting conservator of monuments at the Polish Ministry of Culture in

Warszawa (*Warsaw*), the vice-president of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) and member of the World Heritage Committee in 1978. Pawłowski's personal background influenced the selection of Polish sites. His wartime experience while growing up in Warszawa during the Second World War made a lasting impact on him and it may have affected his choice of Warszawa and Auschwitz (Interview 78). Later on, Pawłowski became an expert in the field of architecture, which influenced his choice of Kraków (*Cracow*). And the world heritage nomination of the Wieliczka salt mine was facilitated by the personal bond between Pawłowski and its director Antoni Jodłowski (Interview 81).

Spatial concentration in Poland's political-historic core

The Poles nominated different kinds of sites to show the World Heritage Committee both the heterogeneous character of a world heritage site and the different ways of interpreting the defined criteria (Pawłowski 1999: 15). This is evident from the nomination of the concentration camp of Auschwitz – still one of the few world heritage sites associated with war and atrocity, Wieliczka salt mine which was the only industrial world heritage site until the listing of Ironbridge in 1986 and the old centre of Warszawa – inscribed for its meticulous reconstruction. The selected sites, however, are rather homogeneous from a geographical perspective. All cultural sites nominated before the end of communism (1989) are located in a confined area (figure 3-1).

Figure 3-1: World heritage sites in Poland.



Listed, year of listing
1 Kraków's historic centre, 1978
2 Wieliczka salt mine, 1978
3 Białowieża forest, 1979
4 Auschwitz concentration camp,1979
5 Historic centre of Warszawa, 1980
6 Old city of Zamość, 1992
7 Medieval town of Toruń, 1997
8 Castle of the Teutonic Order in Malbork, 1997
9 Kalwarija Zebrzydowska, 1999
10 Churches of peace in Jawor and Świdnica, 2001
11 Wooden churches of Southern Little Poland, 2003

Rejected, year of rejection
12 Monastery of Jasna Góra, 1991
13 Tatra National Park, 1992
14 Gdańsk, 1997
15 The valley of Pradnik River in Ojcowski National Park, 2003

● 1 3 Listed cultural / natural site
○ *12* *13* Rejected cultural / natural site
Poland during reign of Casimir I (1040)
Kingdom of Poland (1900)
Overlap of these two areas (core area)

Sources: UNESCO (2004a) and Państowa służba geodezyjna i kartograficzna (1993, map 13.1 and 13.5), adapted data.

The historic core of Poland is the overlap between the Polish territory at the beginning of the Kingdom under the Piast dynasty and the Kingdom of Poland at the start of the twentieth century. The historic core has almost always been in Polish hands except for about two decades after 1795. During its Golden Age, Poland extended to the east up to Dnepr River, including the present world heritage sites of Lwów (Ukraine), Vilnius (Lithuania), and Mir Castle (Belarus).
The concentration of sites in the Polish historic core around Kraków is justified on the grounds that it mirrors the geographical reach of Polish history (Interview 78). The Piast dynasty was the first line of kings that created the Kingdom of Poland between the tenth and fourteenth century. The royal capital city of Kraków was the seat of the Polish King, Casimir the Great, where he founded the University of Kraków in 1364. From 1251 onwards, the salt-producing mines of Bochnia and Wieliczka financed much of the welfare of this kingdom (Lukowski and Zawadzki 2001: 28).
The Polish communist regime resisted German imperial claims, like the Piast empire did in the past (Davies 2001: 286). Consequently, the Polish communist regime regarded the accent on the Piast regime as unproblematic. However, Pawłowski did not solely focus on the Piast dynasty. Such a strategy would also have included the nomination of more Western places from where the Piast regime originated. This could have included cities like Gniezno or Poznań or the archaeological site of Biskupin that shows relics of human occupation since the seventh century BC (Chrzanowski and Zygulski 2001: 130-139).

Exclusion of not typically Polish sites
Sites without distinct Polish roots were excluded for a long time. German sites that lie in present-day Poland – such as the cities of Gdańsk (*Danzig*) and Toruń (*Thorn*), the castle of the Teutonic Order at Malbork (*Marienburg*) and the Church of Peace in Jawor (*Jauer*) as well as Świdnica (*Schweidnitz*) – could only be nominated when the Cold War was over. Polish historians are generally keen to emphasise historical bonds with former German areas (Vos 2000: 19), but the Polish did not attempt to include these originally non-Polish sites into their patrimony by nominating former German sites. Nominating German sites would be too contested. In the early nineteenth century, under German sovereignty these "towns were predominantly German… while the restoration of Marienburg castle, begun in the 1820s, was intended to express the 'idea' of the Teutonic Order and of German Prussia" (Lukowski and Zawadzki 2001: 128-129).
A good illustration of conflicting ascription of Polish identity is the castle in Malbork – arguably the most impressive fortress in Poland (Lukowski and Zawadzki 2001: 28). Gruszecki (1984) stated that the castle "has been Polish for a longer time than it was German [and], does not strike us as a symbol of the Prussian 'Drang nach Osten', despite the Prussian endeavours to this end in the 19th century" (p. 46). According to Pawłowski (1984: 4), "The effective preservation of complexes of fortifications erected by the occupying countries carries an element of conflict between the time-honoured value of the relics, and the emotions they evoke. Being originally directed against the Poles, they are likely to be viewed with animosity. The Malbork castle is an example of higher-rank reasons gaining the upper hand of emotions" (p. 4). A respondent also alludes this contestation:

> "[During] communism in Poland… a certain attitude applied to this place… All the time you pretended that it was very Polish… So probably, nominating this place on the list in the 1970s or 1980s was somehow too early, because then some things had to be revealed too much to the public… It was a very big obstacle, I think, in the process of nominating this castle. Probably the thinking was as follows. We have so many beautiful, typical Polish objects that this German-Polish object should wait a while."
>
> (Interview 87)

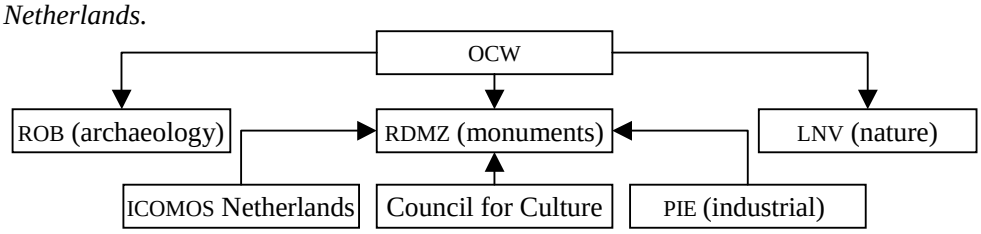
Similarly, Gdańsk – the German 'free city of Danzig' between the two world wars – does not represent a Polish nationalist identity (Ashworth and Tunbridge 1999: 113-114). And the nomination of the protestant Church of Peace in Świdnica as well as Jawor was difficult to achieve under the communist regime, as religion was prohibited until 1989. The association with Germany and the German heritage sites became less contested after the end of the Cold War, exemplified by the Polish-German treaty of friendship in June 1991 (Lukowski and Zawadzki 2001: 281), after which the nomination of the Castle of the Teutonic Order in Malbork, the cities of Gdańsk and Toruń and the two churches of peace became less contested.
Before 1989, Polish nominations for the world heritage list highlighted Poland's *politico-historical* core. Today's spatial distribution more closely reflects Poland's *economic* core, being the area around the River Wisła (*Weichsel*). In total, seven world heritage sites lie on the banks or in the vicinity of this river.

Photo 3-1: The world heritage nomination of the Auschwitz concentration camp was less contested than the Castle of the Teutonic Order in Malbork in communist Poland.


2) The Netherlands
In the Netherlands, the responsibility for nominating natural and cultural sites lies with the Dutch Ministry of Education, Culture and Science (*Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap*, OCW). Two of its organisations and another ministry have been appointed to select sites (figure 3-2). These are two executive agencies for cultural heritage – the Dutch State Agency for the Preservation of Monuments (*Rijksdienst Monumentenzorg*, RDMZ) and the Dutch State Service for Archaeological Investigations (*Rijksdienst Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek*, ROB) – as well as the Dutch Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Food Quality (*Ministerie van Landbouw, Natuur en Voedselkwaliteit*, LNV) for natural sites. LNV has not selected any site to

date. Actors from the first two agencies have put the most emphasis on a single aspect of Dutch history, the battle against water. This focus has led to a geographical concentration of sites.

Figure 3-2: Organisations involved in nominating world heritage sites in the Netherlands.



Core as narrative: Battle against water

Three groups advised RDMZ in the selection of monuments in 1993: the Dutch branch of ICOMOS, the Dutch Council for Culture (*Raad voor Cultuur*) and a provisional Project Group for Industrial Heritage (*Projectgroep Industrieel Erfgoed*, PIE) (De Jong 1996: 15). These advisory bodies compiled a list of about thirty sites, without much consultation or consideration about the criteria that nominated sites should meet (Chouchena and Van Rossum 1999: 7; Interview 15). Experts from the modern architecture movement supported, by the then Minister of Culture, Hedy D'Ancona, lobbied for the inclusion of buildings that are prominent exemplars of an architectural movement known as 'The Style'.

One person from RDMZ, Rob de Jong – who had more than twenty years of experience in making recommendations on Dutch heritage sites – made the final selection. This selection was based on the criterion that potential sites for nomination should be unique on a global level (Interview 15). The Amsterdam City Hall and the St. Jans Cathedral in 's-Hertogenbosch were removed from the shortlist, as better examples of these types of heritage could be found abroad. At the same time the Wouda steam pumping station in Lemmer was nominated because of its uniqueness in that it is the largest, *still working*, steam-driven pumping station in the world (UNESCO 2004a). The ten sites could be grouped under three headings: the Dutch battle against redundant water, the Golden Age (that lasted about fifty to hundred years from the mid-sixteenth century onwards) and the modern architecture of the twentieth century.

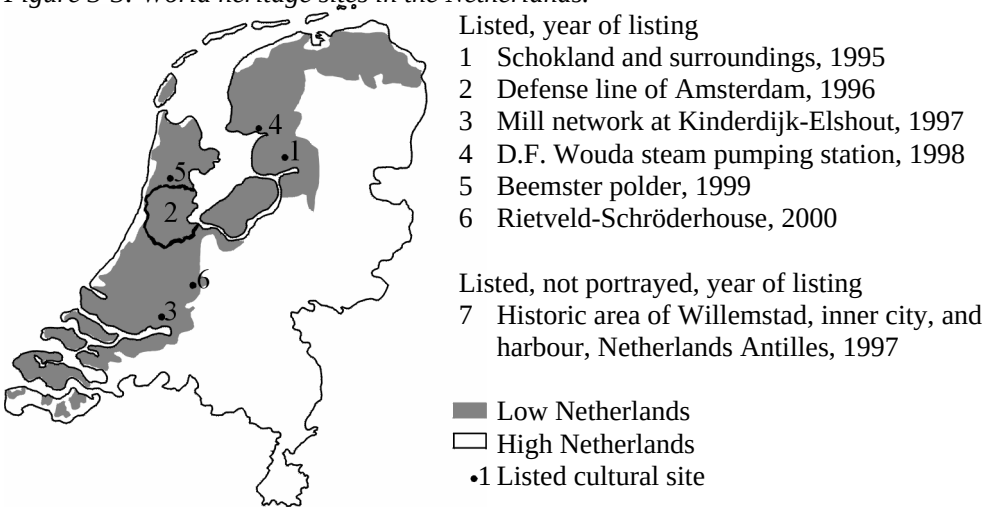
Photo 3-2: 'The Dutch battle against water': Wouda pumping station and Kinderdijk.

Preserving the heritage of humanity?

The ROB had already selected eight archaeological sites for the Dutch tentative list in 1993 according to its own professional evaluation (Interview 16). All its tentatively selected sites lie below sea level, as archaeological remains are better preserved when they are immersed in water (Hagers 1998: 6). Schokland, a symbol of the struggle against water, is the only archaeological site that has been submitted until May 2004.

Spatially concentrated in area below sea level
All listed sites (figure 3-3) and almost all tentatively selected sites lie in the western part of the Netherlands, which is below sea level. This spatial distribution of world heritage sites shares a common feature with the spatial distribution of national monuments, which are also concentrated in the western part of the Netherlands (Van Gorp and Renes 2003: 73). This area can be characterised as the historical, economic and political core of the Netherlands (Van der Aa *et al.* 2002: 59). The most important cities from the Dutch Golden Age, such as Amsterdam, Delft and Leiden, the commercial centre of Rotterdam and The Hague as political centre all lie in this region. Farjon *et al.* (2001: 13-14) have stressed that the man-made character and the role of water distinguish the Dutch landscape on a European level. More than half of the total Northwest European surface area of low peat cultivation, ancient reclaimed lands and old sea clay polders lies within the low-lying part of the Netherlands. However, internationally important landscapes that lie above sea level – such as sand drifts and high moorlands (Farjon *et al*. 2001: 14) – are excluded from the tentative list by virtue of the theme 'battle against water'. The thematic approach toward the landscape has led to a spatial concentration of sites in the Netherlands.

Figure 3-3: World heritage sites in the Netherlands.



Sources: UNESCO (2004a) and Wolters-Noordhoff (2001).

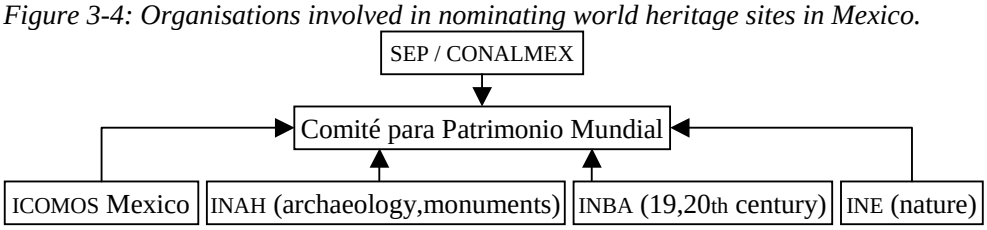
The stress on unique sites has led to a collection of sites that shows a part of the Dutch identity (Van Gorp and Renes 2003: 74). Participation in the world heritage convention seems to bring what the Netherlands was looking for – articulating its identity in an era of increasing globalisation (Chouchena and Van Rossum 1999: 5; RLG 1999: 21).

3.1.2 Trajectory two – Central, highlighting various histories
The second trajectory is characterised by a selection of sites by a central organisation that highlights a diversity of histories. Mexico and the United States of America are the case countries that follow this trajectory.

1) Mexico
Three distinct periods can be discerned in Mexican history, each with its own identity and own dominant group (see also Brading 2001). Until the arrival of the Spaniards in Central America, various Indian civilisations were dominant. Between 1500 and independence from Spain in 1810, the Spanish were the governing population group. And since the early nineteenth century onwards the population mix of Spanish and Indians, the mestizo, has become increasingly important. These three groups are still present in the Mexico of today, making it a multi-ethnic country (Smith 1990: 11), wherein "an encompassing common identity covering the various ethnic groups can be a necessary condition for endowing… [them] with legitimacy and functioning capability (Tägil 1995: 22). Within the context of (world) heritage, legitimacy has been given to all these groups. It took, however, some time before the Mexicans became aware of the importance of their post-colonial heritage.

Centrally selected
The responsibility for the selection of world heritage sites lies with the Mexican Commission for Cooperation with UNESCO (*Comisión Mexicana de Cooperación con la UNESCO*, CONALMEX), which falls under the Mexican Ministry of Education (*Secretaría de Educación Pública*, SEP) (figure 3-4). This commission has created the *Comité para Patrimonio Mundial* which includes representatives from cultural heritage organisations, such as ICOMOS Mexico, the Mexican National Institute of Anthropology and History (*Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia*, INAH) and, since the 1990s, the Mexican National Institute of Fine Arts (*Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes*, INBA). The Mexican National Institute of Ecology (*Instituto National de Ecología*, INE) is the only natural heritage organisation involved.

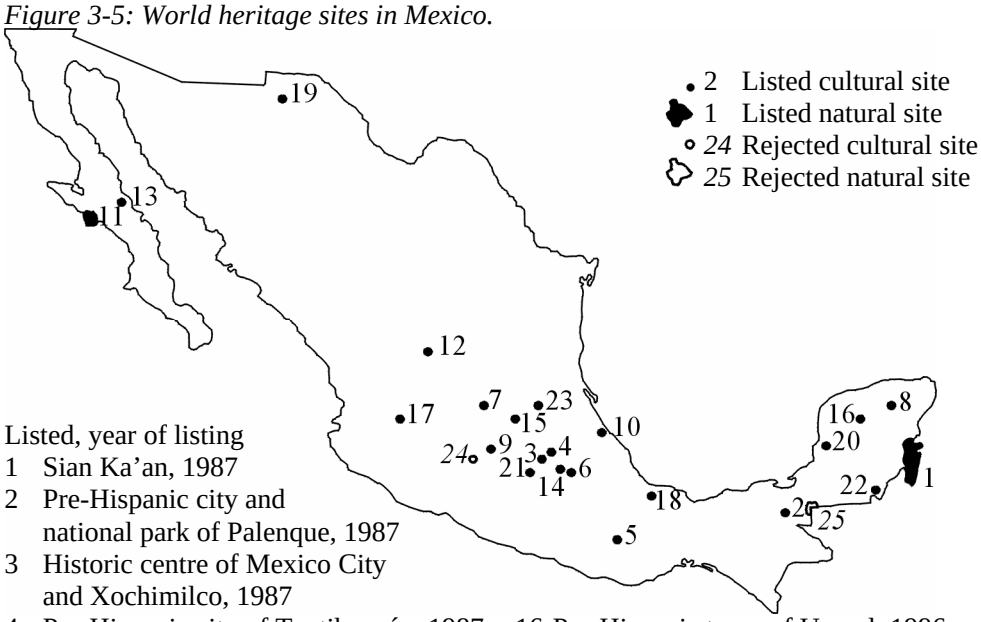
Figure 3-4: Organisations involved in nominating world heritage sites in Mexico.



The world heritage sites in Mexico do not highlight a specific part of Mexican history, because of Mexicans' continual struggle with their national identity. The Mexican concept of cultural heritage is a combination of indigenous and Spanish aspects (Churchill 2000: 6). The sensitivity of Mexican identity also played a role in the creation of the structure of INAH, the leading organisation in selecting cultural sites. In the 1980s, the organisation was divided into two sections, the Office of Pre-Hispanic Monuments and the Office of Colonial Monuments (Van der Aa 2005). The

ambivalence is evident in what Mexico has nominated for the world heritage list. The histories of all three population groups are reflected in the list, albeit this has not led to an even spatial distribution of sites (figure 3-5).

Figure 3-5: World heritage sites in Mexico.



Listed, year of listing
1 Sian Ka'an, 1987
2 Pre-Hispanic city and national park of Palenque, 1987
3 Historic centre of Mexico City and Xochimilco, 1987
4 Pre-Hispanic city of Teotihuacán, 1987
5 Historic centre of Oaxaca, and archaeological site Monte Albán, 1987
6 Historic centre of Puebla, 1987
7 Historic town of Guanajuato and adjacent mines, 1988
8 Pre-Hispanic city of Chichén-Itzá, 1988
9 Historic centre of Morelia, 1991
10 El Tajín, pre-Hispanic city, 1992
11 Whale sanctuary of El Vizcaíno, 1993
12 Historic centre of Zacatecas, 1993
13 Rock paintings of the Sierra de San Francisco, 1993
14 Earliest sixteenth-century monasteries on the slopes of Popocatépetl, 1994
15 Historic monuments zone of Querétaro, 1996
16 Pre-Hispanic town of Uxmal, 1996
17 Hospicio Cabañas, Guadalajara, 1997
18 Historic monuments zone of Tlacotalpan, 1998
19 Archeological zone of Paquimé, Casas Grandes, 1998
20 Historic fortified town of Campeche, 1999
21 Archaeological monuments zone of Xochicalco, 1999
22 Ancient Maya city of Calakmul, 2002
23 Franciscan missions in the Sierra Gorda of Querétaro, 2003

Rejected, year of rejection
24 Pátzcuaro Lake cultural zone, 1987
25 The nature reserve El Triunfo, 1997

Source: UNESCO (2004a), adapted data.

Both indigenous and colonial heritage

Since 1987, twenty-three Mexican sites have entered the world heritage list. The large majority – twenty-one sites – is cultural in character. Ten 'Indian' and ten 'Spanish' sites are listed, as well as one post-colonial site. Over the years the number of listed

'Indian' sites has become as high as the number of 'Spanish' sites (Van der Aa 2005). The equal rise in both types of sites is according to one source:

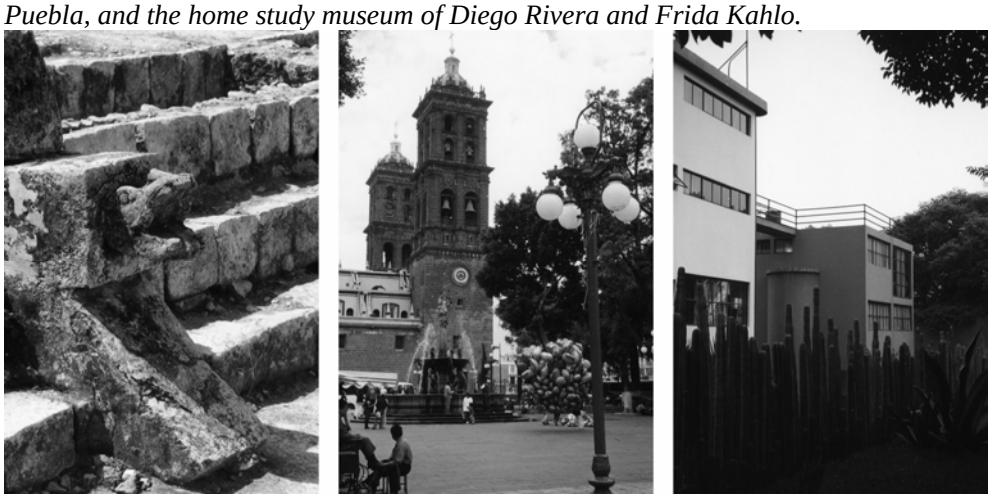
> "the outcome of our consciousness that we are composed of two parts, the Indian part and the Spanish part, together one whole… The whole discord is held together by a backbone that we call 'Mexican culture'. It is true that many Mexicans do not feel associated with 'Indian Mexico'. Even though we are all mestizo, the ones in the North are different from the ones in the South. In spite of these differences, the Mexican culture, whatever it is, keeps us together. So, we have reckoned with the various regions that make up the nation when we chose the sites that could be nominated."
>
> (Interview 57, *translated*)

The equal treatment of sites from the pre-Hispanic and colonial periods is illustrated by two dual nominations. The pre-Hispanic archaeological site of Monte Albán is combined with the nearby colonial inner city of Oaxaca. And the floating gardens of Xochimilco at the edge of Mexico City are amalgamated with the inner city. These sites are listed under one heading, even though the managers at the pre-Hispanic sites would prefer a separate listing (Interview 62 and 67). In contrast, the historic city of Querétaro and the Franciscan missionaries surrounding the city of Querétaro – that show more similarities in character, location and construction period – are not listed under one heading.

Later recognition of Mexico's post-colonial heritage

Post-colonial heritage is promoted by INBA, the organisation responsible for Mexico's nineteenth and twentieth century heritage. This organisation was established in 1946, but it has only been involved in the selection process for world heritage sites since the mid-1990s. In 1997 Hospicio Cabañas in Guadalajara, which has also some colonial elements in its design, was inscribed.

Photo 3-3: Pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial heritage in Mexico: Chichén-Itzá, Puebla, and the home study museum of Diego Rivera and Frida Kahlo.



The number of mestizo heritage sites is likely to increase, as seven of the twenty-one sites on Mexico's last tentative list (2002) concern post-colonial heritage (Van der Aa 2005). The importance of mestizo heritage has been enhanced by the works of Diego Rivera, Frida Kahlo, and Luis Barragán in Mexico City which are "a reflection of what happened in this time-era, in this case the twentieth century" (Interview 57, *translated*). The shift is supported by UNESCO's heightened interest in 'young' heritage.

2) United States of America

The second case country that practices a centralised selection system that leads to a representation of various histories is the United States of America. In this country, the decision what to nominate has been taken by a small number of people.

'Best judgement' at the federal scale-level

The Department of Interior is the responsible organisation for the world heritage convention in the United States of America. Its National Park Service (NPS) deals with the practical implementation of the convention. The NPS is also the responsible organisation for designating both national *historic* and *natural* landmarks. This combination is unique among the case countries.

Between 1978 and 1981 the NPS nominated sites such as Yellowstone, Edison National Historic Site (West Orange, New Jersey) and Independence Hall (Philadelphia) "on an administrative basis… They were basically pulled out of the air" (Interview 42). Detailed procedural regulations came into force in May 1982, as recorded in the Federal Register (Department of Interior 1997). It states that the NPS will be advised by nine organisations, both cultural and natural, that meet in the Federal Interagency Panel for World Heritage (Department of Interior 1997: 375). The national branch of ICOMOS, which in many countries is influential in what is selected in the first couple of years, only has observer status in the United States of America (Morton 1987: 3). A small number of people, however, decided on the final content of the tentative list:

> "There was so much confusion and debate and discussion and dissension and disagreement over what ought to be nominated, that the only way in which it could be organised was to take the list of 275 cultural sites, reduce it to what seems in somebody's judgement the most important sites, send them in and then continue going on from there."
>
> (Interview 42)

Jim Charleton and Earnest Connally from the National Register of Historic Places brought the list of cultural sites down to about fifty. Sites without a national historic landmark or without national park status were excluded (Charleton 1989: 15). The personal background of Earnest Connally, a professor in architecture and architectural history, influenced the inclusion of seventeen sites that relate to architecture – divided into three themes, early United States, modern and Wright school architecture. At the same time, two persons in the field of natural heritage selected about forty natural sites (Charleton 1989: 15).

The tentative list was meant to be an open-ended one (Charleton 1987: 17). Any individual or organisation was able to make suggestions for the list, as long as it was

substantiated by evidence to prove that the site meets the criterion of outstanding universal value. The tentative list, however, has hardly been altered since its first publication in 1982 (Charleton 2000). This method has not led to the best possible list, but it is a list that one could work with. As Charleton (2000) describes it, "Essentially, it is a best judgement list… [and] it was understood at the time that there were gaps."

Highlighting several histories

The United States of America has twelve natural and eight cultural sites on the world heritage list. There are four cultural sites from the pre-colonial as well as the colonial periods, and later additions to the world heritage list have numerically increased at the same rate over time. The pre-colonial sites – Mesa Verde, Cahokia Mounds, Chaco Culture and Pueblo de Taos – emphasise the indigenous cultures of the Indian populations, predominantly in the present state of New Mexico. Most sites from after independence – Independence Hall, La Fortaleza (Puerto Rico), Statue of Liberty and Monticello – refer to the establishment of a new society that values the principles of freedom, democracy, and independence (see UNESCO 2004a).

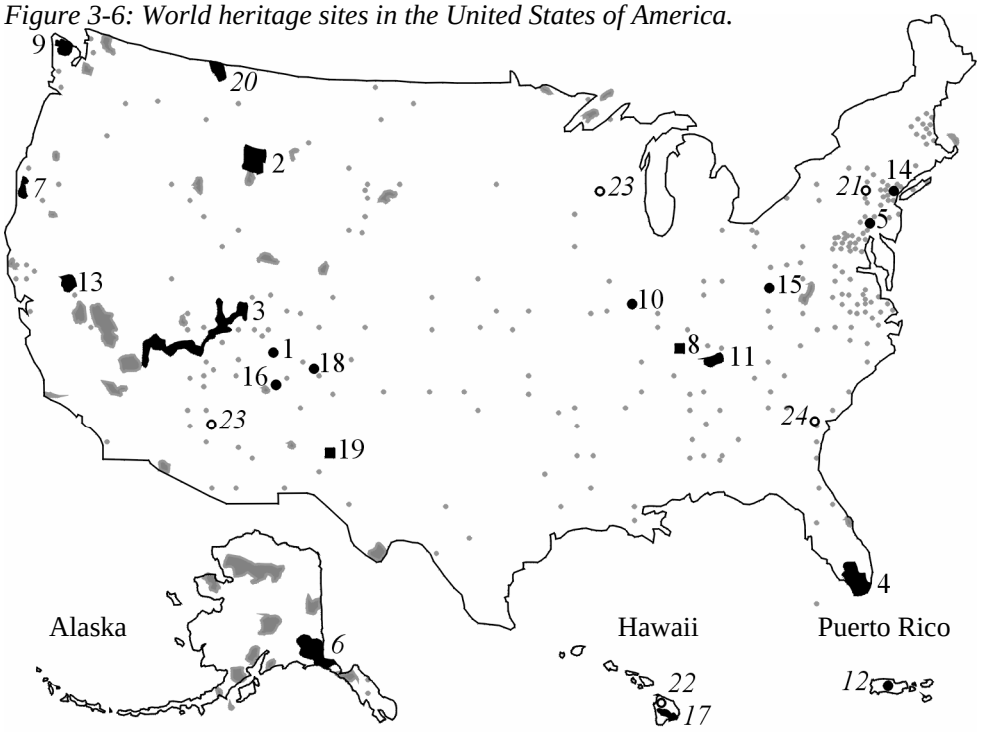
Photo 3-4: American cultural world heritage sites show pre-colonial and colonial sites: Mesa Verde and Monticello.

The world heritage sites are not evenly distributed throughout the various states:

> "The world heritage list is an attempt to try to categorise very extraordinary, different sites in a single system and to apply strict geographical or subject matters… really is not practical… The states in the United States are units of government, but they are actually the product of accidents of history and geography…. It is our task to identify them [potential world heritage sites] regardless of where they happen to be located."
>
> (Interview 42)

The spatial distribution of the world heritage sites in the United States of America shows a pattern that resembles the distribution of 387 – natural and cultural – national parks (figure 3-6). Large natural areas are predominantly located in the west of the country, while most cultural sites – such as battlefields, cemeteries, monuments, historic parks – are located along the east coast and in New Mexico. The geographical distribution of world heritage sites is alike. The middle of the United States of America has comparatively fewer national and international heritage sites.

Figure 3-6: World heritage sites in the United States of America.



Listed, year of listing

1 Mesa Verde National Park, 1978
2 Yellowstone National Park, 1978
3 Grand Canyon National Park, 1979
4 Everglades National Park, 1979
5 Independence Hall NHP, 1979
6 Kluane/Wrangell-St. Elias/Glacier Bay/Tatshenshini-Alsek, 1979
7 Redwood National Park, 1980
8 Mammoth Cave National Park, 1981
9 Olympic National Park, 1981
10 Cahokia Mounds State Historic Site, 1982
11 Great Smoky Mountains National Park, 1983
12 La Fortaleza and San Juan Historic Site in Puerto Rico, 1983
13 Yosemite National Park, 1984
14 Statue of Liberty National Monument, 1984
15 Monticello and the University of Virginia in Charlottesville, 1987
16 Chaco Culture NHP, 1987
17 Hawaii Volcanoes National Park, 1987
18 Pueblo de Taos, 1992
19 Carlsbad Caverns National Park, 1995
20 Waterton Glacier International Peace Park, 1995

Rejected, year of rejection

21 Edison State Historic Site, 1979
22 Pu'uhonua o'Honaunau NHP, 1987
23 Taliesin and Taliesin West, 1991, two locations
24 Savannah City Plan, 1995

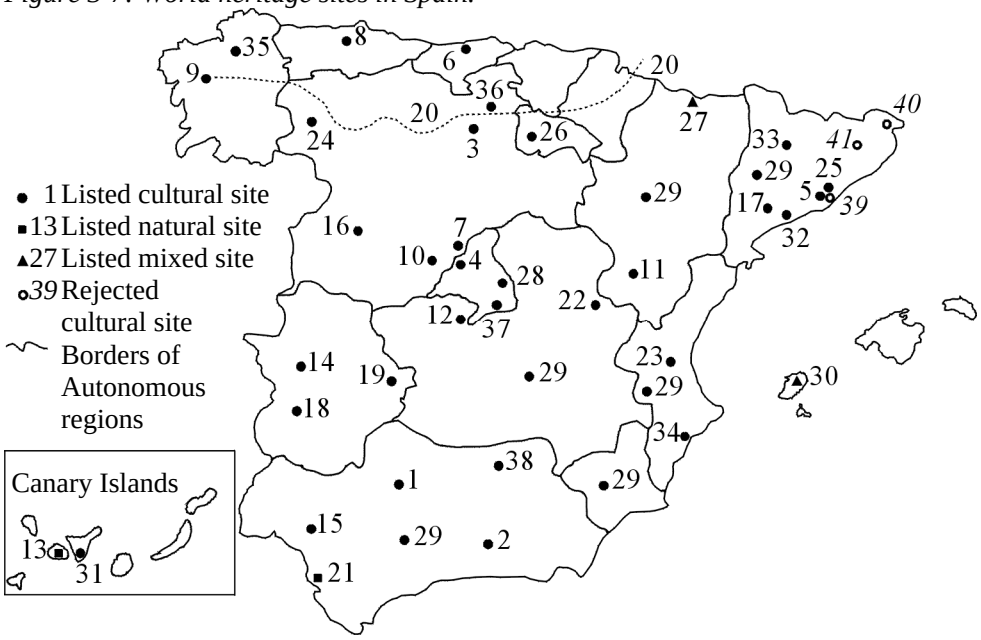
Sources: UNESCO (2004a) and NPS (2002a), adapted data.

3.1.3 Trajectory three – Decentralised, highlighting various histories
The third trajectory is characterised by the input of decision makers from all regions, which ultimately leads to a rather neat spatial distribution of world heritage sites. Spain and the United Kingdom are the two case countries in this trajectory and Spain constitutes a classical example.

1) Spain
In Spain the main responsibility for selecting world heritage sites lies with the Council of Historic Heritage (*Consejo del Patrimonio Histórico*), which is directed by the Spanish Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport (*Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte*, MECD). The council is formed by the directors of the heritage departments of all seventeen autonomous communities, while people with a juridical background run the world heritage convention at the national level (Interview 104).
The council meets three or four times a year. Most power is handed over to the regions in Spain, a reflection of how Spanish society is organised since the early 1980s. Franco's totalitarian regime, which lasted until 1975, sought to erase cultural differences – especially in the supposedly 'separatist' regions of Euskadi (*Basque country*) and Catalunya – and forbade any other religion than Roman Catholicism (Elorza 1995: 332; Moreras 2002: 132). After Franco's death many affairs, including cultural matters such as heritage, were decentralised to the regional level (Faucompret 2001: 330-331).

Highlighting Spain's various regional identities
The vast amount of power entrusted to Spain's autonomous regions has ensured that most of Spain's regional identities are represented on the world heritage list as well as an even distribution of sites over the country's territory (figure 3-7). All culturally distinct regions with their own identity – such as Galicia, Catalunya, Andalucía and Castilla y León – have had at least one site on the world heritage list from the beginning in 1984. Many sites show the respective region's identity. The works of Antoni Gaudí (Parque Güell, Palacio Güell and Casa Mila, Barcelona) and Lluís Domènech i Montaner (The Palau de la Música Catalana and the hospital de Sant Pau, Barcelona) in Catalunya are regarded as masterpieces of the Catalan architectural school *Modernista* that "focused on finding a regional identity" (Coad 1995: 58). These architectural ensembles are the offspring of the broader *Renaixença* movement, "the cultural rebirth that recuperated and vindicated Catalan language and culture" (Baker 2000: 163).
The government of Andalucía has nominated sites that show the Muslim presence in this part of Spain for seven centuries – the Mezquita Mosque in Córdoba and the Alhambra in Granada. The nomination of these Muslim-oriented sites is uncontested thanks to the Spaniards' "tolerant and open attitude to the contemporary Muslim presence in Spanish society" (Moreras 2002: 130). The city of Santiago de Compostela "represents not Spain but the region" of Galicia (Ashworth and Graham 1997: 382). And in the autonomous region of Aragón, the Mudejar de Teruel – Teruel is a province in the autonomous region of Aragón – was listed as a world heritage site in 1986. In 2000, the world heritage site was renamed Mudejar de Aragón, "clearly stating the region" (Interview 104).

Figure 3-7: World heritage sites in Spain.



Listed, year of listing

1 Historic centre of Córdoba, 1984
2 Alhambra, Generalife and Albayzin, Granada, 1984
3 Burgos Cathedral, 1984
4 Monastery and site of the Escorial, Madrid, 1984
5 Parque Güell, Palacio Güell and Casa Mila, Barcelona, 1984
6 Altamira cave, 1985
7 Old town of Segovia and its aqueduct, 1985
8 Monuments of Oviedo and the Kingdom of the Asturias, 1985
9 Santiago de Compostela, 1985
10 Old town of Ávila, with its extra-muros churches, 1985
11 Mudejar architecture of Aragón, 1986
12 Historic city of Toledo, 1986
13 Garajonay National Park, 1986
14 Old town of Cáceres, 1986
15 Cathedral, Alcazar and Archivo de Indias, Sevilla, 1987
16 Old city of Salamanca, 1988
17 Poblet Monastery, 1991
18 Archaeological ensemble Mérida, 1993
19 Royal monastery of Santa Maria de Guadalupe, 1993
20 Route of Santiago de Compostela, 1993
21 Doñana National Park, 1994
22 Historic walled town of Cuenca, 1996
23 La lonja de la seda de Valencia, 1996
24 Las Médulas, 1997
25 The palau de la música Catalana and The hospital de Sant Pau, 1997
26 San Millán Yuso and Suso monasteries, 1997
27 Monte Perdido National Park, 1997
28 University and historic precinct of Alcalá de Henares, 1998
29 Rock-art of the Mediterranean basin on the Iberian Peninsula, 1998 (727 sites; 6 regions)
30 Ibiza, biodiversity and culture, 1999
31 San Cristóbal de la Laguna, 1999
32 Archaeological ensemble of Tàrraco, 2000
33 Catalan romanesque churches of the Vall de Boí, 2000
34 Palmeral of Elche, 2000

Figure 3-7: World heritage sites in Spain, continued.

