

**QUESTIONING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE WORLD
HERITAGE CONVENTION:
A VALUE-BASED ANALYSIS OF PURPOSEFULLY SAMPLED
NOMINATION DOSSIERS**

Volume 1

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ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates States Parties' implementation of the 1972 UNESCO *Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*. Its objectives are two-fold. The first of these is the quantitative and qualitative analysis of the evolution of the values for which cultural heritage sites have been nominated for World Heritage status in relation to the decisions of the World Heritage Committee across different categories of cultural heritage. The second objective is the examination of States Parties' representations of the past and the nation, of human and cultural diversity, of economic value, and of authenticity and conservation by means of an evaluation of sampled nomination dossiers of cultural heritage sites for inclusion on the World Heritage List.

The thesis methodology is based on intensive archival work of UNESCO documents as well as value-led analyses of one hundred and six purposefully sampled nomination dossiers. ATLAS.ti, a Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software program, was used for the quantitative and qualitative analyses and interpretation of the sampled data set. The end result has been to identify how States Parties have understood the notion of outstanding universal value which is the key and central concept of the World Heritage Convention. It has also been to highlight the problems in States Parties' implementation of the World Heritage Convention and in the requested format of nomination dossiers. This has led to practical changes to official discourses on World Heritage and suggestions for procedural improvements. These changes and suggestions should help States Parties to identify better the values for which sites are being nominated for World Heritage status and improve their long-term conservation and management.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	2
Table of Contents	3
List of Tables	16
List of Figures	17
Acknowledgements	22
INTRODUCTION	25
CHAPTER 1: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND	28
1.1. Introduction	28
1.2. 1948-1977: The genesis and adoption of an international system for the protection of World Heritage sites	29
1.2.1. 1948-1972: Early reflections on the future World Heritage Convention	29
1.2.2. Analysis of the text of the World Heritage Convention	30
1.2.2.1. Adoption of the World Heritage Convention	30
1.2.2.2. The Convention as an expression of the Enlightenment paradigm	31
1.2.2.3. ‘Outstanding universal value’: a central concept of the Convention	32
1.2.2.4. Explicit link between nature and culture	32
1.2.2.5. Difficult balance between national sovereignty and international intervention	32
1.2.2.6. The actors of the Convention	34

1.2.3. Analysis of the first version of the Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention.....	35
1.3. 1980-1992: Contradictory efforts to fulfil the Convention’s dual requirement of representativeness and selectivity.....	41
1.3.1. 1980 revision of the six cultural heritage criteria.....	41
1.3.2. Revision of the test of authenticity.....	43
1.3.3. Added guidelines on the state of conservation of nominated properties	45
1.3.4. Efforts to achieve a more representative World Heritage List.....	46
1.3.4.1. Harmonisation of Tentative Lists (1983-1987).....	46
1.3.4.2. The Global Study (1987-1993)	48
1.3.4.3. The question of equitable representation in the World Heritage Committee.....	50
1.4 1992-1995: Initiatives to widen the framework of the World Heritage Convention	51
1.4.1. Adoption of the 1992 Strategic Goals and Objectives.....	51
1.4.2. Adoption of the new category of cultural landscape.....	53
1.4.3. The Global Strategy for a balanced, credible and representative World Heritage List	58
1.4.4. The 1994 Nara conference and Document on Authenticity	61
1.4.5. Implementation of the 1992 Strategic Goal 5	63
1.5 1996-2004: Further efforts to fulfil the Convention’s dual requirement of representativeness and selectivity	65
1.5.1. Revisions of the six cultural heritage criteria	65
1.5.2. Adoption and implementation of the ‘Cairns decisions’ at the twenty-fourth session of the World Heritage Committee in 2000	66
1.5.3. The equitable representation of the World Heritage Committee.....	67
1.5.4. 2000-2003 revision of the Operational Guidelines	68
1.5.4.1. Revision of the six cultural heritage criteria	69
1.5.4.2. Unification of the cultural and natural heritage criteria	69
1.5.4.3. Revision of the test of authenticity	70

1.5.5. Assuring the representation of the diversity of the world's cultural and natural heritage on the World Heritage List.....	71
1.5.5.1. A new priority system for the selection of nomination dossiers.....	71
1.5.5.2. Analyses of the World Heritage List and Tentative Lists	72
1.5.6. Problems with the Global Strategy.....	73
1.6. Conclusion.....	75

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL ORIENTATIONS76

2.1. Introduction	76
2.2. The importance of values.....	76
2.2.1. Previous perspectives on World Heritage values	77
2.2.2. Outstanding universal value.....	78
2.2.3. Outstanding universal value: an evolving concept.....	80
2.2.4. Political and economic values.....	81
2.2.5. Summary.....	83
2.3. Value-typologies in publications on cultural resource management.....	83
2.4. A unique and original value-typology	89
2.4.1. Definition of the overall values.....	90
2.4.1.1. Social value	90
2.4.1.2. Architectural and aesthetic value.....	91
2.4.1.3. Economic value	92
2.4.1.4. Informational value	93
2.4.1.5. State of conservation, restoration, reconstruction and degree of authenticity, factors affecting the site and its level of adaptation and/or re-use.....	94
2.5. Theories guiding the interpretation of the data analysis.....	95

2.5.1. Are objectivity and truth a myth?	95
2.5.2. History: linear or multifaceted?.....	98
2.5.3. Universalism versus the incredulity towards meta-narratives	99
2.5.4. Exclusion or inclusion of individuals and cultural diversity?	100
2.5.5. Criticisms of post-processualism.....	101
2.5.6. Moving beyond the dichotomy between processual and post-processual archaeology	103
2.5.6.1. The importance of a processual framework for the selection and analysis of the data set	103
2.5.6.2. The importance of a post-processual framework for the selection and analysis of the data set.....	104
2.6. Conclusion.....	105

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY FOR THE DATA

ANALYSIS.....106

3.1. Introduction	106
3.2. Presentation of the data	106
3.2.1. Why nomination dossiers?	106
3.2.2. Importance and limits of nomination dossiers	107
3.2.3. Number of nomination dossiers selected.....	107
3.3. Sampling strategy.....	108
3.3.1. Purposeful sampling: typical and extreme case sampling.....	108
3.3.2. Method for the selection of nomination dossiers.....	110
3.3.3 Non-variables and variables.....	118
3.3.3.1. Non-variables	118
3.3.3.2. Nominal and interval variables	118
3.4. Methodology for the analysis of the sampled population	123
3.4.1. Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software versus	

manual data handling	123
3.4.2. Programs considered and chosen	125
3.4.3. Steps followed in coding the sampled population.....	126
3.4.4. Issues of reliability and validity	130
3.4.5. Results of the analyses.....	131
3.5. Definition of the categories and sub-categories	131
3.5.1. Introduction	131
3.5.2. Social value.....	131
3.5.2.1. Political value	132
3.5.2.2. Religious value.....	132
3.5.2.3. References to lower, middle and upper classes (women, men and collective citation) and to the local population.....	133
3.5.3. Architectural and aesthetic value	135
3.5.3.1. Layout of the town/settlement	135
3.5.3.2. Architecture and aesthetic value of religious, secular and industrial buildings, works of art, remains.....	135
3.5.4. Economic value.....	137
3.5.5. Informational value.....	138
3.5.6 Authenticity, conservation, restoration, reconstruction, adaptation/re-use, factors affecting the site	140
3.5.6.1. Authenticity	140
3.5.6.2. Conservation/Preservation.....	141
3.5.6.3. Restoration	141
3.5.6.4. Reconstruction	142
3.5.6.5. Adaptation/re-use.....	142
3.5.6.6. Factors affecting the site.....	143
3.6. Method for the display of the results of the data analysis and their interpretation	143
3.7. Conclusion.....	147

CHAPTER 4: REPRESENTATING THE NATION/

REPRESENTING THE PAST.....148

4.1. Introduction148

4.2. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of ‘political value’149

4.2.1. The importance of traditions.....150

4.2.2. Political value and land control.....152

4.2.3. Homogeneous or contested political groups.....153

4.3. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of ‘religious value’154

4.3.1. Links between political and religious values155

4.3.2. The continuity of eternal religious myths156

4.3.3. Inclusive versus exclusive national identity157

4.4. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of ‘layout of the town/ settlement’159

4.4.1. Representations of power in the description of the ‘layout of the town/ settlement’160

4.4.2. Exclusion from the centre of the town.....161

4.4.3. The unplanned layout of the town162

4.5. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of ‘architectural and aesthetic value of religious buildings, works of art, remains’163

4.5.1. References to the architectural and aesthetic value of the site as a ‘justification for inclusion on the World Heritage List’165

4.5.2. Emphasis on mythologies, timelessness and eternity165

4.5.3. Emphasis on classical architecture167

4.5.4. Monuments as icons of national heroism167

4.6. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of ‘architectural and aesthetic value of secular buildings, works of art, remains’.....168

4.6.1. Emphasis on continuity.....	169
4.6.2. Monuments as a representation of the grandeur of the nation.....	170
4.7. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of ‘architectural and aesthetic value of industrial buildings, works of art, remains’	171
4.7.1. References to the architectural and aesthetic value of the site as a ‘justification for inclusion on the World Heritage List’	172
4.7.2. The architectural beauty of industrial heritage sites	173
4.7.3. Monuments as icons of national heroism	173
4.7.4. Emphasis on continuity.....	174
4.8. Quantitative and qualitative analysis ‘research value/documentation on the property’	175
4.8.1. Grandeur of the nation	176
4.8.2. Emphasis on continuity.....	177
4.8.3. References to primary education	178
4.9. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of ‘history and development’.....	179
4.9.1. Linear history	181
4.10 Quantitative and qualitative analysis of ‘explanation of the functioning of the industrial structure’	183
4.11. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of ‘importance and influence of the property in the region/country/world’	185
4.11.1. Use of superlatives.....	186
4.11.2. Influence exerted on the world as expression of universalism.....	188
4.12. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of ‘influence from other countries’	189
4.12.1. Is Europe the sole referent?	191
4.13. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of ‘comparison with other sites’	192

4.13.1. Use of comparative analysis to highlight the exceptional nature of sites	194
4.13.2. The impossibility of comparative analyses.....	194
4.14. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of ‘relation between cultural and natural elements’	195
4.14.1. The continuity of cultural landscapes.....	197
4.14.2. Harmonious or disharmonious relations between people and the environment?	198
4.14.3. Intangible links between people and their environment	199
4.15. Summaries and conclusions	200

CHAPTER 5: REPRESENTATION OF HUMAN AND CULTURAL DIVERSITY

202

5.1. Introduction	202
5.2. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of ‘reference to the lower classes/women’	203
5.3. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of ‘reference to the middle and upper classes/women’	206
5.3.1. Representation of female historical figures	208
5.3.2. Representation of contemporary female figures	209
5.3.3. Discussion of the results.....	210
5.4. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of ‘reference to the lower classes/men’	211
5.5. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of ‘reference to the middle and upper classes/men’	213
5.5.1. The centrality of male figures	215

5.5.2. Representation of historical male figures.....	216
5.5.3. The exclusion of specific male categories	217
5.5.4. Representation of contemporary male figures	217
5.6. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of ‘reference to the lower classes/collective citation’	218
5.6.1. Sanitised representations of the lower classes’ conditions?	219
5.6.2. References to the social and political cultures of the working classes	221
5.7. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of ‘reference to the middle and upper classes/collective citation’	222
5.7.1. Continuity and stability of the nation.....	223
5.7.2. Importance of the nominated site	224
5.8. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of the ‘local population’	225
5.8.1. References to the local population as a ‘justification for inclusion on the World Heritage List’	226
5.8.2. Participation of the local population in the management and conservation of the site	227
5.8.3. Local population: dangerous or indispensable to the site?	230
5.9. Summaries and conclusions	231

CHAPTER 6: REPRESENTATION OF ECONOMIC VALUE .233

6.1. Introduction	233
6.2. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of ‘touristic venue/visitor numbers’	234
6.2.1. Tourism as an historic phenomenon	236
6.2.2. Providing site access.....	236
6.2.3. Carrying capacity.....	238

6.3. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of ‘visitor facilities and activities’	240
6.3.1. The provision of basic facilities	241
6.3.2. Interpretative policies	243
6.3.3. Provision of facilities for disabled visitors	244
6.4. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of ‘development project/regeneration’	245
6.4.1. The importance/danger of regional development	246
6.4.2. Sustainable development	247
6.4.3. Re-use of cultural heritage; cultural heritage as a regenerative factor	249
6.4.4. Interpretative projects	249
6.5. Summaries and conclusions	250

CHAPTER 7: REPRESENTATION OF AUTHENTICITY, FACTORS AFFECTING THE SITE, CONSERVATION/PRESERVATION, RESTORATION, RECONSTRUCTION AND ADAPTATION/ RE-USE OF THE SITE