35 Roman walls of Lugo, 2000	Rejected, year of rejection
36 Archaeological site of Atapuerca, 2000	*39 Canonical Church of Sant Vicenç de Cardona, Barcelona, 1989*
37 Aranjuez cultural landscape, 2001	
38 Renaissance monumental ensembles of Úbeda and Baeza, 2003	*40 Monastery of Pere de Rodes, 1989*
	41 Girona, 1989

Source: UNESCO (2004a), adapted data.

World heritage sites in most autonomous regions

Spain's various identities come to the fore on the world heritage list. However, one of its culturally most distinct regions, Euskadi, is the only autonomous region that has no world heritage site. Ethnic groups can use their heritage to stress and preserve their cultural identity (Graham *et al.* 2000: 188). The Basques do so by using the Guggenheim museum in Bilbao (Richards 2000: 13), but it hardly ever participates in the Council of Historic Heritage as "the Basque prepare everything so that the move to independence will be less problematic… It is more of a political thing. But in the end, what happens is that they are out of the game" (Interview 104). Officials at MECD are keen on nominating Vizcaya bridge, Las Arenas (Euskadi) for the list, as it "is a pity that Basque country does not have a world heritage site yet" (Interview 104). The wish for a reasonable spatial distribution is a preconceived aim, analoguous to what UNESCO tries to achieve at the global level with the 'global strategy':

> "We are in a democracy and we have… to keep the technical, scientific and political interests in mind at the same time… We have to deal with territorial equilibriums… If we have two sites that fulfil the criterion and one is from a community that has not too many representations on the list and the other community does, we will put forward the one that is in the community that doesn't have many sites… It is the same thing as UNESCO wants. Why does UNESCO want every country to ratify the convention and have at least one site? Why? … It is a political argument, you want all countries included, it is like the Olympics. You want all countries to be present even if they do not have the capabilities."
>
> (Interview 104)

The wish for spatial equilibrium is also visible in Spain's tentative list, which contained twenty-three sites in December 2003. All seventeen autonomous regions – including Euskadi, and the two Spanish towns of Ceuta and Melilla on the African continent – have at least one site on the tentative list.

Nominating serial sites – sites that are located at different places – is popular in Spain, as several autonomous regions can be represented in one nomination. The route to Santiago de Compostela, which runs through five regions, was the first serial site in 1993. Twelve out of twenty-three sites on the tentative list concern a serial nomination, such as the mining routes (four regions), the extension of the works of Antoni Gaudí (four), the dinosaur footsteps (six) and the cultural wine route (twelve). A region like Castilla y León, which has two 'own' sites on the tentative list, is represented in seven other tentatively listed serial sites whose nomination is prepared by other regions.

Serial nominations allow the discussions in the Council of Historic Heritage to reach political outcomes with which all regions are content while qualitatively less outstanding sites can join more impressive ones:

> "When we discuss nominations in the Council of Historic Heritage it is easier [to settle] for serial nominations… If we ever have to vote, we have more votes… we reach easier equilibrium by giving something to each autonomous region, you know. For example, for the nomination of the dinosaur footsteps there are two, three communities that have very important footsteps. The other three have normal types, but we will keep them in the nomination."
>
> (Interview 104)

Especially federal countries follow the third trajectory that highlights various histories. In Germany, the sixteen states (*Bundesländer*) are responsible for the nomination of world heritage sites (Kuipers 1998: 62). The nomination of the monastic island of Reichenau, for instance, was the initiative of the *state* Baden-Württemberg (Overlack 2001: 64). In May 2004, twelve out of sixteen states had a world heritage site. The two cities of Hamburg and Bremen as well as the two former East German states of Brandenburg and Sachsen (*Saxony*) had none. In 1995 only two out of six former East German states had a site, a 'bias' that had to be repaired: "Auswärtiges Amt und Kulturminister-konferenz haben sich darauf geeinigt, in den kommenden Jahren den neuen Ländern den Vortritt zu lassen, um dieses Ungleichgewicht abzubauen" (Caspary 1995: 365).
The situation in Spain and Germany supports the thesis that federally organised countries "have difficulty managing balanced representation of the different territorial components of the state party" (Pressouyre 1993: 35). The situation in the United States of America, however, shows that not all federally organised countries have an even spatial distribution of world heritage sites. The degree of spatial distribution of world heritage sites depends on whether the various regions have access to nominating sites. This is affirmed by the situation in the United Kingdom. It has less federal characteristics than the United States of America, but still shows a rather even distribution of world heritage sites.

2) United Kingdom
World heritage nominations by the United Kingdom have taken place in two separate periods, the second half of the 1980s and from the late 1990s onwards. In both periods, experts from heritage organisations in the five parts that constitute this country – England, Wales, Scotland, Northern Ireland and the overseas territories – executed the selection (Interview 32; DCMS 1999: 7-8). ICOMOS UK assisted them (Leask and Fyall 2001: 58). This decentralist approach has led to nominations from all parts of the country but with fewer opportunities to nominate culturally distinct sites than in Spain.

Decentralised selection procedures
The final responsibility for nominating sites in the United Kingdom lay with the Department of Environment in the 1980s and its successor Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) in the 1990s. Representatives from the countries that make up

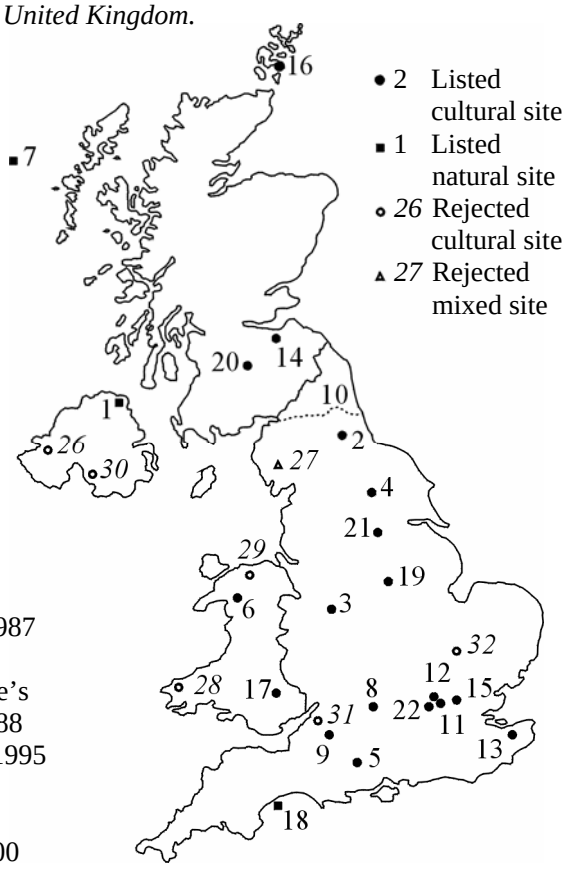
the United Kingdom formed a working group to draw up a tentative list. For example, the input for nominations from Wales came from Welsh Historic Monuments (CADW). It, in turn, consulted the Ancient Monuments Board for Wales – that gave advice on monuments, castles, abbeys and industrial monuments – and the Historic Buildings Council for Wales – that gave advice on historic buildings (Interview 32).
The first seven nominated sites in 1986 are evenly spatially distributed, with one site in Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales as well as two in Northern, one in Central and one in Southern England (see figure 3-8). Geographical equality was not a set aim, but the consequence of seeking advice from actors from all over the United Kingdom:

> "The list would not necessarily… have one site from Scotland, one site from Northern Ireland, and one site from Wales. It would be a list that drew together all the suggestions, but it was not necessary to have one site from each constitutionary country… We looked at the sites that were the best in the entire United Kingdom."
>
> (Interview 32)

Photo 3-5: United Kingdom's nominations are spread throughout the country: Giant's Causeway, Fountains Abbey, Blenheim Palace and Canterbury Cathedral.

A new tentative list was drawn up in the late 1990s. The English Review Committee focused on themes that were not yet well represented by the United Kingdom. A review of already listed sites showed that sites related to Christian origins, planned landscapes and gardens, Industrial Revolution and British global influence would be most liable for inclusion in the world heritage list (Tentative List Review Committee 1998: 11).

Figure 3-8: World heritage sites in the United Kingdom.



Listed, year of listing
1 Giant's Causeway and Causeway Coast, 1986
2 Durham Castle and Cathedral, 1986
3 Ironbridge Gorge, 1986
4 Studley Royal Park, including the ruins of Fountains Abbey, 1986
5 Stonehenge, Avebury, and associated sites, 1986
6 Castles and town walls of King Edward in Gwynedd, 1986
7 St. Kilda, 1986
8 Blenheim Palace, 1987
9 City of Bath, 1987
10 Hadrian's Wall, 1987
11 Westminster Palace, Westminster Abbey, Saint Margaret's Church, 1987
12 Tower of London, 1988
13 Canterbury Cathedral, St. Augustine's Abbey and St. Martin's Church, 1988
14 Old and New Town of Edinburgh, 1995
15 Maritime Greenwich, 1997
16 Heart of neolithic Orkney, 1999
17 Blaenavon industrial landscape, 2000
18 Dorset and East Devon Coast, 2001
19 Derwent Valley Mills, 2001
20 New Lanark, 2001
21 Saltaire, 2001
22 Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, 2003

Listed, not portrayed, year of listing
23 Henderson Island, 1988
24 Gough Island Wildlife Reserve, 1995
25 Historic town of St. George and related fortifications, Bermuda, 2000

Rejected, year of rejection
26 Ecclesiastical sites of Lough Erne, 1987
27 Lake District National Park, 1987, 1990
28 St. Davids Close and Bishops Palace, 1987
29 Menai and Conwy suspension bridges, 1988
30 Navan fort, 1988
31 SS 'Great Britain', 1988
32 Cambridge Colleges and the backs, 1989

Rejected, not portrayed, year of rejection
33 Diana's peak and high peak, St. Helena, 1987

Source: UNESCO (2004a), adapted data.

Regional differences

All countries in the United Kingdom have given input for a common United Kingdom tentative list. However, the working method has been rather different between Wales

and England on the one hand and Scotland and Northern Ireland on the other hand. For example, in 1997 English decision-makers sought the views of experts on 122 sites by consulting over 500 organisations and individuals, of whom more than 420 responded (DCMS 2000). These consultations, however, only had a small impact on the final selection. Thirteen out of the fifteen sites recommended by the review committee also ended up on the final tentative list. Only Saltaire and Shakespeare's Stratford replaced Stowe Gardens, Buckingham, and Boxgrove early man site, Chichester (Sussex).
In Scotland there was no system to select potential sites. A broad list was reduced continuously when a small group of Historic Scotland officials discussed the subject during coffee break until a couple of sites remained (Interview 5). This process excluded Scottish NGOs from suggesting sites and prevented the nomination of potential sites (Williams 2003: 175-176).
The Scottish put their tentative list together in isolation from the rest of the United Kingdom, which led to the nomination of some sites that did not fit within the identified themes. The dry stone tower at Mousa Broch (Shetland Islands) and Stirling Castle and the upper town of Stirling were not included in the final tentative list for this reason (see also Gillon and McAfee 1999: 36). Another 'typical' Scottish site that was suggested by the Scottish – the Dallas dhu malt whiskey distillery in Forres – was not included in the final United Kingdom tentative list. It seems harder for the regions of the United Kingdom to show their distinct identity than their Spanish counterparts.

3.2 Patterns in world heritage nominations

The different selection mechanisms in the six case countries lead to various outcomes in kind, quality and spatial distribution of sites. Besides, two non-country specific patterns can be identified. Local initiatives replace the national selection over time. And natural heritage stakeholders have always been least interested in the convention.

3.2.1 Pattern one – Different approaches over time

The idea for a nomination during the country's first years of participation in the convention often originates centrally, from actors at national heritage departments or the national ICOMOS branch. In the United Kingdom, these actors went "for the very obvious ones, these were the big frontrunners… Stonehenge, Westminster, Bath" (Interview 32). Two exceptions to this pattern, involving earlier-listed sites whose idea for nomination came from organisations from below the national level, are Córdoba and Santiago de Compostela (Spain). The nomination of both sites was suggested by their municipality. These two sites are considered as decentralised nominations.
This research also includes sixteen decentrally (or non-central) nominated sites that were listed during the latter phase of a country's participation: Blaenavon (United Kingdom), Cahokia Mounds and Pueblo de Taos (United States of America), Morelia and Zacatecas (Mexico), Zamość, the Castle of the Teutonic Order in Malbork, Toruń and Kalwarija Zebrzydowska (Poland), and Las Médulas, Monte Perdido, Tàrraco, the Catalan romanesque churches of the Vall de Boí, Roman walls of Lugo, Aranjuez and Baeza (Spain).
The world heritage convention often becomes better known in a country after the first central nominations. Local and regional governments, Members of Parliament and people liaising with different kinds of heritage NGOs become more aware of the

convention. Countries which are more tourism-oriented such as Poland, Mexico and Spain account for the biggest number of decentralised requests. There have also been local requests in the United States of America, "but the vast majority of them do not qualify for technical reasons" (Interview 42). In the last couple of years, the anti-United Nations sentiments in the United States of America have not furthered new requests. The number of decentralised requests is low in the Netherlands, as the convention is still relatively unknown as well as the fact that this country harbours fewer ambitions to develop tourism than other countries (Renes 2004: 12).
Local actors apply for listing, as the status should either bring more visitors or enhance the preservation of a heritage site or a category of sites (Smith 2003: 109). In tourism-oriented countries most decentralised requests come from mayors who want to attract more visitors (see also Evans 2002b: 4). Local requests for world heritage nominations to improve the protection of the site come from actors that are not directly involved in the site's management, but interested in the site. The initiative for a world heritage nomination to improve a site's preservation through increased international recognition may also come from a particular heritage NGO.
The move towards decentralised nominations has led to a world heritage list comprising not only national icons but also a list that reflects more than one identity. Pride resulting from listing decreases at the expense of the desire to use the listing to attract visitors or preserve the site. Decentralised nomination leads to a shift in location of world heritage sites away from the country's centre towards its periphery.

Attracting tourists
INAH's *Dirección de patrimonio mundial* in Mexico has received about five nomination documents and another twenty suggestions, mainly from cities, in the last two years (Interview 56). The inclusion of the churches in the Zoque province of Chiapas in Mexico's tentative list, for instance, is part of the Zoque Province Project whose goal "is to offer leisure and cultural tours of the area… in order to reactivate the economy of the region and improve its inhabitants' quality of life" (INAH 2002: 155-156).
In Poland about fifteen requests have been received from mayors in 2003, often supported by Members of Parliament, in the hope of turning certain areas into tourist attractions (Interview 86). In Spain MECD receives a phone call for a nomination every two weeks, primarily from mayors (Interview 104). One example is the mayor of Tarragona who pursued the designation to attract more visitors to the archaeological ensemble of Tàrraco. The municipality was rewarded for its determination to obtain the status. Its nomination was rejected two years before it made it to the list in 2000.
In the United Kingdom, local requests are submitted once in a while, but this does not solely concern heritage cities which are nominated by mayors. The nomination of industrial heritage sites, such as the Blaenavon industrial landscape (Taylor 2001: 22; Jones and Munday 2001: 585) and Derwent Valley Mills (Smith 2000a: 409-413) started locally, albeit TICCIH had already identified both industrial sites in a comparative study. At Blaenavon, the local Torfaen county borough was keen on a nomination for its potential economic benefits:

> "the local council, the Torfaen county borough, was very enthusiastic… They see world heritage as something that can help the regeneration in the area… It

> was mainly driven by the chief officer and an officer below him…Certainly initially, they saw the economic benefits first. They said: 'We clearly see some economic benefits, is this a world heritage site and can we get it on the list?'"
>
> (Interview 34)

In the United Kingdom most tourism stakeholders only become dominant *after* a world heritage designation, such as at the Dorset and East Devon Coast, where the nomination "was most driven by the scientists. Now it is on the world heritage list, the people who are most active are the people who are involved on the tourism side" (Interview 36).

Improving the site's protection

The request for a world heritage nomination can also be attributed to the desire for more and better protection. Such requests often come from researchers and experts. The research team at Las Médulas (Spain) applied for the status in 1997 to secure another level of protection to the landscape. The researchers aimed for a listing under the convention, as UNESCO was the first organisation that recognised the value of cultural landscapes (Interview 98). Likewise, the idea of nominating the cultural landscape of Kalwarija Zebrzydowska (Poland) came from a professor at Kraków's Polytechnic University and a member of the Polish Commission for UNESCO. Prestige resulting from a designation would improve the area's protection (Interview 84). At Pueblo de Taos (United States of America), the Indian community was determined to obtain the label, as such listing would help them fight the planned extension of the nearby airport (Interview 43 and 48). And the state historic site of Cahokia Mounds (United States of America) applied for the status in 1982, as this would "make it easier… to get higher levels of support and protection that don't apply for local heritage sites" (Interview 47).

Ballast and support for world heritage site designation are provided by heritage NGOs, especially those that deal with underrepresented kinds of heritage, for example TICCIH for industrial heritage and DOCOMOMO for twentieth-century architecture. They have made their appearance on the scene (Cleere 1998: 31-32). Other upcoming heritage NGOs are the International Union of Geological Sciences (IUGS) and ICUCH (underwater cultural heritage). Most heritage NGOs try to promote the preservation of 'their' heritage by raising the general awareness about this kind of heritage (Henket 2000: 6; Jester 1995: 28; Cowie and Wimbledon 1994: 72; and Grenier 2001: 232).

Most heritage NGOs regard the convention as a useful tool to preserve 'their' heritage more effectively: "World heritage is a reasonably well-financed, fully international convention for global geological recording and conservation, with a highly qualified, active and well-trained professional staff working in… the whole world: it is a convention which must be used" (Cowie and Wimbledon 1994: 72-73; see also Jacobs *et al.* 1997: 1101). Similarly, DOCOMOMO was invited by ICOMOS in the mid-1990s to develop a methodology to identify and make suggestions for potential sites (Jester 1995: 30; Henket 2000: 7). The listing of the Bauhaus buildings in Dessau and Weimar (Germany) in 1995 was regarded as "a strong moral support for DOCOMOMO's effort to bring the significance of the Modern Movement to the attention of the authorities and the public at large" (Kuipers 1998: 55).

From increased pride towards attracting visitors

The reason for wanting world heritage status has changed over time. A world heritage listing of a centrally nominated site was regarded as an honour by the site management, whereas a listing of a decentralised (or non-centrally) nominated site is viewed as a welcome tool to develop and preserve the site (table 3-1).

Table 3-1: Reasons at the local level to agree with or to initiate a world heritage nomination for centrally and non-centrally nominated sites (number of sites, N = 67).

	Reasons for world heritage nomination		
	Pride	Better preservation	Attracting tourists
Centrally nominated	21	17	11
Non-centrally nominated	7	11	11

Note: P-value chi-square is 0.18.
Source: Own field study at various world heritage sites.

In the past, the National Heritage Department asked a potential site whether it would agree with a nomination. The site in question did not have much time to take a decision and 'honour' was the only reason to participate. The nomination process for the city of Bath, South West England exemplifies this. The Bath City Council received a letter from the Department of Environment, dated 6 September 1985, stating:

> I have it in mind to include Bath… in the tentative list. I should be grateful if you would confirm that you see no objections to this inclusion. In order to fit in with the timetable of the World Heritage Committee I need to submit this list to them in October. It would therefore be most helpful if I could have your answer by, say, Monday 23 September… I should however explain that the inclusion of sites in either list in no way alters the application of UK legislation… [and] I would not want anyone to assume that inclusion in the list signaled any substantial financial benefit… Inclusion obviously implies considerable prestige.
>
> (Department of Environment 1985)

It was clear to the decision makers in Bath that they should not expect any substantial financial or legislative benefits, only prestige would accrue to the city of Bath. In contrast, local authorities 'beg' for a nomination at national heritage offices nowadays and they write impressive nomination documents to underline the importance of the site. The alleged benefits from a listing are sometimes so large that cities compete for a listing "even when they have not much left of their ancient glory" (Batisse 1992: 30).

Location of sites

Decentralised nominated sites exhibit a different geographical distribution than centrally nominated sites: away from the country's capital and towards the periphery (table 3-2). The central sites lie near their country's capital or near densely populated areas, while peripheral sites are located further away from these population centres.

A country's national icons are often located in or nearby the national capital – often in more densely populated areas – as cities have "always played the leading role in cultural productivity… there is a certain critical volume of human interaction occurring

in a spatially restricted area, and encouraged by aspects of urban form, that is crucial for the generation of aesthetic ideas" (Ashworth 2000: 26).

Table 3-2: Location of world heritage sites in case countries (number of sites, N = 67).

	Location of world heritage sites	
	Central location	Peripheral location
Centrally nominated	31	18
Non-centrally nominated	6	12

Note: P-value chi-square is 0.03.
Source: Own field study at various world heritage sites.

By 1993, twenty-three countries across the world had played "the capital's card by obtaining inclusion in the world heritage list of either the city where the seat of political power is concentrated, or a part of this city, or of a monument or group of monuments symbolic of this city" (Pressouyre 1993: 35). Eighteen of these countries were located in Europe. In May 2004, twenty-five European countries had played the 'capital card'. In addition, world heritage sites in a capital were nominated twenty-one times in the first year of the country's participation. The capital has remained an important supplier of world heritage sites in some countries, such as in the United Kingdom (four sites in London), and Sweden, Spain and Italy (each with three sites in its capital), but nominations tend to become more distributed over the country with the passage of time. At the same time, heritage as a tool to attract tourists is especially sought after in the periphery (Vorlaufer 1996: 193; Robinson 1999: 25).

3.2.2 Pattern two – Different attitudes at natural and cultural sites

In most case countries, actors in the field of natural heritage turn to the world heritage convention much less than their cultural counterparts. When the first tentative list was drawn up in the United Kingdom in the mid-1980s "there was a stronger lobby… for the cultural areas than for the natural areas" (Interview 32).

Both the participation of the Ministry of Environment and the number of decentralised requests for a listing are low, as the benefits of the international designation are perceived to be low. Nominating sites for the world heritage list is not a priority within the ministries responsible for natural areas, as the protection of natural sites is often already taken care of. Managers of natural areas, often national parks, hardly ever ask for a world heritage nomination, as these areas already fall under the responsibility of the national government, and they have no wish to receive more visitors (table 3-3).

Table 3-3: Reasons at the local level to agree with or to initiate a world heritage nomination for cultural and natural sites (number of sites, N = 67).

	Reasons for world heritage nomination		
Kind of site	Pride	Better preservation	Attracting tourists
Cultural	22	26	20
Natural	6	2	2

Note: P-value chi-square is 0.23.
Source: Own field study at various world heritage sites.

The Dorset and East Devon Coast (United Kingdom), the only natural site in six case countries whose nomination was originally made by organisations from below the national level, is also not a national park. Because of the low priority of the world heritage convention among actors involved in natural areas, cultural actors take the lead in selecting sites, including the natural sites.

Natural areas are already sufficiently protected

National park managers hardly ever apply for a world heritage listing, as their parks are already well protected, and certainly better than (cultural) monuments and landscapes (Anagnostopoulos 1994: 318). The protection is mostly well arranged, as national parks are zoned off from other spatial uses, not in the least supported by their often peripheral location.

The effectiveness of protecting sites under the world heritage convention is often assessed to be low or unclear. The Environment and Heritage Service of the Department of the Environment in Northern Ireland (DOENI) is more active in nominating sites for other international treaties, such as the 1971 International Treaty for the Preservation of Wetlands (RAMSAR), than for the world heritage list. Nominations for the RAMSAR list get priority, as "the RAMSAR obligations are strong and clear… whereas the world heritage designation hardly means any obligation and no legislation comes with it" (Interview 25). The Dutch Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Food Quality (LNV) designates national parks in the Netherlands (Vries and Naaijen 2000: 103), but the nominations of natural sites for the world heritage list are not regarded as a main concern. A world heritage designation for natural sites may even lead to confusion due to the abundance of regulations (Interview 23). Similar reasons apply in the United Kingdom, as the following excerpt illustrates:

> "The convention is a very small part of the nature conservation organisations. In the UK there are many other legislations, both national and European, and until five or six years ago the status was something people were not thinking about in this country, as they saw the protection come from UK law or from European law. This really comes down to the perception of what world heritage status can do for you… There are so many designations in the UK. When you look at the Dorset and East Devon Coast there are sites of special scientific interest, national nature reserves, it is an area of outstanding natural beauty, so why would you add another theme? What would it add to the site or would it only confuse? Having so many designations may confuse the landowners as the borders of each designation are different, and the regulations are different."
>
> (Interview 36)

Actors in the field of natural heritage are sometimes more concerned about the commitments that follow from a world heritage listing – the obligation to preserve the site after listing (UNESCO 2004a). The cultural organisation INAH included the Ahuehuete tree in Santa María del Tule, as a mixed site on Mexico's tentative list while highlighting "that it is of utmost importance to draw legislation that will ensure its preservation" (INAH 2002: 170). The Mexican National Commission for Natural Protected Areas (*Comisión Nacional de Áreas Naturales Protegidas*, CONANP) did not

approve the nomination of the tree, as it "could not guarantee that the tree lives forever. When the tree dies, the site ends" (Interview 54).

Natural areas do not want to attract more visitors

Visitors partly justify the existence of national parks (Interview 50), but most managers of natural areas are not primarily interested in attracting more visitors. More visitors may threaten the quality of the environment, while the extra income from more visitors often flows into the national treasury.

There are more actors willing to promote a world heritage nomination for a cultural area than for a natural area. For example, in 2000 the Catalan Romanesque churches of Vall de Boí (Spain) were declared a world heritage site after intervention from the municipality and the Generalitat de Catalunya. At the same time, the nearby Aigües Tortes National Park has been excluded from this nomination as the regional politicians and mayors from villages surrounding the national park do not have any authority over the natural area (Interview 103).

Underrepresentation of actors of natural sites

The almost complete absence of stakeholders involved in natural heritage in the nomination process for world heritage sites has contributed to the low number of natural world heritage sites (see also Hales 1982: 746). From the beginning, UNESCO has recognised the importance of including stakeholders from the cultural and natural fields to guarantee equal representation of these sites, as formulated in the 'operational guidelines' which state that, "States parties to the convention should convene at regular intervals at the national level the joint meeting of those persons responsible for natural and cultural heritage" (UNESCO 2004a).

Meetings have been held in Mexico and the United Kingdom, but the number of people involved in natural sites is under-represented (box 3-1). Similar meetings have not been held in Poland, Spain and the Netherlands, as well as in most other countries (Leblanc 1984: 26). Only recently, cultural stakeholders in Poland have become aware of the importance to increase the collaboration with authorities in charge of natural heritage (Pawłowski 1999: 18; Interview 86).

Biased national selection committees propose instances of heritage that reflect their own perception rather than that of others. In the United Kingdom, "the perceived bias – twelve of the sites in fact can be considered wholly or partly archaeological – led one critic to suggest that the sites reveal more about the cultural background of the people who selected them than they reflect any real attempt to present human history as it was actually lived" (Pocock 1997b: 381).

Box 3-1: The composition of national selection committees.

An analysis of the composition of English and Mexican selection committees shows that the selection is biased in favour of those with a cultural background, as well as from primarily a male-dominated perspective. The English selection committee, as set up for the 1997-1998 Review Committee, comprised nineteen members and six observers from outside England (Tentative List Review Committee 1998: 30). Only two members were female and four had a background in natural heritage. Furthermore, English Heritage had the most representatives, namely six.

This composition is rather similar to the *Comité para el Patrimonio Mundial* in Mexico in 2002 which consisted of twelve members: ten males, with nine of the members sharing a cultural background and five from INAH, including its chairman who was also the committee coordinator. In addition, the president of INE, which is responsible for the selection of natural sites, is also on the committee.

Cultural actors select natural sites

In Poland and Spain, cultural actors selected the natural sites while their respective ministries of environment were absent. The absence of any interference from the Polish Ministry of Environment in the 1970s resulted in a nomination of Białowieża Forest by the Ministry of Culture, an obvious choice for every Pole (Interview 78). This national park is at least as well known for its iconic, cultural value of a typical Polish landscape as its natural qualities (see Schama 1995: 37-74). In Spain the initiative to nominate natural sites was taken by cultural actors, as no stakeholder involved in natural sites was represented in the national selection committee. A respondent from the Spanish Independent National Parks Organisation (*Organismo Autónomo Parques Nacionales*, OAPN) stated that, "It is not in our commitment, our competence… an initiative has to pass through the ministers of culture of the autonomous regions, not through the ministers of environment" (Interview 103). The people with a cultural background, however, think that the present system is not rational as reflected by this comment: "I think the natural administration should have a similar council, or have at least some kind of meetings together" (Interview 104).

Important natural sites can be overlooked by cultural administrations and natural sites – which meet the criterion of outstanding universal value – may not be nominated. In the late 1980s, when the Netherlands had not yet ratified the convention, the then Dutch Council for Nature Conservancy (*Natuurbeschermingsraad*) identified six landscapes that could be nominated as a natural world heritage site (De Jong 1996: 18). To date, the low priority within LNV has forestalled a nomination of a Dutch landscape, while actors in the field of cultural heritage have not nominated natural sites.

3.3 Concluding remarks

Nominations for the world heritage list largely depend upon who takes the initiative. The answer to the question 'Who has initiated the nominations for the world heritage list?' varies among countries, over time and according to the kind of site. Countries use different selection methods, as demonstrated by the three described trajectories. One pattern which has emerged is that local actors and heritage NGOs both have replaced and finalised choices made by national selection committees over time. Another pattern is that actors in the field of cultural heritage have always been more interested in the world heritage convention than actors in the field of natural heritage.

The differences among countries, over time and according to kind of site imply that the world heritage list is a collection of sites of diverse and varying qualities. In addition, there are certain mechanisms within the world heritage convention that have influenced the composition of the list. These regulations are the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter 4
Deconstructing world heritage site selection

The involvement of different *organisations* in nominating world heritage sites leads to a world heritage list with sites of varying quality, as the selection is country-, time- and site-dependent. In addition, there are a number of *mechanisms* inside the convention that favour certain sites over others on other grounds than quality. These mechanisms can be divided under two headings. First, most nominated sites meet the broad selection criteria. And second, there are five factors (other than quality) that influence what countries nominate for the world heritage list.

4.1 Broad selection criteria

People have different understandings of what constitutes heritage: "There are civilisations for which the notion of heritage is not the same as the notion of monuments" (Musitelli 2003: 330). The indigenous people of New Mexico, for instance, are often thought to see heritage as 'a way of life', the sum of their language and traditions that they pass on to the next generation (Interview 48).

Cultures also use different interpretations of the criterion of outstanding universal value: "Different cultures have divergent ideas as to how old, or how symbolic, the fabric of built heritage must be in order to be of world class" (Graham *et al.* 2000: 241). There are two flaws in the criterion of outstanding universal value. First, the scale level of outstanding universal value of a nominated site has never been defined. And second, it is unclear which arguments suffice to meet the criterion of outstanding universal value.

4.1.1 What scale level?

Countries are asked to include a 'comparative analysis' in the nomination document of every site that they propose (UNESCO 2004a). This analysis requires a comparison with similar sites around the world and the applicant "must make clear to the committee why the property can be accepted as being 'of outstanding universal value'" (UNESCO 2004a). However, the comparison with similar sites in terms of type or features has been plagued by inconsistency from the beginning (Hales 1982: 747).

In addition, the World Heritage Committee has never made clear at which level a site should be of outstanding universal value. The Netherlands, United Kingdom and Mexico have performed a comparative analysis for its tentatively listed sites.

Tentatively listed Mexican sites are on average compared with 1.70 other sites; Dutch sites with 2.50 sites and each tentatively proposed site from the United Kingdom with 2.80 other sites. About half of the tentatively listed sites are compared at the global level (table 4-1).

Table 4-1: Highest scale-level of comparative analysis of (tentatively) listed sites.

Scale-level	The Netherlands	United Kingdom	Mexico
National	1 (10%)	3 (12%)	5 (22%)
Continental	2 (20%)	4 (16%)	5 (22%)
Global	5 (50%)	16 (64%)	11 (48%)
No comparison	2 (20%)	2 (8%)	2 (9%)
Number of sites	10 (100%)	25 (100%)	23 (100%)

Sources: RDMZ (1995), DCMS (1999), and INAH (2002).

All three countries claim to have nominated incomparable sites. These are the Wouda steam pumping station and the Rietveld-Schröderhouse in the Netherlands, Kew Royal Botanic Gardens and the Lake District in the United Kingdom and the Ahuehuete tree in Santa María del Tule and the Ludwig Mies van der Rohe and Félix Candela's industrial buildings in Mexico City. The absence of a comparison is understandable to some extent. The criterion of outstanding universal value stipulates unique sites, but how can a unique site be compared if, by definition, there is no comparable site? This was stated in the case of Edinburgh: "It would be difficult, in fact meaningless, to carry out any serious comparative study of cities sharing common characteristics with Edinburgh. There are none; Edinburgh is essentially unique, and that is part of the argument for its inclusion on the list" (Stovel 1996: 35). Likewise, the Bauhaus buildings in Dessau and Weimar (Germany) are "the birthplaces of one of the most significant movements in architecture and art… For this reason comparative analysis is both inappropriate and unnecessary" (ICOMOS 1995: 30; see also Kuipers 1998: 61).
Comparisons are sometimes omitted while this would be possible at a higher scale-level. For example, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe has designed buildings in North America and Europe, but it is argued that "there is no possible comparison within the Latin American context, since this was the only work by Van der Rohe *in this area*" (INAH 2002: 201, *italics added*). The site is considered in isolation from the rest of the world and other architects, whereas a more international perspective would have been both possible and welcome.
In addition, sites are sometimes only compared with other sites in the same country, while (more impressive) sites can be found in a neighbouring country. The pre-colonial site of Cahokia Mounds (United States of America) was compared with two sites in the United States of America – Moundville (Alabama) and Ocmulgee (Georgia). The International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) recommended the following inscription: "the site is the most comprehensive affirmation of the pre-Columbian civilisations *in the Mississippi region*" (ICOMOS 1981: 2; *italics added*). Pre-colonial monuments in Mexico, with arguably more impressive characteristics, were excluded from the comparative study. Cahokia Mounds was listed in 1982 and it is "the largest pre-Columbian settlement north of Mexico" (UNESCO 2004a).

4.1.2 Which arguments?

The ambiguous criterion of outstanding universal value allows countries to forward any argument to validate a world heritage listing, as 'uniqueness' can be argued for every place. In the Netherlands, the decision to nominate the Wouda steam-driven pumping station was based on the ground that it is the largest, *fully functional*, pumping station. A new pumping station will replace the present pumping station in about twenty-five years (Interview 22). Does the pumping station, which earned its world heritage listing thanks to its continued operation, still merit listing when it lies permanently idle?

The old town of Ávila (Spain) was inscribed in 1985. Today, the UNESCO description depicts the glorious past of the city by referring to, among others, the burial place of the Grand Inquisitor Torquemada (UNESCO 2004a). The reference to Torquemada suggests that this person has made a positive contribution to Ávila's past grandeur, while leaving unmentioned that he, as head of the Spanish Inquisition for fifteen years, put about 2000 people to death (see also Peters 1989: 85). And in the United Kingdom not one unique planned textile mill community was nominated, but "the entire spectrum" (DCMS 1999: 64). Derwent Valley Mills represent the oldest textile community (eighteenth century), New Lanark still provides the institutional buildings and Saltaire is the finest surviving textile village in the United Kingdom.

Decision makers do not always start by posing the question: "Which site is unique?" Instead, they take a site and try to justify why it is unique. This enables the inscription of several sites with rather similar qualities. In the mid-1980s, the Mexican selection committee did not select the 'best' colonial city, but attributed unique qualities to several colonial cities. Guanajuato was selected as the prime example of a mining city, Mexico City as the largest city on earth, and Pátzcuaro as the best example of a mixture of Indian and European architecture (Interview 57).

Two arguments that are frequently used by countries to highlight a site's uniqueness are international links and being qualitatively equal to an already listed site.

1) International links supporting universal value

Influences from a single person or a group of people in another country are much-used arguments to justify inscription on the world heritage list. Another country's influence bestows *universal* importance to a site. The Mezquita in Córdoba, which combines Hispano-Islamic, Latin-Byzantine, Christian, Moslem, Roman, Greek artefacts (Davies 1997: 256), may correctly claim universal elements.

The claim of outstanding universal value, based on international links, is not always that obvious. Five listed colonial Mexican sites – Puebla, Morelia, Zacatecas, Querétaro, and the Franciscan missionaries around Querétaro – excel thanks to their fusion of European and indigenous styles (UNESCO 2004a). The UNESCO description of Zacatecas, for instance, states that, "The cathedral… is notable for its harmonious design and the Baroque profusion of its façades, where European and indigenous decorative elements are found side by side" (UNESCO 2004a, see photo 4-1). The outstanding universal value of Zacatecas's architectural blending is contested by Segovia (1995), as better examples of this genre can be found elsewhere in Mexico: "Although Zacatecas very soon became a city whose population was strongly marked by ethnic intermingling, the indigenous influences on colonial art are far less visible here than in southern Mexico" (p. 41).

The two Andalusian villages of Ùbeda and Baeza (Spain), which were rejected due to a lack of quality in 1989, were listed in 2003 after the autonomous community of Andalucía 'found' two arguments to substantiate the towns' outstanding universal value. First, Ùbeda and Baeza, it was argued, were the Spanish version of the Italian renaissance style that originated in Pienza and Urbino. And second, Ùbeda and Baeza have had an impact on Latin American architecture, such as the cathedrals of Mexico City, Puebla, Mérida (Mexico), Sucre (Bolivia) and Lima (Peru) (Interview 106; ICOMOS 2003: 156). These two arguments imply that it is sufficient to make a link with the prototype, which was duly acknowledged by the inscription of Pienza and Urbino in the late 1990s (see also ICOMOS 2003: 156).

Photo 4-1: Contested world heritage sites: Zacatecas's cathedral façade and Baeza (twice).

2) Qualitatively equal to already listed world heritage sites

Stakeholders of nominated sites often mention that 'their' site is qualitatively equal or even better than already listed world heritage sites. The sites on the world heritage list have shown that they meet the criterion of outstanding universal value (see also box 4-1). More than half of the tentatively listed sites in Mexico are put on a par with already listed, mostly Mexican, world heritage sites. Guanajuato and Zacatecas have already been inscribed on the world heritage list, but the historic town of San Sebastián del Oeste would qualify for listing as "the urban image of this small town in [the state of] Jalisco is more unified than in any of them" (INAH 2002: 166). The mining town of San Luis Potosí is prominent in that it – apparently in contrast to other world heritage mining cities – "lies twelve kilometres from San Pedro hill, where the mine was located" (INAH 2002: 136).

A 'beauty contest' on the international level concerns the comparison of the aqueducts in Padre Tembleque (Mexico) and in Segovia (Spain). The latter is a world heritage site since 1985, but the nomination claimed that the former aqueduct "has more class and exuberance than Segovia's since it is higher, larger and more elegant" (INAH 2002: 173).

Box 4-1: The listing of the first twelve world heritage sites in 1978.

Any first listed site sets the "gold standard" (Fowler 2003: 18) that nominated sites should meet. The first world heritage list in 1978 contained twelve sites:

	World heritage site	Country
1	L'Anse aux Meadows National Historic Park	Canada
2	Nahanni National Park	Canada
3	City of Quito	Ecuador
4	Galápagos Islands	Ecuador
5	Rock-hewn churches, Lālibalā	Ethiopia
6	Simen National Park	Ethiopia
7	Aachen Cathedral	Germany
8	Wieliczka salt mine	Poland
9	Kraków's historic centre	Poland
10	Island of Gorée	Senegal
11	Mesa Verde National Park	United States of America
12	Yellowstone National Park	United States of America

It has been pointed out that the two Polish sites – Wieliczka and Kraków – were inscribed on the first world heritage list: "It [Wieliczka salt mine] was put on the first list of UNESCO. Even the Pyramids of Giza were not on this first list, but Wieliczka was" (Interview 82, *translated*; see also Jodłowski 1991: 1 and photo 4-2).

Photo 4-2: Flag at Wieliczka, celebrating the inscription of Kraków and Wieliczka on the first world heritage list.

The World Heritage Committee, however, has never defined the 'gold standard': "In the absence of an a priori conception of the ideal list, we [the world heritage actors] have let the selection machine turn, in empirical fashion, year after year… more likely to satisfy considerations of national prestige or the economic interests of states, than to design a reasonable framework for the world's collective good" (Musitelli 2003: 329). Emphasis lay on inscribing ever more sites and on the participating countries (IUCN 1982: 7).

The inscription of sites has also facilitated other nominations. Stakeholders of nominated sites often refer to already listed sites, by arguing that their site is qualitatively at least as good as a listed site. Fifteen out of twenty-three sites on Mexico's tentative list use the argument that they are equal to or better than another world heritage site (INAH 2002). It is argued in the nomination document of Paramaribo (Surinam) that the inner city has similar characteristics as eight (mainly Caribbean) listed world heritage sites (Urban Heritage Foundation Suriname 1998: 13-14).

At the same time, it is almost impossible to remove a site from the list. A site can only be removed from the world heritage list when it loses the qualities for which it was inscribed (UNESCO 2004a). A change in valuation (Stovel 1994: 259) or the discovery of a higher quality site (Leblanc 1984: 24) is no reason to remove a site from the list.

4.2 Factors other than the site's quality

Factors other than quality also play a role in what a country nominates for the world heritage list. Five factors are discussed. First, a country closely follows the guidelines of UNESCO's World Heritage Committee, as this heightens the chance that the site will be listed. Second, decision makers at the national level frequently select the most obvious sites, as any other selection is more time-consuming. Third, the number of nominations per country depends on the available heritage infrastructure, as countries are the only actor that can formally nominate sites. Fourth, countries give priority to sites that can be controlled, as the national government holds primary responsibility for looking after listed sites on their own territory. And fifth, a successful nomination depends on local circumstances, as (financial) support is necessary to produce the nomination document while local opposition can prevent a nomination.

4.2.1 Listen to the World Heritage Committee's preferences

A world heritage listing is often viewed as an honour for the country and that is why decision makers see it as an achievement. In contrast, a site's rejection leads to disappointment, as seen from the deferrals of Gdańsk (Poland) (Cleere 2000: 3), and the two American sites Pu'uhonua o'Honaunau (Interview 42) and Savannah (Araoz 2002: 9). Decision makers at the national level try to keep the number of rejections as low as possible by nominating sites that have a high chance of inscription. It is helpful to this end to pay close attention to the World Heritage Committee's preferences.

Over the years, the committee's focus has moved from grand architectural ensembles such as cathedrals and historic towns towards cultural landscapes and industrial sites (Pocock 1997b: 381). National selection committees have tried to take this into account. When the United Kingdom produced a new tentative list in the late 1990s, the Secretary of State commented: "the new tentative list looks very different from the last one… [as] the World Heritage Committee… has signalled that it is looking to widen the range of sites included on the list, particularly into the areas of industrial archaeology and cultural landscapes" (DCMS 1999: 4). Likewise, the sites selected by the Dutch State Service for Archaeological Investigations (*Rijksdienst Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek*, ROB) in the Netherlands concerns properties that are not or under-represented on the world heritage list (Hagers 1998: 6).

The strategy to follow the preferences of the Committee is also understood at the local level. The nomination of Aranjuez (Spain) became only possible after it was nominated as a 'cultural landscape' (box 4-2). The nomination of the monastic island of Reichenau (Germany) includes the entire island: "Es ist bekannt, daß die UNESCO derzeit bevorzugt größere räumliche Einheiten wie Ensembles oder Kulturlandschaften unter Schutz stellt… So kommt es, daß die gesamte Insel als 'Klosterinsel Reichenau' in die Welterbeliste eingetragen wurde" (Overlack 2001: 64-65).

The World Heritage Committee also welcomes the nomination of transboundary sites, as this encourages international cooperation (Eidsvik 1983: 196). This allowed the

autonomous region of Catalunya to propose the Spanish-French site of La Vertiente Mediterránea de los Pirineos for Spain's tentative list (Interview 104).

Box 4-2: Nomination of Aranjuez cultural landscape.

The nomination of Aranjuez cultural landscape (photo 4-3) has benefited from the World Heritage Committee's interest in cultural landscapes. The first of in total three categories of cultural landscapes (UNESCO 2004a) – the clearly defined landscape designed and created intentionally by man – has enabled the inscription. The first category of cultural landscapes was included, while the second and third categories – the organically evolved (fossil or continuing) landscape and the associative cultural landscape – should lead to a more balanced spatial distribution of world heritage sites.

Photo 4-3: Palace and surrounding village of Aranjuez, including town hall.

The first category of cultural landscapes has been contested from the beginning: "ein… Expertentreffen… war der Auffassung, daβ die Kategorie der gestalteten Kulturlandschaften am wenigsten Probleme bereiten würde, da bereits genügend Beispiele dieses Typs auf der Welterbeliste vorhanden seien, so zum Beispiel Schloβ und Gärten von Sanssouci… oder Versailles" (Rössler 1995: 344). The world heritage nomination of the palace and gardens of Aranjuez was contested, as already similar European properties like Versailles (France), Potsdam (Germany), and Schönbrunn

(Austria) were already on the world heritage list (Interview 105). The nomination of Aranjuez would presumably never have been approved in the absence of the category of 'cultural landscape'. The palace and gardens of Aranjuez could only be inscribed on the world heritage list in combination with the town of Aranjuez, portraying an "evolution of concepts… [including] the urban lifestyle" (UNESCO 2004a).
The case of Aranjuez is not an exception. Most cultural landscapes are towns and villages inscribed under cultural criterion IV – "an outstanding example of a type of building or architectural or technological ensemble or landscape" (UNESCO 2004a). As such, cultural landscapes are valued on the same grounds as many of the earlier listed architectural and monumental sites (Fowler 2003: 19-21). This 'old wine in new bottles' leads Fowler (2003) to conclude that: "here is a 'new' type of world heritage site which is… adhering to a commonly used criterion for conventional sites" (p. 19).

4.2.2 Selecting the easiest sites

Decision makers at the national level tend to select the easiest sites instead of making extensive selections that could form the basis for a 'perfect' list. Extensive selections have been largely prevented by a shortage of time or lack of money:

> "If you really want to do it in a systematic way you have to pull together experts from a number of fields and you have to conduct a very comprehensive review of many, many sites, hundreds of sites. The world heritage program in the United States of America has never been funded at a level that would permit that the National Park Service could undertake a study like that."
>
> (Interview 42)

The selection of sites is often done on more pragmatic grounds. Fully developed heritage sites, heritage visitor attractions, and sites in the spotlight at the moment of selection have an advantage over other sites.

1) Fully developed heritage sites

Nationally or regionally designated heritage sites, with accompanying management and protection structures, have preference over less organised sites. The prerequisite of national recognition is most strictly adhered to in the United States of America. To be nominated sites should first be of national importance, which means that it has to be a national park (Department of Interior 1997: 371). One sees a more flexible approach in the Polish list Monuments of National History (*Pomniki historii*) which has been the basis for selecting cultural world heritage sites since 1995 (Pawłowski 1999: 18).
The Netherlands gave priority to the easy cases when they worked through their tentative list of the built environment (Chouchena and Van Rossum 1999: 9-10). The first nomination by the Dutch State Agency for the Preservation of Monuments (RDMZ) – the defence line of Amsterdam – could be completed in a tearing rush as the province of North Holland already had finalised arrangements for the site's protection (De Jong 1996: 16). In contrast, the nomination of the inner city of Amsterdam was held up by the creation of a new city borough 'centre' and the construction of a new metro line (Interview 14). Also the nomination of the New Dutch inundation line was delayed. The nomination was complicated by factors such as private and governmental

stakeholders, the poor condition of the fortresses, discontinuity in the landscape due to expanding settlements, the less than satisfactory legal protection, and the disintegration of extensive sections of the system of defensive dikes which meant that not much of the structure was left standing (OCW *et al*. 2000: 96-97; Van Bolhuis and Vrijlandt 1993: 12; Van Bolhuis and Vrijlandt 1996: 372 and Doorman 2002: 4).

Sites recognised under international treaties have an advantage over other sites, showing the preference for established heritage. Biosphere reserves recognised under UNESCO's Man and Biosphere Programme are often also nominated for the world heritage list, even though the programmes select sites according to different principles. Biosphere reserves are *representative* of a given ecosystem, while designated world heritage sites are acknowledged areas of outstanding universal value (IUCN 1982: 7 and Plachter 1995: 349).

More than one out of every five natural sites that is nominated for the world heritage list was already designated as a biosphere reserve. In February 2004, 425 biosphere reserves were located in ninety-seven countries (UNESCO 2004c). Fifty-six man and biosphere reserves were nominated for world heritage status later, while in total 252 natural sites have ever been nominated for the world heritage list. Furthermore, biosphere reserves nominated for the world heritage list are less often rejected than sites without this recognition. The World Heritage Committee has listed forty-seven of the fifty-six biosphere reserves (eighty-four percent) that have been nominated for the world heritage list, while 'only' sixty-nine percent of all nominated natural sites have been inscribed.

Consequently, countries sometimes deliberately nominate already recognised biosphere reserves for the world heritage list. The Mexican National Commission for Natural Protected Areas (*Comisión Nacional de Áreas Naturales Protegidas*, CONANP) plans to nominate some islands in the Gulf of California – a recognised biosphere reserve since 1995 – as these "are already UNESCO sites… I don't know if this helps or not, but our Mexican representative in the Man and Biosphere Programme told us that it would be easier" (Interview 54).

2) Heritage visitor attractions

Established heritage visitor attractions are more liable to be nominated than other sites. The visitor facilities are already in place at these attractions. In the United States of America, "the opportunities afforded by the property for public visitation, interpretation, and education" (Department of Interior 1997: 372) are taken into consideration whether or not to nominate a site. Many world heritage sites were already top visitor attractions in their country before their world heritage listing. Examples of this are the windmills of Kinderdijk (Beusekom 2000a: 33), Durham Cathedral (Willis 1994: 269), Wieliczka salt mine (Hall 2000: 414), Masada (Israel) (*The Biblical Archaeology* 2002: 15).

3) In the spotlight at the moment of selection

Sites in the spotlight before the tentative list is drawn up have an increased chance to be included. Attention that may initiate a world heritage nomination may come from what is popular and on fashion, anniversaries and renovations, and organised conferences.

Fashion of the day

In the Netherlands, the Project Group for Industrial Heritage (PIE) was asked to make recommendations for the Dutch tentative list in 1993, as industrial heritage received much attention in those days. The Project Group was established in 1991 (Genuchten 1999: 80) and 1996 was the year of industrial heritage in the Netherlands (OCW 1996: 66). The bureau made, among others, an inventory of pumping stations (Genuchten 1999: 80), paving the road for the nomination of the Wouda steam pumping station. Likewise, the attention for the defence line of Amsterdam resulted from an inventory of monuments by the province of North Holland in the late 1980s (Interview 18, Schulte 1995: 248; Schimmel 1986: 18-19).

In 1997, ICOMOS "commissioned Great Britain's Institute of Railway Studies to recommend guidelines about the kinds of qualities that the World Heritage Committee should look for in railroad sites" (Divall 1999: 6). The increased interest at the international level for railroads coincided with the inclusion of Brunel's Great Western railway line from London Paddington to Bristol in United Kingdom's 1999 tentative list.

Anniversaries and renovations

Upcoming anniversaries, combined with large-scale, nationally supported renovations can speed up a site's nomination for the world heritage list. The Polish city of Zamość celebrated its four hundredth anniversary in 1980, which was preceded by restoration projects (Piatek *et al.* 1980: 341). The renovations were only partially completed (Gruszecki 1984: 47), but Zamość's world heritage nomination was suggested during a ICOMOS conference which it hosted on the occasion of its anniversary (Pawłowski 1999: 17). Likewise, the Statue of Liberty's 1986 centennial anniversary spurred its world heritage nomination as demonstrated by the following quote: "I think that the centennial put it over the edge. The fact that there was a big celebration coming up has helped, but I guess that it would have happened at some point anyway" (Interview 40).

These renovations are often national prestige projects. The renovations at Suomenlinna fortresses (Finland) from 1974 onwards have resulted in a world heritage nomination in 1991 (Lahdenmäki 1998: 27). ICOMOS Spain has been involved in the revitalisation of the *Camino real de Tierra Adentro*, which runs from Mexico City to Santa Fe. Today, this route is included in Mexico's tentative list (INAH 2002).

Conferences

Ideas for a world heritage nomination may also result from conferences. Aranjuez's cultural landscape was suggested as a world heritage nomination during the 1992 ICOMOS conference in that city. Mexican cities hosting the annual ICOMOS Mexico conference often received the world heritage status in the period soon after. Oaxaca (conference in 1989, listed in 1987) and Mexico City (1990/1987) hosted the conference just *after* their world heritage listing. Puebla (conference in 1986, listed in 1987), Zacatecas (1987/1993), Morelia (1991/1991), Querétaro (1993/1996), and Campeche (1994/1999) organised the conference *before* their world heritage listing. All five conferences' recommended that the host city should be put on the world heritage list. The Querétaro conference recommended that, "En forma especial, se recomienda a las instancias competentes se acelere la formación del expediente que

posibilite la inclusión del centro histórico de Querétaro en la lista del patrimonio mundial, dadas las relevantas características de éste y el buen grado de conservación que se ha logrado por parte de la comunidad queretana" (ICOMOS Mexico 2000: 105).
The place and country where the World Heritage Committee holds its annual meeting has also had an impact on the number and kind of nominated sites (Cleere 1998: 31; Batisse 1992: 17). The World Heritage Committee has met twenty-one times outside Paris and the host country nominated a site in twelve instances. This included the contested nomination of the Hiroshima War Memorial (Japan). The United States of America lobbied for the 1992 World Heritage Committee in Santa Fe (New Mexico), and its chairmanship "to provide a perfect venue for listing [Pueblo de] Taos on the world heritage list" (Interview 42). The most extreme instance was the 1997 meeting in Naples. Italy nominated twelve sites, even though this country was asked to nominate fewer sites within the framework of the 'global strategy'.

4.2.3 Available heritage infrastructure
Countries are best able to nominate sites for the list when they possess a solid heritage infrastructure. Indicators of a country's heritage infrastructure are the availability of heritage experts that are members of the national branches of international heritage NGOs as well as the country's seat on the World Heritage Committee.

1) National heritage NGOs
The designation of heritage sites depends on the activities of heritage actors (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998: 150). Heritage actors that can suggest, initiate and prepare a nomination are also important for world heritage nominations. The creation of the Foundation for the Built Cultural Heritage in Surinam in 1997 and ICOMOS Surinam in 1999 (Bakker 2002: 31) concurred with the world heritage nomination of Surinam's capital Paramaribo in 1999. Initiators are important to jump start a nomination, as illustrated by an example concerning the Dorset and East Devon Coast:

> "If Dennis Brunsden had not started it, I do not believe that the Dorset and East Devon Coast would ever have been nominated. Sites need interested parties, such as NGOs, local wildlife trusts, and councils such as at the Dorset and East Devon Coast. It needs the first spark to start the process."
>
> (Interview 36)

International heritage NGOs can act as a driving force to propel the heritage industry. Some ICOMOS committees have promoted the inclusion of 'their' kind of heritage in the list. The rock-art committee undertook action to inscribe Valcamonica's rock drawings (Italy), the committee on vernacular architecture initiated the listing of the old town of Plovdiv (Bulgaria) and the specialised committee on wood promoted the world heritage designation of the wooden church of Petäjävesi (Finland) (Pressouyre 1993: 62).
National ICOMOS branches often play a large role when a country starts participating in the world heritage convention. The national ICOMOS organisations in Spain and Mexico ignited the awareness about the world heritage convention and were responsible for the selection and nomination of world heritage sites in their countries in the 1980s. The role of the national heritage NGO branches has become less central in later years; they remained at best an advisory body for the state party (Interview 56, 57 and 104).

A country has more world heritage sites of a particular kind if it also has a national branch that represents that kind of heritage. The average number of cultural, natural, geological, modern architectural or industrial world heritage sites is higher in countries that have respectively a national ICOMOS, IUCN, IUGS, DOCOMOMO or TICCIH branch (table 4-2). For example, the latest inventory by DOCOMOMO International was limited to the countries with a DOCOMOMO working party (Casciato 2000: 9; Sharp 2000: 11; DOCOMOMO ISC/Registers 1998: 48). There are sixty-three geological, thirteen modern architectural and thirty-one industrial world heritage sites. Only eight countries without an IUGS branch, two countries without a DOCOMOMO branch and three countries without a TICCIH branch have managed to obtain world heritage listing. It should be noted, however, that the causality between the availability of national branches of heritage NGOs and world heritage sites might well be the other way around. Countries may have certain heritage NGOs if they have certain types of heritage.

Table 4-2: Presence of heritage NGOs and world heritage sites (WHS) in countries (panel A) and the average number of particular kinds of world heritage sites (panel B).

	Panel A: Number of countries				
	with respective NGO and		without respective NGO		P-value
NGO	with WHS	without WHS	with WHS	without WHS	chi-square
ICOMOS	96	20	15	47	0.00
IUCN	44	31	29	74	0.00
IUGS	16	67	8	87	0.03
DOCOMOMO	8	28	2	140	0.00
TICCIH	14	38	3	123	0.00

	Panel B: Average number of respective world heritage sites in countries		P-value
NGO	with respective NGO	without respective NGO	t-test
ICOMOS	4.95	0.57	0.00
IUCN	1.77	0.43	0.00
IUGS	0.60	0.16	0.01
DOCOMOMO	0.31	0.01	0.00
TICCIH	0.54	0.02	0.00

Sources: UNESCO (2004a), ICOMOS (2004), IUCN (2004), IUGS (2004), DOCOMOMO (2004), and TICCIH (2004).

2) In the World Heritage Committee

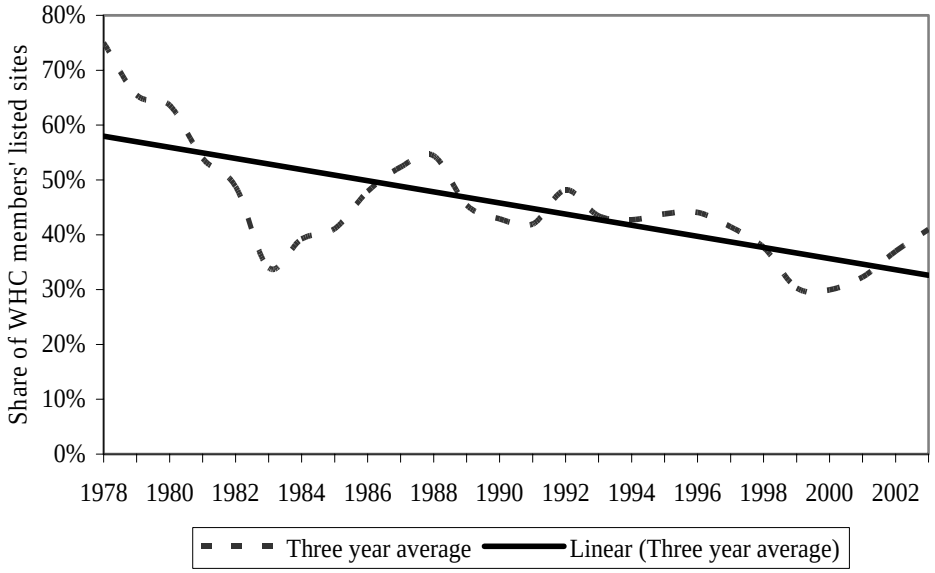
The number of world heritage sites in a country depends on a country's willingness to actively participate in the world heritage convention (Jones 1994: 316). National political opposition against world heritage listings in the United States of America has led to an abdication from nominating sites (Araoz 2002: 7). The Polish nomination of Zamość had to wait for more than ten years, as the leader of the world heritage convention in Poland, Pawłowski, fled to France after the proclamation of martial law on the 13 December 1981. And, in the United Kingdom, the world heritage programme lay idle due to a lack of interest by the Conservative government between 1988 and 1997 (Interview 32; Smith 1997: 4).

Countries that actively participate in the world heritage convention are often also represented on the World Heritage Committee. This committee, comprising twenty-one member countries, takes most decisions and formulates the policy for the upcoming years (Drost 1996: 480; see appendix 3 for the composition of the present committee). Elected countries stay in the world heritage committee for five years. 'Only' 69 out of 178 countries that have ratified the convention have ever been on the committee (see also Musitelli 2003: 333). A country stays on average about eight years in the committee, albeit with some variations in length of committee membership. Brazil, France, Italy and Mexico have had a representative on the committee for nineteen years. Poland, Ghana, Iran, Iraq and the former Yugoslavia have only been on the committee for one or two years.

Countries nominate more sites in the years that they sit on the World Heritage Committee. Between 1978 and 2002, the total number of years which countries have served on the committee is 522. Altogether these countries listed 335 sites, so countries that are represented on the committee get on average 0.64 sites per year on the world heritage list. In contrast, the sum total of length of membership for all signatory countries excluding duration of membership on the committee is 2352 years. These countries get on average 0.18 sites listed per year. There are eight countries that have only received sites during their own term on the committee: Egypt, Guinea, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Mexico, South Africa, and Thailand.

The importance of being on the World Heritage Committee, however, is decreasing (figure 4-1). In 1979, almost seventy percent of the listed sites came from a country that was on the World Heritage Committee. This number has dropped to about thirty percent in 1999.

Figure 4-1: Share of listed sites belonging to World Heritage Committee member countries.



Source: UNESCO (1978-2003), adapted data.

Nominated sites from countries sitting on the World Heritage Committee do not necessarily receive preferential treatment. A committee member often takes its responsibility to nominate sites more seriously. The political change from Conservative to Labour in the United Kingdom led to greater commitment to the world heritage convention, a renewed tentative list, *and* making themselves available for committee membership.

4.2.4 Nominating sites that can be controlled

The responsibility for preserving listed world heritage sites lies primarily with the country in which the site is located. Countries take this responsibility into consideration when they nominate sites for the world heritage list. This is especially evident in the centralised selection of sites in the first years of a country's participation. Countries predominantly nominate nationally owned sites, or sites managed by national heritage organisations that have a formal management structure (see photo 4-4).

Photo 4-4: World heritage sites are often nationally owned: Auschwitz, Palenque, Aranjuez and Yellowstone.

1) Nationally owned sites

The United States of America has always viewed its responsibility for listed world heritage sites very seriously (Webster-Smith 2001: 9). It is more difficult to nominate a privately owned site, as each property owner must agree in writing with the nomination (Department of Interior 1997: 371). This prerequisite "sets a very large exclusion of sites from consideration on the ground other than significance" (Interview 42). Approval of nomination is especially problematic for historic cities, as "for any site nominated to the list there must be hundred percent owner consent. Everyone knows intuitively and empirically that there is not a single historic district in the world with

universal agreement on this matter" (Araoz 2002: 9). Non-federal properties are underrepresented on the world heritage list. Cahokia Mounds, Pueblo de Taos, and Monticello and the University of Virginia are the only three world heritage sites in the United States of America that are not federally owned. Tentatively listed and non-federally owned sites, such as the General Electric research laboratory, the original Bell telephone laboratories and Brooklyn Bridge (all in New York) have been ignored.
Federal countries predominantly select nationally owned heritage sites, as the world heritage convention text requires "the central or national government of a signatory country to have the same obligations as any other country party, even though it may not have the direct power under that country's constitution to deal with the world heritage sites" (WTO 1994: 3). Other federal countries, such as Australia and Spain, have not taken such an extreme position as the United States of America. In Australia, the national responsibility has led to the introduction of the World Heritage Act, which allows for federal intervention in world heritage areas (Connellan 2003: 78). The practice in Spain is to follow the regulations set out in the convention less meticulously: "The implementation of the 1972 convention is the juridical responsibility of the communities, so they should… [be running] the programmes, not the state government. Sometimes the autonomous regions do not accept that, but most of them do" (Interview 104).

2) Heritage site management
Not nationally owned sites that are nominated for the world heritage list are often run by national heritage organisations. This is another way of assuring that the site will be well managed. In the United Kingdom, English Heritage and the National Trust run three and five world heritage sites. In Spain, municipalities are primarily responsible for the heritage site, paving the road for eleven whole cities and a number of municipally owned structures on the world heritage list. In Mexico, all archaeological sites and most important elements in the cities are controlled by the national heritage organisation INAH, assuring their involvement in almost all Mexican cultural world heritage sites. CONANP only nominates natural areas with a management body, as "it is a way in which we can… [fulfil] our responsibility regarding the convention" (Interview 54). And in Poland most important urban elements in Warszawa and Kraków, the castle in Malbork, Auschwitz concentration camp and Wieliczka salt mine are state-run. There is no dominant type of ownership in the Netherlands, but potential archaeological sites worthy of nomination should already have conservation and management structures in place which will facilitate nomination (Hagers 1998: 7).
The absence of ownership right or a management body can prevent a world heritage nomination. The Delta works, a prime example of the Dutch battle against water (OCW *et al.* 1999: 22), have not been nominated for the world heritage list, as its primary function is defensive, with no attention given to aspects of heritage site management (Interview 15). Table Mountain (South Africa), has not been nominated, as it has no integrated management plan, insufficient legislation and lacks a responsible authority (Cowling 1995: 17). And in the United Kingdom "it is essential in every… [world heritage nomination] that there is either a body able and willing to take on the necessary work or a realistic prospect that such a body will emerge over the next few years" (DCMS 1999: 8).

4.2.5 Favourable local political circumstances

A successful nomination increasingly depends on a favourable local environment. Political and financial help from the local government is needed to continue with the nomination and to prepare a nomination document. The local population's support is also needed, as the nomination can be blocked if the locals are opposed to it.

1) Local (financial) assistance

The need for financial assistance has become more important over time, in view of the increasing complexity and extensive documentation entailed by the nomination procedure. Turtinen (2000) observes that, "the amount of documentation has increased over the years. The first nomination files in 1978 and 1979 were very brief, and consisted merely of the nomination form, some black and white photos and maps. Today most of the files consist of hundreds of pages of documentation in several volumes, including detailed management plans, maps, and other material such as videotapes and slides" (p. 12; see also Leblanc 1984: 26).

The international heritage community has created a situation that necessitates the production of sophisticated nomination documents. For example, the historic centre of Rome was rejected in 1979 as "the map and books did in no way help towards the creation of a body of knowledge and information of sites of outstanding universal value" (Interview 43). It can be questioned whether it is necessary to impose such exacting demands on the supporting nomination documents. It could also be argued that a world heritage listing should depend on the outstanding universal value of a site, not the voluminous details and complexity of the nomination document.

The increase in decentralised (or non-central) nominations in combination with the need for high quality nomination documents inevitably makes local support vital. In the past, central nominations were often the consequence of a common endeavour of the national heritage organisation and the site. Today, with the increase in decentralised requests and nominations, the help of the national heritage organisation is less usual. Local governments have to replace the national heritage organisation. The world heritage nominations of Toruń (Poland) and Aranjuez could not be realised without the support and financial assistance of the local communities (Interview 88 and 105). The nomination of the Beemster polder (the Netherlands) could proceed fairly smoothly thanks to the establishment of a municipal working group that prepared the nomination (Beusekom 2000b: 4).

Sites without an obvious owner, such as the Forth Rail Bridge (Scotland), face more difficulties in preparing their nomination document (Leask and Fyall 2001: 58). Other local stakeholders do not have the means to produce a nomination document. In China, minorities have more difficulties to nominate their heritage sites, because they lack the resources as illustrated in the following quote, "Our nomination list does not reflect which sites we consider most valuable. It reflects the places where local authorities have shown they have the enthusiasm and the resources to manage and protect the sites" (Gilley 2001: 62).

2) Potential local opposition to a world heritage nomination

The ultimate power to nominate a site for the world heritage list has moved from the national to the local level. In the past, the decision to nominate a site was taken at the

national level, while at best the management of the site was consulted. Nowadays, local stakeholders can prevent a world heritage nomination.

At least until 1993, UNESCO recommended that the world heritage nomination should be done centrally, without much publicity preceding listing: "To avoid public embarrassment to those concerned, states parties should refrain from giving undue publicity to the fact that a property has been nominated for inscription pending the final decision of the committee of the nomination in question (UNESCO 1993: 6). By 1998, this recommendation was thrown out in favour of involving the local population in the nomination process because it "is essential to make them feel a shared responsibility with the state party in the maintenance of the site" (UNESCO 1998: 4).

The shift from local exclusion to inclusion is the consequence of two new insights. First, there has been some controversy over nominations in which the local population was largely ignored. This happened, for example, at some federally nominated Australian sites (Corbett and Lane 1996: 41; Pearson and Sullivan 1995: 43). Local consultation before nomination was introduced to avert subsequent local opposition. Second, the preservation of heritage sites – either national parks or world heritage sites – is best effected when the designation is locally supported (Hagers 1998: 6; Kuijper 2003: 268; Blower 1982: 725; Fiallo and Jacobson 1995: 245-246; Bauer 2002: 175).

There are, however, also reasons to omit local consultation rounds, as summed by Streeten (2000): "It is time-consuming and requires additional resources, and there are inherent risks of pre-emptive action by owners who may demolish a building or obliterate a landscape fearing the likelihood of some future stationary constraint" (p. 96). Local stakeholders may be hesitant and reserved about a world heritage proposal, as they are not entirely sure about the impacts of a world heritage listing. This happened in the trilateral nomination of the Wadden Sea by Denmark, Germany and the Netherlands (Van der Aa *et al.* 2004: 291). Consequently, sites that would qualify for a world heritage listing – and thus deserve the attention and preservation by all humanity – can be kept away from the world heritage list by local action.

Decision makers have differently interpretations about the expediency of local consultations. For the nomination of the Wadden Sea, decision makers in all three countries have consulted several local stakeholders. In the Netherlands, nine different groups – including local residents, farmers, fishers, and the tourism industry – were consulted and invited to give their views about the world heritage nomination. This was because the majority was against a nomination due to fears of loss of authority and a lack of clarity (Van der Aa *et al.* 2004: 295-297).

At two other sites – Dorset and East Devon Coast and Kalwarija Zebrzydowska – the consultation took on the character of information dissemination (personal attendance Seaton 2001; Interview 84). The interested public was informed about the likely consequences of a listing, without any opportunity to stop the nomination. One also notes that local consultation has been largely absent in most of the recently listed sites (see also Hitchcock 2002: 165 on the stone town of Zanzibar, Tanzania).

Aplin (2002) mentions that it is "only rarely, and because for reasons of cultural or spiritual sensitivity,… a group or community [will] not be pleased to have an element of their heritage recognised as significant at higher levels" (p. 352). Local opposition, however, has obstructed a few world heritage nominations over the years, especially when the initiative comes from the national level. Local proprietors stopped the

nomination by the Swedish National Heritage Board of the cultural landscape of Markim Orkesta (Sweden), as "they had no desire of being… [commanded] from Paris" (Turtinen 2000: 21). The state of Missouri opposed the planned world heritage nomination of the Wainwright building (United States of America) by the National Park Service (Interview 42). And the province of Flevoland and the municipality Noordoostpolder have opposed the possible nomination of the Noordoostpolder by the RDMZ, as this would limit their opportunities for economic development (Interview 15; Chouchena and Van Rossum 1999: 8).

4.3 Concluding remarks

The quality of potential world heritage sites is mostly taken into consideration by countries, but this does not lead to a qualitatively coherent world heritage list. On the one hand, countries interpret the selection criterion of outstanding universal value differently. On the other hand, five factors other than the site's quality, apply. The heritage site that best fits the guidelines of the World Heritage Committee, receives most attention, is located in a country with a solid heritage infrastructure, which can be controlled by the national scale-level and which does not meet local opposition has most chance of a nomination. Consequently, some of the world's 'best' heritage sites are denied universal recognition and the accompanying level of preservation.

Chapter 5
Preserving world heritage

Preservation of world heritage sites is the primary responsibility of individual countries in which the site is located. To quote one of the conditions of the convention: "by signing the convention, each country pledges to conserve… the world heritage sites situated on its territory" (UNESCO 2004a). At the same time the preservation of world heritage sites is for the benefit of all humanity: "the cultural heritage and the natural heritage are among the priceless and irreplaceable possessions, not only of each nation, but of mankind as a whole. The loss, through deterioration or disappearance, of any of these most prized possessions constitutes an impoverishment of the heritage of all the peoples in the world" (UNESCO 2004a). All countries that ratify the convention have the obligation to preserve listed sites outside their country. Moreover, a country can ask for international assistance when it is not able to preserve its world heritage sites.

International efforts to preserve the outstanding qualities of world heritage sites are welcome, as most world heritage sites have to cope with other conflicting spatial claims. Multi-use sites – often inner cities and landscapes, see also photo 5-1 – are significantly more threatened than single-use sites such as national parks and distinct buildings (table 5-1; see also Davis and Weiler 1992: 320; Shackley 1998a: 5-6; OCW 2001: 6). A world heritage listing of a historic centre such as Mexico City does not automatically guarantee the preservation of the entire historic city: "In practice, the entire area cannot be treated like a museum, since many important economic, social, political and cultural activities take place there" (Harrison and McVey 1997: 320).

The peripheral edges of single-use world heritage areas are especially endangered. Nimba mountains – since 1981 a natural world heritage site in Guinea and Ivory Coast – are threatened with the prospect of iron ore mining in the unprotected Liberian section of the park (Lamotte 1983: 175). And the fringes of Potsdam cultural landscape (Germany) are threatened by encroaching urbanisation (Haber *et al.* 1995: 374).

Table 5-1: Multi-use and single-use world heritage sites facing conflicting aims (number of sites, N = 51).

	Sites facing threats	Sites facing no threats
Multi-use heritage sites	36	2
Single-use heritage sites	8	5
Total	44	7

Note: P-value chi-square is 0.00.
Source: Own field study at various world heritage sites.

Photo 5-1: Multi-use world heritage sites: Ironbridge Gorge and Cahokia Mounds.


5.1 Instruments for better preservation of world heritage sites

Four tools are available to preserve listed sites: international recognition, management plans and bodies, financial support, and the list of world heritage in danger.

1) International recognition

A world heritage designation is an international recognition that leads to obligations for sites, countries and companies alike, as world heritage sites are an international showcase (Kuijper 2003: 269). Such designation may make the site management officials more aware of the quality of the site, which may positively affect its preservation. The status can be used as an argument to deal more effectively with specific threats or to get support from outside (Musitelli 2003: 336). Countries that ratified the convention have "to take such steps as they deem appropriate at the national level" (Cookson 2000: 257, see also Gilbert 1997: 11). Countries may introduce national legal protection measures or make money available. And the existence of the convention also leads to more awareness among companies. Two corporations involved in natural resource exploitation have indicated that they will no longer operate in world heritage areas. The members of the International Council of Mining and Metals, including some the world's largest mining and metal-producing companies (*Engineering & mining journal* 2003: 10) and the Royal Dutch/Shell Group (*Earth island journal* 2003: 7) have stopped exploiting world heritage sites.

2) Management plans and management bodies

A world heritage site's preservation may benefit from the production of a management plan or the creation of a management body. Since 1988, a nominated site should "have… management mechanisms to ensure the conservation of the nominated… properties" (UNESCO 2004a). The World Heritage Committee has stipulated the necessity of management plans.