7.1. Introduction	252
7.2. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of ‘authenticity’	253
7.2.1. Authenticity as originality	254
7.2.2. Authenticity as change	255
7.3. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of ‘factors affecting the site’	258
7.3.1. Factors affecting the site and risk-preparedness	260

7.3.2. Tourism as a factor affecting the site	262
7.4. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of ‘conservation/ preservation’....	263
7.4.1. Legal provisions for the conservation of the nominated property.....	265
7.4.2. Understandings of the terms conservation and preservation	266
7.5. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of ‘restoration’	268
7.5.1. Understandings of restoration.....	269
7.5.2. Removal of later parts and period restoration for European sites.....	271
7.6. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of ‘reconstruction’	273
7.6.1. Reconstruction explained	274
7.6.2. Nineteenth and twentieth century reconstructions unexplained	275
7.7. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of ‘adaptation/re-use’	277
7.7.1. Essential adaptations	278
7.7.2. Compatible re-use	279
7.7.3. Lack of information on the compatible re-uses and problems involved	280
7.8. Summaries and conclusions	281
CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSIONS AND CONTRIBUTIONS FOR CHANGE.....	283
8.1. Introduction	283
8.2. Conclusions about the research questions and implication for policy and practice	284
8.2.1. Relations between the Committee and the States Parties.....	284
8.2.1.1. The exclusion of States Parties from the World Heritage Committee.....	285
8.2.1.2. The lack of publications on World Heritage.....	286
8.2.1.3. The problems of the languages of publication	287

8.2.2. Practical implications of these conclusions on the implementation of the World Heritage Convention	287
8.2.3. Evolution of the values for which sites have been nominated across the three groups of cultural heritage considered.....	289
8.2.3.1. Values: universal and intrinsic or subjective and relative? ...	289
8.2.3.2. The possibility of re-nominating sites.....	291
8.2.4. Practical implications of these conclusions on the implementation of the World Heritage Convention	293
8.2.5. States Parties' representation of the past and the nation, of human and cultural diversity, economic value, and authenticity and conservation	295
8.2.5.1. Carefully selected representations as consolidation of the national collective identity	295
8.2.5.2. The marginalisation/omission of key concepts	297
8.2.6. Practical implications of these results on the implementation of the World Heritage Convention	298
8.3. Theoretical implications of the results of this research	301
8.3.1. Detecting central and marginalised subjects	301
8.3.2. Size matters when replying to post-processual concerns.....	302
8.3.3. Continuous or disruptive patterns in discourses and representations at different levels.....	303
8.4. Generalising the results	305
8.5. Revisiting nomination dossiers.....	307
8.5.1. The importance and aims of revising nomination dossiers	307
8.5.2. Encouraging the listing of more relative, anthropological values	313
8.5.3. A more logical presentation for fewer contradictions.....	316
8.6. Recommendations to ICOMOS	318
8.7. Future and related developments and research	321

REFERENCES	323
APPENDICES.....	357
APPENDIX 1: CONSTITUTION OF UNESCO	358
APPENDIX 2: CONVENTION CONCERNING THE PROTECTION OF THE WORLD CULTURAL AND NATURAL HERITAGE.....	369
APPENDIX 3: THE GLOBAL STRATEGY FOR A BALANCED, REPRESENTATIVE AND CREDIBLE WORLD HERITAGE LIST	384
APPENDIX 4: NARA DOCUMENT ON AUTHENTICITY	392
APPENDIX 5: ILLUSTRATED DESCRIPTIONS OF THE 106 SELECTED PROPERTIES	396
APPENDIX 6: RESULTS OF THE DATA ANALYSES: FREQUENCY COUNTS OF THE CATEGORIES AND SUB-CATEGORIES	454
APPENDIX 7: RESULTS OF THE DATA ANALYSES: PERCENTAGES OF THE FREQUENCY COUNTS OF THE CATEGORIES AND SUB- CATEGORIES	485

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.1. 1992 Strategic Goals and Objectives.....	52
Table 2.1. Summary of value-typologies potentially applicable to the data set	85
Table 3.1. List of the 106 selected properties.....	113
Table 3.2. Evolution in the requested content of nomination dossiers in the Operational Guidelines from 1977 to 2002	120
Table 4.1. Total of the mean percentages of the frequency counts for ‘architectural and aesthetic value of religious buildings, works of arts, remains, ‘architectural and aesthetic value of secular buildings, works of arts, remains, ‘architectural and aesthetic value of industrial buildings, works of arts, remains’ and ‘history and development’	181
Table 8.1. Revised and current formats for the nomination dossier of sites for inclusion on the World Heritage List.....	309

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1. Schematic explanation of the selection process from 1977 to 2002 (excluding natural heritage sites).....	38
Figure 4.1.A. Means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘political value’ for the three groups of cultural heritage.....	149
Figure 4.1.B. Mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘political value’ for the three groups of cultural heritage	150
Figure 4.2.A. Means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘religious value’ for the three groups of cultural heritage.....	154
Figure 4.2.B. Mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘religious value’ for the three groups of cultural heritage	155
Figure 4.3.A. Means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘layout of the town/settlement’ for the three groups of cultural heritage	159
Figure 4.3.B. Mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘layout of the town/settlement’ for the three groups of cultural heritage.....	160
Figure 4.4.A. Means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘architectural and aesthetic value of religious buildings, works of art, remains’ for the three groups of cultural heritage	163
Figure 4.4.B. Mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘architectural and aesthetic value of religious buildings, works of art, remains’ for the three groups of cultural heritage.....	164
Figure 4.5.A. Means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘architectural and aesthetic value of secular buildings, works of art, remains’ for the three groups of cultural heritage	168
Figure 4.5.B. Mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘architectural and aesthetic value of secular buildings, works of art, remains’ for the three groups of cultural heritage.....	169

Figure 4.6.A. Means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘architectural and aesthetic value of industrial buildings, works of art, remains’ for the three groups of cultural heritage	171
Figure 4.6.B. Mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘architectural and aesthetic value of industrial buildings, works of art, remains’ for the three groups of cultural heritage.....	172
Figure 4.7.A. Means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘research value/documentation on the property’ for the three groups of cultural heritage	175
Figure 4.7.B. Mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘research value/documentation on the property’ for the three groups of cultural heritage.....	176
Figure 4.8.A. Means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘history and development’ for the three groups of cultural heritage.....	179
Figure 4.8.B. Mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘history and development’ for the three groups of cultural heritage.....	180
Figure 4.9.A. Means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘explanation of the functioning of the industrial structure’.....	183
Figure 4.9.B. Mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘explanation of the functioning of the industrial structure’.....	184
Figure 4.10.A. Means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘importance and influence of the property in the region/country/world’ for the three groups of cultural heritage	185
Figure 4.10.B. Mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘importance and influence of the property in the region/country/world’ for the three groups of cultural heritage	186
Figure 4.11.A. Means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘influence from other countries’ for the three groups of cultural heritage.....	189
Figure 4.11.B. Mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘influence from other countries’ for the three groups of cultural heritage ...	190
Figure 4.12.A. Means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘comparison with other sites’ for the three groups of cultural heritage.....	192
Figure 4.12.B. Mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘comparison with other sites’ for the three groups of cultural heritage	193

Figure 4.13.A. Means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘relation between cultural and natural elements’ for the three groups of cultural heritage	195
Figure 4.13.B. Mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘relation between cultural and natural elements’ for the three groups of cultural heritage	197
Figure 5.1.A. Means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘reference to the lower classes/women’ for the three groups of cultural heritage	203
Figure 5.1.B. Mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘reference to the lower classes/women’ for the three groups of cultural heritage	204
Figure 5.2.A. Means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘reference to the middle and upper classes/women’ for the three groups of cultural heritage	206
Figure 5.2.B. Mean percentages of the frequency count of the occurrence of ‘reference to the middle and upper classes/women’ for the three groups of cultural heritage	207
Figure 5.3.A. Means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘reference to the lower classes/men’ for the three groups of cultural heritage	211
Figure 5.3.B. Mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘reference to the lower classes/men’ for the three groups of cultural heritage	212
Figure 5.4.A. Means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘reference to the middle and upper classes/men’ for the three groups of cultural heritage	213
Figure 5.4.B. Mean percentages of the frequency counts the occurrence of ‘reference to the middle and upper classes/men’ for the three groups of cultural heritage	214
Figure 5.5.A. Means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘reference to the lower classes/collective citation’ for the three groups of cultural heritage	218
Figure 5.5.B. Mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘reference to the lower classes/collective citation’ for the three groups of	

cultural heritage	219
Figure 5.6.A. Means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘reference to the middle and upper classes/collective citation’ for the three groups of cultural heritage.....	222
Figure 5.6.B. Mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘reference to the middle and upper classes/collective citation’ for the three groups of cultural heritage.....	223
Figure 5.7.A. Means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of the ‘local population’ for the three groups of cultural heritage.....	225
Figure 5.7.B. Mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of the ‘local population’ for the three groups of cultural heritage.....	226
Figure 6.1.A. Means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘touristic venue/visitor numbers’ for the three groups of cultural heritage	234
Figure 6.1.B. Mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘touristic venue/visitor numbers’ for the three groups of cultural heritage..	235
Figure 6.2.A. Means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘visitor facilities and activities’ for the three groups of cultural heritage.....	240
Figure 6.2.B. Mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘visitor facilities and activities’ for the three groups of cultural heritage.....	241
Figure 6.3.A. Means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘development project/regeneration’ for the three groups of cultural heritage	245
Figure 6.3.B. Mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘development project/regeneration’ for the three groups of cultural Heritage	246
Figure 7.1.A. Means of the frequency counts of the occurrence ‘authenticity’ for the three groups of cultural heritage	253
Figure 7.1.B. Mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘authenticity’ for the three groups of cultural heritage.....	254
Figure 7.2.A. Means of the frequency counts of the occurrence ‘factors affecting the site’ for the three groups of cultural heritage	258
Figure 7.2.B. Mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence ‘factors affecting the sites’ for the three groups of cultural heritage.....	259

Figure 7.3.A. Means of the frequency counts of the occurrence ‘conservation/preservation’ for the three groups of cultural heritage.....	263
Figure 7.3.B. Mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence ‘conservation/preservation’ for the three groups of cultural heritage.....	264
Figure 7.4.A. Means of the frequency counts of the occurrence ‘restoration’ for the three groups of cultural heritage.....	268
Figure 7.4.B. Mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence ‘restoration’ for the three groups of cultural heritage.....	269
Figure 7.5.A. Means of the frequency counts of the occurrence ‘reconstruction’ for the three groups of cultural heritage.....	273
Figure 7.5.B. Mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence ‘reconstruction’ for the three groups of cultural heritage.....	274
Figure 7.6.A. Means of the frequency counts of the occurrence ‘adaptation/ re-use’ for the three groups of cultural heritage.....	277
Figure 7.6.B. Mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence ‘adaptation/ re-use’ for the three groups of cultural heritage.....	278

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'(...) the concept of the *world* heritage, now embodied in a set of international conventions and recommendations, has not received adequate public discussion; its impact has yet to be fully appreciated outside a restricted tourist and developmental context'

(Ucko 1989, xiii)

'Despite the noble concept behind the *World Heritage Convention*, very few people appeared to know anything substantial about it'.

(Allen 2003, 110)

Introduction

The 1972 *Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* (henceforth referred to as the World Heritage Convention) is one of the most successful UNESCO Conventions. Indeed, as of September 2005 it has been signed by 180 States Parties and 812 sites have been included on the World Heritage List (628 are cultural, 160 are natural and 24 are mixed properties located in 137 States Parties). Paradoxically, it has not received as much academic and critical coverage as other UNESCO Conventions (for reflections on the 1954 *UNESCO Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict* for instance see Boylan 1993, Toman 1994 or Hladík 1997). This lack of academic interest and coverage was noted, among others, by Ucko fifteen years ago (1989, xiii). Academic coverage of this Convention has arguably increased in the past fifteen years. However, whilst previous research in archaeology has recognised that values evolve over time according to particular geo-cultural, historical and social frames of reference (see Hodder 2000, 88-89; Darvill 1995, 40), no analysis of the evolution of the values for which sites have been nominated for inclusion on the World Heritage List over time has ever been conducted. On the contrary, theorists have tended to describe the values for which sites have been nominated for inclusion and included on the World Heritage List as static and similar, regardless of time, categories of cultural heritage, or geographical regions (see for instance Hewison 1989, 22 or Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge 2000, 243-254).

Comprehensive analyses of the evolution of the notion of World Heritage have been conducted from the standpoint of the World Heritage Committee (see for instance, Titchen 1996, 235-242 and Cleere 1996, 227-233). Nonetheless, no attempt has yet been made to analyse in detail how and to what extent the World Heritage Committee's discussions and recommendations have affected States Parties'

understanding of the notion of World Heritage. Similarly, no attempt has yet been made to analyse the fundamental relationships and processes of negotiation between global institutions represented by the World Heritage Committee, and national/local institutions represented by States Parties. Indeed, UNESCO and the World Heritage Committee are standard-setting authorities recognised globally as such by a wide diversity of bodies, which 'proclaim certain values and set the terms of international (and national) debates' (Roberts and Kingsbury 1993, 8). It is therefore of central importance to analyse how and to what extent the values and standards established by the World Heritage Committee have been understood and implemented at national and local levels.