Management plans are considered as useful tools to improve the preservation of sites, as different stakeholders work together (Young 2002: 4-5; Whitbourn 2002: 13; Smith 2002: 151; Orbaşli 2000: 148). The following excerpt underlines this point:

> "it brings the key players together to identify the key issues that have to be addressed in the world heritage site. Having an agreement on which issues should be addressed according to the local community and other stakeholders, we work together to address them. We do not produce management plans for

> their own sake, but for a certain end. One only achieves a benefit when the site is really better protected and preserved."
>
> (Interview 31)

Management plans identify the responsible actor for the management of the world heritage site. New management bodies may be created, especially at multi-use sites.

3) Financial support
World heritage sites can receive international financial support from the World Heritage Fund, a fund that is meant to enable better preservation of listed sites. The budget of the fund has doubled between 1993 and 2004. The increase from $2 million to about $4 million is more or less in line with the increase in world heritage sites and sites in danger (Hoffman 1993: 58; UNESCO 2004a). In comparison, the total available budget to manage the world heritage convention – including personnel costs and activities such as promotion – was more than $11 million in 2002 (UNESCO 2003b: 123).
Countries finance the biggest proportion of the fund (table 5-2), accounting for the one percent of countries' annual contribution to UNESCO. Countries, organisations and individuals can make voluntary donations (UNESCO 2004a; Paul 2001: 32).

Table 5-2: Sources of income for the World Heritage Fund, 2002.

Source of income	Amount ($)	Share of total (%)
Contributions from state parties	3,313,300	82.4
Contributions, gifts or bequests from individuals	53,873	1.3
Investment and proprietary income	178,033	4.4
Other resources	478,000	11.9
Total	4,023,206	100.0

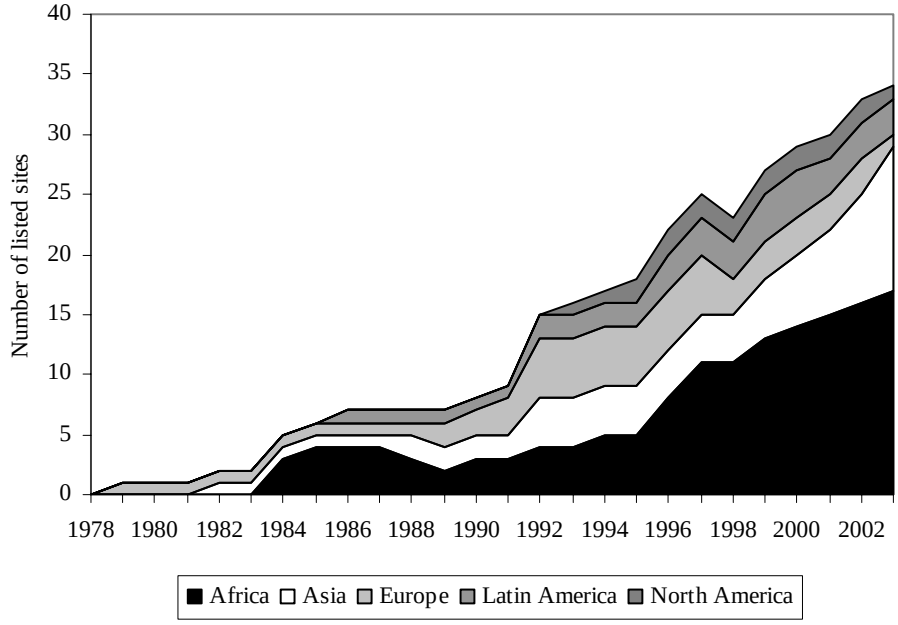
Source: UNESCO (2003b: 123), adapted data.

Money from the World Heritage Fund is allocated according to three principles: the importance of safeguarding a site, the urgency of intervention and the capacity of the country where the site is located (UNESCO 2002: 12). The most money has gone to the (poorer) African countries (twenty-six percent), while European and North American countries (fifteen percent) and Arab countries (thirteen percent) have received the least amount of money (UNESCO 2002: 21; Pocock 1997b: 383; Douglas 1982: 8).

4) List of world heritage in danger
There is a separate list of endangered world heritage sites. The natural and cultural-historical region of Kotor (Serbia and Montenegro) was first put on this list in 1979. Sites are removed from the list when they no longer face threats which endanger their existence. The list contained thirty-five sites in May 2004, with roughly the same number of natural and cultural sites. Almost half of the sites, sixteen, are in Africa (figure 5-1). Oceania is the only continent without endangered sites.
The threat of inscribing a site on the list of world heritage in danger is claimed to be the committee's most powerful tool (Turtinen 2000: 15). The committee can use the list to spend money on endangered sites (Hinrichson *et al.* 1983: 203; Thorsell 2001: 35; Philips 2001: 10), is informed about the sites through annual monitoring reports

from the World Conservation Union and the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) (Van Hooff 2002: 5), uses its political power (Cameron 1992b: 20), and appeals to public opinion (Batisse 1992: 29; Hoffman 1993: 60). The authority of the committee is purely moral (Musitelli 2003: 325; Maswood 2000: 360; Kunich 2003: 645), but it can act "when national folly threatens" (Lowenthal 1998b: 228).

Figure 5-1: Spatial distribution of world heritage sites in danger, 1978-2003.

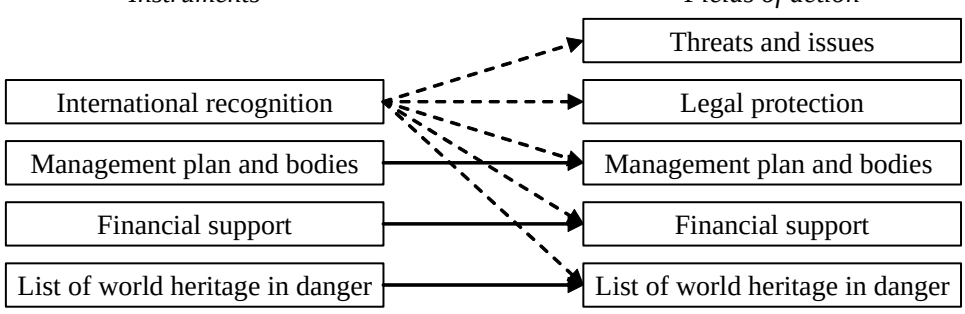


Source: UNESCO (2004a), adapted data.

5.2 Does world heritage designation help to preserve sites?

The four instruments impact on five fields of action to preserve world heritage sites better: dealing with threats and issues, legal national protection measures, management plans and bodies, available financial means, and the inscription on the list of world heritage in danger. The last three directly stem from the instruments within the convention (figure 5-2).

Figure 5-2: Four world heritage instruments and five fields of action to preserve sites.



At the same time, any of these three fields of action can be influenced by world heritage site's international recognition. International recognition can also become a 'tool' for sites dealing with threats and issues as well as in the introduction or strengthening the legal protection.

5.2.1 Dealing with threats and issues

World heritage sites included in the field study face diverse threats and issues that endanger their preservation, ranging from mining and agriculture to new infrastructure and from small ongoing changes and decay to new buildings. The world heritage listing helps to deal with these threats and issues at 55 field study sites, not at 40.

The world heritage status may be simultaneously helpful and useless with regard to different issues affecting the same site. The management of Stonehenge (United Kingdom) has been able to use the world heritage status in their negotiation to protect the archaeological remains more effectively by restricting farmers' ploughing activities through the Countryside Stewardship Special Project (Interview 28). But the site has also been "called a 'national disgrace' by the 'public accounts committee' of the House of Commons [for its fences and restricted public access], financial support from the 'millennium fund' has been refused, and arguments continue about how the site should be developed and protected" (Holloway 1998: 319).

1) Support depends on the local level

A world heritage listing is no guarantee for a better preservation of sites, as the support for threats and issues at sites depends on the local level (table 5-3).

Table 5-3: Scale level of support for world heritage sites to deal with threats and issues at centrally and non-centrally nominated sites (number of sites, N = 63).

	Scale-level of support		
	Local	National	International
Centrally nominated	33	9	7
Non-centrally nominated	13	0	1
Total	46	9	8

Note: P-value chi-square is 0.14.
Source: Own field study at various world heritage sites.

World heritage status leads to a greater awareness among the local community to preserve the site. As such, the world heritage status is a possible tool for better preservation, not a guarantee after listing:

> "We here at the local level are aware of the responsibility that we have received. At the higher level, one is predominantly proud of the status… Now I understand that there is a long road between the world heritage designation of Teotihuacán and receiving advantages from this designation… You have to see the world heritage proclamation predominantly as an instrument to realise other, internal issues, such as reducing the number of street traders."
>
> (Interview 61, *translated*)

Preserving the heritage of humanity?

Rather similar world heritage sites in the same country – such as the two Mexican colonial towns of Morelia and Zacatecas – face different circumstances, as much depends on local initiatives and abilities. Both cities, 400 kilometres apart and capital of their respective state, received the world heritage status in the early 1990s after the world heritage nomination had been prepared by local actors. In Morelia the world heritage status has been used as an argument to draw up a new city plan in 1999.

Photo 5-2: Streetscape of two Mexican world heritage cities: Morelia and Zacatecas.

The local municipality and the regional state of Michoacan largely financed the implementation of the plan, which ultimately led to the removal of street traders and a renovation of the buildings (Interview 71). Such changes have not been carried out in Zacatecas. Two ambitious projects were launched, but they failed due to lack of money. The world heritage status has not triggered more local awareness about the need for the site's preservation (Interview 73). The changes made have transformed the appearance of Morelia, resulting in differences between what were originally rather similar colonial towns (photo 5-2).

Several authors have stressed the importance of the attitude of local stakeholders in preserving world heritage sites. See Pitts (1990: 259) on Avebury (United Kingdom), Royle (1997: 75) and Nickel (1989: 14) on the colonial city of La Habana (Cuba), Popp (2001) and Escher *et al.* (2001: 24) on some cities in the Magreb, and McMurtrie and Xueqin (2001: 51) for an overview of Chinese world heritage sites.

2) Absence of support from higher scale levels
Support from the national or international scale levels is largely absent when sites have to deal with issues and threats and about one-third of the respondents at the local level is disappointed about the lack of such support. A respondent in the city of Zacatecas (Mexico) made the following point:

> "Some responsible within the municipality are aware of the improvements that have to be done, but we do not have the financial means to carry them out… Everyone should take his/her responsibility. Not only the municipality, but also UNESCO… We also never hear anything from INAH, even though they created the *Dirección Patrimonio de la Humanidad*. We do not want to blame these organisations, as their intentions have been good… Nonetheless, we would like to hear from UNESCO about the kind of support we could expect for Zacatecas. UNESCO may not be a very rich organisation, but it still is a powerful organisation."
>
> (Interview 73, *translated*)

National governments do not always support local sites, an example of which is Xochimilco (photo 5-3).

Photo 5-3: No national support at world heritage sites: Xochimilco and Malbork.

Also the management of the castle of Teutonic Order in Malbork asked for national support when they had problems with the owners of a boat and a disco that caused both visual and sound pollution and received none:

> "I [appealed to] the Polish Commission for UNESCO [for their help in our dispute with the owners of a] particular boat and also a certain disco, which is in the zone of the castle… We expected much more, something like legal advice. We thought that they would help us much more with the advice, that they would ask

> lawyers what we can do, what is the procedure and so on. But there was simply no answer in fact… Only, just what diplomats say, 'We support you with all our hearts.' "
>
> (Interview 87)

3) Outside support restricted to centrally nominated sites
Centrally nominated, often nationally owned, heritage sites more often receive national and international support than sites whose nomination was originally started by an organisation from below the national level (table 5-3). National governments feel more responsible for centrally nominated sites than for decentralised nominated sites. Decentralised nominated sites have to rely on their local authority that has often applied for, or helped to obtain, the world heritage status. These sites may use the world heritage listing to get support from other scale levels, prompting a Polish respondent to comment, "Perhaps, it was sufficient that the Polish government has nominated Kalwarija Zebrzydowska for the world heritage list" (Interview 84, *translated*).

5.2.2 Legal protection
Most world heritage sites have some local or national protection. An analysis of the database of the World Conservation Monitoring Centre (WCMC 2003) shows that only 4 out of 149 natural world heritage sites have no other designation than the world heritage listing – Ha Long Bay (Viet Nam), Arabian Oryx Sanctuary (Oman), East Rennell (Solomon Islands) and Henderson Island (United Kingdom).
In most cases, the world heritage status, however, does not lead to stricter legislation. Legal protection has increased as a consequence of the world heritage listing at twenty-five sites included in the field study, but not at the other thirty-nine. A site's world heritage nomination, however, may be preceded by national designations. The two Mexican natural parks of Sian Ka'an and El Vizcaíno became national parks in the year before their world heritage listing, as "you are indicating that you will preserve the site" (Interview 63).
The United Kingdom is the only case country where additional planning regulations have been introduced. World heritage status is a matter of consideration in the English planning policy guidance fifteen and sixteen since 1994. These constitute advice from the national government for local communities. A world heritage listing:

> highlights the outstanding international importance of the site as a key material consideration to be taken into account by *local planning authorities* in determining planning and listed building consent applications, and by the *secretary of state* in determining cases on appeal or following call-in… Each *local authority* concerned, taking account of world heritage site designation and other relevant statutory designations, should formulate specific planning policies for protecting these sites and include these policies in their development plans… Development proposals affecting these sites or their setting may be compatible with this objective, but should always be carefully scrutinised for their likely effect on the site or its setting in the longer term.
>
> (Cookson 2000: 688-698, *italics added*)

The planning policy guidance does not automatically lead to more national interference in the management of world heritage sites. Local authorities, eventually assisted by national authorities in the event of appeal (Evans *et al.* 1994: 508), still determine sites' planning applications. The governments in Wales, Northern Ireland and Scotland have drawn up similar provisions as in England (Interview 25 and 32).

In general, it was not world heritage listing, but conflicts over world heritage sites that seem to trigger the introduction of additional national legislation. In the United Kingdom, the national legislation was introduced in September 1994 (Wainwright 2000: 338), after dispute had arisen over two centrally nominated sites. The proposal for hotels and an Elizabethan theme park in the world heritage site of Avebury led to some controversy in 1990 and was only narrowly averted (Rutherford 1994: 380; Yale 1991: 227). And on 9 December 1993 the court forbade the plans for a mining plant at Hadrian's Wall (Rutherford 1994: 383). The decision of the judge was not watertight, as there was no particular planning legislation for world heritage sites at that stage (Interview 37). These events triggered the introduction of a new planning legislation.

The federal government of Australia introduced the World Heritage Properties Act in 1983 (Pearson and Sullivan 1995: 42), which was replaced by the Environment Protection and Biodiversity Conservation Act in 1999. The 1983 Act largely resulted from the Commonwealth's inability to influence state governments' planning policies in world heritage areas, while the Australian government remained primarily responsible for them. The act was introduced after the development of a hydroelectric power station in the temperate rainforest of Tasmania was abandoned after a lawsuit in 1982. The act helped to stop the construction of a dam in Tasmania and enabled better preservation of Queensland's wet tropical rainforest area (Pearson and Sullivan 1995: 42).

In the Netherlands, the preservation of world heritage sites is still facilitated through existing (mostly local and regional) judicial and financial instruments (VROM 2004: 44). Some stakeholders at world heritage sites have asked for more legal protection that would especially apply to world heritage sites (Interview 18). Such arrangements have not been introduced, as non-world heritage sites facing similar problems would be excluded from additional protection measures (OCW 2002: 5-6).

Cultural landscapes obtain the least benefit from the world heritage status as a tool to preserve the site. The world heritage listing does not add much due to inadequate national landscape protection (box 5-1).

Box 5-1: Inadequate national protection of cultural landscapes.

Cultural landscapes have often to fulfil more functions than heritage alone. Some sites – such as Kalwarija Zebrzydowska (Poland) and Las Médulas (Spain) – have especially sought a world heritage listing to ensure the protection of their landscape, as the world heritage convention was "the first international legal instrument to identify, protect, conserve and transmit to future generations cultural landscapes" (Rössler 2003: 12). In practice landscape protection does not increase after a world heritage listing as landscape protection is not properly managed in most countries (see Van Dockum *et al.* 1997: 28-29 for the Netherlands; Onofre 2003: 89 for Mexico; Prieur 2003: 150-153).

The landscape of Atapuerca (Spain) that has the oldest archaeological findings in Europe faces a couple of threats: a nearby military zone, encroaching urbanisation from

surrounding villages and new windmills, while only a quarter of the site is protected as a national monument since 1987. Palaeontologists from the *Universidad de Burgos* actively backed the world heritage nomination, as they hoped that a world heritage nomination would lead to a better protection of the area. The extent of the nationally protected landscape has not been enlarged before or after the world heritage listing in 2001. The Spanish monuments law does not protect cultural landscapes and the World Heritage Committee did not insist on a better protection of the landscape when it inscribed Atapuerca on the world heritage list (Interview 97), even though "the convention's effectiveness is never as strong as it is during the preliminary investigation of the nominations" (Pressouyre 1993: 48).
The legal protection of a world heritage cultural landscape is often restricted to the elements that already received national protection *before* the listing. The archaeological zones of Teotihuacán (Mexico) and Cahokia Mounds (United States of America) have never been extended after listing, even though they exclude some interesting parts. The entire Dutch Beemster polder, with more than two hundred typical regional farms (*stolpboerderijen*), is designated as a world heritage site. About fifty farms are national monuments (Beusekom 2000b: 5); the remaining 150 farms without a national designation do not receive additional protection (Interview 17; RIVM 2002: 128).

5.2.3 Management plans and management bodies
All nominated sites should have a management plan, but the field study shows that the availability of management plans differs between earlier and later listed sites, and per country. Thirty-one of the thirty-seven sites (more than eighty percent) that were put on the world heritage list before 1988 have a management plan, compared to six out of seventeen sites (thirty-five percent) listed after 1988 (table 5-4). This is striking as management plans were obligatory from 1988 onwards.

Table 5-4: Existence of management plans at sites listed before and after 1988 (number of sites, N = 54).

	Number of sites			
Year listing	Plan before listing	Plan during or after listing	Without plan	Total
Before 1988	13	18	6	37
After 1988	0	6	11	17

Note: P-value chi-square is 0.00.
Source: Own field study at various world heritage sites.

Management plans are more often in place at natural than at cultural sites. All eleven natural case study sites have a management plan. The management plan was already drawn up at eight natural sites *before* the world heritage nomination and seven of them are located in the United States of America. It was common in this country to produce a management plan for parks in the 1960s and 1970s (Fitzsimmons 1979: 235). The world heritage listing, however, has never been a reason to update the plan.
All management plans for world heritage sites in the United Kingdom were made *after* listing. The 1994 planning policies encouraged local planning authorities "to work with owners and managers of world heritage sites in their areas, and with other agencies, to

ensure that comprehensive management plans are in place" (Cookson 2000: 734). The initiative for drawing up a management plan mostly comes from the national government and ICOMOS UK (Whitbourn 2002: 13). The national government's policy is that all British world heritage sites should have a management plan. Plans began to be produced on a large scale after the Labour government came in power in 1997. At the end of 2003, fourteen out of twenty-two British sites had a management plan.

Heritage sites with the world heritage status in the United Kingdom are often among the first sites to receive a management plan which sometimes is a higher quality. The world heritage city of Quebec was the first Canadian heritage site ever that received a management plan (Cameron 1994: 30). The National Trust for Scotland draws up management plans for all its properties, but that for St. Kilda:

> "is far more detailed than the others… the last management plan produced for St. Kilda was much more rigorous… Basically the world heritage nomination asked us to do the things very rigorously. The world heritage convention was very keen on us to have an all-inclusive approach to the area."
>
> (Interview 39)

This detailed management plan is largely the consequence of the request for an extension of the world heritage site. Some site managers in the United Kingdom noted that the production of a management plan was the first consequence of their world heritage listing. The meaning of the world heritage site status has shifted from an honorific gesture to a concern for the quality of the site thanks to the production of the management plans (Whitbourn 2002: 12).

Management plans have not or have hardly been produced in any of the other four case countries. None of the six world heritage sites in the Netherlands have a management plan. The national government has made money available to this end in 2001 (OCW 2002: 6), but no management plan had been produced by 2004. It has been recommended once again that this will be done in the short run (VROM 2004: 44).

The production of a management plan is both expensive and time-consuming (Pearson and Sullivan 1995: 281). Consultants coordinated the management plan for Stonehenge (Wainwright 2000: 338), but other sites lack the financial resources. Ironically, the countries where management plans have been produced (United States of America and United Kingdom) or are about to be produced (the Netherlands) are identified by Cleere (2000: 4) as the ones that least need a management plan.

The preservation of a site can also benefit from the creation of a new management body, although they are often not created (Feilden and Jokilehto 1998: x). A body is most helpful when there are various owners, something that applies to the majority of world heritage sites (Smith 2000a: 410). Most instances of new management bodies are found at more recently listed, multiply-owned landscapes, such as Las Médulas (Spain), the defence line of Amsterdam (The Netherlands), Vall de Boí (Spain), and the Loire Valley (France) (Musitelli 2003: 334). The creation of management bodies largely depends on local initiatives. A new management body would be helpful for the preservation of the cultural landscape of Kalwarija Zebrzydowska (Poland), as the cultural landscape is spread out over three municipalities. However, the Polish government has not responded to local requests for such a body (Interview 84).

5.2.4 Financial support

Money from the world heritage fund is mainly available for endangered sites in poorer countries, as the available financial resources are limited: "the resources under the world heritage fund all are too limited to assist the growing number of both… [countries] and sites" (UNESCO 2002: 3). The budget per site is insufficient to preserve all sites on the list of world heritage in danger (Musitelli 2003: 333). Wieliczka salt mine (Poland) was on the list of endangered sites between 1989 and 1997. Despite this status, the mine did not receive money when floods affected the mine in 1992, as "Poland was viewed as a country that could help itself without the support from UNESCO" (Interview 82, *translated*). The salt mine ultimately received $100,000 from the world heritage fund in the mid-1990s to install dehumidification equipment in the mine to deal more effectively with the moisture in human breath (Sherwood 1994: 24), an amount which was "very symbolic [but] not very large" (Interview 82, *translated*). The financial contributions of the Polish-American Maria Sklodowska-Curie fund and the Polish government were more substantial.

The lack of money in the world heritage fund results partly from the fact that "UNESCO is not predominantly an aid organisation" (Dutt 1999: 225). Countries that ratified the convention could have given more support by making voluntary contributions, but most countries prefer to spend money through bi- instead of multilateral cooperation (Dickson and Macilwain 1993: 293; Hindell 1986: 21). Bilateral cooperation can also be directed towards world heritage sites (Van Hooff 2002: 11), but the world heritage committee does not control or 'evenly' distribute these financial means:

> "Countries simply do not make money available to the world heritage convention… countries can give voluntary contributions, and some countries like Italy and Japan have done so, but the United States has very rarely made additional contributions. Most of our assistance to world heritage sites goes through bilateral arrangements with other countries. We have a very active programme of cooperation with China, some of which extend to world heritage sites. That assistance is not directed through or counted as part of the world heritage programme… and more importantly, the world heritage committee does not control where they go. The US government decides where its support goes."
>
> (Interview 42)

The American National Park Service co-sponsored bilateral workshops at the three Polish world heritage sites of Białowieża, Kraków, and Warszawa in 1989 (Sherwood 1994: 23). Bilateral cooperation also exists between other countries and money is often invested in former colonies. Spain spends money on the colonial heritage in Latin America (see for example Suárez-Inclán Ducassi 1999) and the Netherlands in Surinam (WVC 1993: 184-185).

1) Most additional money comes from the local scale level

Managers at sites included in the field study mentioned that the world heritage status helps more often to attract money from other sources: 50 versus 34. Increased awareness among local policy makers for the Rietveld-Schröderhouse (the Netherlands) after the world heritage listing has led to more financial support:

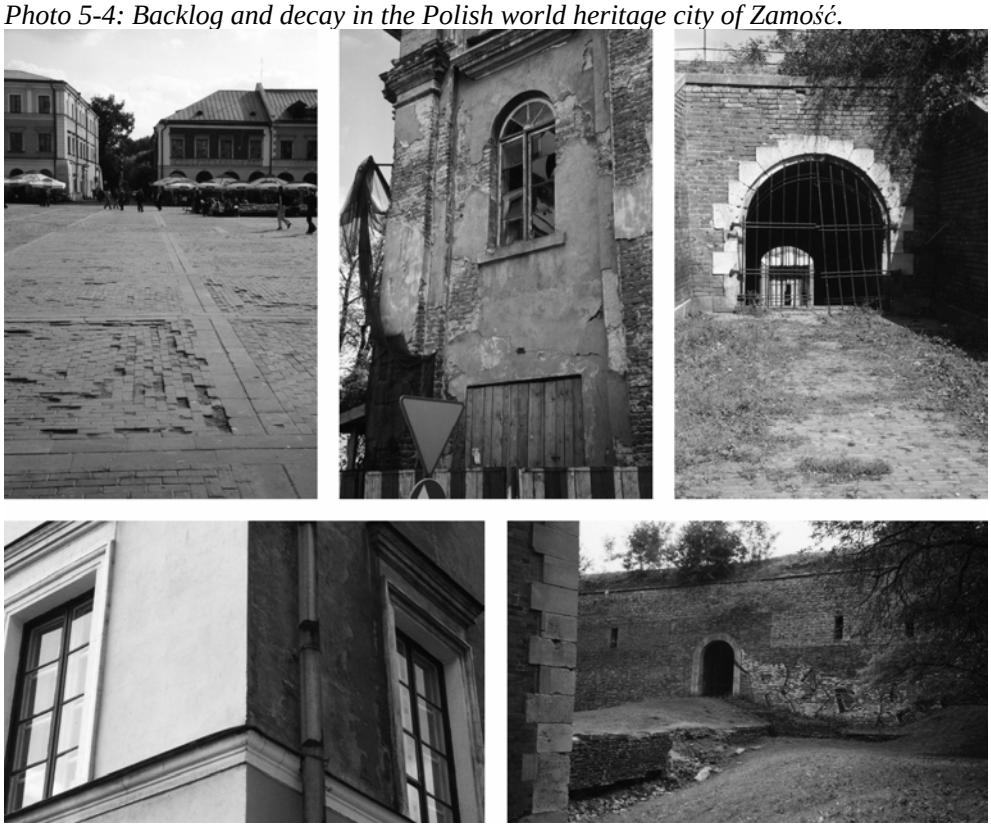
> "Utrecht's main focus was always on its medieval past… One has become aware of the works of Rietveld thanks to the world heritage designation. It has been an eye-opener for another possible identity of Utrecht. Policy makers see that the Rietveld-Schröderhouse measures internationally up to the cathedral [in Utrecht], partly because the house is put on a par with Borobudur [in Indonesia] and the Pyramids in Egypt. Policy makers did not have such a standard before the world heritage designation. This rise of consciousness has contributed to the municipality's aid to purchase another Rietveld house at the Erasmuslaan."
>
> (Interview 20, *translated*)

The world heritage designation often leads to a higher financial commitment from the region, such as the defence line of Amsterdam (Stichting Stelling van Amsterdam 2000: 3) and the Wouda steam pumping station (Chouchena and Van Rossum 1999: 27). Likewise, the regional authority made money available for the windmills of Kinderdijk after its world heritage designation (Bakker 1998: 40).
National governments normally do not make extra money available for world heritage sites. Most site managers in the United Kingdom and the Netherlands regard the world heritage listing as a non-funded mandate:

> "At the moment, the world heritage status does not bring additional funds or enlarge the possibilities to get more money. It is a national or international recognition, but very often responsibility to look after the site falls upon the local community. And many of these local communities do not have the resources to do this properly. We have been arguing over the past few years that we should be helped financially at the national or international level to do our job, because we are not able to afford it from our own budget."
>
> (Interview 31)

The perceived lack of national and international support has led to the creation of national cooperation networks between world heritage sites. The UK Local Authorities World Heritage Sites Forum has been formed to share experiences (Pocock 1997b: 384). This cooperation includes "a dialogue between the world heritage sites and the UK government about financial support to help to manage these [world heritage] sites" (Interview 31). In the Netherlands, the World Heritage Platform has been created in 2002 (OCW 2002: 7). Local cooperation among world heritage sites led to more attention for the world heritage sites (OCW 2001: 4-5). More than € 1 million have been made available for Dutch world heritage sites for the period 2001-2004. About one-third of the money was meant for producing management plans.
World heritage sites' funding from the local level has the disadvantage that sites, also in poor regions, have to solve their own problems. A national law has been drawn up to better preserve the heavily polluted world heritage site of Lake Baikal (Russia). The new law affords better protection against pollution from the pulp and paper mills, but the lack of financial means make it difficult to implement the law (Wein 2002: 54). No country or international organisation has shown much interest in the Polish world heritage city of Zamość, even though buildings are dilapidated, the defensive walls falling apart and only the façades facing the main square are in a reasonable shape (photo 5-4).

Photo 5-4: Backlog and decay in the Polish world heritage city of Zamość.



2) Outside financial support mainly for centrally nominated sites
Analogous to the scale level of support in issues and threats, national and international financial support predominantly goes to centrally nominated sites (table 5-5).

Table 5-5: Scale level of financial support for centrally and non-centrally nominated sites (number of sites, N = 61).

	Scale level of support		
	Local	National	International
Centrally nominated	10	24	8
Non-centrally nominated	11	5	3
Total	21	29	11

Note: P-value chi-square is 0.03.
Source: Own field study at various world heritage sites.

In Australia, centrally nominated sites receive more financial support from the national government than decentralised nominated sites: “the level of Commonwealth involvement in the [world heritage] listing process determines the level of Commonwealth support and resourcing of world heritage area management” (Corbett and Lane 1996: 40).

At the international level, priority is given to world heritage sites when they request for funding from the Global Environment Facility, donors and the large development banks as "world heritage sites are 'political hot-spots'" (Thorsell 2001: 35). Especially centrally nominated world heritage sites can count on this 'international' money in recent times. They do not only receive attention from international organisations thanks to their world heritage listing; they are also primary sites in their country. The world heritage site of Sian Ka'an receives money, among others, from the Global Environment Facility, the World Bank, the European Union, two United Nations' programmes and the Nature Conservancy group as the following shows:

> "We get more money than other natural areas in Mexico, but this is not a unique thing. Global Environment Facility started in 1994 and Mexico got a special budget for maintaining protected areas, and Sian Ka'an fell of course in this category, [as] it is one of the most important protected areas in Mexico."
>
> (Interview 63)

3) More support for publicly owned sites

National, regional and local governments are more inclined to pay for the maintenance of publicly owned world heritage sites than for private ones. This practice is prominent in world heritage cities, where private owners are hardly supported. The renovations after the world heritage designation of Puebla (Mexico) concerned initially only major civil buildings and monuments, not residential premises (Jones and Varley 1994: 27; Jones and Varley 1999: 1556). Later on, "property owners were instructed to maintain façades with approved materials, painting walls from a limited palette of 'colonial' colours. The municipality and INAH increased supervision of building codes" (Jones and Varley 1999: 1553). Private owners are partially compensated for their renovation efforts: "Not everything is compensated for… The façade is paid for, while the owner commits himself to pay for the renovation of the interior… This is comparable to the situation in other Mexican cities" (Interview 70, *translated*).

Owners are better able to pay for the renovation of their house when the inner city has gone through the process of gentrification. Hardly any historic world heritage city has entirely gone through this process, as world heritage areas are generally extensive:

> "These [poorer] people just don't renovate their property, because they do not have the financial means. When their houses are dilapidated, they break them down and build a new house at the same place. That's what they prefer… There are 2,300 buildings in Puebla that have to be preserved, and we do not have sufficient money for that. All we can do is talk to these people and give them free technical advice."
>
> (Interview 70, *translated*)

The absence of financial support in other world heritage cities for private owners to renovate their building has also been pointed out, some examples of which are Bath (Interview 11), Warszawa (Interview 77), Paramaribo (Surinam) (Lotens 2002: 25), Willemstad (Bakker 2002: 31) and Venice (Orbaşli 2000: 22). At the same time, property owners are sometimes hardly aware of the necessity of maintenance and repair of their house (see also Popp 2001).

Photo 5-5: The renovation of buildings in historic cities is largely left to the owners: Toruń and Aranjuez.

Those who give financial support at the national or regional level hesitate to spend public money on the renovation of privately owned sites. Property rights take precedence over world heritage status as explained in the following:

> "The Romanesque Catalan churches of Vall de Boí received a lot of money for their renovation, which enabled their world heritage nomination. In addition, their world heritage listing requires continued effort to maintain the site in a good condition. In contrast, the works of Antoni Gaudí or Lluís Domènech i Montaner are mostly privately owned. It is difficult to invest in these buildings with public means. This shows how difficult it is to gather general support for world heritage sites."
>
> (Interview 89, *translated*)

Box 5-2: Preserving world heritage sites in the United States of America.

The world heritage status may be a useful tool to better preserve a site, but this does not apply to most world heritage sites in the United States of America. The status has no impact on how a national park is managed due to the anti-United Nations attitude in this country: "There is some concern from people that the United Nations is taking over parks… and we do not manage it anymore. However, the status does not mandate specific actions in the park, and we do not manage the park any differently" (Interview 51). There is a small group of people in the United States of America, especially in the mid-West, who think that the United Nations has taken control over the world heritage sites in the United States of America. Blue helmets are supposed to train in the American national parks and black helicopters fly over the parks to control them. While in 1973 the United States Senate voted unanimously to accept the world heritage convention (Connally 1989: 4), it largely denies its existence today.

The budgets for the national parks are annually determined by the federal congress and sites "do certainly not receive any of our budget… because we happen to be a world heritage site" (Interview 50). The world heritage status is no reason for priority funding, even though most American national parks need some renovation: "Mammoth Cave national park, like many national parks, was heavily developed in the 1950s and 1960s, and these buildings are now over fifty years old… There is a tremendous, a huge backlog in maintenance of about fifty years… The money we receive is enough to operate, not to do all the maintenance" (Interview 46).

5.2.5 The list of world heritage in danger

The World Heritage Committee's threat of putting a particular site on the list of world heritage in danger has had some success. Ishwaran (2001: 22) reports two successes – Galápagos Islands (Ecuador) and El Vizcaíno (Mexico) – as it stimulated the respective national governments to take preventive steps (see also Maswood 2000: 366-367; Yale 1991: 227). The recognition as endangered site can also help to improve the preservation of sites, such as at Everglades National Park (United States of America):

> "For many years we have been generally recognised as the most threatened American national park, and now even among world heritage sites the threats are recognised. We use that regularly for a variety of ways, particularly to request funding, to request particular decisions at higher policy levels, which help the park's situation. We refer to it with discussions with our partner organisations active here in South Florida and its local community and in our interpretive programs, even beginning with the park brochure."
>
> (Interview 74)

The political support from UNESCO is claimed to have been an important factor in obtaining the attention of the Department of Environment in Northern Ireland (DOENI) to play a more active role in the development at the Giant's Causeway:

> "Once UNESCO started to show interest, DCMS [Department of Culture, Media and Sport] also started to show interest in the Giant's Causeway. Then the DOENI started to realise its responsibilities… World heritage has been extremely important in all of this. DCMS has been asking questions to DOENI to assure that the UK as a whole meets its obligations to UNESCO in relation to its world heritage sites. DOENI started to realise its responsibilities after that."
>
> (Interview 24)

There have been questions about why there are only 35 sites on the list of world heritage in danger, while so many sites around the globe face threats that jeopardise their existence (Cook 1996: 4). McMurtrie and Xueqin (2001: 50) claim that about half of the Chinese world heritage sites are poorly managed, yet none of them is on the list of world heritage in danger. According to Kunich (2003) "there must be powerful disincentives at work that have artificially depressed the number of treasures… inscribed" (p. 646). There are two of such disincentives at work. A listing on the endangered list is sometimes regarded as a negative thing and the World Heritage Committee does not place a site on that list without prior knowledge and permission of the responsible country.

1) List of world heritage in danger as blacklist

The World Heritage Committee has made it explicitly clear that "inscription on the list of world heritage in danger should not be seen as a sanction, but as the acknowledgement of a condition that calls for safeguarding measures, and as a means of securing resources for that purpose" (UNESCO 1992: annex 2). Nonetheless, a listing in danger is often perceived as being put on a "blacklist of sites which are not…

adequately protected by national governments" (Ishwaran 2001: 22), "as being placed on the dock of dishonour" (Pressouyre 1993: 56) or "a 'red list' that projects a negative image on the site and the country" (Van Hooff 2002: 10).
The district council of Xochimilco, Mexico City, is responsible for the floating gardens, a world heritage site since 1987. The council has been unsuccessful in its attempts to receive extra support from the Mexican government for the renovation of the area, primarily due to the difficult local political circumstances. The endangered status could possibly help to convince the Mexican government and the international community to invest money in the conservation of this site, but as a respondent pointed out:

> "the local government regards a world heritage listing in danger not as a solution. We have always fought against being put on this list. Listing as such would be bad news for all Mexicans, government or not."
>
> (Interview 62, *translated*).

The negative connotation of the list of world heritage in danger is not always viewed as a stimulus. In Spain, an inscription on the list of world heritage in danger may produce adverse effects as explained in the following:

> "It would be too tough here on the people, the administration. I am even not sure whether money would come… Money comes in Spain when you have a political advantage. If you want to renovate something, you want to get good publicity, not the other way around."
>
> (Interview 104)

It also took eight years until the Nepalese government was convinced of the validity of placing Kathmandu on the list of world heritage in danger (see Musitelli 2003: 328).
The inscription on the list of world heritage in danger happens mostly in countries that are less reserved towards international cooperation. The countries that participated in the world heritage convention from the beginning can be labelled as being less reserved. More than half of the 44 sites ever listed as endangered were put on the 'regular' world heritage list between 1978 and 1983. Coincidentally or not, the 1989 inscription of Wieliczka salt mine on the list of world heritage in danger concurred with the end of communism in Poland.