This research has addressed these key issues and lacunae by replying to the following research questions:

- What are the values for which the sampled sites have been nominated for World Heritage over time?
- How have these values evolved over time in relation to the World Heritage Committee's discussions and recommendations?
- Have these values for specific categories of cultural heritage evolved differently?
- What information do these values provide on States Parties' representation of the past and the nation, of human and cultural diversity, economic value, and authenticity and conservation?

The method for this thesis has been based, first of all, on an intensive study of UNESCO archival documents, which has helped to detail the evolution of the implementation of the World Heritage Convention from the standpoint of the World Heritage Committee. Careful analyses of nomination dossiers produced by States Parties have helped to determine, secondly, the values for which sites have been nominated over time. These analyses have also helped to determine the evolution of these values in relation to the World Heritage Committee's recommendations and across different categories of cultural heritage. The quantitative and qualitative analyses of the sampled nomination dossiers were undertaken using ATLAS.ti, a Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software program. To the best of my knowledge, this is the first time that such a computer program has been used in the field of archaeology.

The end result has been to identify how States Parties have understood the notion of outstanding universal value which is the key and central concept of the World Heritage Convention. It has also been to highlight the problems in States Parties' implementation of the World Heritage Convention and in the requested format of nomination dossiers. This has led to practical changes to official discourses on World Heritage and suggestions for procedural improvements. These changes and suggestions should help States Parties to identify better the values for which sites are being nominated for World Heritage status and improve their long-term conservation and management.

CHAPTER 1

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

1.1. Introduction

This chapter examines the genesis of the World Heritage Convention as well as its implementation from the standpoint of the World Heritage Committee. This is a crucial chapter within the overall thesis. The chapters on the interpretation of the data analyses examine how the decisions and recommendations taken by the World Heritage Committee and detailed in this present chapter have been implemented at a national level. This chapter is based on intensive archival work and analyses of documents of statutory meetings including all the reports leading to the adoption of the World Heritage Convention, analyses of reports of the World Heritage Committee meetings and its Bureau, revised versions of the Operational Guidelines, reports of the General Assembly of States Parties to the Convention and reports from expert groups and advisory bodies. This chapter has focused primarily on themes related to the nomination and inscription of sites on the World Heritage List. Indeed, themes related to the management of sites post-inscription on the World Heritage List fall outside the scope of this research and have not been analysed.

1.2. 1948-1977: The genesis and adoption of an international system for the protection of World Heritage sites

1.2.1. 1948-1972: Early reflections on the future World Heritage Convention

Initiatives were undertaken from 1948 onwards (Titchen 1995, 38) to protect cultural heritage of world importance in accordance with Article 1, Paragraph 2(c) of the Constitution of UNESCO (see Appendix 1 for the text of the UNESCO Constitution). This text states that UNESCO should 'maintain, increase and diffuse knowledge; By assuring the conservation and protection of the world's inheritance of books, works of art and monuments of history and science and recommending to the nations concerned the necessary international conventions' (UNESCO 1945).

Titchen provides a detailed account of more than fifteen different meetings held in the 1950s and 1960s by committees or expert groups that were established by UNESCO to discuss a potential suitable international system for the protection of sites of exceptional value, such as the International Committee on Monuments, Artistic, Historical Sites and Archaeological Excavations (1995, 36-74). These experts and committee reports reflect the difficulty in establishing an international legal system for the protection of the cultural and natural heritage with a number of projects rejected including a tourist tax to fund the preservation of monuments which was rejected by Member States in 1951 (UNESCO 28 June 1963, 2; Titchen 1995, 44).

These expert and committee reports also provide interesting insights into the context in which the Convention was written. They demonstrate that UNESCO Member States associated this germinating notion of World Heritage with monuments of grand scale, dating from the great and/or ancient civilisations and requiring important multi-national or international funding campaigns to protect them (UNESCO 1 March 1968). A report from March 1963 discussing the possible appropriate form that an international system for the protection of heritage sites could take notes, for instance, that 'monuments of world interest almost always consist of extensive and massive groupings, and the work of preserving them involves large sums of money' (UNESCO 22 March 1963, 4).

This particular understanding of sites of exceptional and universal value is mirrored in the 'International Campaigns for the Preservation and Safeguarding of the Cultural Heritage of Mankind' launched by UNESCO in 1959. The first International Campaign was launched to preserve and safeguard the Abu Simbel Temples in Nubia in 1959. Its success led to other safeguarding campaigns, such as Venice in Italy (1966) or Borobodur in Indonesia (1970). Although these International Campaigns developed separately from the World Heritage Convention, they had a common inspiration and illustrate international co-ordinated efforts to protect and save famous and grand scale monuments of past civilisations (UNESCO 24 September 1985, 4).

This narrow understanding of sites of exceptional and universal value as grand monuments of ancient civilisations was however criticised as being exclusionary of other types of properties. In 1964, commenting on the 'advisability of preparing a list of monuments of world wide interest', the National Advisory Committee for UNESCO in Australia highlighted that the tangible remains left by the Australian Aboriginals were so little that they would not be able to qualify for consideration. This Committee also added that these places were too fragile to withstand tourism and its encouragement, underlining the threat and damage that such a list could cause (UNESCO 16 June 1964, Annex II:10).

1.2.2. Analysis of the text of the World Heritage Convention

1.2.2.1. Adoption of the World Heritage Convention

Discussions on a suitable international system for the protection of sites of exceptional and universal value took a turning point when the conservation of the human environment became a focal point of United States' politics in the 1970s. In an address to the Congress on February 8, 1971, President Nixon highlighted the need for nations to co-operate in the active protection of both the cultural and natural heritage (Nixon 8 February 1971, 18). This idea became the focal point of the United States' agenda during the first United Nations Conference on the Human Environment held in Stockholm (Sweden) in June 1972. At that meeting IUCN (the World Conservation Union) presented a draft Convention for the protection of both cultural

and natural heritage whilst UNESCO presented a draft Convention concerning solely the protection of cultural heritage. At the suggestion of the United States, a meeting of experts was organised to combine these two drafts into a single Convention. This draft was presented, discussed and adopted under the name of the *Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* (henceforth referred to as the World Heritage Convention; see Appendix 2 for the text of the Convention) at the seventeenth session of the General Conference of UNESCO in November 1972 (Train 1992, 4). The Convention came into force in 1975 when twenty nations had ratified it as specified in its Article 33.

1.2.2.2. The Convention as an expression of the Enlightenment paradigm

The spirit of the Convention reflects that of the Constitution of UNESCO and is an expression of the Enlightenment philosophy, of 'Western political, intellectual and moral values; democratic, rational, optimistic, humane, tolerant and free' (Finn 1983, 41). These ideas are highlighted primarily in the Preamble to the World Heritage Convention which conveys the optimistic idea that, through co-operation of the international community, the world's cultural and natural heritage of outstanding universal value can and will be protected for future generations (UNESCO 1972). Ideas of democracy, tolerance and equality between all people in the world are also implied in this section of the Convention. Indeed, sites of outstanding universal value are important for 'all the people of the world' and need to 'be preserved as part of the world heritage of mankind as a whole' (ibid.). There is also an implied belief that, through the use of human reason and science, properties that mankind considers as of outstanding universal value will be able to be protected. It is important to note that the Enlightenment paradigm had been criticised before the 1972 adoption of the Convention in particular with the world-wide movement of decolonization. Sartre (1963, 14) and Fanon (1963, 47), for example, criticised the Enlightenment paradigm as engendering exclusion of some cultures and societies through colonialism, racism and barbarity. However, these criticisms of and disbelief in this paradigm were not reflected in the World Heritage Convention.

1.2.2.3. 'Outstanding universal value': a central concept of the Convention

Central to the World Heritage Convention is the notion of outstanding universal value, a quality that a site must possess to be included on the World Heritage List (see for instance Article 11(2); Article 15(1) or Article 19 of the World Heritage Convention). This phrase was not explicitly defined in the Convention. This lack of explicit definition gives some flexibility in the types of properties that can be nominated for inclusion in the World Heritage List.

This Convention excludes the protection of movable cultural heritage. The artefacts of the museum of the Hermitage, part of the Historic Centre of Saint Petersburg and Related Groups of Monuments (Russian Federation, inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1990), for instance, are not protected under the terms of this Convention.

1.2.2.4. Explicit link between nature and culture

One of the most original aspects of the World Heritage Convention is the explicit link between natural and cultural heritage in its Article 1 which defines cultural heritage. This Article defines three types of cultural heritage: 'monuments', 'groups of buildings' and 'sites'. 'Sites' are defined in this Article 1 as 'the works of man or the combined works of nature and man' (UNESCO 1972). This is an original aspect of the text of the Convention as natural and cultural heritage are traditionally considered as separate, even opposite (Plachter and Rössler 1995, 15). This important aspect of the Convention is further discussed below, in Section 1.4.2. relating to the 1992 adoption of the category of cultural landscape.

1.2.2.5. Difficult balance between national sovereignty and international intervention

The World Heritage Convention also maintains a difficult balance between national sovereignty and international intervention and co-operation (Cameron 1992, 18). The preamble of the Convention highlights that sites on the World Heritage List belong to the whole of humanity. It also defines a system of technical and financial international co-operation and assistance, spelt out in Articles 19 to 26 (UNESCO 1972). At the

same time, the Convention is a powerful text because it clearly details the duties of States that are signatories to the Convention vis-à-vis their heritage. The Convention makes clear in its Articles 3, 4, and 5 that States Parties are responsible for selecting, nominating sites for World Heritage status, and conserving them after their inscription on the List (UNESCO 1972). Article 5 of the Convention, in particular, clearly indicates that States that are signatories to the Convention have the duty to take the appropriate financial, technical, legal and administrative measures to create inventories, to identify their cultural and natural heritage, to take all the essential measures for their protection, conservation and presentation to the public, to facilitate research and study of their heritage and to withdraw from taking deliberate measures damaging to their heritage (UNESCO 1972).

The World Heritage Convention also encourages States Parties to involve local communities and citizens in the appreciation and conservation of their heritage. Article 5(a) encourages States Parties to 'adopt a general policy which aims to give the cultural and natural heritage a function in the life of the community' (UNESCO 1972). Articles 27 and 28 of the Convention also encourage States Parties to develop educational programs to strengthen their citizens' appreciation of and respect for their World Heritage and increase their awareness of the threats to the continued survival of those sites (UNESCO 1972).

However, the Committee has no power to force a State Party to comply with the requirements of the Convention (Cameron 1992, 21). Moreover, mechanisms of international assistance and protection can only be triggered by the States Parties on whose territory World Heritage sites are located. This might lead to problems when States Parties have identified development plans, deemed economically more important than the conservation of sites. Beschtaouch, formerly chairperson of the World Heritage Committee, has provided a number of examples of World Heritage sites which have been economically over-developed rather than conserved for present and future generation (2000, 19-23). Beschtaouch illustrates his statement with the Peking Man Site at Zhoukoudian (China, included on the World Heritage List in 1987) which has a restaurant, a souvenir shop and parking like 'a supermarket' (2000, 20). He explains that the grotto where the remains of *Sinanthropus pekinensis* were discovered along with various objects and remains of *Homo sapiens sapiens* dating as

far back as 18,000–11,000 B.C., is almost impossible to access because of the lack of a path. On the other hand, the restaurant and the souvenir shop are easily accessible to tourists (Beschaouch 2000, 21).

The Committee also has no power to force a State Party to nominate sites that might be of exceptional and universal significance. Indeed, a State might not want to nominate sites because they represent the heritage of minority groups toward which it is hostile or indifferent (Francioni 2002, 4). This does not seem to have been a problem foreseen by the drafters of the World Heritage Convention. Nonetheless this issue has become increasingly important, especially since the 1992 adoption of the category of cultural landscapes (see Section 1.4.2.).

1.2.2.6. The actors of the Convention

In Article 8(1), the World Heritage Convention establishes an Intergovernmental Committee for the Protection of the Cultural and Natural Heritage of Outstanding Universal Value called the ‘World Heritage Committee’ (UNESCO 1972). Article 8(1) further indicates that the World Heritage Committee should be composed of fifteen States Parties that have been elected by all States Parties during the General Assembly. This Article also indicates that the number of States Parties constituting the World Heritage Committee should be increased to twenty-one following the ratification of the Convention by at least forty States. By August 1978, forty States had ratified the World Heritage Convention following which the Committee was enlarged to twenty-one members. The role of the Committee is explained below in Section 1.2.3.