2) Agreement of the state is necessary
Countries hardly ever ask for a listing of world heritage in danger for one of its sites. The World Heritage Committee mostly springs into action after it has been alerted by outsiders (ICOMOS 2002: 5). Four individuals – some of whom were involved in establishing the world heritage convention – and supported by a number of non-governmental organisations, asked the World Heritage Committee to put El Vizcaíno (Mexico) on the list of world heritage in danger (Brower *et al.* 2000: 24; Rosabal and Rössler 2001: 21). This working method "is criticised as reactionary rather than preventative. The problems have already taken hold and efforts to deal with them may be too little and too late" (Drost 1996: 481, see also box 5-3).

Theoretically, the World Heritage Committee can inscribe a site on the list of world heritage list in danger without the agreement of the country wherein the site is located, but it never does (Cameron 1992b: 20; Fontein 2000: 55). There are two practical reasons for asking a country's consent. First, the home country also has to agree with the World Heritage Committee's view on how to solve the identified problem (Maswood 2000: 368). And second, the World Heritage Committee prefers to keep the countries, as well as the site in question, inside the system. Maswood (2000) illustrates this for Kakadu National Park: "The decision to leave Kakadu off the list of threatened sites ensured that Australia remained compliant with the heritage regime… The World Heritage Committee could have acted to inscribe Kakadu on the endangered list but would have been unable to elicit Australian cooperation in protecting Kakadu from further mining operations" (p. 368). The World Heritage Committee remains dependent upon a country's goodwill, which is most undesirable when the national government itself is the source of the danger (Aplin 2002: 176).

Box 5-3: Reactionary approach of the list of world heritage in danger.

In 2002 the municipality of Ávila (Spain) commissioned the demolition of two buildings at Plaza de Santa Teresa and constructed a new building (photo 5-6). This square, according to UNESCO (2003a), forms an integral part of the world heritage site: "The Plaza Santa Teresa has been included in the nomination file as part of the protected area… when inscribing the site in 1985… special mention was made of the Square of Santa Teresa as a high point within the world heritage site" (p. 63). The first nomination of Ávila in 1984 was rejected by ICOMOS, as the proposed site did not include the Romanesque churches of San Segundo, San Vicente, San Andres and San Pedro, which all lie outside the city wall (ICOMOS 1985). The new proposal, which was inscribed in the world heritage list in 1985, included these four churches and squares.
Academics from the *Universidad Católica de Ávila* alerted UNESCO about the new developments in Ávila and the municipality has been asked to inform UNESCO about its future plans. The municipality is aware that it has contravened some agreements and conventions, but it will continue the project. The continuation is justified, as it is claimed that the square lies outside the designated world heritage area and an internationally well-known architect has designed the new building. Furthermore, the municipality stated, an inscription on the list of world heritage in danger is not an eminent danger, as Ávila still has many other beautiful buildings (Interview 102).

Photo 5-6: Local developments at world heritage sites: Ávila and Auschwitz.

This case makes three things clear. First, there was confusion over which areas belong to the world heritage site and which areas do not. Second, local stakeholders sometimes intentionally break agreements without informing UNESCO. And third, the square had already been adapted before UNESCO was even informed. This case shares many similarities with the construction of a shopping centre in the buffer zone of Auschwitz. In both situations, the international community is rather helpless in ensuring better preservation of a world heritage site.

5.3 Concluding remarks

There are five fields of action to preserve world heritage sites more effectively: the status can be a useful argument to deal with threats and issues, national legislation, management plans and bodies, financial support, and the list of world heritage in danger. In practice these tools are no guarantee that world heritage sites are better preserved than without the international recognition. The effectiveness of these tools largely depends upon the willingness of countries to participate and the degree to which world heritage site managers can capitalise upon the status. The global situation is rather similar to Spain's domestic situation, where the responsibility for preserving world heritage sites falls on the autonomous regions:

> "I know, Aragón has created a unit on world heritage, and the large communities, like Catalunya, Andalucía and Galicia, they work very well on heritage in general, and… on world heritage, they are very conscious of that. [It is much harder for] small communities, like Cantabria, Asturias [to work on world heritage], since they do not have a large administration and not too many professionals."
>
> (Interview 104)

The level of preservation hardly increases after a world heritage listing, except for centrally nominated, and publicly owned sites. All humanity should be concerned about the preservation of world heritage sites, but this remains largely a local affair: "was man aus dem ehrenvollen Titel macht, wird vor Ort entschieden" (Overlack 2001: 64).

Chapter 6
Touring world heritage

In the eighteenth century Thomas Cook stated that "travel… promotes universal brotherhood" (quoted in Lash and Urry 1994: 262). International organisations support tourism for its contributions to world peace, as "travel broadens the mind" (Cooper *et al.* 1993: 1; Robinson 1999: 3). UNESCO is claimed to be such an organisation, as world citizens can learn about other cultures when they visit world heritage sites: "One of the primary goals in creating the world heritage list was to attract visitors to different areas in the world and, thereby, encourage greater understanding and sharing of experiences among people" (Drost 1996: 483; see also Boniface 1995: 42). Tourism, however, should not result in eroding the qualities of internationally recognised heritage sites. Within the context of this research, two questions arise. First, does the magnitude of visitor pressure change after a world heritage designation? And second, what are the impacts of a world heritage designation on the site's visitor management?

6.1 World heritage sites as leading tourist attractions

All heritage sites receive visitors, as "heritage and tourism are collaborative industries, heritage … [converts] locations into destinations" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998: 151; see also Yale 1991: 1). World heritage sites in particular are tourist attractions. They receive fifteen to twenty percent of the tourist market (Musitelli 2003: 331) and there is a relationship ($R^2 = 0.56$) between the number of world heritage sites and the number of tourist arrivals per country (Lazzarotti 2000: 15).

What makes world heritage sites so popular? The world heritage status allows *site managers* and *tourist organisations* at world heritage sites to distinguish themselves from other sites. Prominence in any form is helpful because of increased competition among sites (Ashworth and Voogd 1990: 14; Goodall 1990: 259). The world heritage status is a 'unique selling point' (Burns and Holden 1995: 67) to attract visitors. Some countries have specific promotion for their world heritage sites, such as in Hungary (Rátz and Puczkó 1999) and South Africa (Koch and Massyn 2001: 153). Increased visitor numbers after a world heritage designation are reported at several sites, such as Te Wahipounamu (New Zealand) (Watson 1992: 16; Hall and Piggin 2002: 406) and Mesa Verde National Park (United States of America) (*Ambio* 1983: 142).

In addition, the world heritage label allows *tourists* to choose between similar heritage sites – for example between cities whose qualities are otherwise rather similar (Holcomb 1999: 56; Tunbridge 1984: 178). The world heritage list serves "as a selection of display of top heritage tourism sites" (Boniface 2001: 74). The discerning

power of the label is useful for the contemporary tourist who seeks qualitatively high-standing sites (Cooper *et al.* 1993: 265). World heritage sites receive many visitors, as they function as magnets for tourists thanks to their high-standing quality (WTO 1994: viii; Butcher 2003: 119; Drost 1996: 479; Leask and Fyall 2001: 59; Lash and Urry 1994: 253; Yale 1991: 13). Creaser (1994) observes, "Australian world heritage properties read like a travelogue of our most spectacular and unique places" (p. 76).

The world heritage label attracts visitors, as designated sites "serve as destinations in their own right" (Hall and Piggin 2002: 402). The hope to attract more visitors – and reap economic benefits – is also a reason to ask for a world heritage nomination (Von Droste *et al.* 1992: 8; Page 1995: 116; Nuryanti 1996b: 256-257; Anker *et al.* 2002: 4). The danger that "tourism is… promoted before conservation" (WTO 1994: ix) is large when stakeholders regard heritage first of all as an economic resource. There is a real threat that "tourism discovers the quality landscape, invades it, exploits it, spoils it and, finally, recedes" (Anagnostopoulos 1994: 318).

The sheer number of visitors can damage the site, and is often identified as the largest threat to world heritage sites (Batisse 1992: 30; Kuijper 2003: 269). However, visitors do not always cause physical damage when they "gaze at what they encounter" (Urry 1990: 1). Also the ambience of the site can suffer from too many visitors, leading to a site's "loss of… integrity, its soul" (Boniface 1995: 44). Negative influences of visitors are reported in Kakadu National Park (Australia) (Davis and Weiler 1992), Stonehenge (United Kingdom) and the Lascaux Caves (France) (Butler 1998: 224), Avebury (United Kingdom) (Pitts 1990: 272), the Galápagos Islands (Ecuador) (Von Droste *et al.* 1992: 7), the Acropolis (Greece), the Pyramids in Egypt, and some pre-colonial sites in Central America (Dix 1990: 394).

World heritage sites, designated to improve their preservation, may be more threatened after listing. Likewise, national parks have been created to better protect the environment, but their designation "has accelerated demands for their recreational use by drawing public attention to them" (Gilg 1979: 165). World heritage sites should not await this destiny, as they have to be preserved for future generations. Nonetheless, tourism leads to damage at the majority of world heritage sites – at forty-six out of sixty-seven world heritage case sites (sixty-eight percent). The question at hand is whether this has been the consequence of the world heritage listing. Does the world heritage designation have an impact on the number of visitors as well as the ensuing pressure stemming from increased use and visits?

6.2 Visitors at world heritage sites

Accurate information on visitors statistics at heritage sites is not always available: "Site records may either not be kept at all… or may be published in combination with other sites… or may (in the majority of cases) be simply unreliable" (Shackley 1998b: 202; see also Buckley 2004: 73). Data collection is further complicated, as such research necessitates information about the change in the number of visitors *as a consequence of the world heritage listing*. No world heritage site included in the research collects this kind of data. The assembled data is based on what respondents think, not on concrete statistics. Most respondents in this study had difficulties differentiating the 'regular' increase in visitors due to the autonomous rise in cultural tourism (Richards 2000: 14; Williams 1998: 47) from the increase because of the world heritage listing.

An analysis of the number of visitors to world heritage sites leads to two main conclusions. First, predominantly decentralised (or non-centrally) nominated, cultural world heritage site see more visitors after their inscription, whereas many centrally nominated sites already receive many visitors before their listing. And second, a world heritage listing has more impact on the number of foreign visitors than domestic ones, leading to increased visitor pressure in holiday periods.

6.2.1 Visitor numbers

Most world heritage sites included in this study, in total 51, did not experience a change in visitor numbers after their listing (table 6-1). There are, however, some impacts of a listing on the number of visitors. Visitor numbers particularly increase at decentralised nominated sites. These sites are underrepresented in this research. The increase can also be enormous at these sites. The number of visitors to Tàrraco (Spain) is claimed to have more than tripled, from about 300,000 in the late 1990s to one million in 2003 (Interview 92).

Table 6-1: Change in visitor numbers as a result of world heritage listing at centrally and non-centrally nominated sites (number of sites, N = 67).

	Change in visitor numbers		
	Large increase	Small increase	No increase
Centrally nominated	11	13	39
Non-centrally nominated	11	0	12
Total	22	13	51

Note: P-value chi-square is 0.00.
Source: Own field study at various world heritage sites.

1) Centrally nominated sites are more established visitor attractions

Most centrally nominated sites receive many visitors and are often among the most visited attractions in a country (Boniface 1995: 45; Kidane and Hecht 1983: 210-211). Examples from Wales and Mexico illustrate the high number of visitors at world heritage sites in general, and at centrally nominated sites in particular. The Welsh Monument Organisation (CADW) has collected visitor statistics for eighteen of its castles. Four of these castles – Beaumaris, Harlech, Caernarfon, and Conwy – are on the world heritage list. Over the last twenty years these four castles together received roughly the same number of visitors as the other fourteen castles (CADW 1976-2001).

Visitor statistics are also available for twenty Mexican archaeological sites run by the *Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia* (INAH). In 2001, the seven world heritage sites – Teotihuacán, Palenque, Monte Albán, Chichén-Itzá, Uxmal, El Tajín, and Xochicalco – received about twice as many visitors as the remaining thirteen sites (SECTUR 2003). The first four archaeological sites listed in the first two years of Mexico's participation received three times as many visitors than the last three listed sites. A total of 185 archaeological sites run by INAH are classified into four groups with different grades of visitor facilities. The top class, with the 'best' visitor facilities contains seventeen sites. Notably, all nine archaeological world heritage sites managed by INAH – apart from Calakmul, listed in 2002 – belong to the top class.

High visitor numbers and high-quality facilities are often not the consequence of, but are preceded by a world heritage listing of centrally nominated sites: "Durham is not famous for its world heritage site status, but because it is Durham castle and cathedral" (Interview 38). These sites already have established their reputation as visitor attractions before their world heritage listing, and are regarded as 'must see' attractions. This limits the impacts of a world heritage designation on the number of visitors.

2) More visitors at decentralised nominated, cultural world heritage sites

Decentralised nominated cultural sites are often less established visitor attractions before their world heritage listing. The listing can lead to more visitor numbers to these sites, which is in part possible through the extension of the site or an extension of the opening hours. The number of visitors to the churches in Vall de Boí (Spain) doubled since the world heritage listing to 140,000, while the number of churches open to the public increased from one to six after listing (Interview 94). Relatively 'new' heritage sites become major visitor attractions after a world heritage listing, partly thanks to the high-standing reputation of the other impressive sites on the world heritage list. However, this pattern is not repeated at every site. Almost complete absence of action by the autonomous region of Castilla y León has prevented the archaeological site of Atapuerca from becoming a tourist attraction (Interview 97).

Increase in visitor numbers is seen more often at cultural than at natural sites (table 6-2). The larger increase in visitors to cultural sites (which are often in or near urban areas) than to natural world heritage (which are often in more rural areas) fits within the overall pattern that "international tourists visit urban centres in greater numbers than they do rural areas" (Butler 1998: 212).

Table 6-2: Change in visitor numbers as a result of world heritage listing at cultural and natural sites (number of sites, N = 67).

	Change in visitor numbers		
Kind of site	Large increase	Small increase	No increase
Cultural	22	11	40
Natural	0	2	11
Total	22	13	51

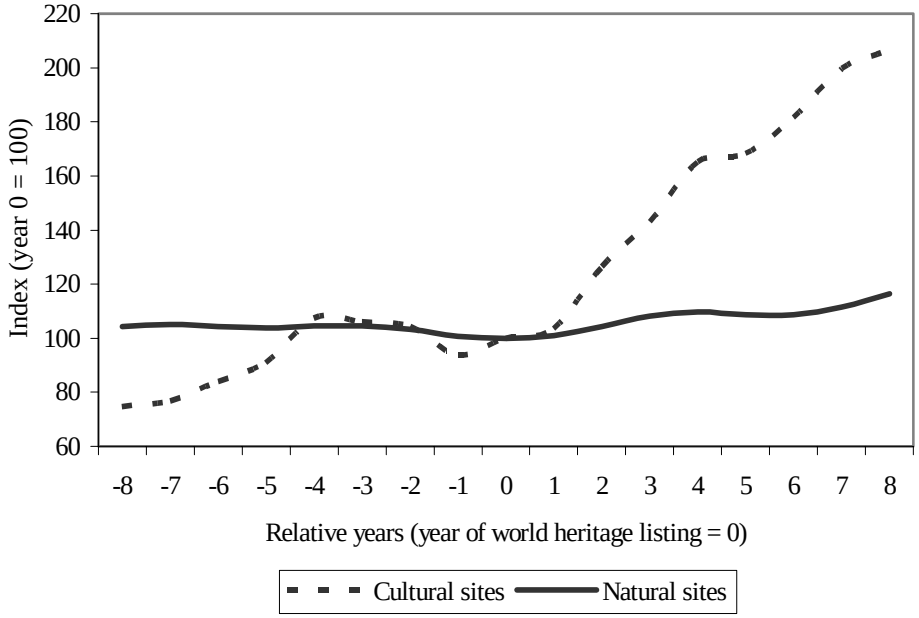
Note: P-value chi-square is 0.06.
Source: Own field study at various world heritage sites.

Almost all natural case sites, however, are centrally nominated sites in the United States of America. The number of visitors to natural world heritage sites hardly changes, as most Americans are unaware of the parks' world heritage status. Great Smoky Mountains receives annually more visitors than any other American park, about ten million, but a respondent states: "I would say that [of] people who come here, probably ninety-nine percent or more do not know that we are a world heritage site" (Interview 45).

The number of visitors to American world heritage sites increased at a higher rate than at non-world heritage sites between 1980 and 2000 (forty percent at world heritage

sites and twenty percent non-world heritage sites). The forty percent visitor increase at world heritage sites occurred solely at cultural world heritage sites (figure 6-1). The number of visitors to cultural world heritage sites doubled, while the figures stayed roughly the same for natural sites.

Figure 6-1: Number of visitors at natural and cultural world heritage sites in the United States of America.



Source: NPS (2002b), adapted data.

The Statue of Liberty, New York, is one of the cultural sites where the number of visitors increased considerably – from about one million in the early 1980s to more than five million in 2000. The increase is largely due to a major renovation project in the first half of the 1980s, which also prompted the site's world heritage nomination. The accompanying increase in (international) fame, in part following the world heritage listing, has led to more visitors (Interview 40).

6.2.2 Visitor patterns

Most of the visitors to heritage sites are domestic (Cooper *et al.* 1993: 1; Nuryanti 1996b: 254; Smith 2000b: 703; Von Droste *et al.* 1992: 6), but world heritage sites may be more popular with international visitors. Olduvai Gorge (Tanzania) receives many more foreign visitors than domestic ones (Mabulla 2000: 225-226). In addition, there are indications that international visitors are more oriented towards world heritage sites. The world heritage site of Sukhothai is more popular with foreigners than other heritage sites in Thailand (Peleggi 1996: 433-438). An increase in the number of international visitors can have an impact on the site. International visitors are likely to stay longer, for more than one day, and are liable to spend more money – especially if they come from richer countries. In particular the world heritage listing of centrally

nominated sites leads to more international visitors, as foreign visitors want to see the 'best' available heritage sites.

1) More international visitors than domestic ones
The world heritage status usually induces an increase in international visitors rather than in domestic ones (table 6-3). The absolute number of extra international visitors following a world heritage listing is often small, but still larger than the increase in domestic visitors.

Table 6-3: Dominant type of visitor as a result of world heritage listing in the case countries (number of sites, N = 54).

	Visitors	
Country	Domestic	International
The Netherlands	2	4
United Kingdom	3	5
United States of America	0	12
Mexico	6	6
Poland	3	6
Spain	4	3
Total	18	36

Note: P-value chi-square is 0.10.
Source: Own field study at various world heritage sites.

The country where the world heritage designation has in particular led to more international visitors is the United States of America. Twelve American site managers indicated that the world heritage listing might have led to some extra international visitors, none indicated more domestic visitors (see also Douglas 1982: 6). The interest of Americans in their national world heritage sites is low, as the world heritage status has not been much publicised in the United States of America due to anti-United Nations feelings in large parts of the country. Domestic exposure of a site's world heritage status is liable to result in negative publicity, while the world heritage status is used abroad to attract foreign visitors (Interview 49).
Intercontinental tourists are interested in world heritage sites, both in North America and Europe. North Americans – the largest group of non-European visitors at European heritage sites (Richards 2000: 10-11) – are above all keen on European world heritage sites. The world heritage label has the most impact on international visitors who visit another continent. Intercontinental visitors travel long distances and spend a relatively short period on another continent. They focus on 'must see' places with a good reputation and the world heritage label affirms this reputation. The world heritage status is a means that facilitates "the tourist gaze" (Urry 1990: 1). "I think, the number of visitors has increased due to the world heritage listing. Tourists think: 'If I want to see the best, then I have to visit the world heritage sites" (Interview 67, *translated*; see also Weightman 1987: 234).
The number of international visitors increases in particular at centrally nominated sites (table 6-4). Centrally nominated sites are more likely to be included in a tour itinerary

that comprises only the (very) 'best' heritage attractions, which may indicate that centrally nominated sites are of a higher quality than decentralised nominated sites.

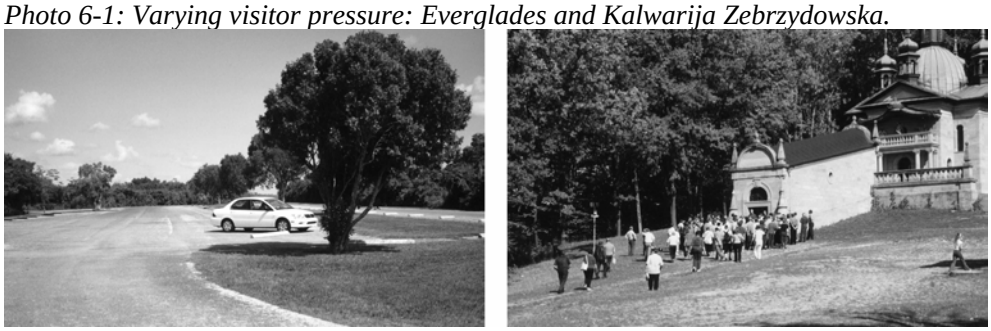
Table 6-4: Types of visitors as a result of world heritage listing at centrally and non-centrally nominated sites (number of sites, N = 54).

	Visitors	
	Domestic	International
Centrally nominated	13	29
Non-centrally nominated	5	7
Total	18	36

Note: P-value chi-square is 0.49.
Source: Own field study at various world heritage sites.

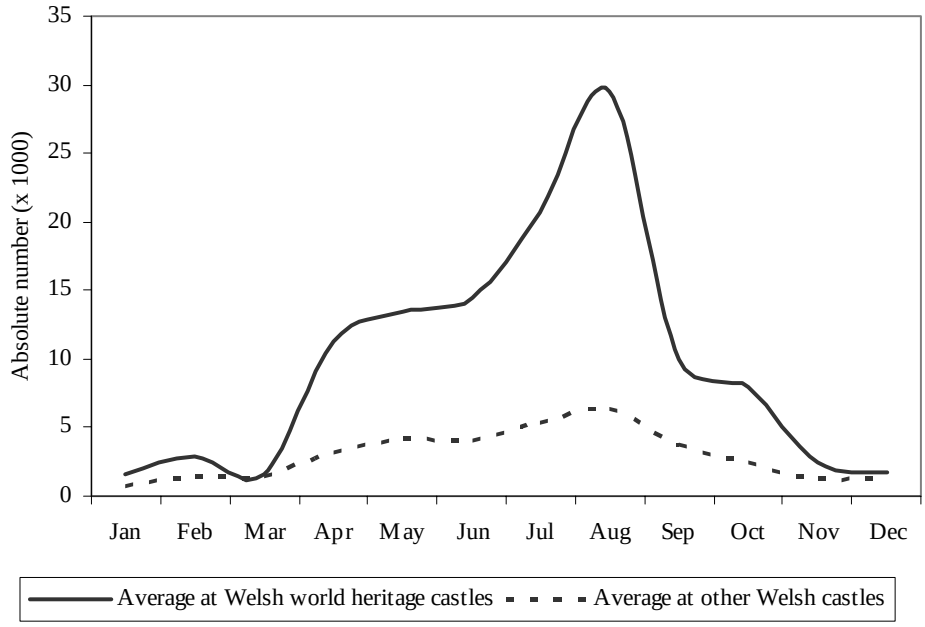
2) Visitor peaks in holiday periods
Richards (1996) has identified a schism in the cultural tourism market: "the cultural attraction market is becoming increasingly polarised between a few major attractions which attract millions of visitors every year, and a growing number of smaller attractions, who must share a declining pool of visitors between them" (p. 318). World heritage sites, belonging to the top segment of the tourism market, will often fall in the first category. Many centrally nominated sites already received many visitors before the designation, while the number of visitors particularly increases at decentralised nominated sites. Most visitors come to world heritage sites in a limited period of time, leading to high visitor pressure within a condensed period, quietude at other times (see photo 6-1).

Photo 6-1: Varying visitor pressure: Everglades and Kalwarija Zebrzydowska.



The visitor pattern at Welsh world heritage castles and non-world heritage castles illustrates that the number of visitors to non-world heritage sites is more spread out. Throughout the year a world heritage castle receives many more visitors than other castles, but there is almost no difference between them in the winter months. Visitors especially come to the world heritage castles in August, during the summer holidays in good weather (figure 6-2). On average about 30,000 visitors visit a world heritage castle in August – peaking at Caernarfon with about 42,000 visitors. In comparison, the average number of visitors at the other fourteen castles is about 5,000 in August – with the highest number of visitors at Castell Coch in Cardiff with about 12,000 visitors.

Figure 6-2: Average number of visitors at four Welsh world heritage castles and fourteen other Welsh castles, 2001.



Source: CADW (1976-2001), adapted data.

6.3 Factors influencing the number of visitors to world heritage sites

A world heritage listing is not the only factor that leads to more visitors (see also Buckley 2004: 82), but the status can play a part in this. The low share of visitors that visit a site for its world heritage status is exemplified by Cahokia Mounds (United States of America). In 2002, about five percent of almost 400,000 visitors signed the guest book (Cahokia Mounds 2003). Of the in total 7,920 visitors – more than ninety percent American – 'only' fifteen to twenty persons had heard about the site from UN-related sources. A score of 0.25 percent is remarkably low for a decentralised nominated site that is one of the least well-known American world heritage sites (Interview 42). The number of visitors that will purposely visit already well-known sites for their world heritage status, such as Yosemite or the Grand Canyon, is likely to be even lower.

Still the world heritage status may, however, function indirectly as an engine for higher visitor numbers. Cahokia Mounds received the world heritage status in 1982 and the visitor numbers remained the same after that. The status became a useful argument to convince state politicians that the site needed a better visitor centre. The new centre opened in 1989 and the number of visitors increased from less than 100,000 to more than 400,000 visitors in the following years.

The increase in the number of visitors to world heritage sites and the reasons behind such an increase may be explained along three lines. First, world heritage sites can be included in major tourist routes. Second, the world heritage status can lead to intensive and more promotional campaigns (see also Shackley 1998b: 200). And third, the fame of the world heritage site may increase through growing media attention.

6.3.1 Tourist routes

The number of visitors to (world) heritage sites depends on three – often interrelated – factors: a site's accessibility and inclusion in tourist routes and tours. Tourist routes are created paths, such as the Ruta Maya (Evans 2002b: 8), that tourist and tour operators entirely or partly follow when they put together a (package) tour. Inclusion of the routes is often a prerequisite for success in attracting more visitors: "tour operators… play an important role in determining which locations will be successful in the competitive struggle for favour of the cultural tourist" (Richards 2000: 12). Tour operators frequently refer to a site's world heritage status (box 6-1).

In Mexico the world heritage sites that lie along a tourist route witness the largest increase in international visitors. International visitor numbers are claimed to have increased in Puebla, Oaxaca and Palenque, while three colonial world heritage cities on the northwest side of Mexico City – Morelia, Guanajuato and Zacatecas – 'only' received more national visitors as a consequence of their low accessibility. The Dutch world heritage site of the Wouda pumping station receives fewer visitors than the Cruquius pumping station, which is not a world heritage site, as the former lies further away from the international tourist centre of the Netherlands, the area in and around Amsterdam (Interview 22). However, a location near a country's tourist centre does not always lead to more visitors. The Beemster polder still receives much fewer visitors than two 'typical' Dutch villages of Marken and Volendam, partly because the polder is not included in any tour operator's itinerary (Interview 17).

There is no indication that the world heritage status has an (immediate) impact on creating new tourist routes, but existing ones may be (slightly) adapted. World heritage sites near tourist routes may attract more visitors after a world heritage designation. Some world heritage sites receive more visitors, as they are located near mass tourism places (see also Williams and Shaw 1991: 19). The archaeological sites in Tàrraco attract many tourists from the Costa Dorada. The number of visitors increased at the Castle of the Teutonic Order in Malbork (Poland) – not far from the East Sea – in the last two years, as the good weather drew more Polish people to the seaside (Interview 87).

Box 6-1: Worldheritagetours.com.

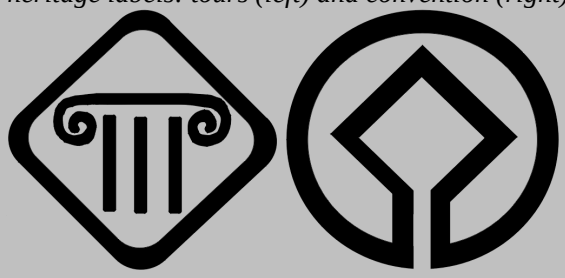
Tour operators often refer to a site's world heritage status in their advertisement, even though "die Welterbeliste der UNESCO ist keineswegs als touristische Enzyclopädia gemeint" (Von Droste 1995b: 338). The world heritage list is used as a reference for intercontinental, culturally tinted travels (Munsters 1997: 133; see also Musitelli 2003: 331). Hall and Piggin (2002: 405) claim that about one in every four tour operators in New Zealand uses the world heritage label in its promotion.

The organisation World Heritage Tours specifically uses the world heritage name, logo and association (World Heritage Tours 2004). The tour company was established in 1978, the same year in which the first world heritage sites were inscribed. Its logo bears some resemblances with the original world heritage logo (figure 6-3). The organisation mentions on its website that the tours – of which almost half are in Asia – are based on UNESCO world heritage sites.

Using the world heritage name and logo seems to be more important to the organisation than visiting world heritage sites. Participating travellers visit a world

heritage site once every four days. The eighty-four tours last on average about thirteen days, wherein on average almost 3.5 world heritage sites are visited. There is one trip that goes to as many world heritage sites as the number of days of the tour. The tour 'Czech: Seat of world heritage' visits nine world heritage sites in nine days.

Figure 6-3: World heritage labels: tours (left) and convention (right).



Source: World Heritage Tours (2004) and UNESCO (2004a).

6.3.2 Promotion

The level of promotion is a second factor that influences the number of visitors after a site's listing. Promotional campaigns by heritage cities aim to attract more visitors, but there are also certain heritage categories that largely abstain from promotion. Most centrally nominated or nationally owned sites hardly undertake promotional activities. Managers of well-known sites, such as Stonehenge, Teotihuacán, Statue of Liberty, Grand Canyon, and Westminster, hardly promote their site or world heritage status (see also Evans 2002b: 9-10). Their already existing popularity warrants '*de*-marketing' (Smith 2003: 114) to enhance the site's preservation.

Nationally owned heritage sites, whose financial means are largely independent from the number of visitors, do not carry out much promotion. In Mexico managers at archaeological zones have different views on tourism than stakeholders in cities: "Cities have more freedom to undertake action, are more often in private ownership. Tourism is also more important for historic cities [as a source of income. In contrast,] archaeological zones are national property and it is not allowed to build modern buildings within an archaeological zone, which limits the development of tourist plans" (Interview 61, *translated*).

Some other sites abstain from promotion on moral or religious grounds. Managers at Auschwitz think it is inappropriate to promote a former concentration camp, while Pueblo de Taos (United States of America) (Interview 48), Tongariro (New Zealand), Kakadu, and Ayers rock (both Australia) (Fontein 2000: 47) are (temporarily) closed when the local community uses the site for religious ends. These restrictions have been built in to counter, what Leu (1998) calls, "the egoism of the market" (p. 46).

Active promotion by smaller world heritage cities

The Organisation of World Heritage Cities (OWHC) is the only international world heritage association that promotes tourism. The organisation was established in 1993 "to develop a sense of solidarity and a co-operative relationship between world heritage cities" (Turtinen 2000: 16). Of the six case countries, world heritage sites in Spain, Mexico and Poland participate the most in the OWHC with seventeen, nine and

five participants, respectively. Three, two and zero sites in the United Kingdom, the Netherlands and the United States of America participate in the OWHC (OWHC 2004). Spain is also the country where the world heritage label is most visible (see box 6-2).

A common feature by the world heritage cities in Spain, Mexico, and to some extent Poland is a move toward a coherent promotion through their respective national associations. In Mexico the mayor of Morelia was involved in creating *Ciudades Mexicanas del Patrimonio de la Humanidad* in 1996. The main goals were to be more independent of the federal government, to keep the costs of promotion low and to cooperate with the Mexican Ministry of Tourism (*Secretaría de Turismo*, SECTUR). All Mexican cities participate, except Mexico City that has its own programme. The national tourism organisation SECTUR supports this cooperation and contributes annually about € 150,000 per city. The money is meant for the purpose of putting up signboards, improving the appearance of buildings, opening info kiosks, for marketing and publicity (Interview 55).

In Spain local actors in the field of tourism claim that the national cooperation of *Ciudades Patrimonio de la Humanidad España* is more helpful than the world heritage listing (Interview 100 and 107). The Spanish association of world heritage cities was created in the early 1990s, among others by the mayors of Santiago de Compostela and Ávila. All eleven Spanish world heritage cities participate in this association.

Spain's and Mexico's respective national organisations pay exclusive attention to world heritage cities, not non-world heritage cities or cities with world heritage sites. The exclusion keeps the competition among sites limited and the status of world heritage city selective: "Only cities that are world heritage can be part of the association. Eleven is even too much, to promote together" (Interview 100). The world heritage sites in Tarragona, whose archaeological remains are found in the inner city, are excluded. The city of Córdoba, with only one building complex – the *Mezquita* – on the world heritage list in 1994, asked for an extension of its world heritage site to enable its participation in the Spanish association. The extension did not follow from a recognition of Córdoba's inner city's outstanding universal value, but in the city's desire to join the Spanish group "as we saw this as an opportunity to culturally promote the city" (Interview 107, *translated*). Since then, politicians, mayors and aldermen in Córdoba are more aware of the city's qualities, local promotional activities are organised and Córdoba is sold "as a commercial product" (Interview 107, *translated*).

The world heritage status as a tool to attract more visitors is most useful for decentralised nominated, smaller cities and sites: "There are eleven world heritage sites in Poland and we frequently organise meetings for the representatives of these world heritage sites to exchange information. A pattern is visible in that smaller places are better able to utilise the possibilities that have come with the new situation. Zamość is doing very well, also Malbork and Świdnica. The world heritage listing has less meaning for the larger cities, such as Kraków and Warszawa… not much changes in practice in view of what they already have on offer" (Interview 84, *translated*).

Some centrally nominated cities look for new alternatives, as the number of world heritage sites increases. The status of 'cultural capital 2000' has been a more useful promotional tool than the world heritage status for the Polish city of Kraków, as the European status is newer, more accurate and effective (Interview 79). The city of Córdoba tries to promote itself by becoming Europe's cultural capital in 2016.

Box 6-2: Usage of the world heritage label.

The world heritage status or logo can be reproduced in several instances – signboards, writing paper or employees' business cards – but there are differences in how often and in what way sites show their status. The case country with the most "expressions" is Spain. Whereas the world heritage signboard for Schokland along the motorway is an exception in the Netherlands (Beusekom 1999: 20), large, purple signboards indicating that one is approaching a world heritage site are standard in Spain – also for non-world heritage sites. The local bus in Aranjuez and the inside wall of a pub in Ávila show the text "Patrimonio de la humanidad" (photo 6-2). The label abounds in the city of Tarragona, also when there is no link with the Roman heritage: "We deliberately put the UNESCO world heritage logo on everything that we produce, so that the people become aware of the status… For example, the UNESCO world heritage logo was replicated during the sixth meeting of female entrepreneurs" (Interview 92, *translated*).

Photo 6-2: Using the status: Xochimilco, Mammoth cave, Atapuerca, and Aranjuez.

The world heritage logo which helps to attract visitors has been in use since the early 1990s at the Wieliczka salt mine: "This is part of our cooperation with UNESCO. We use the UNESCO logo, we put it into our advertising and leaflets. That is how it works. UNESCO has Wieliczka on the list and we get their moral support" (Interview 82, *translated*). There are, however, also cases in which tourist actors have not used the world heritage label, such as the state-run, profit-making organisation of CULTUR at the archaeological world heritage sites on Yucatán (Mexico) (Interview 64).

The political circumstances influence to what degree the world heritage logo is shown. In Mexico, the world heritage status is highly visible around municipal offices. Anti-UN feelings in the United States of America largely circumvent usage of the label:

"There is a fair amount of suspicion about the UN organisations… and we do not specifically mention UN or UNESCO in our discussions or in our material talking about our world heritage listing" (Interview 50). The management at Great Smoky Mountains has never dared to put up a signboard to indicate the world heritage status, the world heritage signboard has been removed at Mesa Verde and visitors to Yellowstone that are interested in a world heritage leaflet, "have to ask specifically for that brochure on US world heritage sites in order to get it" (Interview 53). Mammoth Cave is the only American case site where the world heritage status is visible at the park's entrance.

6.3.3 Media attention

A world heritage designation can also lead to more visitors through increased media attention because "world heritage sites are being given more and more publicity… tourism at world heritage sites has significantly increased" (Batisse 1992: 30). Media attention increases in particular at decentralised nominated sites, while the international media is most interested in centrally nominated sites. This pattern is similar to the changes in the number of visitors and their origin after a world heritage designation.

1) More media attention for decentralised nominated sites

Decentralised (or non-centrally), often later, nominated heritage sites see most often an increase in media attention after listing (table 6-5).

Table 6-5: Change in media attention as a result of world heritage listing at centrally and non-centrally nominated sites (number of sites, N = 61).

	Media attention	
	Increased attention	Unchanged attention
Centrally nominated	33	16
Non-centrally nominated	11	1
Total	44	17

Note: P-value chi-square is 0.09.
Source: Own field study at various world heritage sites.

Increasing press coverage is manifested in two ways. Site managers more often contact the media, while newspapers are more willing to include an item about a world heritage site: "I can now call the national newspapers and tell them what is going on at Las Médulas, and they immediately publish it. They also phone us nowadays" (Interview 98). The media attention often peaks immediately after the designation and fades away later on, returning back to 'normal' as illustrated by the following respondent:

> "Immediately after 1997, yes there was a series of articles and such things. Today not anymore, it is as it used to be, the same level. In the 1990s, we had a very rapid increase in film productions… all that decade was full of film productions, and I strongly believe that it must have been connected with the fact that it had been listed on the UNESCO list, because they were mainly foreigners. Somehow, the foreigners opened their eyes to Malbork. There were some feature film productions and lots of documentaries."
>
> (Interview 87)

2) Scale level of media attention
Centrally nominated sites receive more media attention from the international level than decentralised nominated sites after listing (table 6-6, see also box 6-3).