The General Assembly of States Parties includes all the States Parties to the World Heritage Convention. It meets every two years during the ordinary session of UNESCO’s General Conference. During this meeting the General Assembly elects the World Heritage Committee, examines the accounts of the World Heritage Fund and discusses and decides policy issues. Article 9(1) of the Convention explains that members of the World Heritage Committee are elected for a six-year term of office. Each General Assembly replaces one-third of them, so seven seats become available per two-year period. It is important to note that Article 8(2) of the Convention stresses

that the 'election of members of the Committee shall ensure an equitable representation of the different regions and cultures of the world' (UNESCO 1972). Explanation of the election of the members of the World Heritage Committee is detailed in the *General Assembly Rules of Procedure*. As detailed in Rule 12(1), each State Party to the Convention has one vote. Rule 13 explains that the Secretariat should ask all States Parties whether they intend to stand for election to the World Heritage Committee at least three months prior to the General Assembly. However, States Parties who have not paid their mandatory contribution to the World Heritage Fund (calculated at one percent of the country's contribution to UNESCO which is to be paid every two years) cannot present themselves for election to the World Heritage Committee [Article 16(5) of the World Heritage Convention].

As explained in Article 14 of the Convention, the World Heritage Committee is assisted by a Secretariat. Pressouyre explains that, from 1975 to 1992 the Secretariat depended on two different UNESCO sectors, the Science Sector (dealing primarily with natural heritage) and the Culture Sector (dealing primarily with cultural heritage) (1996, 37-38). This physical separation made the implementation of the World Heritage Convention difficult to co-ordinate. The creation of the World Heritage Centre in 1992 has provided 'a positive structural modification' (Pressouyre 1996, 38) and has helped centralise all activities related to the implementation of the Convention in one location.

1.2.3. Analysis of the first version of the Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention

In 1977 the first version of the *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* (henceforth referred to as Operational Guidelines) was drafted (UNESCO 20 October 1977). These Operational Guidelines constitute the basis for all decisions regarding the implementation of the Convention (Slatyer 1984, 6). They are a flexible working document, can be revised at any time by the World Heritage Committee and have been modified twelve times over the past thirty years. These Guidelines illustrate the principle of evolutive interpretation. The meaning of a treaty provision is not identified in the light of the original intent and circumstances existing at the time of its adoption, but in light of the legal and social context existing

at present (Francioni, 2002, 3; examples of the Operational Guidelines from 1977 is provided in Appendix 3).

These Operational Guidelines detail the role of the World Heritage Committee. In 1977, Paragraph 3 stated that the Committee had to select sites, on the basis of nominations submitted by States Parties, for inclusion on the World Heritage List, to monitor the state of conservation of these World Heritage Sites in liaison with States Parties, to inscribe sites on the List of World Heritage in Danger and to distribute the resources of the World Heritage Fund to assist States Parties in need (UNESCO 20 October 1977). The World Heritage Committee is helped by the World Heritage Bureau, a smaller executive body that meets mid-year to prepare the work of the Committee (Rule 12 of the *World Heritage Committee Rules of Procedure*). The Bureau of the World Heritage Committee is composed of seven representatives of States Parties who are part of the World Heritage Committee and selected by it and representatives from UNESCO and each of the three advisory bodies: ICOMOS (The International Council on Monuments and Sites), ICCROM (the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property) and IUCN (the World Conservation Union).

The Operational Guidelines prescribe the format and content of the nomination dossiers (the format and content of the nomination dossiers and their subsequent changes have been detailed in Chapter 3, Table 3.2). These Guidelines, moreover, describe the procedure and calendar for the evaluation of nominations of sites for inclusion on the World Heritage List. Until 2000 the procedure for evaluation of nomination dossiers was as follows (see flow diagram, Figure 1.1). States Parties first had to write a Tentative List that had to be sent to the World Heritage Centre. Tentative Lists include cultural and natural sites that States Parties plan to nominate in the next five to ten years (Article 11 of the World Heritage Convention and Paragraph 8 of the Operational Guidelines). Sites inscribed on Tentative Lists can then be nominated for inscription on the World Heritage List. Nomination dossiers, received by the Secretariat were sent to the advisory bodies for independent evaluation in September: ICOMOS for cultural heritage sites and IUCN for natural ones. The third advisory body, ICCROM, provided expert advice on technical issues. Recommendations on individual nomination based on the advisory bodies'

presentations were prepared for the Committee by its Bureau who met in June. The Committee then took the final decision on each site during its annual session in December.

At its twenty-fourth session in Cairns in 2000, the World Heritage Committee decided to revise this calendar to lengthen this timeframe and facilitate the work of the World Heritage Centre, the World Heritage Committee and the advisory bodies (UNESCO 11 December 2000, 6). From 2002 onwards, nomination dossiers have to be received by February 1. They are then sent to the advisory bodies for independent evaluation. Recommendations on individual nomination based on the advisory bodies' presentations are prepared for the Committee by its Bureau in April the following year. The World Heritage Committee then takes the final decision on each site at its annual session in June of the same year.

Most importantly, the Operational Guidelines contain six cultural heritage criteria and four natural heritage criteria on the basis of which a property may be included in the World Heritage List. Properties nominated for inclusion on this List should fulfil at least one of these criteria. Although the innovative character of the Convention is to protect both the cultural and natural heritage of mankind, the Operational Guidelines treat these two categories of heritage separately, as illustrated by these two distinct sets of criteria.

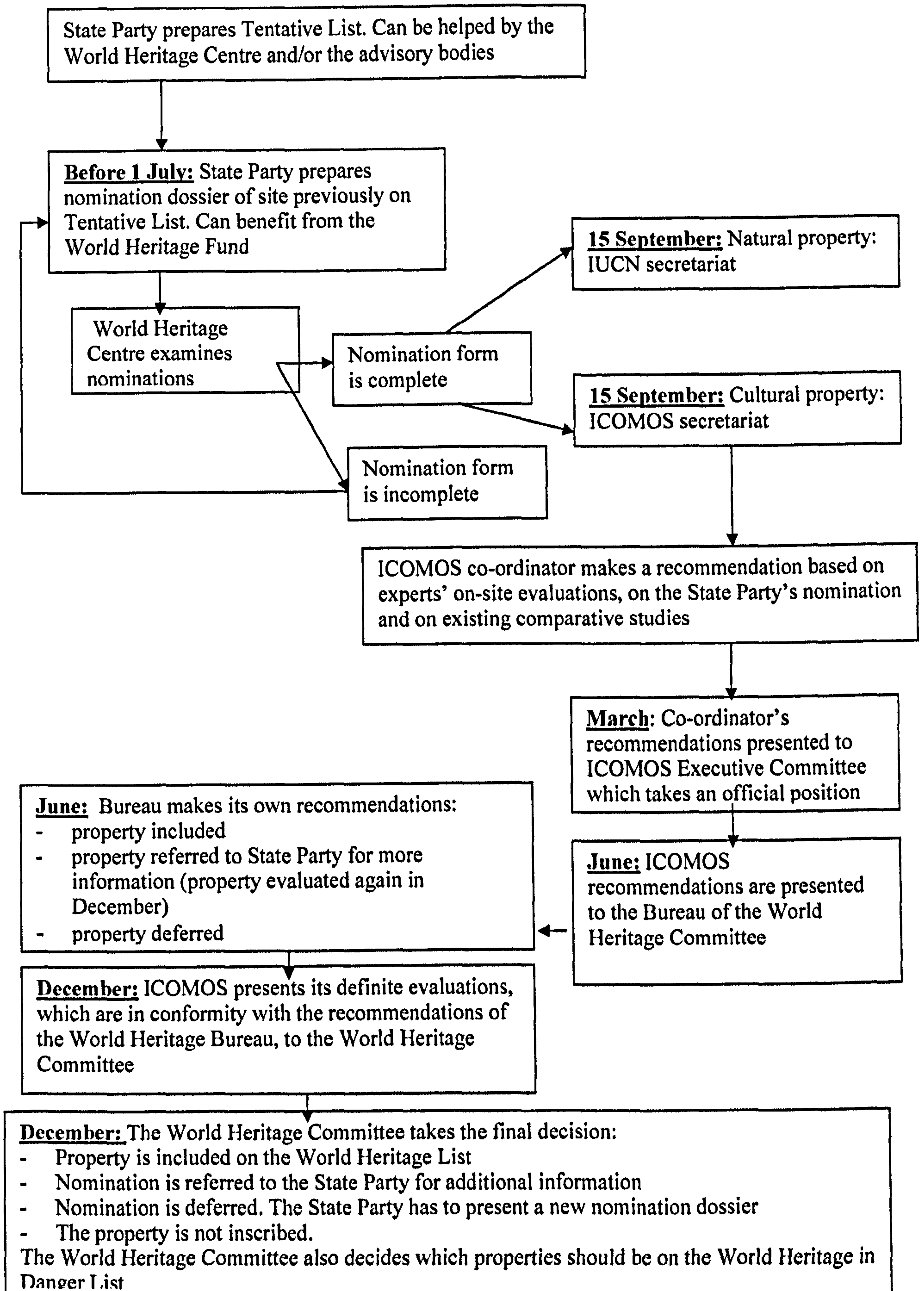


Figure 1.1. Schematic explanation of the selection process from 1977 to 2002 (excluding natural heritage sites)

This chapter focuses only on the evolution of cultural heritage criteria and will not refer to the evolution of natural heritage criteria. According to the 1977 version of the Operational Guidelines, cultural heritage properties needed to fulfil one or more of the following criteria:

- (i) represent a *unique artistic or aesthetic* achievement, a *masterpiece* of the creative genius;
- (ii) have exerted considerable *influence*, over the span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on *subsequent developments* in architecture, monumental sculpture, garden and landscape design, related arts, or human settlements; or
- (iii) be *unique, extremely rare, or of great antiquity*; or
- (iv) be among the most characteristic examples of a *type* of structure, the type representing an important cultural, social, artistic, scientific, technological or industrial development; or
- (v) be a characteristic example of a significant, *traditional* style of architecture, method of construction, or *human settlement*, that is fragile by nature or has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible socio-cultural or economic change; or
- (vi) be most importantly *associated* with ideas or beliefs, with events or with persons, of outstanding historical importance or significance [UNESCO 20 October 1977, Paragraph 7(i) to (vi); Italics are original]

The scope of these 1977 cultural heritage criteria was wide. References, in cultural heritage criterion (iv) to themes including ‘important cultural, social, artistic, scientific, technological or industrial development’ made these criteria applicable to virtually all types of properties. Furthermore, the use of broadly encompassing notions such as ‘a masterpiece of the creative genius’ (cultural heritage criterion i) or ‘human settlement(s)’ (cultural heritage criteria ii and v) further facilitated the nomination of any type of property.

Importantly, cultural heritage criterion (iv) explicitly referred to the significance of ‘technological or industrial development’. This explicit reference was removed in the 1980 version of this criterion and sites representing industrial and technological development have since been under-represented on the List. Cultural heritage criteria (iv) and (vi) also contained important references to the social dimension of nominated properties. Cultural heritage criterion (iv) referred to properties representing important ‘social development’ and cultural heritage criterion (vi) made a direct reference to ‘persons of outstanding historical importance or significance’.

This 1977 version of the cultural heritage criteria also contained some problematic aspects. Cultural heritage criterion (ii), in particular, favoured prototypes, models or ‘undisputed champions’ (Pressouyre 1996, 19) which had exerted great influence in

time and space. This criterion suggested that cultural influences occurred only in one direction and failed to recognise the phenomenon of acculturation. As stressed by Pressouyre, this one-way concept of influence embodied in cultural heritage criterion (ii) was dangerous as it favoured 'dominant cultures' (1996, 19). During the World Heritage Committee session in 1977, some delegates also criticised the impact of Western thought in drafting these six criteria and highlighted predicted difficulties of applying them in a national framework (UNESCO 17 October 1977, 4). This report of the World Heritage Committee does not specify which States Parties these delegates represented and the reasons why these criticisms were not taken into consideration.

In addition to these six cultural heritage criteria, a nominated site was expected, as an essential criterion, to meet the test of authenticity 'in design, materials, workmanship and setting; authenticity does not limit consideration to original form and structure but includes all subsequent modifications and additions, over the course of time, which in themselves possess artistic or historical values' (UNESCO 20 October 1977, Paragraph 9). The 1977 Operational Guidelines did not define these four aspects of authenticity further and did not explain the conditions under which reconstruction or restoration was acceptable. According to Stovel, the lack of specific definition and guidelines on these four aspects of authenticity in this 1977 version of the criterion and its subsequent versions have led to individual and subjective interpretation (1994, 105). Over the years, representatives of States Parties have also raised concerns regarding the lack of guidelines on the implementation of this concept within national frameworks. This definition of authenticity is also biased toward European and monumental heritage, a concern voiced by Michel Parent (1979, 19). In the mid-1990s Pressouyre reaffirmed these concerns and stressed that the requirement of a 'test of authenticity in materials' excludes the use of perishable and fragile structures such as wood or adobe, mainly employed in non-western countries, which require regular restoration or even replacement (1996, 12). As explained in Section 1.4.4., it is not until 1994 that reflections have been conducted on the changes to this definition of authenticity. The explanation, in this definition of authenticity, that all subsequent modifications to a building are valuable and should be conserved, is in respect of the principles of Article 11 of the 1964 *International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites* (henceforth referred to as *The Venice Charter*).