Table 6-6: Dominant scale level of increasing media attention as a result of world heritage listing at centrally and non-centrally nominated sites (number of sites, N=33).

	Increasing media attention at different scale level		
	Local	National	International
Centrally nominated	3	5	19
Non-centrally nominated	2	2	2
Total	5	7	21

Note: P-value chi-square is 0.21.
Source: Own field study at various world heritage sites.

It should be noted that the large amount of attention for centrally nominated sites is partly influenced by the situation in the United States of America:

> "I do not think that we receive extra attention from the American press. The international press is a different story. I think, we are not sure, international visitors are more aware of what world heritage means, and that this is also valid for the international press than for the American press. We get quite some attention from the international press but I am not sure if that is driven by or due to the world heritage status."
>
> (Interview 50)

A respondent of the defence line of Amsterdam explicated the impact of the listing on receiving attention from a higher level: "The message is propagated by the foundation, but also picked up by the press. In the past, we were mentioned in the local newspaper at best; today we are mentioned in the national newspapers" (Interview 18, *translated*).

Box 6-3: Representation of world heritage sites and status in the Lonely Planet.

Each case country's last edition of the tour guide *Lonely Planet* pays particular attention to centrally nominated and cultural world heritage sites. Centrally nominated sites are significantly more often mentioned as a suggested itinerary, displayed on the national map, and have more photos in the *Lonely Planet* than decentralised nominated sites. The world heritage status of cultural sites is significantly more often cited, they have more maps and are displayed on more photos than natural sites. These differences suggest that international tourists are more interested in centrally nominated or cultural sites than in decentralised nominated or natural sites.
A comparison between an early (1982) and recent (2002) Mexican edition of the *Lonely Planet* shows that most of the decentralised nominated sites were not yet an international tourist attraction in the early 1980s. The latter edition deals with all Mexican world heritage sites, whereas the 1982 edition dealt with half of them. It only included the cultural sites that were listed during Mexico's first two years of nominating sites, as well as four decentralised nominated cities (Morelia, Zacatecas, Querétaro and Campeche) and one archaeological site (Uxmal).

A designation hardly has an impact on a site's representation in the *Lonely Planet*. A comparison of four successive Polish editions of the *Lonely Planets* (1993, 1996, 1999 and 2002 – each about 600 pages long) shows that a site's representation does not change after its world heritage listing. The same number of pages is spent on a site, no map or colour photo is added and the advised itinerary still does not refer to a site after listing. The world heritage status is mentioned in later editions, with some time lag, for all world heritage sites. The last two editions contain a section – between 'highlights' and 'suggested itineraries' – and cites all Polish world heritage sites.

6.4 Visitor management at world heritage sites

Most world heritage sites have to deal with increasing visitor pressure. The centrally nominated sites already received many visitors before their designation, whereas decentralised nominated sites often see a large increase after their world heritage listing. The listing may put more visitor pressure on a site, but it can also lead to more awareness among site managers and visitors. Tourism can be an incentive to preserve the environment better, as visitors will only go to high-quality sites (Williams 1998: 100). The relationship between world heritage listing and visitor management leads to two questions. First, do site managers introduce certain types of visitor management to deal more effectively with the visitor pressure after the world heritage designation? And second, in what way is the physical environment adapted for visitors?

6.4.1 Unchanging visitor management

Various forms of visitor management can be introduced after the world heritage listing to prevent or limit negative consequences of visitors. Such measures can be the consequence of increased pride or an understanding of one's responsibility to preserve the world heritage site (see also Page 1995: 183) as shown by the following response:

> "The world heritage status has made me happier… you could say it is a gift, it has been given to me. So, I respect it…. I think the world heritage status is an added extra. The visitors come anyway, but it is always in the forefront of our minds that it [Studley Royal and Fountains Abbey] is a world heritage site and we have to remember that when we are making policies and changes… I think, the status makes us think more beyond the boundary, literally… I think because we have a commitment to UNESCO to manage the site in a sustainable way."
>
> (Interview 35)

Davis and Weiler (1992) state that "it becomes difficult to limit visitors once a location has gained a reputation as an attractive destination. At this point the management requirement becomes one of damage control" (p. 313; see also Shah 1995: 2). A number of options are available to restrict the damage resulting from tourism. To mention some, limiting the number of visitors by increasing the entrance fee (Dix 1990: 395; Ceballos-Lascuráin 1996: 114), showing replicas instead of original objects, closing the 'most valuable' parts of the site (Pearson and Sullivan 1995), introducing circular routes instead of allowing visitors to roam around (Shackley 1999: 77; Helskog 1988: 542-545), or spreading visitors over different heritage places (Drdáchý 2001: 50).

There are some examples of good practice, such as the restricted number of cars at Mesa Verde and Mana Pools National Park, Zimbabwe (Von Droste *et al.* 1992: 8). At the Giant's Causeway (United Kingdom) and Palenque (Mexico) certain parts of the site have been closed off, but these measures are not related to the site's world heritage recognition. A respondent from the archaeological zone of Palenque stated:

> "A tomb was closed in 1999 to the public as the stuccos sustained damage from the minerals in human breath and sweat. Today, only sixty persons are allowed in the tomb between four and five in the afternoon, but those interested have to apply for this. One can see a replica at the entrance of the archaeological zone. However, such measures are not prompted by the world heritage status."
>
> (Interview 66, *translated*)

The world heritage listing can also lead to an extension of the opening hours of the site for visits or tours. In the past the Wouda steam pumping station (the Netherlands) was only open on National Heritage Day or when the pumping station was operating – which occurred a couple of times a year. Since the world heritage listing the pumping station is open to the public at fixed times (Interview 22; see also Smith 2000a: 411 on Derwent Valley Mills, United Kingdom).

Visitor management measures have not been introduced at most world heritage sites. Most sites have no other visitor management plan than plans to attract (more) visitors. No site included in this research has levied a higher entrance fee after the world heritage designation as a means to regulate the number of visitors. The most valuable parts of the site are hardly ever closed and the permitted number of visitors remains generally unchanged after a world heritage designation. The only place where a circular route was introduced is Fountains Abbey, but this is more a coincidence rather than a consequence of the world heritage listing (Interview 35).

6.4.2 Adapting the physical environment for tourism purposes

The world heritage listing of decentralised nominated sites is more often an incentive for constructing new visitor facilities – ranging from parking facilities to visitor centres, from footpaths to toilets – than at centrally nominated sites (table 6-7). World heritage sites do not share a common standard concerning visitor facilities (photo 6-3).

Table 6-7: Increase in visitor facilities after a world heritage listing at centrally and non-centrally nominated sites (number of sites, N = 67).

	Visitor facilities	
	Attributed to listing	Unrelated to listing
Centrally nominated	33	42
Non-centrally nominated	15	9
Total	48	51

Note: P-value chi-square is 0.11.
Source: Own field study at various world heritage sites.

Once world heritage status is acquired, this leads to more changes in heritage cities than at other kinds of heritage sites. The world heritage status was a powerful argument

in several Mexican cities to make sites more attractive for visitors, such as Morelia (Interview 71), Mexico City and Puebla (Harrison and McVey 1997: 321-322; Jones and Varley 1994: 41; Churchill 2000: 2). The world heritage listing has also been an important incentive for large-scale renovations in the two Spanish towns of Tarragona and Lugo. In Tarragona some parts of the medieval inner city were pulled down, as the medieval town of Tarragona is largely built on the Roman city of Tàrraco – for example, the medieval Cathedral lies on top of the Roman Circus. The world heritage status has facilitated a regeneration programme in Lugo that was formalised in 1997. The government of the autonomous region of Galicia offers financial compensation to house owners whose homes are built on and along the Roman wall (photo 6-4). Many houses on the west side of the city within the Roman walls have already been expropriated (Interview 99).

Photo 6-3: Provision of visitor facilities at world heritage sites: Parking facilities at Aranjuez and Kalwarija Zebrzydowska.

Photo 6-4: Renovation in Lugo has to precede new tourism developments.

The world heritage status may trigger a gentrification process in world heritage cities which improves the state of the buildings and present a 'cleaner' appearance. City councils can try to start this process, but restorations may have an adverse effect on the 'original' local population. Street traders and inhabitants are often replaced by richer people (Jones 1994: 316). The renovation project in Morelia included the removal of the street traders who had occupied the centre for almost twenty years. Jones and Varley (1999), commenting on the situation in Puebla, believe that there is "an underlying 'racial' motivation behind the concern to repopulate the historic centre with 'another kind of people': a search to stress 'Spanish' rather than 'Indian' elements in the city's cultural heritage and identity" (p. 1560).
In Tarragona, the municipality tries to excavate Roman buildings at the expense of existing, more modern buildings. The world heritage status is claimed to be a useful tool to expropriate property. The municipality is determined to recover more parts of the former Roman site, such as those around the present excavation of *Circ Romà*. To quote a respondent:

> "There is one building with a huge painting of the UNESCO logo on its wall. That building is very ugly and we would like to pull it down. However, this will cost a lot of money, as people still live in this building… We painted a large UNESCO logo on the premise, as a means to define our place, our territory: 'This house is ours and will be demolished soon.' "
>
> (Interview 92, *translated*)

Photo 6-5: World heritage as a means of claiming space: Tàrraco.

It is no exception that (certain parts of) the local population is removed from the site after a world heritage listing. Street traders are regarded as problematic at Borobudur (Indonesia) and Quito (Ecuador) (Dahles 2001: 69; Middleton 2003: 73). Farmers have been relocated from their plots near Borobudur to enable the construction of parking facilities (Renes 2004: 11). Ashine (1982) provides similar evidence from Simen National Park (Ethiopia): "With the acceptance of the park as a world heritage site, the whole perspective of the development of the area underwent a great change. The world

acclamation given to this area, through this acceptance, created a national awareness. The government took strong measures to resettle most of these people in a more congenial land elsewhere" (p. 738). The focus on renovations, tourism developments and local exclusion can lead to silent protest voices in the inner city (see box 6-4).

Box 6-4: 'Vandalism' of world heritage symbols.

An INAH signboard at the entrance of the Mexican world heritage site of Chichén-Itzá (Mexico) on the Yucatán Peninsula states: "*Chichén-Itzá zona arqueológica, Patrimonio Cultural del Pueblo Yucateco, Patrimonio Cultural de la Nación, Patrimonio Cultural de la Humanidad.*" The text indicates that this world heritage site belongs to people at all scale levels – local, national and global.

Local populations in cities are often indifferent towards a world heritage designation, especially in cities with a long and established visitor tradition (see Evans 2002a: 133 on Quebec City, Canada). Local populations in smaller, decentralised nominated world heriage cities are more often against gentrification, especially when entire city centres are turned into museums (Musitelli 2003: 331; Lotens 2002: 25). In these cases, tourism becomes a medium for cultural conflict and misunderstanding between individuals and cultures (Robinson 1999: 6-7; Hall 1994: 89). Gentrification processes open discussions about whose heritage is to be preserved, and whether groups have the right to appropriate another's heritage (Tunbridge 1984: 174; Tunbridge 1994: 123).

Photo 6-6: Graffiti on world heritage symbols: Guanajuato, Morelia and Ávila.

World heritage symbols, plaques and information boards have been destroyed. Such acts may be regarded as acts of vandalism or as indications of a local population's objection to the listing. In the two Mexican cities of Morelia and Guanajuato fairly new world heritage signboards are bespattered with graffiti (photo 6-6). The buildings on the Roman walls in Lugo have been marred by graffiti – echoing some people's sentiments for Galicia's independence from Spain – and one information panel has been demolished. In the Spanish town of Ávila the world heritage plaque on the wall has been painted with the text: "*Soy la alkalde*" (I am the mayor).

Most respondents regard such destruction as acts of vandalism. In Zacatecas the local, rather poor population uses the world heritage status during political demonstrations and paint the walls of buildings. The local population knows that it will hit a raw nerve among the city's governors, as the world heritage status and the town's architecture are the politicians' hobby-horse (Interview 73).

6.5 Concluding remarks

Almost all world heritage sites bear the heavy brunt of tourism. Most of the centrally selected, earlier listed world heritage sites were already famous heritage attractions before their world heritage listing. As such, the world heritage listing mainly induces bigger visitor numbers at decentralised nominated, cultural heritage sites. The throngs of visitors are concentrated within a particular period – summertime – and leads to increased visitor pressure. However, the world heritage status does not help to deal with this pressure. Site managers are sometimes more aware of the importance of preserving the site, but this hardly ever results in the introduction of visitor management measures to relieve the pressure. The decentralised nominated sites, especially the Spanish, Mexican and Polish cities are least prepared to deal with the increasing visitor numbers, with sometimes far-reaching side-effects for the 'original' local population.

Chapter 7
Meanings of world heritage

The 1972 world heritage convention was introduced to better preserve the world's 'most outstanding' natural and cultural heritage sites. This research has tried to obtain some insights into the surplus value of preserving such heritage sites at the international level, beyond the national or local level. The meanings of the world heritage convention are considered along two lines. First, the three research questions are discussed. And second, the benefits of the world heritage convention are examined through the perspectives of three involved parties – UNESCO, countries and stakeholders at world heritage sites. This concluding chapter discusses future strategy for the world heritage convention and recommendations for further research.

7.1 Research questions

The three research questions, as formulated in chapter one, were as follows: are the 'best' heritage sites selected, does selection raise the level of preservation, and does tourism endanger the site after selection? Ultimately, the benefits of preserving outstanding heritage sites at the international level beyond the national or local level are discussed.

7.1.1 Are the 'best' heritage sites selected?

The first research question raised the issue of whether or not the world's 'most outstanding' sites find their way to the world heritage list, as well as whether more general sites are excluded. This study yields two main findings. First, the site's quality is often not the only reason for nomination. And second, the interpretation of the selection criterion 'outstanding universal value' has evolved over time. This leads to the conclusion that the world heritage list has become a list of national and local heritage sites whose outstanding universal value is not always apparent.

1) Site's quality gradually loses importance

The quality criterion plays a role in the selection of sites but factors other than a site's quality have become increasingly important. In particular the considerable role of countries in nominating sites creates new prerequisites. Country-specific circumstances are at least as important as the site's quality in a country's decision of *how many* and *what* to nominate – such as the organisation of national heritage affairs, cultural and political contexts, potential benefits of world heritage listing, and sites' ownership structures.

Cultural world heritage listings are often sought after because of the concomitant opportunity to attract tourists, while most actors in the field of natural heritage do not see many benefits in a world heritage listing. In Mexico the representation of various population groups constitutes a dominant motif in its nomination history. And the political power of Spain's autonomous regions contributes towards the increasing number of sites in this country.
The importance of prerequisites other than quality can also prevent the listing of high-quality sites. Jordan's contested political legitimacy to manage the old city of Jerusalem – whose "protection and administration really concerns mankind: the past, the present and future in general, and all Jews, Christians, Muslims and Arabs in particular" (Baslar 1998: 303) – made the nomination a highly contested one in 1981. The 1997 nomination of Central Karakorum by Pakistan in the disputed region of Kashmir was rejected as a listing could signal that Kashmir belongs to Pakistan.
At the continental level, Europe may have more world heritage sites than Africa as a result of a more impressive and lasting 'cultural production' in the more recent past. However, contextual circumstances in European countries lend an extra edge in world heritage nominations. The continent consists of many, relatively small, countries with relatively properly functioning national heritage organisations, a high participation degree in the convention and much competition among countries to attract visitors. Most African countries lack such institutional and organisational contexts to 'produce' designated world heritage sites.

2) Evolution of the criterion of outstanding universal value
Initially, it was thought that the world heritage convention would entail a list of about a couple of hundred sites (Interview 42), containing the world's 'most outstanding' natural and cultural sites. However, the list of nationally produced heritage sites is growing longer and all sites meet the criterion of outstanding universal value. World heritage is a mental (or social, cultural) construct whose meaning has changed over time (see also Fowler 2003: 28), as reflected by the altering meaning of the criterion of outstanding universal value. This has been partially caused by the difficulty of providing an unambiguous interpretation to the criterion, allowing actors in different countries to interpret the criterion in various ways.
In the 1970s, the criterion of outstanding universal value required sites to possess both outstanding *and* universal characteristics. Inscription was justified when nominated sites were thought to elicit the support of most world citizens. World heritage listing was restricted to sites esteemed as 'global icons', which were already internationally well known among most lay people *before* their world heritage listing. At the beginning of the twenty-first century sites are often at best of outstanding *or* universal value. Reasons for listing are repeatedly given by heritage experts who point to specific qualities or aspects of the site's uniqueness – representative of a certain genre or school, located in a particular region or from a specific time – that are not commonly known. International fame does not precede but comes *after* a world heritage listing (see also photo 7-1).
The world heritage listing of Tàrraco (Spain) – "a major administrative and mercantile city in *Roman Spain*" (UNESCO 2004a, *italics added*) – highlights the site's importance at the national level. In the 1970s, the world heritage list included the best Roman site

of the entire former Roman Empire. Today, the best Roman site in each country is inscribed on the world heritage list. Not the comparative quality of Tàrraco within the former Roman Empire, but its (coincidental) location within Spain's contemporary borders is an ascribed quality characteristic.

Photo 7-1: World heritage sites as identity carriers for states and streets: Grand Canyon and Wouda steam pumping station.

A high-quality world heritage list is incompatible with geographical and typological balance. Consequently, UNESCO's wish to include more regions and cultures on the world heritage list has contributed towards broader interpretations of the selection criteria. The stress on representativeness of regions and cultures is evident in countries such as Spain where almost all of its autonomous regions are represented and Mexico where its population groups are represented. The participation of various countries and cultures is becoming increasingly important: "Put crudely, for some… [countries] world heritage has become the Olympic Games of heritage" (Turtinen 2000: 20).

7.1.2 Does selection raise the level of preservation?

Sites listed under the world heritage convention should be preserved by all humanity. In practice, international preservation is often only available for sites which enjoyed fame beyond the national level before their world heritage listing. These are often centrally nominated and nationally owned sites that were already well looked after. The preservation of decentralised nominated or privately owned world heritage sites still depends largely upon the ability of national and local actors.

Not every country has the financial means to take the necessary steps to preserve the world heritage sites in its territory according to 'world heritage standards'. The international designation of the defence line of Amsterdam (the Netherlands) has spurred its fame and national commitment to preserve this site. Similar impacts apply to all archaeological heritage sites in the Netherlands after the world heritage designation of Schokland (Interview 16). However, cities like Zamość (Poland) and Zacatecas (Mexico) – both in dire need of renovation – are not or hardly (financially) supported in their preservation efforts, neither nationally nor internationally. Moreover, the accolade ensuing from world heritage designation is more often capitalised on by the tourism industry rather than accompanied by increased preservation efforts.

A world heritage listing is sometimes regarded as an insurance which through international recognition guarantees international assistance in the event of catastrophes (earthquakes or 'collateral damage' during wartime). Recent world

heritage listings of the Buddhist statues of Bamiyan (Afghanistan), and the city of Bam (Iran) show that a world heritage listing is more likely to *follow* such catastrophes. These listings, although well intended, devaluate the importance of a 'world heritage assurance' by placing the necessity for action above the quality criterion.

7.1.3 Does tourism endanger the site after selection?

There are no indications that world heritage sites lose their outstanding universal qualities as a consequence of rapidly increasing visitor numbers after the world heritage listing. The fact remains, however, that most world heritage sites have to deal with many visitors. Most centrally nominated sites already received a lot of visitors before their listing, and the world heritage status leads to more visitors in a restricted period of time. And decentralised nominated sites are most likely to see rapidly rising visitor numbers, because of enhanced reputation accorded to listing. The changing visitor patterns have the most detrimental effects on the quality of the decentralised nominated sites. The world's 'most outstanding' sites face threats from tourism, while the world heritage listing does not offer much in the way of support to alleviate the threats.

7.1.4 Is the heritage of humanity better preserved?

The impacts of a world heritage listing are related to *how* sites have been nominated for the list. Centrally nominated sites are more liable to receive *international* help in their preservation efforts, attract particularly more *international* visitors and obtain *international* media attention after their listing. The impact on a decentralised nominated world heritage site's preservation, visitors and media attention is often restricted to the *national* level. The different scale levels of impact suggest that decentralised nominated sites are, at least in the eyes of financial suppliers, visitors and the media, of a lower quality than centrally nominated sites.

More assistance from the international level for a site's preservation efforts is mainly limited to centrally nominated, nationally owned sites. International recognition does not add much to most national heritage programmes in the six case countries. The step from national to global heritage is predominantly a symbolic one, as the world heritage convention hardly leads to a better preservation of listed sites. National heritage programmes and the world heritage convention are rather similar in the designation and preservation of sites, and hardly complementary.

At both scale levels a site's nomination depends largely on the willingness of local actors. Regarding the spatial distribution of national heritage sites, Ashworth and Tunbridge (2000) observe that "the application of the national legislation is largely permissive rather than compulsory and depends therefore on the reactions of subordinate authorities to the possibilities offered" (p. 44). Also the preservation of world and national heritage sites is often in local hands (Apell 1998: 97). A *national* designation usually exerts more impact on a site's preservation than an *international* designation. Cahokia Mounds *State* Historic Site and the city of Zacatecas both applied for a *world* heritage nomination, while they have always been against a *national* heritage designation. A national heritage designation would limit these sites in their own abilities to manage the site, while the world heritage status brings some (potential) benefits and hardly any obligations.

The scale level on which a heritage site is designated – that can vary from the local, regional, national, continental to global – is often more influenced by a stakeholder's strategies than by a site's quality. The Wouda steam pumping station (The Netherlands), the Dorset and East Devon Coast (United Kingdom), Pueblo de Taos (United States of America), Zacatecas (Mexico), Kalwarija Zebrzydowska (Poland), and Lugo (Spain) are first of all *world* heritage sites, as the accompanying actors have approached UNESCO. They would be *national* heritage sites if they had approached their national heritage organisation. This means that world heritage sites are not necessarily of higher quality than local heritage sites, as coincidence has played an important role in the composition of the world heritage list.
The world heritage convention as coordinated by UNESCO is often taken to be a form of international cooperation, as most United Nations activities give this impression (see Malkki 1994: 49). The world heritage convention, however, is mainly a national activity, with a national agenda. The world heritage designation of Schokland has made some Dutch aware of this site. Much fewer Dutch will be aware of the Spanish archaeological world heritage site of Atapuerca. The world heritage listing has primarily a bearing at the national or local scale level.
The dependency upon national actors makes it difficult to conceive of the world heritage convention and list as a 'global culture'. Featherstone (1996) describes 'global culture' as "sets of practices, bodies of knowledge, conventions, and lifestyles which have developed in ways which have become increasingly *independent of nation-states*" (p. 60, *italics added*). Country representatives' national orientation towards the selection and management of world heritage sites make it difficult to view the world heritage convention in the same vein as a global culture.

7.2 Benefits for various actors

UNESCO, countries and stakeholders at world heritage sites can fulfil their own agendas rather than the formal convention's aim to collectively preserve world heritage sites.

7.2.1 UNESCO

UNESCO's main aim is "to build peace in the minds of men" (UNESCO 2004b) by emphasising the importance of education, peace, and international cooperation (Dutt 1999: 211). The world heritage convention makes two contributions to this end. First, the world heritage convention is a useful tool to encourage some form of cooperation between countries. And second, the existence of the world heritage convention has contributed towards spreading the idea of heritage to more countries and people.

1) Cooperation among countries

UNESCO attempts to stimulate cooperation between countries and to educate the public about other cultures. The world heritage convention is a means to channel this. Within the world heritage convention, most emphasis is put on the inscription of sites, the honour that accrues to countries and sites after listing and the participation of as many countries as possible. The 'positive image' of the convention makes it the most widely signed international treaty, and more than one hundred countries have a world heritage site. Much less attention has been given to rejected sites and the accompanying sense of disappointment. For example, it is hard to find a list of rejected sites.

Preserving the heritage of humanity?

UNESCO's attempt to ensure a spatially balanced world heritage list stems from the wish for global participation. The goal to represent all countries dominates over the quality of the sites: "world heritage has… become an activity of global mapping, where gaps and blanks should be filled in" (Turtinen 2000: 18). Countries in all corners of the world participate today, with Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Lesotho and Tonga as the convention's most recent members (UNESCO 2004a). The wish for spatial balance is comparable to the situation in Spain, where the national government encourages each autonomous region to have at least one world heritage site. The dominant contention is that the convention is a platform on which all cultures and regions should be profiled.

2) Spreading the idea of heritage

The creation or improvement of some countries' national heritage organisations, especially in poorer countries is the second result of the convention. From the outset, the distribution of the heritage idea has been one of the informal goals of the world heritage convention. The convention text requires a country "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" (UNESCO 2004a). UNESCO is a global organisation that has been able to "create actors, specify responsibilities and authority among them, and define the work these actors should do, giving it meaning and normative value" (Barnett and Finnemore 1999: 700; see also Meethan 1996: 325). The world heritage convention has led to a "rapid expansion of [heritage] supply… in all world regions" (Richards 2000: 11; see also Carr 1994: 52). Cheung (1999) states: "The word 'heritage' caught international attention especially in the mid-80's in connection with the UNESCO world heritage convention" (p. 572). Heritage is no longer only "considered a luxury of the affluent" (Musitelli 2003: 327). Relatively 'new' kinds of heritage – modern architecture, industrial relics – are made known to more segments of the world population.

7.2.2 Countries

Especially affluent countries could make financial contributions for a better preservation of the world heritage sites in poor countries. Instead, countries have used the convention as a tool to mark 'their' own identity, to attract tourists, or leave the world heritage convention (temporarily) on the shelf when advantages are absent.

1) World heritage as a tool to mark the country's identity

The world heritage convention has gradually moved from a means to save the world's 'best' heritage sites to a platform on which countries are represented: "all states and 'cultures' have a right to equal opportunities of being part of the world heritage. Part of the story is that world heritage increasingly is seen as a resource, not for humankind, but for states, regions, local settings and business enterprises" (Turtinen 2000: 11). The world heritage list is, among others, a tool to construct a national identity.

A country can reproduce and validate an identity through the convention, but power relations within countries influence what is included or excluded. Post-colonial societies, such as the United States of America and Mexico, may represent their pre-colonial as well as their colonial past. 'Older' countries, such as the Netherlands and

Poland, may show one particular historic core. And federal countries often nominate sites from each political region, highlighting their cultural differences.

2) World heritage as a tool to attract more tourists
The world heritage status is more used for tourist purposes than local aims. The world heritage status of Durham (United Kingdom) is mentioned in almost every tourist leaflet on Durham, whereas the international listing is almost invisible to the local population. The world heritage convention is often hailed for its opportunity to attract visitors (Interview 57) and primarily used to this end by mayors (Interview 78).
The world heritage status is big business in countries where many people depend upon income from tourism, such as around the Mediterranean Sea and, increasingly, Eastern Europe. The stream of local world heritage requests from these regions can continue unrelentlessly, even though these already much-represented countries have been asked to reduce the number of new nominations within the framework of the 'global strategy'. For decision makers in countries where tourism does not have the upper hand – such as the Netherlands and the United States of America – it is easier to comply to the 'global strategy' to give less-represented countries an opportunity to catch up.
Leask and Fyall (2001) are of the view that "by definition of the criteria for inscription, ultimately the time will come when state parties no longer have any sites to nominate" (p. 61). It is doubtful whether the influx of nominated sites from countries where the convention is a success will ever stop. Countries apply a wide range of interpretation of the criteria for listing and categories of what constitutes a world heritage site. This is apparent from the introduction of industrial heritage, modern architecture, cultural landscapes, serial nominations, and intangible properties (Nas 2002: 139-143).

3) No usage of the world heritage convention when disadvantages dominate
The convention hardly plays a role when it evokes some resistance or when benefits are absent. Managers at American world heritage sites hardly refer to the status when they try to preserve their site better or to attract visitors, as the positive connotation of the convention has abated since the mid-1990s. A minority of the American population harbours the impression that the United States of America has lost its ownership over the designated sites to, and this makes it even worse, UNESCO. The minority that opposes international cooperation under the umbrella of UNESCO has the upper hand, as the alliance for the support of the convention is even smaller (Araoz 2002: 6). The George Wright Society and US/ICOMOS stand almost alone as supporters for a more active American participation (Gilbert 1997: 17; Araoz 2002: 11). The nomination of several outstanding cities is circumvented due to this opposition (Araoz 2002: 4).
The absence of international support for world heritage sites prevents a more active participation by poor countries. Heritage sites in poor countries do not receive more national assistance after listing: "Basically, there are no benefits for African countries in the world heritage convention. The benefits have to come from the national level, and most of these countries do not have money for anything" (Interview 43).

7.2.3 World heritage sites
Almost all managers at world heritage sites are glad that their site is listed as world heritage. The world heritage designation brings hardly any disadvantages, while there

are some advantages. Not every world heritage site enjoys the same advantages. Nationally owned, centrally nominated or natural sites receive the least benefits. These sites are positive about the world heritage designation, as it is an honour to be listed and a confirmation of the site's quality. These sites do not 'use' the status, not in the least because their managers never requested the status.
Cowie and Wimbledon (1994: 71) estimated that the number of natural areas on the world heritage list could possibly increase to two hundred by the year 2000, but this has not happened. The absence of decentralised requests by stakeholders at natural areas is one of the main reasons that this prediction has not been accomplished. Site managers at natural parks hardly expect any benefits from a world heritage listing. Natural areas are often specially designated areas without much human interaction. However, the number of natural sites whose nomination is made by an organisation from below the national level may increase in the (near) future, as the role of natural areas gradually changes. There is an increasing awareness that natural areas can "bring social, economic and cultural benefits to local communities, and also environmental, cultural, educational and other benefits to a wider public" (Philips 2003: 42). The world heritage status may be a useful tool to this end.
Cultural sites whose nomination started below the national level have more chances to benefit from a listing. These sites are able to promote themselves as a distinct site and the status can help to avert undesirable changes in the environment. Especially historic heritage cities are aware of the benefits from tourism (see also Boniface 2001: 74), and initiators receive local support to enable a nomination. A city's world heritage status remains a strong marketing tool in an increasingly competitive environment. The status keeps its value, as it is important not to be among those that do not have the status.

7.3 Future strategies for the world heritage convention

The main conclusion of this research is that the world heritage convention is not a strong and effective international tool that guarantees a better preservation of the world's most impressive heritage sites. Nonetheless, the role of the convention is far from over yet, as "the future… is in heritage" (Brett 1993: 183). At the international scale level, the world heritage convention is regarded as more promising than other kinds of international cooperation (see for example Kunich 2003: 656).
The findings of this research show that participating countries interpret the selection and preservation criteria in a broad way, enabling the usage of the world heritage convention for national purposes. The creation of a truly global culture "is only possible where the identification process is explicitly transcultural, that is, mixed or supranational, not in between, but above" (Friedman 1994: 204). A genuine world heritage convention requires that country representatives should change their scope of vision. The international interests in the selection of sites and the impacts of listing should be put above the national ones.
The nomination of sites should become less country-dependent. This is possible when any country, organisation or individual would be able to nominate sites. Open nomination of a site for the world heritage list will presumably lead to a large increase in local requests for a world heritage listing. The evaluation of nominations by the international organisations ICOMOS and IUCN has to be much stricter to show that the status is highly selective. The criteria have to become stricter in that a nominated site

needs to enjoy *international* recognition from the majority of the world population regarding its 'heritage' values *before* nomination. The question "Do Indonesians have to feel pleased about a world heritage listing of a site located in Paraguay?" has to be answered with a resounding 'yes'. The quality of a site becomes the decisive argument in whether or not a site becomes world heritage, not 'other', secondary circumstances.
Sites should be removed from the list when they have lost – despite international efforts – the qualities for which they were listed or when sites with of a higher quality are nominated. This introduces potential disadvantages of a world heritage listing to counterweigh the present situation wherein a world heritage listing brings merely advantages. The potential threat of being removed from the world heritage list will put the preservation of a site's outstanding qualities higher on the local agenda. Site managers will be aware that the site should not only be used for tourism purposes. Alternatively, no new site from a country will be listed as long as that country does not comply with international requests to improve the preservation of inscribed sites. Listed sites should come under the common care of all world citizens. Most world heritage sites can get support, as countries, non-governmental organisations and companies alike are willing to make money available for a list that retains a unique and selective character. A low number of listed sites will ensure that the available money does not constitute a drop in the ocean.

7.4 Further research

This research has attempted to contribute to the understanding of how sites are selected for the world heritage list and what the impacts of listing are. This research has some particular shortcomings that prevent a holistic understanding of the world heritage convention. More research on the effectiveness of UNESCO's world heritage convention is welcome, in particular where the validity of this research stops.

1) Geographical extension

The conducted research focused on sixty-seven world heritage sites in six countries. The present world heritage list contains 754 sites in 129 countries. Although the available literature is used as a sounding board to verify the patterns and trends identified from fieldwork, it is recommended that similar research is conducted in more countries, in particular in less developed or developing countries. It would be helpful to see whether the absence of expected benefits discourages 'poorer' countries in Africa or Oceania to participate in the world heritage convention, as this non-participation is an important stumbling block in the goal to preserve the heritage of humanity.

2) Longitudinal impacts at decentralised nominated sites

The research is mainly conducted at centrally nominated world heritage sites that were inscribed before 1992, as decentralised nominated sites were only included in this study at a later stage. More research on the reasons for decentralised nominations and their impacts of listing would make clear whether the identified differences between centrally and decentralised nominated sites remain relevant. Moreover, only the *short-term* impacts of decentralised nominated sites could be studied. A common trend at these sites is that the number of domestic visitors increases in the short term. Further research should ascertain whether this trend continues or changes in the longer run.

Summary

The 1972 world heritage convention was established exactly one hundred years after the creation of the world's first national park, Yellowstone. The world heritage convention was intended to be an international tool to preserve the world's 'most outstanding' natural and cultural heritage sites more effectively, as well as to raise awareness and encourage international cooperation. The preservation of the 'best' heritage became a responsibility of 'all humanity' rather than solely a national task. And the convention can be regarded as a success. Between 1978 and May 2004, 582 cultural, 149 natural and 23 mixed sites have been designated and 178 countries have ratified the convention.

Conceptually, one may critique the world heritage convention's effectiveness. For example, heritage is by definition a contested resource: a site cannot be simultaneously claimed for (opposing) local, regional or national purposes. Furthermore, world heritage listing is awarded to sites that meet the criterion of 'outstanding universal value', but there is ambiguity in meaning. Should the site be of educational or scientific value; should it be of interest to Indonesians or Paraguayans or to both; should it be of importance at the national or international scale-level; should it be of past, contemporary or future value; and should it be exceptional or representative of a general phenomenon? Is the international community willing to support and able to act when foreign world heritage sites are threatened? Do countries supply financial means through the world heritage convention and are countries willing to receive foreign assistance? Or, are world heritage sites more threatened due to increasing visitor numbers after listing?

The effectiveness of the world heritage convention to preserve the 'heritage of humanity' is analysed along three research lines. The first line of inquiry is whether the 'best' sites are selected on the list. Second, we examine whether inscription on the world heritage list raises the level of preservation. And third, the effects of tourism are analysed as to whether it poses a threat to a site after its selection on the list.

The four main conclusions that can be drawn from this research are as follows:

1) The implementation of the world heritage convention is mainly determined at the national level.

2) It can be doubted whether all sites on the world heritage list meet the criterion of outstanding universal value.

3) The world heritage status is a useful tool for local and national actors to achieve particular aims (reputation, preservation or tourism).

4) The convention's international dimension lies in the cooperation between countries.

In practice, the nomination of a potential world heritage site depends on the ability and willingness of the country wherein the site lies. This has prevented the nomination of some high-quality sites until May 2004, such as the heart of Islam (Mecca) and the glaciers in Iceland. Such dependency on countries may contribute to thematic and geographical biases. There are four cultural world heritage sites for every natural site and about half of the cultural sites are located in Europe. This leads to questions such as whether or not European heritage sites of a higher quality or whether European countries are more willing and better able to nominate (cultural) sites. Most European countries are determined in nominating sites and they have continued nominating historic cities and religious buildings unrelentlessly, even though UNESCO had asked them to reduce the number of nominations.
It has been decided to conduct a number of case studies to obtain insight into countries' selection mechanisms. Are natural sites not nominated to enable their future exploitation? Is the number of sites dependent upon (changing) domestic political situations or the availability of a national heritage organisation? Case studies are also helpful to better comprehend the impacts of a world heritage listing. The explorative study has been executed in geographically restricted areas, in six countries with varying political, cultural and economic circumstances: the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, Poland, Spain, the United States of America and Mexico.

Sites nominated by countries for the world heritage list are not only selected because of their quality. Other factors also play a role in the selection of sites: country-specific circumstances, shifts over time in actors that initiate the nomination, and different attitudes between actors in the field of cultural and natural heritage towards the world heritage convention.
The nomination mechanisms in the six case countries follow three trajectories. National decision makers in Poland and the Netherlands have chosen to put forward sites that lie in a particular historic core of the country. The sites illustrate a specific part of these countries' past. The two countries in the New World, the United States of America and Mexico, have both consciously nominated sites that stem from their pre-colonial as well as their colonial past. These countries' various cultures and population groups are represented. Spain and the United Kingdom have nominated heritage sites from most regions within their territory. The relative neat spatial distribution of world heritage sites over Spain and the United Kingdom is the consequence of their federal organisation, as each political unit has been requested to recommend possible sites from their territory.
Neither are decentralised nominated, often more recently listed sites, solely nominated for their qualitative characteristics. Local and regional stakeholders as well as NGOs representing certain kinds of heritage push the nomination of 'their' site to preserve the site better or to attract more visitors. Local stakeholders desire a world heritage status as a tool for tourism or preservation ends.
Actors in the field of natural heritage, both at the national and local level, are often less interested in the world heritage convention. The convention is not a priority for these actors as natural areas are often already well preserved, while they do not want to attract more visitors. These actors leave the convention on the sidelines and hardly participate in the national selection committees.