During the discussions on the test of authenticity at the 1977 session of the World Heritage Committee, some delegates insisted that changes of the original function of the building did not violate its authenticity. The Committee nonetheless recognised that the authenticity of a building should be considered as lost when this new function necessitated irreversible changes to the original form and to the material used in the work (UNESCO 17 October 1977, 5).

In addition to the test of authenticity, Paragraph 13 of the 1977 version of the Operational Guidelines indicated that information must be provided on the state of preservation of the property in nomination dossiers (UNESCO 20 October 1977). This Paragraph indicated that the state of preservation of the property should be evaluated relatively, in comparison to the state of preservation of other similar properties.

1.3. 1980-1992: Contradictory efforts to fulfil the Convention's dual requirement of representativeness and selectivity

1.3.1. 1980 revision of the six cultural heritage criteria

From the beginning of the implementation of the World Heritage Convention, concerns were expressed that sites that were not of 'truly' outstanding universal value could be nominated and subsequently inscribed on the List (UNESCO 29 September 1980, 7). These concerns led to the substantial revision of the six cultural heritage criteria in 1980. According to this 1980 version of the Operational Guidelines, cultural heritage properties needed to fulfil one or more of the following criteria:

- (i) represent a unique artistic achievement, a masterpiece of the creative genius; or
- (ii) have exerted great influence, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture, monumental arts or town-planning and landscaping; or
- (iii) bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a civilization which has disappeared; or
- (iv) be an outstanding example of a type of structure which illustrates a significant stage in history; or
- (v) be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement which is representative of a culture and which has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change; or
- (vi) be directly or tangibly associated with events or with ideas of beliefs of outstanding universal significance (the Committee considers that this criterion should justify inclusion in the List only in exceptional circumstances or in conjunction with other criteria)' [UNESCO October 1980, Paragraph 18 a(i) to (vi)]

In comparison to its previous versions, the scope of the 1980 version of cultural heritage criterion (ii) has been reduced. Indeed, the broadly encompassing reference to the concept of 'human settlements' in the 1977 version of this criterion has been

removed [UNESCO 20 October 1977, Paragraph 7(ii)]. This 1980 version of criterion (ii) focuses primarily on architecture and monumental art.

The scope of the 1980 version of cultural heritage criterion (iii) has also been reduced compared to its previous version from 1977 [UNESCO 20 October 1977, Paragraph 7(iii)]. The addition of the temporal phrase 'which has disappeared' limits its application and excludes living traditions [UNESCO October 1980, Paragraph 18 a(iii)]. This phrase encourages, moreover, nominations of sites of antiquity and belonging to the great ancient civilisations.

Cultural heritage criterion (iv) has also been substantially modified. References, in the previous version of this criterion, to a wide variety of heritage properties in the phrase 'important cultural, social, artistic, scientific, technological or industrial development' [UNESCO 20 October 1977, Paragraph 7(iv)] have been removed. By 1980 this criterion only referred to 'outstanding example of a type of structure' [and from 1984 onward to 'a type of building or architectural ensemble' (UNESCO January 1984, Paragraph 21 a(iv))], strongly favouring the nomination of monumental properties. The use of the phrase 'a significant stage in history' in this criterion (iv) also reflects a Eurocentric understanding of history as linear and progressive [UNESCO October 1980, Paragraph 18 a(iv)].

The 1980 version of criterion (vi) no longer refers directly to the social dimension of properties as references to 'persons' have been removed. The unequivocal addition that the Committee will only consider this criterion 'in exceptional circumstances or in conjunction with other criteria' strongly limits its scope [UNESCO October 1980, Paragraph 18 a(vi)]. This limitation was discussed in a report by Michel Parent, rapporteur on the third session of the Committee (1979, 21) and at the 1979 session of the Committee (UNESCO 30 November 1979, 8). In particular, it was feared that a potentially large number of nominations would be able to be nominated under the 1977 version of this criterion. Furthermore it was feared that properties illustrating nationalistic and chauvinistic events and famous people could be nominated. Such sites would stress particulars and differences between cultures and would be in contradiction with the spirit and identity of the Convention (UNESCO 30 November 1979, 8). This 1980 change in the scope of cultural heritage criterion (vi) might

therefore be seen as reflecting the concern of the World Heritage Committee to be 'objective' and non-political in its selection of sites for inscription on the World Heritage List. This concern to be non-political has also been highlighted as characteristic of other UNESCO programs (Dutt 1995, 18). This dimension of UNESCO activities has been widely discussed and strongly questioned and criticised (see in particular Dutt 1995, Hoggart 1978, 57 Wells, 1987). This aspect of the implementation of the World Heritage Convention is further discussed in Chapter 4, Section 4.2.

Hence the scope of the 1980 version of the cultural heritage criteria has been reduced. By 1980, these revised criteria focused primarily on the architectural and artistic value of sites. Important notions have been removed including direct references to the social value of nominated properties. The types of properties directly referred to in these criteria have also been reduced with, in particular, the removal of direct references to technological or industrial types of properties. These criteria, including cultural heritage criterion (iv), also present a Eurocentric understanding of heritage and history. It has to be stressed that neither the report of the World Heritage Committee nor that of its Bureau mentions criticisms by States Parties of these new criteria (UNESCO 29 September 1980; UNESCO 28 May 1980). Despite all these contestable issues, these cultural heritage criteria did not undergo any major revision until 1992. This is rather surprising. Indeed, a number of issues that worsened over time, including the geographic and thematic imbalances between different regions of the world (see Section 1.4.3.) might have been partly due to these restrictive criteria.

1.3.2. Revision of the test of authenticity

The criterion of authenticity was also revised in the 1980 version of the Operational Guidelines [UNESCO October 1980, Paragraph 18(b)]. The phrase referring to the importance of subsequent modifications and additions was removed. A new sentence was added providing guidelines on reconstruction: 'the Committee stressed that reconstruction is only acceptable if it is carried out on the basis of complete and detailed documentation on the original and to no extent on conjecture' (ibid.). This addition has remained part of the definition of authenticity until the 2002 draft revision of the Operational Guidelines. Neither the report of the 1980 session of the

World Heritage Committee nor that of its Bureau records the reasons for this added guideline on reconstruction (UNESCO 29 September 1980; UNESCO 28 May 1980). This guideline might have resulted from the inclusion of the Historic Centre of Warsaw on the World Heritage List in 1980. The Old Market Place and adjacent buildings were entirely reconstructed after their total destruction during the Second World War. As indicated by Pressouyre, this property was included on the List as a unique example of the excellent and careful reconstruction of a group of buildings to its previous appearance (1996, 12). However, the Committee might have feared that an increased number of reconstructed properties would be nominated for inclusion on the List following this inscription of the Historic Centre of Warsaw. This inclusion expanded the boundaries of the notion of authenticity and, as a result, made this term difficult to define. Indeed, with this inscription on the List, authenticity could also be defined and include its antithesis *id est* what is false, reconstructed (Robert 1995, 8).

In 1983, Michel Parent, then President of ICOMOS, presented some reflections on the notion of authenticity to the seventh session of the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee (1983, 4). He stressed, in particular, that erroneous or fanciful restorations should be condemned. He also discussed the philosophical problems caused by some restorations and additions to buildings from different centuries. The Venice Charter recommends that all contributions from succeeding centuries should be retained. Nonetheless, Parent argued that some restorations, including those by nineteenth century architects such as Viollet-le-Duc, were not undertaken in a sympathetic way. These architects attempted to restore sites to their so-called original state, sometimes in a fanciful manner, ignoring the contributions from preceding centuries. Parent asked whether these fanciful restorations of ancient monuments should be regarded as betrayals of or contributions to the past (1983, 4). Parent then explained that the World Heritage Committee and ICOMOS had not always been rigorous in their evaluation of nominated sites that had been restored, in the past, in a fanciful manner (*ibid.*). Subsequently, Pressouyre noted that the World Heritage Committee had not always been rigorous in its assessment of restored properties from the mid-1980s to the beginning of the 1990s (Pressouyre 1996, 11-12). On the one hand, the Historic City of Carcassonne was deferred in 1985 because of the interventions by Viollet-le-Duc. On the other hand, the Medieval City of Rhodes which was restored in a fanciful

manner in the Fascist era was nonetheless inscribed on the List in 1988 (Pressouyre 1996, 11-12).

Interestingly, in 1984, Parent also published an article on the implementation of the World Heritage Convention where he noted that authenticity was a relative concept (1984, 39). He stressed that the authenticity of a site can only be judged and understood within the specific context and culture where it belongs. This is a precursory idea that has been further discussed and reflected upon at the 1994 Nara Conference on authenticity (see Section 1.4.4.).

1.3.3. Added guidelines on the state of conservation of nominated properties

The 1988 version of the Operational Guidelines included an additional essential criterion, that nominated cultural heritage sites should ‘have adequate legal protection and management mechanisms to ensure the conservation of the nominated cultural property’ [UNESCO December 1988, Paragraph 24 (b)(ii)].

The 1988 revised version of the Operational Guidelines also contains an important addition requesting States Parties to provide information, in nomination dossiers, on measures to manage the site and to strike a balance between attracting tourism and conserving the property: ‘in order to preserve the integrity of cultural sites, particularly those open to large numbers of visitors, the State Party concerned should be able to provide evidence of suitable administrative arrangements to cover the management of the property, its conservation and its accessibility to the public’ (ibid.). However, the World Heritage Committee did not define ‘suitable administrative arrangements’. Because of this lack of definition one might assume that the level of ‘suitable administrative arrangements’ has been interpreted in a subjective manner by States Parties and the advisory bodies in their sites’ assessments.

1.3.4. Efforts to achieve a more representative World Heritage List

1.3.4.1. Harmonisation of Tentative Lists (1983-1987)

During the first decade of the implementation of the Convention, the World Heritage Committee also increasingly discussed the need and effective methods for achieving a World Heritage List that would contain sites of truly outstanding universal value and representative of the world's diversity of cultural heritage. This is rather ironic considering that the 1980 revised version of the cultural heritage criteria reduced the types of properties that could be inscribed on the List and favoured traditional heritage sites from Europe. The World Heritage Committee agreed that sites of outstanding universal value could only be selected after careful comparison with similar properties located within the territory of the States Parties where they are located and other countries. This was clearly stated in the 1980 version of the Operational Guidelines which indicated that nomination dossiers should provide an evaluation of the state of preservation of the nominated property and compare it to the state of similar properties [UNESCO October 1980, Paragraph 19(a)]. These Guidelines furthermore highlighted that this comparative analysis would guide the Committee in its decision making.

From 1980 onwards, and to correspond to the text of the Convention, the Operational Guidelines also requested that States Parties submit a Tentative List of sites situated within their territory [UNESCO October 1980, Paragraph 7]. This is in accordance with Article 11(1) of the Convention (UNESCO 1972). One aim of these Tentative Lists is to allow the World Heritage Committee to compare nominated properties with similar ones that might be nominated in the future so as to select only the most outstanding sites (UNESCO 29 September 1980, 7). These Operational Guidelines specified that Tentative Lists should contain the name of each property, its geographical location, a brief description and justification of its outstanding universal value and reference to the cultural or natural heritage criterion(a) it fulfils.

From 1983 to 1987, following difficulties expressed by States Parties in selecting sites of outstanding universal value, ICOMOS, with the support of the World Heritage Committee, organised ten regional meetings for the harmonisation of Tentative Lists

of cultural properties in countries belonging to the same geographic and cultural region. These meetings were held for some European countries in Paris in April 1983 and April 1984; for the Greater Maghreb countries in Fez (Morocco), Algiers (Algeria), and Paris (France) in April 1985, November 1985 and April 1986; for the Northern European countries in Bergen (Norway) in May 1986; for the French-speaking Western African nations in Bamako (Mali) in January 1987; for the Balkan countries in Paris (France) in September 1987 and finally for the Directors of National Conservation Services of Asian Countries in New Delhi (India) in December 1987. The main aim of these meetings was to facilitate States Parties' selection of properties of outstanding universal value. The objectives of these meetings were to highlight States Parties' perception of their own heritage, to evaluate the importance of the properties in the cultural region concerned, to arrive at a more stringent selection of properties suitable for being proposed for inscription, to avoid propositions which would be of a repetitive nature, and to encourage States Parties to select a wide range of cultural heritage (Leblanc 1984, 26).

However, this initiative from ICOMOS was not as successful as one would have hoped. The Committee requested States Parties, at each of its annual sessions, to submit a Tentative List in conformity with Article 11(1) of the Convention. Nonetheless as of 1987 only eighteen out of the ninety-nine States Parties signatory to the Convention had submitted a Tentative List of potential cultural heritage properties of outstanding universal value (UNESCO 20 January 1988, 2-3). This strongly limited the work and comparative analysis that ICOMOS could undertake. The methodology adopted during these meetings was also not consistent, and harmonised Lists from the same geo-cultural region strongly differed from one meeting to the next. Moreover, the outcomes of these workshops were not well disseminated to all those who worked at national levels on the selection of potential sites for nomination for inclusion on the World Heritage List.

1.3.4.2. The Global Study (1987-1993)

Following the slow progress of the harmonisation of Tentative Lists, an expert group was formed at the eleventh session of the Committee in 1987 to study the development of a global reference study and list of sites of potential outstanding universal value to be known as the Global Study. The report of the 1987 World Heritage Committee session indicates that the Chairmanship for this meeting was held by Sri Lanka and that the following States Parties indicated their wish to take part in the working group: Australia, Bulgaria, France, Greece, Mexico and Tunisia (UNESCO 20 January 1988, 18). The report also stressed that the working group would 'remain open to other members of the Committee who wished also to take part' in this discussion (*ibid.*).

The Global Study shared similar aims as the regional meetings for the harmonisation of Tentative Lists: to help the World Heritage Committee in evaluating nominations received from States Parties against the wider background of regional or global cultural significance as well as to facilitate States Parties' selection of properties of outstanding universal value (Cleere 1993, 9). The objectives of the Global Study were to identify gaps on the List and encourage the nomination of those under-represented categories, to guide States Parties in the preparation of Tentative Lists and nominations and to aid the World Heritage Committee in the examination of cultural properties by providing a comparative analytical framework of the world's cultural heritage (UNESCO 29 November 1989, 1).

The methods developed for the implementation of the Global Study differ from those for the harmonisation of Tentative Lists. As explained in the previous section, the meetings organised by ICOMOS between 1983 and 1987 were regional and focused on the harmonisation of Tentative Lists from the countries belonging to the same geographic and cultural region. From 1987 to 1993, most initiatives undertaken as part of the Global Study were based on global thematic studies providing an analytical framework of the world's cultural heritage, including studies of the Greek, Roman and Byzantine, Islamic, Pre-Inca, Aztec, Polynesian, Melanesian and Micronesian civilisations and cultures. These studies mainly re-arranged sites that were on the World Heritage List and Tentative lists, chronologically and/or thematically.

As a complement to these thematic and geo-cultural studies a number of conceptual frameworks and methods were devised to provide a global approach to the assessment of sites nominated for inclusion in the World Heritage List. These included a method developed in 1990 and refined in the following years, based on the development of a graph with chronology as one axis and spatial/thematic/cultural aspects as the other axis (UNESCO 29 November 1989, 2). Using this system, it was planned to place the existing World Cultural Heritage Sites and sites on Tentative Lists on this grid. This grid and accompanying thematic studies would then help determine potential sites that could be nominated by States Parties. It was also hoped that this method would help highlight the themes that were under-represented on the World Heritage List and Tentative Lists (*ibid.*). This conceptual framework was further refined in the following years in particular by the organisation of a working group of experts at the initiative of ICOMOS which met in July 1993. This group consisted of experts from Australia, the Dominican Republic, Sri Lanka, Sweden, the United Kingdom, and the United States (Cleere 1993, 18). This conceptual framework was never put into practice and this grid was never produced as they were abandoned upon the introduction and adoption of the Global Strategy (see below Section 1.4.3.).

In the early years of the 1990s, the framework of the Global Study came under increasing criticism during the World Heritage Committee meetings (UNESCO 12 December 1991). The Global Study was condemned, in particular, for being 'based on historical and aesthetic civilisations, which once again excluded less formally acknowledged cultural phenomena and regions' (Cleere 1993, 14). Some members of the Committee feared that the work undertaken and the methodology devised during the Global Study had attached too much importance to the traditional categories of classical art history, which were already over-represented on the List. Moreover, the different studies produced as part of the Global Study did not result in the better representation of the diversity of cultural heritage on the List (see below Section 1.4.3. for more information). Furthermore, the outcomes of the reports written as part of the Global Study were not well disseminated and not circulated at national levels and hence could not have had an impact outside the restricted circle of those attending the sessions of the World Heritage Committee. It is important also to note that, during the regional meetings for the harmonisation of Tentative Lists and the formation of

the Global Study, the revision of the 1980 version of cultural heritage criteria which restricted the types of properties that can be included on the World Heritage List was not discussed. As further detailed in Section 1.4.3., the Global Study was abandoned with the adoption of the Global Strategy by the World Heritage Committee at its 1994 session.

1.3.4.3. The question of equitable representation in the World Heritage Committee

In 1987 at the eleventh session of the World Heritage Committee the representative of Algeria noted that the composition of the World Heritage Committee was imbalanced in terms of geographical representation, with a particular lack of representation from African States Parties (UNESCO 20 January 1988, 19). He noted that this imbalance might have impacted on the geographical location of sites inscribed on the World Heritage List. Following these remarks the World Heritage Committee requested its Secretariat to draw up proposals which could eventually be adopted by the seventh General Assembly of States Parties in 1989 (*ibid.*).

In 1989 the General Assembly of States Parties discussed the need to assure a better rotation of the members of the World Heritage Committee in accordance with Article 8(2) of the World Heritage Convention (UNESCO 13 November 1989, 3-4). The General Assembly adopted a resolution inviting States Parties whose mandates on the Committee were to expire, to consider not standing for re-election. As further developed below (see Section 1.5.3.) this resolution was ignored by States Parties and the imbalanced geographic representation of members of the World Heritage Committee did not improve with its adoption.

The General Assembly also discussed the possibility of revising the World Heritage Convention so that the numbers of the Committee members would be increased from twenty-one to thirty-six (*ibid.*). Increasing the number of members of the Committee could only be accomplished by amending the World Heritage Convention. Members of the General Assembly recognised that this procedure would be too difficult and lengthy and it was not endorsed. As further detailed in Section 1.5.3., this issue was

further discussed at the twenty-fourth session of the World Heritage Committee in 2000.

1.4. 1992-1995: Initiatives to widen the framework of the World Heritage Convention

1.4.1. Adoption of the 1992 Strategic Goals and Objectives

Reviews of the first twenty years of the implementation of the World Heritage Convention were conducted in 1991 and 1992. An important contribution was Pressouyre's critical study published by the World Heritage Centre in French in 1993 and then in English in 1996. Leon Pressouyre was ICOMOS World Heritage Co-ordinator until 1991. He analysed issues dealing with the legal framework of the Convention, issues of state sovereignty, the application of the six cultural and four natural heritage criteria and the application of the notions of authenticity and integrity (1996). His most important reflections have been integrated into different sections of this chapter and commented on. This publication is important but it mainly analyses the implementation of the World Heritage Convention from the standpoint of the World Heritage Committee. This publication does not really analyse how the decisions and recommendations taken by the World Heritage Committee have been implemented by States Parties. These reviews also resulted in the adoption of strategic goals, objectives and recommendations for the future implementation of the World Heritage Convention, (UNESCO 14 December 1992). The Goals and Objectives are presented in Table 1.1.

STRATEGIC GOALS AND OBJECTIVES
<p>'Goal 1. Promote completion of the identification of the world heritage</p> <p>Objectives - Complete the global study and appropriate thematic studies</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Assist, where necessary, in identification of sites and preparation of nominations
<p>Goal 2. Ensure the continued representativity and credibility of the World Heritage List</p> <p>Objectives - Maintain objective and consistent review and evaluation procedures</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Refine and update criteria for evaluation of natural/cultural heritage nominations - Promote consideration for inscription from all geo-cultural regions of the world - Consider situation of sites no longer qualifying for listing
<p>Goal 3. Promote the adequate protection and management of the World Heritage Sites</p> <p>Objectives - Take specific steps to assist in strengthening site protection and management</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Take appropriate actions to address threats and damage to sites
<p>Goal 4. Pursue more systematic monitoring of World Heritage sites</p> <p>Objectives - Define elements and procedures for monitoring</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Cooperate with States Parties and competent authorities on regular monitoring work
<p>Goal 5. Increase public awareness, involvement and support</p> <p>Objectives - Provide support to site presentation and interpretation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Implement a professionally designed marketing strategy - Attract donations and public support, including through demonstration of accountability in World Heritage Fund management - Reinforce the image of a World Heritage Site network by introducing standards in the design and content of site programs and general information materials - Compile and regularly distribute reports highlighting the success stories of the Convention - Encourage appropriate co-operation with local populations in promoting and protecting World Heritage sites - Provide support for circulation of exhibits on World Heritage sites among States Parties to the Convention'(UNESCO 1992)

Table 1.1. 1992 Strategic Goals and Objectives

The following sections analyse the implementation of the goals that are being linked to my research *id est* Goals 1, 2 and 5. Goals 3 and 4 refer to the management and monitoring of sites following their inscription on the World Heritage List. These aspects fall outside the boundaries of my research.

1.4.2. Adoption of the new category of cultural landscape

The adoption of the new category of cultural landscape in 1992 can be considered as fulfilling Goals 1 and 2, since it aims to help to identify new categories of cultural heritage for potential nomination on the World Heritage List. As previously explained, Article 1 of the Convention explicitly links natural and cultural heritage. However, natural and cultural heritage are considered as separate in the Operational Guidelines. Indeed, as previously noted, cultural and natural heritage sites nominated for inclusion on the List have to fulfil two distinct sets of criteria. The question of landscape protection, which links natural and cultural heritage, was first discussed in the early 1980s. During its eighth session in 1984, the World Heritage Committee discussed the evaluation of rural landscapes (UNESCO 2 November 1984, 7-8). At its next session it discussed the possibility of modifying the criteria to include cultural landscapes (Rössler 1995, 42). However, it was not until its sixteenth session in 1992 that the Committee reached an agreement by adopting the *Report of the Expert Group on Cultural Landscapes* (UNESCO 1992). This meeting, held in October 1992 at La Petite Pierre in France, identified three main categories of cultural landscape which were subsequently laid out in paragraph 39 of the Operational Guidelines:

- i. The most easily identifiable [cultural landscape] is the clearly defined landscape designed and created intentionally by man. This embraces garden and parkland landscapes constructed for aesthetic reasons which are often (but not always) associated with religious or other monumental buildings and ensembles.
- ii. The second category is the organically evolved landscape. This results from an initial social, economic, administrative, and/or religious imperative and has developed its present form by association with and response to its natural environment. Such landscapes reflect that process of evolution in their form and component features. They fall into two sub-categories:
 - a relict (or fossil) landscape is one in which an evolutionary process came to an end at some time in the past, either abruptly or over a period. Its significant distinguishing features are, however, still visible in material form.
 - a continuing landscape is one which retains an active social role in contemporary society closely associated with the traditional way of life, and in which the evolutionary process is still in progress. At the same time it exhibits significant material evidence of its evolution over time.
- iii. The final category is the associative cultural landscape. The inclusion of such landscapes on the World Heritage List is justifiable by virtue of the powerful religious, artistic or cultural associations of the natural element rather than material cultural evidence, which may be insignificant or even absent' [UNESCO February 1994, (Paragraph 39)]

These definitions of cultural landscapes introduce important ideas and themes that were previously omitted from the World Heritage Convention, or past versions of the Operational Guidelines. These definitions represent a shift from a narrow understanding, illustrated by the six cultural heritage criteria, of cultural heritage as European and monumental to include a prominently non-monumental understanding of heritage. The definition of associative landscapes refers, for example, to the intangible dimension of properties and the intangible links between specific community groups and their natural environment; this includes sacred landscapes for indigenous groups. These definitions of cultural landscape also denote a concern for the human and anthropological dimensions of sites. This is particularly the case for continuing landscapes defined as 'one which retains an active social role in contemporary society closely associated with the traditional way of life' (ibid.). Finally, the types of cultural landscapes referred to in these definitions are wide-ranging and encompass landscapes developed because of 'social, economic, administrative, and/or religious imperative'.

In addition to these definitions, Paragraph 38 of the Operational Guidelines indicates that cultural landscapes 'often reflect specific techniques of sustainable land-use', introducing for the first time this important idea of sustainability within the framework of the Convention (UNESCO February 1994). This introduction of the concept of sustainability might reflect the discussions held at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development held in Rio de Janeiro in June 1992 and the spirit of the *Rio Declaration on Environment and Development* (United Nations, 1992).