There are a number of mechanisms in the convention that lead to a qualitatively diverse list. The broad selection criterion of outstanding universal value can be interpreted in various ways, and most nominated sites fulfil the criterion. It is unclear at what scale level a site should be of 'outstanding universal value' and on which grounds. International comparisons with similar kinds of sites have not been consistently applied, while specific characteristics – such as location or age – are put forward to underline the site's uniqueness, and thereby its supra-national importance.
In addition, quality should be the only criterion for selecting world heritage sites. There are, however, five other factors that also play a role in the selection process. Countries pay heed to the World Heritage Committee's guidelines, as this increases the chance of a successful nomination. It is compelling to nominate the most feasible sites – those that are heritage visitor attractions and sites that are in the spotlight at the moment of selection. Countries with a high-level heritage infrastructure and the political willingness to actively participate in the convention have more world heritage sites. Countries also take into consideration whether they can control the potential nominated site after listing. And favourable local circumstances become increasingly important. Local financial assistance is often necessary to produce a nomination document and management plan, whereas local opposition can prevent a nomination.

The preservation of world heritage sites requires, according to the convention text, a common international effort. Preservation of the high quality values is necessary, as world heritage sites are exposed to daily spatial uses. The convention offers four instruments to preserve sites: the international recognition leads to obligations for sites, countries and companies alike; management plans have to be produced and bodies created before listing; financial support may come from the world heritage fund; and a site may be inscribed on the list of world heritage in danger.
In practice, the impacts of the world heritage listing on a site's preservation are limited, as the preservation mainly depends on national and local activities. The most support to face threats, solve issues and for financial support comes from the local level. Support from organisations at higher levels (national or international) is largely restricted to centrally nominated, often nationally owned sites. The introduction of separate world heritage site legislation, the production of management plans, and the listing as world heritage in danger largely depends on countries' willingness to comply with their obligations as laid down in the convention. For example, the Spanish central government makes its regions responsible for the management of their world heritage sites, while in contrast the United Kingdom government has produced management plans for most of its world heritage sites.

Most world heritage sites, except most of the sites in the Netherlands, are popular tourist attractions. They experience relatively high visitor pressure as most visitors arrive in a restricted season. The number of visitors at centrally nominated sites was often already high before such sites were inscribed on the world heritage list. Increasing visitor numbers after a world heritage listing occurs primarily at decentralised nominated, cultural sites.
Centrally nominated sites receive more international visitors thanks to their world heritage listing. The world heritage status is a quality label that induces foreign tourists

to cast their tourist gaze while travelling abroad for a short period. Decentralised nominated sites benefit from the high-standing status of the world heritage list. These sites may be included in tourist routes, be more actively promoted or receive more media attention after listing. Actors at decentralised nominated world heritage cities in Spain, Mexico and Poland are most active in the promotion of their respective sites.
The high visitor-induced pressure at most world heritage sites could have a positive impact on managing these sites, as visitors presumably only continue to visit high-quality environments. The world heritage status, however, has not had much influence on sites' visitor management. The number of visitors is hardly ever limited and access to the site's most valuable parts is often unrestricted. Meanwhile, cities' physical environment may be adapted to make the centre more welcoming for tourists. This approach has a reverse side for the local population whose houses are sometimes expropriated.

The world heritage convention is primarily a symbolic attempt to preserve the natural and cultural heritage of humanity at the international scale-level. However, most actors involved in the world heritage convention – UNESCO, countries and stakeholders of world heritage sites alike – have been able to use the convention for their own purposes. The world heritage convention has been a useful means to encourage peaceful cooperation among countries and the concept of heritage has been spread. Countries have been able to use the world heritage convention to mark their own identity or to attract more tourists. And most world heritage site managers are content with their site's universal recognition, as the listing bestows the site with standing and a promotional tool.
The world heritage convention's effectiveness may be heightened in the future by making the selection of sites and impacts of listing more international, less national. Any actor should be able to nominate sites, but it should only be listed if its qualities are exceptional from an international point of view. A smaller number of world heritage sites allows for a more profound common effort to preserve sites. The possibility to remove sites from the list once they have lost their outstanding universal qualities will make stakeholders in countries and at sites more aware of their responsibility to preserve listed sites.

Samenvatting

Het werelderfgoedverdrag uit 1972 werd precies honderd jaar na de oprichting van ’s werelds eerste nationale park, Yellowstone, opgesteld. Het verdrag zou de aandacht moeten vestigen op het belangrijkste erfgoed, de internationale samenwerking moeten bevorderen en dienen als internationaal instrument om het ‘meest uitzonderlijke’ natuurlijke en culturele erfgoed beter te beschermen. Het behoud van het ‘beste’ erfgoed werd een verantwoordelijkheid van de ‘gehele mensheid’ in plaats van uitsluitend een nationale taak. En het verdrag kan worden beschouwd als een succes. Tussen 1978 en mei 2004 zijn 582 culturele, 149 natuurlijke en 23 gemengde werelderfgoedsites aangewezen en hebben 178 landen het verdrag ondertekend.
Er zijn echter ook enkele conceptuele vragen ten aanzien van de effectiviteit van het verdrag. Zo is erfgoed per definitie omstreden: het kan niet tegelijkertijd worden gebruikt voor (tegengestelde) lokale, regionale of nationale doelen. Verder, erfgoed dat voldoet aan het criterium van ‘uitzonderlijke universele waarde’ kan worden aangewezen als werelderfgoedsite, maar het is onduidelijk wat dit precies betekent. Moet het erfgoed educatieve of wetenschappelijke waarde hebben; waarde hebben voor Indonesiërs of Paraguayanen of voor beide; waarde hebben op het nationale of internationale schaalniveau; verleden, hedendaagse of toekomstige waarde hebben; en uitzonderlijk zijn of een voorbeeld van een algemeen verschijnsel? Is de internationale gemeenschap bereid om te helpen en in staat om in te grijpen wanneer de site wordt bedreigd? Zullen landen geld beschikbaar stellen aan het verdrag en zijn landen bereid om buitenlandse ondersteuning te ontvangen? Of worden sites juist meer bedreigd door toenemende bezoekersaantallen na benoeming tot werelderfgoed?
De effectiviteit van het verdrag om het ’s werelds belangrijkste erfgoed te behouden is geanalyseerd langs drie onderzoekslijnen. Ten eerste, komt het ‘beste’ erfgoed op de lijst? Ten tweede, verbetert de bescherming van een site na aanwijzing? En ten derde, in hoeverre vormt het toerisme een gevaar voor de kwaliteit van een site na aanwijzing?

De vier hoofdconclusies die op basis van dit onderzoek kunnen worden getrokken zijn:
1) De implementatie van het werelderfgoedverdrag wordt vooral op het nationale schaalniveau bepaald.
2) Het mag worden betwijfeld of alle sites op de werelderfgoedlijst voldoen aan het criterium van ‘uitzonderlijke universele waarde’.
3) De werelderfgoedstatus is een nuttig instrument voor lokale en nationale actoren om bepaalde doelen (status, behoud of toerisme) te bereiken.
4) De internationale dimensie van het verdrag ligt in de samenwerking tussen landen.

Óf potentieel werelderfgoed op de lijst komt is afhankelijk van de mogelijkheden en wil van het land waarin het erfgoed ligt om sites voor te dragen. Hierdoor zijn enkele kwalitatief hoogwaardige sites niet genomineerd tot mei 2004, zoals het 'hart' van de Islam (Mecca) en de gletsjers op IJsland. Deze afhankelijkheid van landen kan bijdragen tot thematische en geografische *biases*. Zo is slechts één op de vijf werelderfgoedsites natuurlijk van aard en ligt ongeveer de helft van de aangewezen culturele sites in Europa. Dit roept vragen op als: is het Europese erfgoed van een hogere kwaliteit of zijn Europese landen vaker bereid en beter in staat om (cultureel) erfgoed te nomineren? Europese landen zijn in ieder geval vastbesloten. Ze zijn doorgegaan met het voordragen van historische binnensteden en religieuze gebouwen, zelfs nadat UNESCO hen had gevraagd het aantal voordrachten te verminderen.
Om inzicht te verkrijgen in het selectiemechanisme in verschillende landen is gekozen om een aantal case studies uit te voeren. Worden natuurlijke gebieden niet genomineerd om ze in de toekomst te kunnen blijven exploiteren? Is het aantal werelderfgoedsites afhankelijk van de (veranderende) binnenlandse politieke situatie of de aanwezigheid van een nationale erfgoedorganisatie? Case studies helpen ook om de gevolgen van een benoeming tot werelderfgoed beter te begrijpen. Het explorerende onderzoek is uitgevoerd in een geografisch afgebakende regio, maar wel in zes landen met uiteenlopende politieke, culturele en economische omstandigheden: Nederland, Verenigd Koninkrijk, Polen, Spanje, Verenigde Staten van Amerika en Mexico.

Welke sites door een land zijn genomineerd voor de werelderfgoedlijst wordt niet alleen beïnvloed door de kwaliteit van het erfgoed. Het is ook afhankelijk van land-specifieke omstandigheden, veranderingen in de tijd ten aanzien van de actoren die het initiatief tot een voordracht nemen en de verschillen tussen actoren in het natuurlijke en culturele veld in hun houding ten opzichte van het werelderfgoedverdrag.
De nominatiemechanismen in de zes case landen kunnen worden verdeeld in drie 'paden'. Nationale beleidsmakers in Polen en Nederland hebben ervoor gekozen om sites voor te dragen die in een historische kern van het land liggen. De sites tonen een specifiek gedeelte van de geschiedenis van deze landen. Twee landen in de 'nieuwe wereld', de Verenigde Staten van Amerika en Mexico, hebben bewust zowel pre-koloniaal als koloniaal erfgoed genomineerd. Verschillende bevolkingsgroepen en culturen worden hiermee gerepresenteerd. Spanje en het Verenigd Koninkrijk hebben sites voorgedragen uit (bijna) alle regio's die deze landen vormen. De relatief gelijkmatige ruimtelijke verspreiding van werelderfgoedsites over het territorium van deze landen is het gevolg van hun federale organisatie, aangezien elke politieke eenheid is gevraagd om sites uit hun regio naar voren te schuiven.
De decentraal voorgedragen, meestal meer recent aangewezen sites, zijn evenmin uitsluitend genomineerd vanwege hun kwaliteit. Zowel lokale en regionale belanghebbenden als NGO's die een bepaald soort erfgoed vertegenwoordigen, promoten de nominatie van 'hun' erfgoed om het erfgoed beter te beschermen of om toeristen te trekken. Voor deze sites is de werelderfgoedstatus een middel om toeristen te trekken of om de site beter te beschermen.
Actoren werkzaam in het veld van natuurlijk erfgoed, zowel op het nationale als het lokale schaalniveau, zijn vaak minder geïnteresseerd in het werelderfgoedverdrag. Het verdrag is geen prioriteit voor deze actoren, want natuurlijke gebieden worden vaak al

goed beschermd en men wil niet dat ze meer toeristen aantrekken. Deze actoren laten het verdrag links liggen en maken nauwelijks deel uit van de nationale selectiecomités.

Het verdrag bevat een aantal mechanismen die bijdragen tot een kwalitatief uiteenlopende lijst. Zo kan het selectiecriterium van 'uitzonderlijke universele waarde' op meerdere wijzen worden uitgelegd. Onduidelijk is op welk schaalniveau erfgoed van 'uitzonderlijk universele waarde' moet zijn en op basis waarvan. Internationale vergelijkingen met gelijksoortig erfgoed worden niet consequent uitgevoerd, terwijl specifieke kenmerken – zoals lokatie of ouderdom – naar voren worden geschoven om de uniciteit van het erfgoed, en daarmee het boven-nationale belang, te onderstrepen.
Naast de kwaliteitseis zijn er vijf factoren die meespelen in de uiteindelijke beslissing of een site wel of niet wordt voorgedragen voor de lijst. Landen besteden aandacht aan de richtlijnen van het werelderfgoedcomité, aangezien dit de kans op een succesvolle nominatie vergroot. Vaak wordt erfgoed gekozen dat gemakkelijk kan worden voorgedragen – toeristische trekpleisters en erfgoed dat in de aandacht staat op het moment van selecteren. Landen met een goede erfgoedinfrastructuur en de politieke wil om actief deel te nemen hebben meer werelderfgoedsites. Landen houden ook rekening met de vraag of ze het erfgoed kunnen beschermen na aanwijzing. En gunstige lokale omstandigheden worden belangrijker. Lokale financiële steun is vaak nodig voor het maken van een nominatiedossier en beheersplan, terwijl lokale oppositie de voordracht kan verhinderen.

Het behoud van werelderfgoed vraagt, volgens de verdragstekst, om een gezamenlijke internationale inzet. Bescherming van de hoogwaardige kwaliteit is noodzakelijk, aangezien werelderfgoedsites worden bedreigd door alledaagse activiteiten. Het werelderfgoedverdrag biedt vier instrumenten om sites te behouden: de internationale erkenning leidt tot verplichtingen voor sites, landen en ondernemingen; beheersplannen en -organen moeten worden gemaakt of opgericht vóór aanwijzing; het werelderfgoedfonds kan financieel bijdragen; en een site kan worden aangewezen als werelderfgoed in gevaar.
In de praktijk zijn de gevolgen van een benoeming tot werelderfgoed beperkt: het behoud van aangewezen sites blijft voornamelijk afhankelijk van lokale en nationale activiteiten. De grootste bijdrage om bedreigingen tegen te gaan en kwesties op te lossen, alsmede financiële steun, komt van het lokale schaalniveau. Steun van instanties op hogere (nationale of internationale) schaalniveaus is voornamelijk beperkt tot centraal voorgedragen, vaak in nationaal eigendom zijnd, erfgoed. De invoering van afzonderlijke wetgeving voor werelderfgoedsites, het maken van beheersplannen en een plaatsing op de lijst van werelderfgoed in gevaar is sterk afhankelijk van het antwoord op de vraag of landen hun verplichtingen, zoals vastgelegd in het verdrag, willen nakomen. Zo schuift de Spaanse centrale overheid de verantwoordelijkheid voor werelderfgoed door naar de regio's, terwijl de regering van het Verenigd Koninkrijk voor de meeste sites een beheersplan heeft gemaakt.

Veel werelderfgoedsites, met uitzondering van de meeste sites in Nederland, zijn populaire toeristische trekpleisters. Ze worden vaak geconfronteerd met een grote bezoekersdruk doordat de meeste toeristen in een kort tijdsbestek komen. Het aantal

bezoekers bij centraal voorgedragen sites was vaak al hoog voorafgaand aan de benoeming tot werelderfgoed. Toenemende bezoekersaantallen na aanwijzing zijn vooral zichtbaar bij decentraal genomineerd, cultureel erfgoed.
Centraal genomineerde sites ontvangen wel meer intercontinentale bezoekers na de benoeming tot werelderfgoed. De werelderfgoedstatus is een kwaliteitslabel waar intercontinentale toeristen een voorkeur voor hebben wanneer ze gedurende korte tijd in het buitenland zijn. Decentraal genomineerde sites profiteren mee van de status van de werelderfgoedlijst. Deze sites kunnen worden opgenomen in toeristische routes, maken meer promotie of krijgen meer media-aandacht. Actoren rondom decentraal genomineerde werelderfgoedsteden in Spanje, Mexico en Polen zijn het meest actief in het promoten van de site.
De hoge bezoekersdruk bij de meeste werelderfgoedsites zou een positief gevolg kunnen hebben op het beheer van het erfgoed, aangezien bezoekers vermoedelijk alleen blijven komen naar kwalitatief hoogwaardig erfgoed. Echter, de status heeft niet veel invloed gehad op de wijze waarop sites met toeristen omgaan. Het aantal bezoekers wordt bijna nooit beperkt en de meest waardevolle gedeeltes kunnen onbeperkt worden bezocht. Ondertussen wordt de fysieke omgeving van binnensteden soms aangepast voor het toerisme. Deze aanpak heeft een keerzijde voor de ‘originele’ lokale bevolking, waarvan huizen soms worden onteigend.

Het werelderfgoedverdrag is vooral een symbolische poging om het natuurlijke en culturele erfgoed der mensheid te behouden vanaf het internationale schaalniveau. Echter, de meeste bij het verdrag betrokken actoren – UNESCO, landen en belanghebbenden bij werelderfgoedsites – hebben het verdrag kunnen gebruiken voor het realiseren van eigen doelen. Het verdrag heeft bijgedragen tot internationale samenwerking en het begrip erfgoed is verder verspreid. Landen hebben het verdrag kunnen gebruiken om hun eigen identiteit te markeren of om toeristen te trekken. En de meeste beheerders van werelderfgoedsites zijn tevreden met de mondiale erkenning, omdat de benoeming tot werelderfgoed status verschaft en een promotiemiddel is.
De effectiviteit van het verdrag zou kunnen toenemen door de selectie van sites en de gevolgen van aanwijzing meer internationaal en minder nationaal te maken. Elke actor zou sites moeten kunnen voordragen, maar ze zouden alleen moeten worden toegelaten wanneer het erfgoed, gezien vanuit een internationaal perspectief, uitzonderlijke kwaliteiten heeft. Een kleiner aantal sites maakt een meer substantiële, gemeenschappelijke inzet voor het behoud van aangewezen sites mogelijk. En de mogelijkheid om sites van de lijst te verwijderen zodra ze hun uitzonderlijke universele kwaliteiten hebben verloren zal nationale en lokale actoren bewuster maken van hun verantwoordelijkheid om de site te beschermen.

Appendix 1
List of interviewed organisations

Pilot studies

Nr.	*Organisation*	*World heritage site / advisor*	*Date*
1	The City of Edinburgh Council	Edinburgh Old and New Town	26 Sep 2000
2	Scottish Natural Heritage	Natural heritage Scotland	26 Sep 2000
3	Scottish Enterprise Edinburgh and Lothian	Edinburgh Old and New Town	27 Sep 2000
4	Edinburgh World Heritage Trust	Edinburgh Old and New Town	27 Sep 2000
5	Historic Scotland	Cultural heritage Scotland	27 Sep 2000
6	English Nature, Devon team	Dorset and East Devon Coast	8 Mar 2001
7	East Devon County Council	Dorset and East Devon Coast	20 Mar 2001
8	Countryside Council for Wales	Dorset and East Devon Coast	2 April 2001
9	Dorset County Council	Dorset and East Devon Coast	14 May 2001
10	Kennet District Council	Avebury	31 May 2001
11	Bath City Council	City of Bath	1 June 2001
12	DCMS	State party United Kingdom	5 June 2001
13	English Heritage	Stonehenge	6 June 2001
14	RDMZ	Monuments, Netherlands	12 July 2001
15	RDMZ	Monuments, Netherlands	4 Dec 2001
16	ROB	Archaeology, Netherlands	4 April 2002

Case studies

17	Gemeente Beemster	Beemster polder	11 Nov 2002
18	Stichting Stelling van Amsterdam	Defence line of Amsterdam	12 Nov 2002
19	Stichting Werelderfgoed Kinderdijk	Mill network Kinderdijk	13 Nov 2002
20	Centraal Museum Utrecht	Rietveld-Schröderhouse	18 Nov 2002
21	Gemeente Noordoostpolder	Schokland and surroundings	21 Nov 2002
22	Stichting vrienden van Ir. D.F. Wouda pumping station	D.F. Wouda steam pumping station	22 Nov 2002
23	LNV	Natural heritage, Netherlands	26 Nov 2002
24	The National Trust, Northern Ireland region	Giant's Causeway and Causeway Coast	4 Dec 2002

Nr.	*Organisation*	*World heritage site / advisor*	*Date*
25	DOENI	Natural heritage, Northern Ireland	4 Dec 2002
26	Westminster City Council	Westminster, Westminster Abbey and School	13 Jan 2003
27	Canterbury City Council	Canterbury Cathedral, St. Augustine's Abbey and St. Martin's Church	14 Jan 2003
28	English Heritage, Amesbury office	Stonehenge	15 Jan 2003
29	Bath and North East Somerset Council	City of Bath	15 Jan 2003
30	Administrator's office	Blenheim Palace	16 Jan 2003
31	Borough of Telford and Wrekin	Ironbridge Gorge	17 Jan 2003
32	CADW	Cultural heritage, Wales	20 Jan 2003
33	CADW	Castles and town walls of king Edward in Gwynedd	20 Jan 2003
34	CADW	Blaenavon industrial landscape	20 Jan 2003
35	The National Trust	Studley Royal Park, with the ruins of Fountains Abbey	21 Jan 2003
36	Joint Nature Conservation Committee	Natural heritage, UK	22 Jan 2003
37	English Heritage	Hadrian's Wall	22 Jan 2003
38	Durham City Council	Durham Castle and Cathedral	23 Jan 2003
39	National Trust for Scotland	St. Kilda	24 Jan 2003
40	Statue of Liberty National Monument	Statue of Liberty	10 Mar 2003
41	Independence Hall National Historical Park	Independence Hall	11 Mar 2003
42	NPS	Cultural heritage, USA	11 Mar 2003
43	US/ICOMOS	Cultural heritage, USA	12 Mar 2003
44	Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation	Monticello	13 Mar 2003
45	Great Smoky Mountains National Park	Great Smoky Mountains	14 Mar 2003
46	Mammoth Cave National Park	Mammoth Cave	17 Mar 2003
47	Illinois Historic Preservation Agency	Cahokia Mounds	18 Mar 2003
48	Taos Pueblo governor's office	Pueblo de Taos	20 Mar 2003
49	Mesa Verde National Park	Mesa Verde	21 Mar 2003
50	Grand Canyon National Park	Grand Canyon	24 Mar 2003
51	Yosemite National Park	Yosemite	25 Mar 2003
52	Olympic National Park	Olympic	27 Mar 2003
53	Yellowstone National Park	Yellowstone	28 Mar 2003

Nr.	*Organisation*	*World heritage site / advisor*	*Date*
54	CONANP	Natural heritage, Mexico	16 Jun 2003
55	SECTUR	Department cultural tourism	16 Jun 2003
56	INAH	Cultural heritage, Mexico	17 Jun 2003
57	ICOMOS Mexicano	Cultural heritage, Mexico	17 Jun 2003
58	Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes	State party Mexico	18 Jun 2003
59	CONALMEX	State party Mexico	18 Jun 2003
60	INBA	Cultural heritage, Mexico	18 Jun 2003
61	Zona Arqueológica de Teotihuacán	Teotihuacan	19 Jun 2003
62	Delegación Xochimilco	Xochimilco	19 Jun 2003
63	CONANP, región XI	Sian Ka'an	20 Jun 2003
64	Gobierno del Estado Yucatan, CULTUR	Chichén-Itzá	23 Jun 2003
65	Zona Arqueológica de Chichén-Itzá	Chichén-Itzá	23 Jun 2003
66	Zona Arqueológica de Palenque	Palenque	24/25 Jun 2003
67	Zona Arqueológica de Monte Albán	Monte Albán	26 Jun 2003
68	Ayuntamiento de la ciudad de Oaxaca de Juárez, Dirección general del centro histórico	Historic centre of Oaxaca	26 Jun 2003
69	Ayuntamiento Puebla de los Angeles	Historic centre of Puebla	27 Jun 2003
70	Consejo del centro histórico de la ciudad de Puebla	Historic centre of Puebla	27 Jun 2003
71	Coordinación general preservación y desarrollo del centro histórico de Morelia y sitios monumentales	Historic centre of Morelia	30 Jun 2003
72	Obras publicas municipals, protección y vigilancia a la fisonomía de la ciudad	Historic town of Guanajuato and adjacent mines	1 Jul 2003
73	Ayuntamiento de Zacatecas	Historic centre of Zacatecas	2 Jul 2003
74	Everglades National Park	Everglades	3 Jul 2003
75	Service d'Etat pour la protection des monuments historiques	Cultural heritage, Poland	11 Sep 2003
76	Regional inspector of monuments	Old town of Zamość	12 Sep 2003
77	Urząd miasta stołecznego Warszawy	Historic centre of Warszawa	15 Sep 2003
78	ICOMOS Poland	Cultural heritage, Poland	15 Sep 2003
79	City development department Kraków	Kraków's historic centre	16 Sep 2003
80	Spotzecny komitet odnowy labytkow Krakowa	Kraków's historic centre	16 Sep 2003
81	Muzeum żup krakowskich Wieliczka	Wieliczka salt mine	17 Sep 2003
82	Kopolnia Soli Wieliczka	Wieliczka salt mine	17 Sep 2003

Nr.	*Organisation*	*World heritage site / advisor*	*Date*
83	Państwowe Muzeum Auschwitz-Birkenau	Auschwitz concentration camp	18 Sep 2003
84	Miejski konserwator zabytków	Kalwaria Zebrzydowska	19 Sep 2003
85	Bialowieski Park Narodowy	Białowieża Forest	22 Sep 2003
86	Commission Nationale Polonaise pour l'UNESCO	State party Poland	23 Sep 2003
87	Malbork Castle Museum	Castle of Teutonic order, Malbork	24 Sep 2003
88	Urząd miasta Torunia, Biuro miejskiego konserwatora zabytków	Medieval town of Toruń	25 Sep 2003
89	Generalitat de Catalunya, direcció general del patrimoni cultural	Cultural heritage, Catalunya	17 Nov 2003
90	Fundació orfeó Català Palau de la Música	Palau de la Música Catalana	17 Nov 2003
91	Ajuntament de Barcelona, Patrimoni urbanístic i artístic	Parque Güell	18 Nov 2003
92	Ajuntament de Tarragona, Museu d'història de Tarragona	Archaeological ensemble of Tàrraco	19 Nov 2003
93	Poblet Monastery	Poblet Monastery	19 Nov 2003
94	Ajuntament de la Vall de Boí	Catalan Romanesque churches of Vall de Boí	20 Nov 2003
95	Parc National de Ordesa y Mont Perdu	Monte Perdido	21 Nov 2003
96	Fundación San Millán de la Cogolla	San Millán Yuso and Suso Monasteries	24 Nov 2003
97	Universidad de Burgos, Departamento de ciencias históricas y geografía	Archaeological site of Atapuerca	25 Nov 2003
98	La Fundación las Médulas	Las Médulas	26 Nov 2003
99	Concello de Lugo	Roman Walls of Lugo	27 Nov 2003
100	Turismo de Santiago de Compostela	Santiago de Compostela	28 Nov 2003
101	Concello de Santiago, delegado de urbanismo	Santiago de Compostela	28 Nov 2003
102	Ayuntamiento de Ávila	Old town of Ávila	1 Dec 2003
103	OAPN	Natural heritage, Spain	2 Dec 2003
104	MECD	Cultural heritage, Spain	2 Dec 2003
105	Ayuntamiento de Aranjuez	Aranjuez cultural landscape	3 Dec 2003
106	Ayuntamiento de Baeza	Renaissance ensembles Baeza	4 Dec 2003
107	Ayuntamiento de Córdoba, Oficina municipal de turismo	Historic centre of Córdoba	5 Dec 2003
108	Ayuntamiento de Córdoba, Gerencia municipal de urbanismo	Historic centre of Córdoba	5 Dec 2003

Appendix 2
World heritage participants

The following 176 members of the United Nations that have ratified the world heritage convention are (contemporary country names):

1973
United States of America

1974
Algeria
Australia
Bulgaria
Democratic Republic of the Congo
Egypt
Iraq
Niger
Nigeria
Sudan

1975
Cyprus
Ecuador
France
Ghana
Islamic Republic of Iran
Jordan
Morocco
Senegal
Switzerland
Syrian Arab Republic
Tunisia

1976
Bolivia
Canada
Germany
Pakistan
Poland

1977
Brazil
Costa Rica
Ethiopia
Guyana
India
Mali
Norway
United Republic of Tanzania

1978
Argentina
Italy
Libyan Arab Jamahiriya
Malta
Monaco
Nepal
Panama
Saudi Arabia

1979
Afghanistan
Denmark
Guatemala
Guinea
Honduras
Nicaragua

1980
Central African Republic
Chile
Haiti
Portugal
Seychelles
Sri Lanka
Yemen

1981
Cuba
Greece
Ivory Coast
Mauritania
Oman

1982
Benin
Burundi
Cameroon
Malawi
Mozambique
Peru
Spain
Zimbabwe

1983
Antigua and Barbuda
Bangladesh
Colombia

Jamaica
Lebanon
Luxembourg
Madagascar
Turkey

1984
Mexico
New Zealand
Qatar
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
Zambia

1985
China
Dominican Republic
Hungary
Philippines
Sweden

1986
Gabon
Maldives
Saint Kitts and Nevis

1987
Burkina Faso
Congo
Finland
Gambia
Lao People's Democratic Republic
Thailand
Uganda
Viet Nam

1988
Belarus
Cape Verde
Malaysia
Paraguay
Republic of Korea
Russian Federation
Ukraine

1989
Albania
Indonesia
Uruguay

1990
Belize
Fiji
Mongolia
Romania
Venezuela

1991
Angola
Bahrain
Cambodia
El Salvador
Ireland
Kenya
Saint Lucia
San Marino

1992
Austria
Croatia
Georgia
Japan
Lithuania
Netherlands
Slovenia
Solomon Islands
Tajikistan

1993
Armenia
Azerbaijan
Bosnia and Herzegovina
Czech Republic
Slovakia
Uzbekistan

1994
Kazakhstan
Myanmar
Turkmenistan

1995
Dominica
Estonia
Iceland
Kyrgyzstan
Latvia
Mauritius

1996
Belgium

1997
Andorra
Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia
Papua New Guinea
South Africa
Surinam

1998
Botswana
Democratic People's Republic of Korea
Grenada
Togo

1999
Chad
Israel

2000
Comoros
Kiribati
Namibia
Rwanda

2001
Bhutan
Eritrea
Samoa
Serbia and Montenegro
United Arab Emirates

2002
Barbados
Kuwait

Federated States of Micronesia
Liberia
Marshall Islands
Palau
Republic of Moldova
Vanuatu

2003
Lesotho
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines

2004
Tonga

Two non-members of the United Nations that have ratified the world heritage convention are:

1982
Holy See

2001
Niue

Fifteen members of the United Nations that have not ratified the world heritage convention are:

Bahamas
Brunei Darussalam
Djibouti
East Timor
Equatorial Guinea
Guinea-Bissau
Liechtenstein
Nauru
Sao Tome and Principe
Sierra Leone
Singapore
Somalia
Swaziland
Trinidad and Tobago
Tuvalu

Appendix 3
World heritage committee

The World Heritage Committee consists of twenty-one states parties. They are elected for a period of six years. Each General Assembly, that meets once every two years, replaces one-third of the committee members. As such, seven seats become available biennially (UNESCO 2004a).

The composition of the World Heritage Committee 2003-2005 is:

Argentina
Benin
Chile
China
Colombia
Egypt
India
Japan
Kuwait
Lebanon
Lithuania
Netherlands
New Zealand
Nigeria
Norway
Oman
Portugal
Russia
Saint Lucia
South Africa
United Kingdom

Appendix 4
World heritage site nominations

Listed site in May 2004 (~~year of rejection~~, year of listing, possible year of extension of the site)
~~Rejected site and not listed until May 2004 (first year of rejection)~~

Afghanistan
Jam, minaret and archaeological remains (~~1983~~, 2002)
Bamiyan Valley cultural landscape (~~1983~~, 2003)
~~Ai khanum, archaeological city (1983)~~
~~Herat, city and monuments (1983)~~

Albania
Butrint (~~1991~~, 1992, 1999)
~~Durres, amphitheatre (1991)~~
~~Berat (1991)~~
~~Gjirokastra (1991)~~

Algeria
~~Setif, citadel quarter (1979)~~
Al qal'a, Beni hammad (~~1979~~, 1980)
Tassili n'Ajjer (1982)
M'zab Valley (1982)
Djémila (1982)
Tipasa (1982)
Timgad (1982)
~~Sidi bu-medina (1982)~~
Algiers, kasbah (~~1979~~, ~~1981~~, 1992)

Argentina
Los Glaciares (1981)
Iguazu National Park (1984)
~~Cerro Colorado (1987)~~
Cueva de las Manos, Río pinturas (1999)
Península Valdés (1999)
Ischigualasto / Talampaya natural parks (2000)
Córdoba, Jesuit Block and estancias (2000)
Quebrada de Humahuaca (2003)

Argentina and Brazil
Guaranis, Jesuit missions (1983, 1984)

Armenia
Haghpat and Sanahin monasteries (1996, 2000)
Echmiatsin, cathedral and churches (2000)
Geghard Monastery, Upper Azat Valley (2000)

Australia
Kakadu National Park (1981, 1987, 1992)
Great Barrier Reef (1981)
Willandra Lakes region (1981)
~~Sydney, Opera House (1981)~~
Tasmanian Wilderness (1982, 1989)
Lord Howe Island Group (1982)
Central Eastern Rainforest Reserves (1986, 1994)
Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park (1987, 1994)
Queensland, wet tropics (1988)
Shark Bay, western Australia (1991)
Fraser Island (1992)

Australian fossil mammal sites (1994)
Heard and McDonald Islands (~~1991~~, 1997)
Macquarie Island (~~1992~~, 1997)
Greater Blue Mountains area (~~1999~~, 2000)
Purnululu National Park (2003)

Austria
Salzburg, historic centre (1996)
Schönbrunn Palace and Gardens (1996)
Hallstatt-Dachstein Salzkammergut (1997)
Semmering Railway (~~1996~~, 1998)
Graz, historic centre (1999)
Wachau cultural landscape (2000)
Vienna, historic centre (2001)

Austria and Hungary
Fertö/Neusiedlersee (~~1996~~, 2001)

Azerbaijan
Baku, walled city (2000)

Bangladesh
Bagerhat, historic mosque city (~~1984~~, 1985)
Paharpur, Buddhist vihara ruins (~~1984~~, 1985)
Sundarbans (1997)

Belarus
~~Berezinsky Biosphere Reserve (1992)~~
Mir Castle complex (~~1992~~, 2000)

Belarus and Poland
Bialowieza Forest (~~1978~~, 1979, 1992)

Belgium
Flemish béguinages (1998)
Four lifts, Canal du Centre (1998)
Brussels, Grand-Place (1998)
Belfries, Flanders and Wallonia (1999)
Major town houses of Victor Horta (2000)
Spiennes, neolithic flint mines (2000)
Tournai, Notre-Dame Cathedral (2000)
Brugge, historic centre (2000)

Belize
Belize Barrier-Reef reserve system (1996)

Benin
Abomey, Royal Palaces (1985)
~~Pendjari and W National Parks (2002)~~

Bolivia
Potosi (1987)
Chiquitos Jesuit Missions (1990)
Sucre, historic city (1991)
Fuerte de Samaipata (1998)
Tiwanaku (~~1991~~, 2000)
Noel Kempff Mercado National Park (2000)

Bosnia and Herzegovina
~~Sarajevo (1986)~~
~~Old Mostar (1999)~~

Botswana
Tsodilo (2001)

Brazil
Ouro Preto, historic town (~~1979~~, 1980)
Olinda, historic centre (1982)
Salvador de Bahia, historic centre (~~1984~~, 1985)
Sanctuary of Bom Jesus do Congonhas (1985)
Iguaçu National Park (~~1985~~, 1986)
Brasilia (1987)
Serra da Capivara National Park (1991)
São Luis, historic centre (1997)
Diamantina, historic centre (1999)
Discovery Coast Atlantic Forest Reserves (1999)
Atlantic Forest southeast reserves (1999)
Central Amazon conservation complex (2000, 2003)
Pantanal conservation area (2000)
Brazilian Atlantic Islands (~~2000~~, 2001)
Cerrado protected areas (~~2000~~, 2001)
Goiás, historic centre (2001)
~~Rio de Janeiro, sugar loaf, tijuca forest and botanical gardens (2003)~~

Bulgaria
Boyana Church (1979)
Madara Rider (1979)
Kazanlak, Thracian tomb (1979)
Ivanovo, rock-hewn churches (1979)
Rila Monastery (1983)
Nessebar, ancient city (1983)
Srebarna Nature Reserve (1983)
Pirin National Park (1983)
~~Plovdiv, ancient city (1983)~~
Sveshtari, Thracian tomb (1985)
~~Stara Zagora, neolithic dwellings (1985)~~

Cambodia
Angkor (1992)

Cameroon
Dja Faunal Reserve (1987)

Cape Verde
~~Cidade Velha (1992)~~

Canada
Nahanni National Park (1978)
L'Anse aux Meadows (1978)
Dinosaur Provincial Park (1979)
SGaang Gwaii (1981)
Head-smashed-in Buffalo Jump (1981)
Wood Buffalo National Park (1983)
Canadian Rocky Mountain (1984, 1990)
Québec, historic district (~~1984~~, 1985)
Gros Morne National Park (1987)
Lunenburg, old town (1995)
Miguasha National Park (~~1994~~, 1999)

Canada and United States of America
Kluane/Wrangell-St Elias/Glacier Bay/Tatshenshini-Alsek (1979, 1992, 1994)
Waterton Glacier International Peace Park (~~1985~~, 1995)

Central African Republic
Manovo-Gounda St Floris National Park (1988)

Chile
Rapa Nui National Park (1995)
~~Juan Fernandez Archipelago National Park (1995)~~
Chiloé, churches (2000)
Valparaíso historic quarter (2003)