At its sixteenth session in 1992, the World Heritage Committee did not draft new criteria for the inclusion of cultural landscapes on the World Heritage List. Cultural landscapes are 'the combined work of nature and man' and as such correspond to the definition of cultural heritage provided in Article 1 of the World Heritage Convention (UNESCO 1972). For this reason, the World Heritage Committee felt that cultural landscapes should be evaluated primarily according to cultural rather than natural heritage criteria (Cleere 1995a, 65). This decision is rather disappointing since the

adoption of the category of cultural landscapes aimed, *inter alia*, to link natural and cultural heritage. However, the cultural and natural heritage criteria remained separated in the Operational Guidelines.

Nonetheless, in 1992 the cultural heritage criteria were revised to facilitate nominations of cultural landscape. By this revised version of the Operational Guidelines, cultural heritage properties needed to fulfil one or more of the following criteria:

- (i) represent a unique artistic achievement, a masterpiece of the creative genius; or
- (ii) have exerted great influence, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture, monumental arts or town-planning and landscape design; or
- (iii) bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a civilization or cultural tradition which has disappeared; or
- (iv) be an outstanding example of a type of building or architectural ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage (s) in human history; or
- (v) be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement or land-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change; or
- (vi) be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance (the Committee considers that this criterion should justify inclusion in the List only in exceptional circumstances or in conjunction with other criteria' [UNESCO February 1994; Paragraph 24(a) (i) to (vi)]

These revised cultural heritage criteria contain explicit references to cultural landscapes or characteristics of cultural landscapes. Terms such as 'landscape design', 'landscape' and 'land- use' are mentioned in cultural heritage criteria (ii), (iv) and (v) respectively. The added references to 'cultural tradition' in cultural heritage criterion (iii) and to 'living traditions' in cultural heritage criterion (vi) highlight the importance of the social aspect of nominated properties and the importance of socio-cultural continuity. Cultural heritage criterion (iv) also mentions that a property can refer to more than one stage in history, reducing its linear and Eurocentric dimension. Cultural heritage criterion (v) introduces the term 'culture' in a plural form. This addition enables this criterion to highlight the existence of multi-layered landscapes inhabited, over time, by different groups. The scope of cultural heritage criterion (vi) was also extended to include 'artistic and literary works'. Whilst the scope of the cultural heritage criteria was expanded to facilitate and favour the inclusion of cultural landscapes on the World Heritage List, some problems remain in the wording of these

criteria. These problems will be further detailed and analysed below, in the section on the Global Strategy.

The two additional criteria relating to authenticity and protection of the nominated property [UNESCO February 1994, Paragraph 24 (b)(i) and (ii)] were also revised to include references to this newly adopted category of cultural landscapes. The Committee amended the guidelines on authenticity as follows: 'meet the test of authenticity in design, material, workmanship or setting and in the case of cultural landscapes their distinctive character and components' [UNESCO February 1994 Paragraph 24 (b)(i)]. Paragraph 24 (b)(ii) underwent only slight changes with the addition of the need for 'well-established traditional protection' (UNESCO February 1994). This addition enables the recognition of the key role played by local communities, in particular indigenous people, in protecting their landscapes according to long held customs and beliefs.

At its sixteenth session in 1992, the Committee requested further guidance on this new category of cultural landscape. A meeting was organised in 1993 on cultural landscapes in Templin (Germany) (UNESCO November 1993). The meeting was attended by experts from nineteen States Parties : Australia, Austria, Canada, China, France, Germany, Ghana, Italy, Japan, New Zealand, Norway, Philippines, Senegal, Slovenia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sweden, United Kingdom, United States of America and one non State Party (Israel), representatives of the UNESCO World Heritage Centre and the advisory bodies ICOMOS and IUCN (ibid.).

At this meeting an 'Action Plan for the Future' was proposed that was subsequently adopted by the World Heritage Committee at its seventeenth session (UNESCO 4 February 1994, 56). This action plan recommended that States Parties revise their Tentative Lists in the light of this newly adopted category of cultural landscape, that assistance should be offered to States Parties in this exercise and that regional meetings should be organised to assist in the national selection of cultural landscapes. This Action Plan also made States Parties aware of the possibility of re-nominating sites already on the World Heritage List as cultural landscapes. Within the past ten years, only two States Parties have followed that suggestion and re-nominated a site as a cultural landscape: New Zealand with Tongariro National Park (inscribed

originally as a natural heritage site in 1990 and re-inscribed as a cultural landscape on the World Heritage List in 1993) and Australia with Uluru-Kata-Tjuta National Park (inscribed originally as a natural heritage site in 1987 and re-inscribed as a cultural landscape on the World Heritage List in 1994).

In 1993, the first cultural landscape to be inscribed on the World Heritage List was Tongariro National Park (New Zealand), an associative landscape. Tongariro was originally inscribed on the World Heritage List under natural heritage criteria (ii) and (iii) in 1990. However, Tongariro is not only a natural heritage site but also a cultural landscape because it is a sacred landscape for the Maori people. Indeed, the natural features of Tongariro are closely related to Maori mythology and beliefs and are expressed in traditional oratory, songs, chants, prayers and dances. The identity of the Maori people and their chief (Te Heuheu) is thus related to the volcanic landscape in which they live (Titchen 1995, 226-231). A new nomination dossier for the inscription of Tongariro National Park as a cultural landscape was submitted to the World Heritage Centre in 1993. This new nomination dossier took into account the important relationship between the Maori people and their environment. At its seventeenth session in 1993 the World Heritage Committee inscribed Tongariro National Park on the List under natural heritage criteria (ii) and (iii) but also under cultural heritage criterion (vi) in recognition of the sacred dimension of this landscape (UNESCO 4 February 1994, 39).

This re-nomination gave rise to discussions at the seventeenth session of the World Heritage Committee in 1993 on the possibility of inscribing a cultural landscape solely under cultural heritage criterion (vi). Indeed, as previously explained, the Committee had tended to reduce the use of this criterion in isolation. The World Heritage Committee agreed that a property could be inscribed under criterion (vi) when used in conjunction with one or more natural heritage criteria. This decision is problematical. As explained by Cleere (1995a, 56), cultural heritage criterion (vi) is the only criterion that most associative landscapes would fulfil. Indeed, these associative landscapes often do not have any cultural features and sometimes no natural feature of exceptional significance as they are important for their intangible dimensions. This highlights that the 1992 revised version of the six cultural heritage criteria still primarily accommodates monumental sites.

The reasons why only two sites have been re-nominated as cultural landscapes since 1992 are diverse and complex. As illustrated by the example of Tongariro, the category of cultural landscapes, particularly associative landscapes, recognises the intangible belief systems of indigenous people and the relation they have with their environment. However, indigenous people have not yet been actively involved in the implementation of the World Heritage Convention. In 2000, a proposal to establish a World Heritage Indigenous Peoples Council of Experts (WHIPCOE) was prepared. This proposal originated from the World Heritage Indigenous Peoples Forum held in 2000 in conjunction with the twenty-fourth session of the World Heritage Committee in Cairns (Australia). At the World Heritage Committee meeting in 2001 in Helsinki, the proposed purposes of WHIPCOE were stated as being to allow the active participation of indigenous people in the protection and promotion of World Heritage, to bring complementary competencies and expertise and, upon request, make recommendation for improvement (UNESCO 8 February 2002). Nonetheless the World Heritage Committee did not approve the establishment of WHIPCOE as a consultative body of the Committee or as a network to report to the Committee. One of the stated reasons was that a Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues had already been created following adoption of resolution 2000/22 by the United Nations Economic and Social Council. One of the purposes of this Forum has been to give expert advice and recommendation in the cultural field.

1.4.3. The Global Strategy for a balanced, credible and representative World Heritage List

A meeting was convened in 1994 to continue the reflections and discussions of the Global Study. This meeting fulfilled the first of the 1992 Strategic Goals which aims to 'promote completion of the identification of the world heritage', the objective of which is to 'complete the Global Study and appropriate thematic studies' (UNESCO 14 December 1992). The purpose of this meeting was to discuss the 'representative nature of the World Heritage List and the methodology for its definition and implementation' (UNESCO 13 October 1994). Experts from Australia, Brazil, Canada, France, Germany, Niger as well as representatives from the World Heritage Centre and ICOMOS took part in this meeting. The experts made a number of

observations, bringing particular attention to a number of imbalances in the types of properties inscribed on the List. They stressed the over-representation of traditional categories of cultural heritage including European monumental heritage, historic towns, Christian monuments and elitist architecture in comparison with other types of cultural heritage sites. In fact, in 1993 a study of the World Heritage List by Henry Cleere, ICOMOS World Heritage Co-ordinator, demonstrated that 40% of the cultural and mixed cultural and natural heritage sites on the List were located in Europe (Cleere 1993, 3). These experts noted that the World Heritage List projected a very narrow concept of cultural heritage which excluded many types of heritage sites and living cultures, in particular those from non-European and non-monumental cultures (UNESCO 13 October 1994).

These experts called for a rectification of the imbalances on the List between regions of the world, types of monuments, and periods. It has often been stressed that the term 'balance' as mentioned in the text of the report of the Global Strategy is not about numbers but about the representativeness of the world's diversity of cultural and/or natural heritage sites on the List. These experts also encouraged a move away from an architectural and monumental conception of cultural heritage to one which recognised the anthropological and multi-vocal values for which sites are protected. They encouraged the understanding of cultural heritage not as monuments in isolation but as entities, part of a wider social and spatial context. From a methodological point of view, the experts proposed to move from the typological approach of the Global Study to a more thematic and dynamic approach which they called the 'Global Strategy'. They also identified the following themes which they believed were under-represented on the List:

'1. Human coexistence with the land

- Movements of people (nomadism, migration)
- Settlement
- Modes of subsistence
- Technological evolution

2. Human beings in society

- Human interaction

- Cultural coexistence
- Spirituality and creative expression' (UNESCO 13 October 1994).

These experts believed that the inclusion of sites representing these broad themes on the List would enable gaps to be filled and would also result in a wider recognition of the nature-culture continuum. They recommended a methodology based on the organisation of regional meetings and comparative studies on the broad under-represented categories mentioned above. This recommendation to organise regional meetings echoes those organised as part of the implementation of the harmonisation of Tentative Lists (see above, Section 1.3.4.1.). They also suggested that the World Heritage Centre should encourage countries to ratify the Convention and participate in its implementation, to establish and harmonise Tentative Lists and to prepare nomination dossiers of properties belonging to these under-represented themes for inclusion on the World Heritage List. It is important to note that the framework and method developed at the expert meeting on the Global Strategy is not based on any detailed analysis of previous reports written as part of the harmonisation of Tentative Lists or the Global Study. As previously explained the programmes of harmonisation of Tentative Lists and the Global Study came under general criticism. Nonetheless no report has provided a detailed analysis of the reasons why these programs failed. Despite these problems, the World Heritage Committee adopted this report and recommendations at its eighteenth session in 1994 (UNESCO 31 January 1995, 42-43; a copy of the text of the Global Strategy is provided in Appendix 4).

The 1994 expert group on the Global Strategy also recommended the revision of the cultural and natural heritage criteria in order to encourage nominations of properties on the List belonging to these under-represented categories of heritage. The revision of these criteria fulfils one of the objectives of the second of the 1992 Strategic Goals, to 'refine and update criteria for evaluation of natural/cultural heritage nominations' (UNESCO 14 December 1992). The reference to a 'unique artistic achievement' in criterion (i) [UNESCO February 1994, Paragraph 24(a)] was removed as this phrase favoured aesthetically-pleasing buildings. The replacement, in cultural heritage criterion (ii) of the phrase 'have exerted great influence, over a span of time', with the broad and widely-encompassing phrase 'exhibit an interchange of human values' [UNESCO February 1995, Paragraph 24(a)] widened the scope of this criterion. The

use of the term 'interchange' also suggested that cultures influence and interact with each other. Hence, in this new version the idea that cultural influences occur only in one direction was removed. The removal, from cultural heritage criterion (iii) of the phrase 'which have disappeared' facilitated the nomination of cultural heritage from living cultures (*ibid.*).