China
Mount Taishan (1987)
The Great Wall (1987)
Imperial Palaces, Beijing and Shenyang (1987)
Mogao Caves (1987)
Mausoleum of the First Qin emperor (1987)
Zhoukoudian, Peking Man site (1987)
~~Jixian, nature area (1987)~~
~~Panda reserves (1987)~~
Mount Huangshan (1990)
~~Tonglushan (1990)~~
Jiuzhaigou Valley (1992)
Huanglong (1992)
Wulingyuan (1992)
~~Huangguoshu Waterfalls (1992)~~
Chengde mountain resort (1994)
Qufu, temple and cemetery of Confucius (1994)
Wudang Mountains, ancient buildings (1994)
Lhasa, Potala Palace (1994, 2000, 2001)
~~Jiaohe city, ruins (1994)~~
Lushan National Park (~~1992~~, 1996)
Mount Emei Scenic Area (1996)
Lijiang, old town (1997)
Ping Yao, ancient city (1997)
Suzhou, Classical Gardens (1997, 2000)
Beijing, Summer Palace (1998)
Beijing, Temple of Heaven (1998)
Mount Wuyi (1999)
Dazu rock carvings (1999)
Mount Qingcheng, Dujiangyan irrigation system (2000)
Xidi and Hongcun, ancient villages (2000)
Longmen Grottoes (2000)
Imperial tombs Ming and Qing dynasties (2000, 2003)
Yungang Grottoes (2001)
Yunnan protected areas (2003)

Colombia
Cartagena, port, fortresses and monuments (1984)
~~Popayan, historic centre (1989)~~
Los Katios National Park (1994)
Santa Cruz de Mompox, historic centre (1995)
Tierradentro National archaeological park (1995)
San Agustín archaeological park (1995)

Congo
~~Odzala National Park (1994)~~
~~Conkouati Wildlife Reserve (1994)~~

Costa Rica
~~Nicoya, church (1979)~~
~~Orosi, church (1979)~~
~~Guayabo de Turrialba archaeological park (1979)~~
~~San Jose National Monument (1979)~~
~~National Theatre (1979)~~
~~Ujarras, ruins (1979)~~
~~Santa Rosa historic mansion (1979)~~
Cocos Island National Park (~~1985~~, 1997, 2002)
Guanacaste conservation area (1999)

Costa Rica and Panama
Talamanca Range-La Amistad reserves (1983, 1990)

Croatia
Dubrovnik, old city (1979, 1994)
Split, historical complex (1979)
Plitvice Lakes National Park (1979, 2000)
Porec, episcopal complex (1997)
Trogir, historic city (1997)
~~Pula, roman amphitheatre (1997)~~
Sibenik, Cathedral of St James (2000)
~~Osijek, tvrda planning complex (2000)~~
~~Kopacki Rit (2000)~~
~~Varazdin, historic town and castle (2000)~~

Cuba
Old Havana, fortifications (1982)
Trinidad and the valley de los Ingenios (1988)
San Pedro de la Roca Castle (1997)
~~Terrestrial Molluscs National Reserve, Genus Polymita (1997)~~
Viñales Valley (~~1997~~, 1999)
Desembarco del Granma (1999)
The first coffee plantations, southeast Cuba (2000)
Alejandro de Humboldt National Park (~~1999~~, 2001)

Cyprus
Paphos (~~1979~~, 1980)
Troodos, painted churches (1985, 2001)
~~Kourion Archaeoligical Site (1985)~~
Choirokoitia (1998)

Czech Republic
Prague, historic centre (1992)
Cesky Krumlov, historic centre (1992)
Telc, historic centre (1992)
~~Karlstejn Castle (1992)~~
Zelena Hora, Pilgrimage Church (1994)
~~Kladruby, Ascension of the Virgin Mary Monastery Church (1994)~~
Kutná Hora (1995)
Lednice-Valtice cultural landscape (1996)
Kromeríz, Gardens and Castle (1998)
Holašovice, historical village (1998)
Litomyšl Castle (1999)
Olomouc, Holy trinity column (2000)
Brno, Tugendhat Villa (2001)
Trebíc, Jewish Quarter and St Procopius' Basilica (2003)

Democratic People's Republic of Korea
~~Complex of Koguryo tombs (2003)~~

Democratic Republic of the Congo
Virunga National Park (1979)
Garamba National Park (1980)
Kahuzi-Biega National Park (1980)
Salonga National Park (1984)
~~Kundelunga National Park (1984)~~
Maiko National Park (1984)

~~Upemba National Park (1984)~~
Okapi wildlife reserve (~~1995~~, 1996)

Denmark
Jelling Mounds and Church (1994)
Roskilde Cathedral (~~1994~~, 1995)
Kronborg Castle (~~1994~~, 2000)

Dominica
Morne Trois Pitons National Park (1997)

Dominican Republic
Santo Domingo, colonial city (1990)
~~Parque nacional del este (2003)~~

Ecuador
Galapagos Islands (1978, 2001)
Quito (1978)
Sangay National Park (1983)
Santa Ana de los Ríos de Cuenca, historic centre (1999)

Egypt
Memphis and its necropolis (1979)
Ancient Thebes with its necropolis (1979)
Nubian monuments (1979)
Islamic Cairo (1979)
Abu Mena (1979)
St Catherine area (2002)
~~Ras Mohammed (2003)~~

El Salvador
Joya de Ceren archaeological site (1993)

Estonia
Tallinn, historic centre (1997)

Ethiopia
Lalibela, rock-hewn churches (1978)
Simien National Park (1978)
~~Adulis (1978)~~
~~Matara (1978)~~
~~Melka-Kontoure (1978)~~
~~Yeha (1978)~~
Fasil Ghebbi, Gondar region (~~1978~~, 1979)
Abihatta Shalla Lakes National Park (1979)
~~Bale Mountain National Park (1979)~~
Lower Valley, Awash (~~1978~~, 1980)
Tiya (~~1978~~, 1980)
Aksum (~~1978~~, 1980)
Lower Valley, Omo (~~1978~~, 1980)

Finland
Old Rauma (1991)
Suomenlinna, fortress (1991)
Petäjävesi Old Church (~~1991~~, 1994)
Verla groundwood and board mill (1996)
Sammallahdenmäki, Bronze Age burial site (1999)

Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia
Ohrid region (1979, 1980)

France
Mont-St-Michel and bay (1979)
Chartres, cathedral (1979)
Versailles, Palace and Park (1979)
Vézelay, church and hill (1979)
Vézère Valley, decorated grottoes (1979)
Fontainebleau, Palace and Park (1981)
Orange, roman theatre and triumphal arch (1981)
Amiens, cathedral (1981)
Arles, roman and romanesque monuments (1981)
Fontenay, Cistercian Abbey (1981)
Arc-et-Senans, royal saltworks (1982)
Nancy, Place Stanislas, de la Carrière and d'Alliance (1983)
St-Savin sur Gartempe, church (1983)
Corsica, Cape Girolata, Cape Porto, Scandola nature reserve and the Piana Calanches (1983)
Pont du Gard (1985)
~~St Nicolas de Tolentin Abbey (1985)~~
Strasbourg, Grande Île (1988)
Paris, banks of the Seine (1991)
Reims, Notre-Dame Cathedral, former St-Remi Abbey and Tau Palace (1991)
Bourges, cathedral (1992)
Avignon, historic centre (~~1983~~, 1995)
~~Rouen, historic centre (1995)~~

Canal du Midi (1996)
Carcassonne, historic fortified city (~~1985~~, 1997)
Routes of Santiago de Compostela (1998)
Lyons, historic site (1998)
Jurisdiction of St-Emilion (1999)
The Loire Valley (2000)
Provins, town of medieval fairs (~~1998~~, 2001)

France and Spain
Pyrénées, Mont Perdu (~~1996~~, 1997, 1999)

Gambia
~~Prehistoric stone circles (1996)~~
James Island and related sites (~~1996~~, 2003)

Georgia
Mtskheta, city-museum reserve (1994)
Bagrati Cathedral and Gelati Monastery (1994)
Upper Svaneti (~~1994~~, 1996)
~~Tbilisi, historical district (2001)~~
~~Vardzia-Khertvisi, historical area (2001)~~

Germany
Aachen, cathedral (1978)
Speyer, cathedral (1981)
Würzburg, residence (1981)
Wies, Pilgrimage Church (1983)
~~Marburg, St Elizabeth Church (1983)~~
Brühl, Augustusburg and Falkenlust Castle (1984)
Hildesheim, St Mary's Cathedral and St Michael's Church (~~1982~~, 1985)
Trier, roman monuments, cathedral and church (1986)
Lübeck, Hanseatic city (~~1983~~, 1987)
~~Freiburg, 'Unserer Lieben Frau' Cathedral (1987)~~
~~Wattenmeer, Lower Saxony (1989)~~
Potsdam, Palaces and Parks (1990, 1992, 1999)
~~Dresden, baroque ensemble (1990)~~
~~Magdeburg, cathedral (1990)~~
Lorsch, abbey and Altenmünster (~~1989~~, 1991)
Goslar, town and mines of Rammelsberg (1992)
Maulbronn, monastery (~~1990~~, 1993)
Bamberg (~~1992~~, 1993)
Quedlinburg, church, castle and town (~~1990~~, 1994)
Völklingen Ironworks (1994)
Messel pit fossil site (1995)
Cologne, cathedral (1996)
Weimar and Dessau, Bauhaus (~~1995~~, 1996)
Eisleben and Wittenberg, Luther Memorials (1996)
Classical Weimar (1998)
Berlin, Museumsinsel (1999)
Wartburg Castle (1999)
Garden Kingdom of Dessau-Wörlitz (~~1990~~, 2000)
Reichenau, monastic island (2000)
Essen, Zollverein coal mine complex (~~2000~~, 2001)
Upper Middle Rhine Valley (2002)
Stralsund and Wismar, historic centres (2002)
~~Bremen, townhall and Roland on the marketplace (2003)~~

Ghana
Volta, forts and castles (1979)
Asante, traditional buildings (~~1979~~, 1980)
~~Bia National Park (1983)~~
~~Traditional mosques, Northern Ghana (1983)~~

Greece
Bassae, Temple of Apollo Epicurius (1986)
Delphi archaeological site (1987)
Athens, Acropolis (1987)
~~Samaria Gorge National Park (1987)~~
Mount Athos (1988)
Meteora (1988)
Thessalonika, paleochristian and Byzantine monuments (1988)
Epidaurus archaeological site (1988)
Rhodes, medieval city (1988)
~~Lesbos, petrified forest (1988)~~
Mystras (1989)
Olympia archaeological site (1989)

~~Santorin, Akrotori archaeological site (1989)~~
Delos (1990)
Chios, monasteries of Daphni, Hossios Luckas and Nea Moni (1990)
Samos, Pythagoreion and Heraion (1992)
Vergina archaeological site (1996)
Mycenae and Tiryns archaeological site (1999)
Chorá, historic centre (1999)

Guatemala
Tikal National Park (1979)
Antigua Guatemala (1979)
Quirigua archaeological park and ruins (1981)
~~Sierra de la Biosfera de las Minas (1993)~~

Guyana
~~Kaieteur National Park (2001)~~

Haiti
Citadel, Sans Souci, Ramiers (1982)

Holy See
Vatican City (1984)

Holy See and Italy
Rome, historic centre (~~1979~~, 1980, 1990)

Honduras
Copan Maya site (1980)
Río Plátano biosphere reserve (1982)

Hungary
Budapest (1987, 2002)
Hollókö, old village (1987)
~~Ipolytarnoc, fossil findings (1993)~~
Pannonhalma, Millenary Benedictine Abbey (1996)
Hortobágy National Park (~~1988~~, 1999)
Pécs, Early Christian necropolis (~~1998~~, 2000)
Tokaj wine region (2002)
~~Visegrad, medieval royal seat and parkland (2002)~~

Hungary and Slovakia
Caves of Aggtelek karst and Slovak karst (1995, 2000)

India
Ajanta Caves (1983)
Ellora Caves (1983)
Agra Fort (1983)
Taj Mahal (1983)
Konarak, Sun Temple (1984)
Mahabalipuram, monuments (1984)
Kaziranga National Park (1985)
Manas wildlife sanctuary (1985)
Keoladeo National Park (1985)
Goa churches and convents (~~1983~~, 1986)
Khajuraho monuments (~~1983~~, 1986)
Hampi monuments (~~1983~~, 1986)
Fatehpur Sikri (~~1984~~, 1986)
Pattadakal, monuments (1987)
Elephanta Caves (1987)
Great living Chola temples (1987)
Sundarbans (1987)
Nanda Devi National Park (1988)
Sanchi, Buddhist monuments (1989)
~~Silent Valley National Park (1991)~~
~~Gir wildlife sanctuary (1992)~~
Delhi, Humayun's tomb (1993)
Delhi, Qutb Minar and its monuments (1993)
~~Dehli, Red Fort (1993)~~
~~Wild Ass sanctuary (1993)~~
Darjeeling Himalayan railway (1999)
~~Victoria terminus (1999)~~
Bodh Gaya, Mahabodhi temple complex (~~2001~~, 2002)
Bhimbetka, rock shelters (2003)

Indonesia
Borobudur temple compounds (1991)
Ujung Kulon National Park (1991)
Komodo National Park (1991)
Prambanan temple compounds (1991)
~~Lore Lindu National Park (1991)~~
Sangiran early man site (1996)
Lorentz National Park (1999)

Islamic Republic of Iran
Tchogha zanbil (1979)
Persepolis (1979)
Esfahan, Meidan emam (1979)
Takht-e soleyman (2003)

Iraq
~~Ancient Samarra (1983)~~
~~Babylon (1983)~~
Hatra (~~1983~~, 1985)
Ashur (2003)

Ireland
Bend of the Boyne archaeological ensemble (1993)
Skellig Michael (1996)

Israel
Masada (2001)
Acre, old city (2001)
~~Makhteshim country (2001)~~
Tel-Aviv, White City (2003)

Italy
Valcamonica, rock drawings (1979)
~~St Guilia / St Salvator's monastery (1979)~~
Church and Dominican convent, Santa Maria delle Grazie (~~1979~~, 1980)
Florence, historic centre (1982)
~~Medici villas, Florentine region (1982)~~
Venice and its lagoon (1987)
Pisa, Piazza del Duomo (1987)
~~Selinunte archaeological park (1987)~~
~~Ostia antica, Porto and the Isola Sacra (1987)~~
San Gimignano, historic centre (1990)
I sassi di Matera (1993)
Vicenza (1994, 1996)
Siena, historic centre (1995)
Naples, historic centre (1995)
Crespi d'adda (1995)
Ferrara and Po delta (1995, 1999)
Castel del Monte (~~1987~~, 1996)
The Trulli of Alberobello (1996)
Ravenna, early Christian monuments (1996)
Pienza, historic centre (1996)
Caserta, 18th-century Royal Palace (~~1990~~, 1997)
Residences of the Royal House of Savoy (1997)
Padua, Botanical Garden Orto Botanico (1997)
Portovenere, Cinque Terre and islands (1997)
Modena, cathedral, Torre Civica and Piazza Grande (1997)
Pompei, Herculaneum and Torre Annunziata archaeological area (1997)
Costiera Amalfitana (1997)
Agrigento archaeological area (1997)
Villa Romana del Casale (1997)
Su Nuraxi di Barumini (1997)
Aquileia, archaeological area and Patriarchal Basilica (1998)
Urbino, historic centre (1998)
Cilento and Vallo di Diano National Park (1998)
Tivoli, Villa Adriana (1999)
~~Parco Nazionale del Gran Paradiso (1999)~~
Verona (~~1997~~, 2000)
Isole Eolie (~~1999~~, 2000)
Assisi (2000)
Villa d'Este, Tivoli (2001)
~~Val d'Orcia (2001)~~
Late Baroque towns, Val di Noto (~~2001~~, 2002)
~~L'archipel de la Maddalena (2002)~~
Sacri Monti, Piedmont and Lombardy (~~2002~~, 2003)

Ivory Coast
Taï National Park (1982)
Comoé National Park (1983)

Ivory Coast and Guinea
Mount Nimba strict nature reserve (1981, 1982)

Jamaica
~~Port Royal (1988)~~
~~Seville (1988)~~
~~Spanish town (1988)~~

Japan
Horyu-ji area, Buddhist monuments (1993)
Himeji-jo (1993)
Yakushima (1993)
Shirakami-Sanchi (1993)
Ancient Kyoto, historic monuments (1994)
Shirakawa-go and Gokayama, historic villages (1995)
Hiroshima Peace Memorial (1996)
Itsukushima shinto shrine (1996)
Ancient Nara, historic monuments (1998)
Nikko, shrines and temples (1999)
Gusuku sites of the kingdom of Ryukyu (2000)

Jerusalem (proposed by Jordan)
Jerusalem, old city and walls (1981)

Jordan
Petra (1985)
Quseir amra (1985)
~~Jerash (1985)~~
~~Karak Castle (1985)~~
~~Pella, Tabaqat fahl (1985)~~
~~Old city of salt (1994)~~

Kazakhstan
Khoja Ahmed Yasawi mausoleum (2003)
~~Saryaka, steppe and lakes (2003)~~

Kenya
Mount Kenya National Park (1997)
Lake Turkana National Parks (1997, 2001)
~~Maasai Mara National Reserve (1997)~~
Lamu, old town (2001)
~~Rift Valley Lakes Reserve (2002)~~

Lao People's Democratic Republic
Luang Prabang (1995)
Vat Phou, Champasak cultural landscape (2001)

Latvia
Riga, historic centre (~~1991~~, 1997)
~~Abava Valley (2000)~~
~~Jurmala wooden construction (2001)~~

Lebanon
Anjar (1984)
Baalbek (1984)
Byblos (1984)
Tyre (1984)
~~Deir el-qamar and beit ed-dine (1984)~~
~~Sidon (1984)~~
~~Tripoli (1984)~~
Ouadi oadisha and forest of the Cedars of God (~~1993~~, 1998)
~~Chouf region, cultural-historic sites (2001)~~

Libyan Arab Jamahiriya
Leptis Magna archaeological site (1982)
Sabratha archaeological site (1982)
Cyrene archaeological site (1982)
~~Ptolemais archaeological site (1984)~~
Tadrart Acacus rock-art sites (1985)
Ghadames, old town (1986)

Lithuania
Vilnius, historic centre (~~1990~~, 1994)

Lithuania and Russian Federation
Curonian Spit (2000)

Luxembourg
City of Luxembourg (1994)

Madagascar
Tsingy de Bemaraha nature reserve (~~1988~~, 1990)
Ambohimanga, Royal Hill (2001)

Malawi
Lake Malawi National Park (1984)
~~Nyika National Park (1984)~~

Maladives
~~Eid miskiy (1988)~~
~~Fenfushi hukuru miskiy (1988)~~
~~Male hukuru miskiy (1988)~~
~~Utheemu gaduvaru (1988)~~
~~Vadhoo hukuru miskiy (1988)~~

Malaysia
Kinabalu Park (2000)
Gunung Mulu National Park (2000)

Mali
~~Baoule Loop National Park (1979)~~
Djenné, old towns (~~1979~~, 1988)
Timbuktu (~~1979~~, 1988)
Cliff of Bandiagara (~~1979~~, 1989)

Malta
Hal saflieni hypogeum (1980)
Valletta (1980)
Megalithic temples of Malta (1980, 1992)
~~Harbour fortifications, Malta (1999)~~

Mauritania
Banc d'Arguin National Park (1989)
Ancient Ksour of Ouadane, Chinguetti, Tichitt and Oualata (1996)

Mexico
Sian Ka'an (1987)
Palenque pre-Hispanic city (1987)
Mexico City, historic centre and Xochimilco (1987)
Teotihuacan pre-Hispanic city (1987)
Oaxaca, historic centre and Monte Albán (1987)
Puebla, historic centre (1987)
~~Patzcuaro Lake cultural zone (1987)~~
Guanajuato, historic town and mines (1988)
Chichen-Itza pre-Hispanic city (1988)
Morelia, historic centre (1991)
El Tajin pre-Hispanic city (1992)
El Vizcaino Whale sanctuary (~~1990~~, 1993)
Zacatecas, historic centre (1993)
Rock Paintings, Sierra de San Francisco (1993)
Popocatepetl, 16th-century monasteries (1994)
Uxmal pre-Hispanic town (1996)
Querétaro, historic monuments zone (1996)
Guadalajara, Hospicio Cabañas (1997)
~~El Triunfo nature reserve (1997)~~
Paquimé archaeological zone (~~1991~~, 1998)
Tlacotalpan, historic monuments zone (1998)
Campeche, historic fortified town (1999)
Xochicalco archaeological monuments zone (1999)
Calakmul ancient Maya city (2002)
Franciscan missions, Sierra Gorda of Querétaro (2003)

Mongolia and Russian Federation
Uvs Nuur Basin (~~1996~~, 2003)
~~Orkhon Valley cultural landscape (2003)~~

Morocco
Fez, medina (1981)
Marrakesh, medina (1985)
Ait-Ben-Haddou, ksar (1987)
Meknes, historic city (1996)
Volubilis archaeological site (1997)
Tétouan, medina (1997)
Essaouira, medina (~~1996~~, 2001)
~~El Jadida (2002)~~

Mozambique
Island of Mozambique (1991)

Myanmar
~~Bagan (1997)~~

Nepal
Sagarmatha National Park (1979)
Kathmandu Valley (1979)
Royal Chitwan National Park (1984)
Lumbini, birthplace of the Lord Buddha (~~1993~~, 1997)
~~Panauti, early medieval architectural complex and town (1998)~~
~~Shey Phoksundo National Park (2000)~~

Netherlands
Schokland and surroundings (1995)
Defence line of Amsterdam (1996)
Kinderdijk, mill network (1997)
Willemstad, historic area, Netherlands

Antilles (1997)
Ir. D.F. Wouda steam pumping station (1998)
Beemster polder (1999)
Rietveld-Schröder house (2000)

New Zealand
Tongariro National Park (~~1987~~, 1990, 1993)
Te Wahipounamu (1990)
New Zealand sub-Antarctic Islands (1998)

Nicaragua
León Viejo, ruins (~~1995~~, 2000)

Niger
Air and Ténéré natural reserves (1991)
W National Park of Niger (1996)

Nigeria
~~Birni Gazargamu and Gambaru (1979)~~
~~Kainji Lake National Park (1979)~~
Sukur cultural landscape (1999)

Norway
Urnes Stave, church (1979)
Bryggen (1979)
~~Mollen (1979)~~
~~Eidsvoll building (1979)~~
~~Kjerringøy trading centre (1979)~~
~~Valley of Heidal (1979)~~
~~Vingen (1979)~~
Røros (~~1979~~, 1980)
Alta, rock drawings (1985)

Oman
Bahla Fort (1987)
~~Khor rori port (1987)~~
~~Matrah, historic centre (1987)~~
Bat, Al-Khutm and Al-Ayn archaeological site (~~1987~~, 1988)
~~Jiddat-al-harasis (1993)~~
Arabian Oryx Sanctuary (1994)
The Frankincense Trail (2000)

Pakistan
Moenjodaro archaeological ruins (1980)
Taxila (1980)
Buddhist ruins of Takht-i-Bahi at Sahr-i-Bahlol (1980)
~~Harappa archaeological ruins (1980)~~
~~Gilgit and Chilas, rock carvings at the Sacred rock of Hunza (1980)~~
Thatta historical monuments (~~1980~~, 1981)
Lahore, Fort and Shalamar Gardens (1981)
~~Indus Dolphin Reserve (1982)~~
~~Kirthar National Park (1982)~~
~~Lal Soharna National Park (1982)~~
Rohtas Fort (~~1991~~, 1997)
~~Central Karakorum National Park (1997)~~

Panama
Portobelo-San Lorenzo, fortifications (1980)
Darien National Park (1981)
Panamá Viejo archaeological site (~~1996~~, 1997, 2003)

Paraguay
La Santisima Trinidad de Parana and Jesus de Tavarangue Jesuit missions (1993)

Peru
Cuzco (1983)
Machu Picchu historic sanctuary (1983)
Chavin archaeological site (1985)
Huascaran National Park (1985)
Chan Chan archaeological zone (1986)
Manu National Park (1987)
Lima, historic centre (1988, 1991)
Rio Abiseo National Park (1990, 1992)
~~Huaytara Inca Temple (1993)~~
Lines and Geoglyphs, Nasca and Pampas de Jumana (1994)
~~Pachacamac archaeological sanctuary (1999)~~
Arequipa, historical centre (2000)
~~Trujillo, historic centre (2002)~~

Philippines
~~Manila, historic city centre (1989)~~
~~Taal (1989)~~
Tubbataha Reef Marine Park (1993)
Baroque churches, Philippines (1993)
Philippine cordilleras, rice terraces (1995)
Vigan, historic town (~~1989~~, 1999)
Puerto-Princesa subterranean river (~~1993~~, 1999)

Poland
Cracow, historic centre (1978)
Wieliczka salt mine (1978)
Auschwitz, concentration camp (~~1978~~, 1979)
Warsaw, historic centre (~~1978~~, 1980)
~~Jasna Gora Monastery (1991)~~
Zamosc, old city (~~1991~~, 1992)
Torun, medieval town (1997)
Malbork, Castle of the Teutonic Order (1997)
~~Gdansk (1998)~~
Kalwaria Zebrzydowska (1999)
Jawor and Swidnica, churches of peace (2001)
Wooden Churches, Southern Little Poland (~~2001~~, 2003)
~~Ojcowski National Park, Valley of Pradnik River (2003)~~

Poland and Slovakia
~~Tatra National Park (1992)~~

Portugal
Angra do Heroismo central zone (1983)
Hieronymites Monastery and Tower of Belem (1983)
Batalha Monastery (1983)
Tomar, convent of Christ (1983)
Evora, historic centre (1986)
Alcobaça Monastery (1989)
Sintra cultural landscape (~~1993~~, 1995)
Oporto, historic centre (1996)
Côa valley, prehistoric rock-art sites (1998)
Laurisilva of Madeira (1999)
Guimarães, historic centre (2001)
Alto Douro wine region (2001)
~~Pico island vineyard culture (2003)~~

Republic of Korea
Seokguram Grotto and Bulguksa Temple (1995)
Haeinsa Temple Janggyeong Panjeon (1995)
Jongmyo Shrine (1995)
Changdeokgung Palace complex (1997)
Hwaseong Fortress (1997)
Gyeongju, historic areas (2000)
Gochang, Hwasun, and Ganghwa dolmen sites (2000)

Romania
Danube Delta (1991)
Villages with fortified churches, Transylvania (~~1991~~, 1993, 1999)
Horezu Monastery (~~1991~~, 1993)
Churches of Moldavia (~~1991~~, 1993)
Sighisoara, historic centre (1999)
Maramures, wooden churches (1999)
Orastie Mountains, Dacian fortresses (1999)
~~Neamt Monastery (1999)~~

Russian Federation
St Petersburg, historic centre (1990)
Kizhi Pogost (1990)
Moscow, Kremlin and Red Square (1990)
Novgorod, historic monuments (~~1991~~, 1992)
Solovetsky Islands, cultural and historic ensemble (1992)
Vladimir and Suzdal, white monuments (1992)
Sergiev Posad, Trinity Sergius Lavra architectural ensemble (1993)
Kolomenskoye, Ascension Church (~~1992~~, 1994)
Virgin Komi Forests (1995)
Lake Baikal (1996)
Kamchatka Volcanoes (1996, 2001)
~~Vodlozero National Park (1996)~~
Altai Golden Mountains (~~1996~~, 1998)

~~Bashkirian Ural (1998)~~
Western Caucasus (1999)
Kazan, Kremlin historic and architectural complex (2000)
Ferrapontov Monastery (2000)
~~Bolgar, historical and architectural complex (2000)~~
Central Sikhote-Alin (~~1996~~, 2001)
~~Wrangel Island Sanctuary (2001)~~
~~First railway bridge over the Yenisei River (2002)~~
Derbent, citadel, ancient city and fortresses (2003)

Saint Kitts and Nevis
Brimstone Hill Fortress (1999)

Senegal
Island of Gorée (1978)
~~Madeleine Island National Park (1979)~~
Niokolo-Koba National Park (1981)
Djoudj National Bird Sanctuary (~~1978~~, 1981)
Island of St Louis (2000)

Serbia and Montenegro
Kotor natural-cultural historical region (1979)
Stari Ras and Sopocani (1979)
Durmitor National Park (~~1979~~, 1980)
Studenica Monastery (1986)
~~Brioni National Park (1986)~~

Seychelles
Aldabra Atoll (1982)
Vallée de Mai nature reserve (1983)

Slovakia
Banska Stiavnica (~~1992~~, 1993)
Spissky Hrad and monuments (~~1992~~, 1993)
Vlkolinec (~~1992~~, 1993)
~~Kosice, St Elizabeth Cathedral, St Michael Chapel and Urban's Tower (1994)~~
~~Kysuce-Orava switchback railroad (1996)~~
~~Ravines of the Slovak paradis and Dobsinska ice cave (1998)~~
Bardejov town (2000)

Slovenia
Skocjan Caves (1986)
~~Franja partisan hospital (2003)~~

Solomon Islands
East Rennell (1998)

South Africa
Greater St Lucia wetland park (1999)
Sterkfontein, Swartkrans, and Kromdraai fossil hominid sites (1999)
Robben Island (1999)
UKhahlamba / Drakensberg Park (2000)
~~Cape floristic region (2000)~~
Mapungubwe cultural landscape (2003)

Spain
Cordoba, historic centre (1984, 1994)
Alhambra, Generalife and Albayzin, Granada (1984, 1994)
Burgos Cathedral (1984)
Escurial Monastery (1984)
Parque and Palacio Güell, Casa Mila (1984)
Altamira Cave (1985)
Segovia, old town and aqueduct (1985)
Monuments of Oviedo (1985, 1998)
Santiago de Compostela (1985)
Avila, old town (1985)
Aragón, mudejar architecture (1986, 2001)
Toledo, historic city (1986)
Garajonay National Park (1986)
Cáceres, old town (1986)
Seville, Cathedral, Alcazar and Archivo de Indias (1987)
Salamanca, old city (~~1987~~, 1988)
~~Sant Vicenc de Cardona Canonical Church (1989)~~
~~Girona (1989)~~
~~Pere de Rodes Monastery (1989)~~
Poblet Monastery (~~1989~~, 1991)
Mérida, archaeological ensemble (1993)
Santa Maria de Guadalupe Royal Monastery (1993)

Route of Santiago de Compostela (1993)
Doñana National Park (1994)
Cuenca, historic walled town (1996)
Valencia, la lonja de la seda (1996)
Las Médulas (1997)
The Palau de la Música Catalana and Hospital de Sant Pau (1997)
San Millán Yuso and Suso monasteries (1997)
Rock-art, Iberian Peninsula (1998)
Alcalá de Henares, University and historic precinct (1998)
Ibiza, biodiversity and culture (~~1987~~, 1999)
San Cristóbal de La Laguna (1999)
Tárraco archaeological ensemble (~~1998~~, 2000)
Palmeral of Elche (~~1999~~, 2000)
Lugo, roman walls (2000)
Vall de Boí, Catalan romanesque churches (2000)
Atapuerca archaeological site (2000)
Aranjuez cultural landscape (2001)
Úbeda and Baeza (~~1989~~, 2003)

Sri Lanka
Anuradhapura, sacred city (1982)
Polonnaruwa ancient city (1982)
Sigiriya ancient city (1982)
Sinharaja Forest reserve (~~1982~~, 1988)
Kandy, sacred city (1988)
Galle, old town and fortifications (1988)
Dambulla, Golden Temple (1991)

Sudan
~~Sanganeb Atoll (1983)~~
~~Suakin (1996)~~
Gebel Barkal and sites, Napatan region (2003)

Surinam
Central Surinam nature reserve (2000)
Paramaribo, historic inner city (~~1999~~, 2002)

Sweden
~~Sjaunia (1990)~~
Drottningholm Royal Domain (1991)
Birka and Hovgården (1993)
Engelsberg Ironworks (~~1991~~, 1993)
Tanum, rock carvings (1994)
Skogskyrkogården (~~1991~~, 1994)
Visby, Hanseatic town (1995)
Gammelstad, church village (1996)
Laponian area (1996)
Karlskrona, naval port (1998)
High Coast (~~1999~~, 2000)
Southern Öland agricultural landscape (2000)
Falun mining area of Great Copper Mountain (2001)

Switzerland
Berne, old city (1983)
St Gall, convent (1983)
Müstair, benedictine convent of St John (1983)
Bellinzone, three castles, defensive wall and ramparts (~~1999~~, 2000)
Jungfrau-Aletsch-Bietschhorn (2001)
Monte San Giorgio (2003)

Syrian Arab Republic
Damascus ancient city (1979)
Bosra ancient city (~~1979~~, 1980)
Palmyra (~~1979~~, 1980)
Aleppo ancient city (~~1979~~, 1986)

Thailand
Sukhotai, historic town (1991)
Ayutthaya, historic city (1991)
Thungyai, huai kha khaeng (1991)
~~Khao Yai National Park (1991)~~
~~Tarutao National Park (1991)~~
Ban Chiang archaeological site (~~1991~~, 1992)

Tunisia
~~Zembra and Zembretta Islands National Park (1978)~~
Tunis, medina (1979)
Carthage (1979)
El Jem, amphitheatre (1979)

Ichkeul National Park (~~1978~~, 1980)
Kerkuane, Punic town and necropolis (1985, 1986)
Sousse, medina (1988)
Kairouan (1988)
Dougga / Thugga (1997)

Turkey
Istanbul, historic areas (1985)
Göreme National Park (1985)
Divrigi, Great Mosque and hospital (1985)
Hattusha (1986)
Nemrut dag (1987)
~~Sumela Monastery (1989)~~
Xanthos-Letoon (1988)
Hierapolis-Pamukkale (1988)
Safranbolu (~~1992~~, 1994)
Troy archaeological site (1998)
~~Epheus (2001)~~
~~Karain Caves (2001)~~
~~Mardin, historic city (2003)~~

Turkmenistan
~~Old Nissa (1990)~~
Ancient Merv (1999)

Uganda
Bwindi Impenetrable National Park (1994)
Rwenzori Mountains National Park (1994)
~~Murchison Falls National Park (1994)~~
Kasubi, tombs of Buganda kings (2001)

Ukraine
Kiev, St-Sophia Cathedral (1990)
L'viv, historic centre (1998)
~~Holy Tops (2001)~~
~~Kaniv's Hill (2001)~~
~~Karadag (2001)~~
~~Podillian Ridge (2001)~~
~~Polissian Swamps and Slovechno-Ovruch Ridge (2001)~~

United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
Giant's Causeway and Causeway Coast (1986)
Durham, Castle and Cathedral (1986)
Ironbridge Gorge (1986)
Studley Royal Park and ruins of Fountains Abbey (1986)
Stonehenge, Avebury and associated sites (1986)
Gwynedd, castles and town walls of King Edward (1986)
St Kilda (1986)
Blenheim Palace (1987)
Westminster Palace, Abbey and St Margaret's Church (1987)
Bath (1987)
Hadrian's Wall (1987)
~~St Helena. Diana's Peak and High Peak (1987)~~
~~Lough Erne ecclesiastical sites (1987)~~
~~Lake District National Park (1987)~~
~~St Davids Close and Bishops Palace (1987)~~
Henderson Island (1988)
Tower of London (1988)
Canterbury Cathedral, St Augustine's Abbey, and St Martin's Church (1988)
~~Menai and Conwy, suspension bridges (1988)~~
~~Navan Fort (1988)~~
~~SS 'Great Britain' (1988)~~
~~Cambridge, colleges and the backs (1989)~~
Edinburgh, old and new town (1995)
Gough and inaccessible islands (1995)
Maritime Greenwich (1997)
Orkney, eolithic heart (~~1989~~, 1999)
Bermuda, St George historic town (2000)
Blaenavon industrial landscape (2000)
Saltaire (2001)
Dorset and East Devon Coast (2001)
Derwent Valley Mills (2001)
New Lanark (~~1987~~, 2001)
Kew, Royal Botanic Gardens (2003)

United Republic of Tanzania
Ngorongoro conservation area (1979)
Serengeti National Park (1981)

Ruins of Kilwa Kisiwani and Songo Mnara (1981)
Selous game reserve (1982)
Kilimanjaro National Park (1987)
Zanzibar, stone town (~~1982~~, 2000)

United States of America
Mesa Verde National Park (1978)
Yellowstone National Park (1978)
Grand Canyon National Park (1979)
Everglades National Park (1979)
Independence Hall National Historical Park (1979)
~~Edison State Historic Site (1979)~~
Redwood National Park (1980)
Mammoth Cave National Park (1981)
Olympic National Park (1981)
Cahokia Mounds State Historic Site (1982)
Great Smoky Mountains National Park (1983)
La Fortaleza and San Juan, Puerto Rico (1983)
Statue of Liberty National Monument (1984)
Yosemite National Park (1984)
Chaco Culture National Historical Park (~~1985~~, 1987)
Hawaii Volcanoes National Park (1987)
Monticello and University of Virginia, Charlottesville (1987)
~~Pu'uhonua o'Honaunau (1987)~~
~~Taliesin and Taliesin west (1991)~~
Pueblo de Taos (~~1988~~, 1992)
Carlsbad Caverns National Park (1995)
~~Savannah, city plan (1995)~~

Uruguay
Colonia del Sacramento, historic quarter (1995)
~~Montevideo, Legislative Palace (1996)~~

Uzbekistan
Itchan kala (1990)
Bukhara, historic centre (~~1991~~, 1993)
Shakhrisyabz, historic centre (~~1999~~, 2000)
Samarkand, crossroads of cultures (~~1991~~, 2001)

Venezuela
Coro and its port (1993)
Canaima National Park (1994)
Caracas, Ciudad Universitaria (2000)

Viet Nam
Hué monuments (1993)
~~Cuc-Phong National Park (1993)~~
Ha Long Bay (~~1993~~, 1994, 2000)
Hoi An ancient town (1999)
My Son sanctuary (1999)
Phong Nha-ke Bang National Park (~~1999~~, 2003)

Yemen
Shibam, old walled city (1982)
Sana'a, old city (1986)
Zabid, historic town (1993)

Zambia and Zimbabwe
Mosi-oa-tunya / Victoria Falls (1989)

Zimbabwe
Mana Pools National Park (1984)
Great Zimbabwe National Monument (1986)
Khami Ruins National Monument (1986)
Matobo Hills (~~1984~~, 2003)

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