1.4.4. The 1994 Nara conference and Document on Authenticity

Concerns were raised during the 1980s and early 1990s at the World Heritage Committee sessions that the notion of authenticity was difficult to understand and interpret (UNESCO 14 December 1992). According to von Droste and Bertilsson, explanations of the authenticity of properties in nomination dossiers were very succinct and not very helpful in the evaluation of these properties (von Droste and Bertilsson 1995, 5). The World Heritage Committee, therefore, called for a conference on authenticity at its sixteenth session in 1992 (UNESCO 14 December 1992, 8). This conference, organised by the Japanese government and held in Nara (Japan) in November 1994, had two aims. The first aim was to define better the concept of authenticity and the second aim was to give a new dynamic to the World Heritage Convention and make it more relevant to the diversity of world cultures (von Droste and Bertilsson 1995, 7). Its location in a non-European country symbolised a move beyond the Western definition of authenticity in the Operational Guidelines. The participants in this meeting recognised that whilst the word authenticity did not necessarily exist in all languages, the concept itself of being true or genuine existed (UNESCO 21 November 1994). During this meeting, a number of problematic issues were discussed. It was recognised that most historic buildings are altered by the actions of nature and utilisation and that these changes are part of their historic stratification and contribute to their history. This is a very important statement which recognises that even fanciful restorations such as those undertaken by nineteenth-century architects such as Viollet-le-Duc are important contributions to the history of the building. As previously explained in Section 1.3.2., the nomination of 'The Historic City of Carcassonne' was deferred by the World Heritage Committee in 1985 because of the interventions by Viollet-le-Duc. This property was however re-nominated and subsequently included on the World Heritage List in 1997 since it was

recognised that the restoration campaign by Viollet-le-Duc was an important contribution to the history of the site.

The 'Nara Document on Authenticity' (henceforth referred to as the Nara Document) was also adopted at this meeting (a copy of this document is provided in Appendix 5). This document recognises that the values for which sites are being conserved provide a basis for assessing all aspects of authenticity (UNESCO 21 November 1994, Article 9). Article 11 recognises that authenticity is a relative criterion that can change from one culture to another. Most importantly, the Nara Document recognises that the authenticity of a site is rooted in specific socio-cultural contexts and can only be understood and judged within those specific contexts (Articles 11 and 12). In Japan, for instance, the conservation of wooden buildings is traditionally based on complete dismantling and reconstruction using new wood (Sekino 1996, 18). As stated by Pressouyre, the authenticity of Japanese wooden buildings is 'essentially attached to function, subsidiary to form, but by no means to material' (1996, 12). Article 13 of the Nara Document details that the assessment of the authenticity of a building is based on a multiplicity of aspects, including 'forms and design, materials and substance, use and functions, traditions and techniques, location and setting, and spirit and feeling, and other internal and external factors'. Article 13 demonstrates that the guidelines on authenticity provided in Paragraph 24 (b)(i) of the Operational Guidelines, which focus on 'design, materials, workmanship and setting' are too narrow to judge the wealth and diversity of the world's heritage (see UNESCO February 1995 for example). Article 13 also demonstrates that the definition of authenticity provided in the Operational Guidelines over-emphasises the protection of the material aspect of cultural heritage. Indeed, according to the Operational Guidelines, the principle of authenticity of a building excludes the replacement of an old material by a new one (Parent 1983, 4). The example above of the conservation of Japanese wooden buildings contradicts this definition, as new material is periodically used in the complete reconstruction of the building. The authenticity of these Japanese wooden structures is based on culture, tradition and function more than on the material aspects of buildings.

Despite the importance of the Nara Document and the key definition it provides of this concept, the World Heritage Committee did not modify paragraph 24 (b)(i) of the

Operational Guidelines (see UNESCO February 1996 for example) until the 2002 draft version of the Operational Guidelines which has adopted the definition of authenticity given in the Nara Document (UNESCO 28 May 2002, Paragraph II.C.7). The 1994 report of the World Heritage Committee did not provide any explanation for not modifying the definition of authenticity in the Operational Guidelines at that time (UNESCO 31 January 1995). It is also important to note that the 1998 second edition of *Management Guidelines for World Cultural Heritage Sites* by Feilden and Jokilehto did not take the Nara Document into account. In particular, the section on authenticity and treatments relating to authenticity is exactly the same as in the 1993 edition. This section only refers to authenticity in terms of material, workmanship, design and setting and does not relate to other forms of authenticity referred to in the Nara Document.

1.4.5. Implementation of the 1992 Strategic Goal 5

As previously stressed, Goal 5 of the Strategic Goals and Objectives adopted in 1992 aimed to 'increase public awareness, involvement and support'. Involvement of the local populations has been included in Paragraph 14 of the Operational Guidelines since 1995 (UNESCO February 1995). Subsequently, the importance of local community involvement in the identification, protection and management of World Heritage Sites has been reiterated by the World Heritage Committee, in particular in Article 3(f) of the 2002 *Budapest Declaration on World Heritage* which stresses that the active involvement of local communities at all levels in the identification, protection and management of World Heritage properties should be encouraged (UNESCO 28 June 2002). The Budapest Declaration was adopted by the World Heritage Committee in 2002 as a celebration of the thirtieth anniversary of the Convention. This document highlights 'the universality of the 1972 UNESCO World Heritage Convention and the need to ensure its application to heritage in all its diversity, as an instrument for the sustainable development of all societies through dialogue and mutual understanding' (Rössler 2002, 36).

An objective of Goal 5, adopted in 1992, was to 'provide support to site presentation and interpretation' (UNESCO 14 December 1992). This is a very important aspect of site management as World Heritage sites have become major tourist destinations

(Cameron 1997, 8). According to Musitelli, it is not unusual for tour operators to use the label 'World Heritage' in promoting and advertising a destination (Musitelli 2002, 331). In order to provide more guidance on issues of tourism management and site presentation and interpretation, an expert seminar was held in Dakar, Senegal, at the end of November 1993, with a view to drawing up a series of guidelines for site managers. Although this seminar only concerned natural and mixed cultural and natural heritage sites, these conclusions were also valid for cultural ones (UNESCO March 1994).

The first topic discussed concerned site facilities and tourist activities. It was highlighted that facilities (including visitor centres, for example) should be carefully planned in advance. An important aspect of these facilities should be the planning of waste removal and water drainage as well as roads and paths. At this seminar it was also stressed that built facilities should neither damage the environment nor be an eyesore. If possible, local labour must be used in the construction of facilities and in the interpretation of the site. Visitor management, education and information were also discussed. It was stressed that the flow of visitors within the site should be managed. This included, for example, the introduction of opening hours, admission fees or the introduction of specific gates or paths or guided tours. Experts at this meeting also highlighted the importance of communicating the values of the site to visitors. This meeting identified numerous media that could be used including brochures, guidebooks or interpretative panels on-site. They also stressed the importance of school visits to sites in order to make children aware of their own heritage and cultural identity. The experts also discussed the need to monitor the effects of tourism constantly, and redefine the carrying capacity of the site (UNESCO March 1994).

Although crucial, the guidelines were not well disseminated. The report of this expert seminar was not available on the Internet until April 2004. It is also important to note that no guidelines on tourism management for cultural heritage sites had been produced until the release of the report on *Managing Tourism at World Heritage Sites* by Pederson in 2002 (Pedersen, 2002). This is rather surprising since unmanaged tourism has been identified as one of the most serious threats to the conservation of heritage sites.

1.5. 1996-2004: Further efforts to fulfil the Convention's dual requirement of representativeness and selectivity

1.5.1. Revisions of the six cultural heritage criteria

The scope of the February 1996 revised version of the six cultural heritage criteria was modified and further expanded. References to 'technology' and 'technological ensemble' were added to cultural heritage criterion (ii) and cultural heritage criterion (iv) respectively (UNESCO February 1996, Paragraph 24). According to this 1996 version of the Operational Guidelines, cultural heritage criterion (ii) read: 'exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design' (*ibid.*) while cultural heritage criterion (iv) read: 'be an outstanding example of a type of building or architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history' (*ibid.*). Indeed, industrial heritage was one of the types of properties identified during the Global Strategy as under-represented on the World Heritage List. This revision of the cultural heritage criteria can therefore be understood as an implementation of the Global Strategy.

In December 1996, at the twentieth session of the Committee in Merida (Mexico), the Hiroshima Peace Memorial (Genbaku Dome) (Japan) was inscribed on the World Heritage List on an exceptional basis under criterion (vi) (UNESCO 10 March 1997, 69). However, it is rather unfortunate that the report of the twentieth session of the Committee did not provide further information on the meaning of the word 'exceptional' and the reason why this site was inscribed under these exceptional circumstances (*ibid.*). This inscription gave rise to some debates. Some delegates noted that war sites might not be suitable for inscription on the World Heritage List as they might be used to propagate political and nationalistic messages contradictory to the spirit and identity of the World Heritage Convention. Some delegates were also concerned that the inclusion of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial (Genbaku Dome) on the List might lead to other similar inscriptions that could harm the credibility of the List. As a result, the use of cultural heritage criterion (vi) was further restricted during this twentieth session of the Committee so that it could only be used in exceptional

circumstances and in conjunction with other cultural or natural heritage criteria (UNESCO 10 March 1997, 105; emphasis added). This small change dramatically reduced the types of properties that could be nominated for inclusion on the List. This re-wording favoured traditional sites already over-represented on the World Heritage List. This reduction also excluded the possibility of including intangible heritage sites which are of outstanding universal value for symbolic or sacred reasons but which do not have tangible and exceptional cultural and natural features on the List. This reduction of cultural heritage criterion (vi) contradicted the spirit of the Global Strategy and the 1992 Strategic Goals 1 and 2. The reduction of the scope of this criterion was subsequently criticised at regional meetings of experts organised as part of the implementation of the Global Strategy. The meeting on 'Authenticity and Integrity in an African context' held in May 2000 in Zimbabwe, for example, recommended the revision of the wording and expansion of the scope of this criterion (UNESCO 9 October 2000). At its sixth extraordinary session in 2003 and taking these concerns into consideration, the World Heritage Committee decided to revise the wording of cultural heritage criterion (vi) and to expand its scope as follows: 'be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance. The Committee considers that this criterion should preferably be used in conjunction with other criteria' (UNESCO 27 May 2003).

1.5.2. Adoption and implementation of the 'Cairns decisions' at the twenty-fourth session of the World Heritage Committee in 2000

During its twenty-fourth session in Cairns, Australia, in 2000, the World Heritage Committee adopted a number of decisions aimed at strengthening and improving the representation of different regions and cultures on the World Heritage List and at managing the workload of the Committee, the advisory bodies, and the World Heritage Centre. Indeed, the number of sites that were to be discussed in 2000 amounted to seventy-two which put great pressure on the different bodies responsible for assessing their outstanding universal value (UNESCO 11 December 2000).

1.5.3. The equitable representation of the World Heritage Committee

In October 1999, the twelfth General Assembly had requested the World Heritage Committee to submit proposals for an equitable representation on the World Heritage Committee (UNESCO 8 November 1999). The question of the equitable representation of the World Heritage Committee had indeed reached a critical point. Whilst Article 8(2) of the World Heritage Convention insists that the elections of the twenty-one members of the Committee, undertaken during the General Assembly of States Parties [Article 8(1)], should ensure an equitable representation of the different cultures and regions of the world, as of November 2001 two-thirds of the States Parties signatories to the Convention had never been elected to the Committee (Strasser 2002, 241). This figure demonstrates that the resolution adopted by the General Assembly in 1989, inviting States Parties whose mandates on the Committee were to expire, to consider not standing for re-election, had not been taken into account. It is unfortunate to note that no study has ever been conducted on the diverse and complex reasons leading to such an unbalanced situation.

In 2000 at its twenty-fourth session, the World Heritage Committee prepared a draft resolution which was submitted to the thirteenth General Assembly for adoption in October 2001. At this thirteenth General Assembly, a number of amendments that had been recommended at the twenty-fourth session of the World Heritage Committee were adopted. These included the amendment of Article 14(1) of the *Rules of Procedures* of the General Assembly on the elections of World Heritage Committee members. A new rule was adopted stating that 'a certain number of seats may be reserved for States Parties who do not have sites on the World Heritage List, upon decision of the World Heritage Committee at the session that precedes the General Assembly' (UNESCO 29 July 2003).

In 2000 at its twenty-fourth session the Committee also decided to revise its *Rules of Procedure and* adopted a new Rule 4(3): 'In determining the place of the next session, the Committee shall give due regard to the need to ensure an equitable rotation among the different regions and cultures of the world' (UNESCO 11 December 2000). At its sixth extraordinary session in March 2003, the World Heritage Committee introduced new amendments to its rules of procedure and, *inter alia*, decided that it would cover the costs

of participation of heritage experts and representatives of developing countries on the World Heritage Committee in its sessions and those of its Bureau (UNESCO 27 May 2003). This measure might encourage States Parties who do not have any sites on the List to participate more actively in the implementation of the Convention. However, this measure is also limited as it only concerns States Parties with no inscribed sites on the List. Moreover, Christina Cameron, Director-General of the National Historic Sites Directorate, Parks Canada, has stressed the financial problems of the World Heritage Fund which is already too small to fund the long-term conservation of even one site on the World Heritage List in Danger (Cameron 2003, 65). The World Heritage Committee also did not explain whether this measure would apply to those States Parties that have not paid their compulsory contributions to the Convention in accordance with its Article 16 and as a result have not been eligible to stand for election to the World Heritage Committee.

1.5.4. 2000-2003 revision of the Operational Guidelines

In April 2000, English Heritage and the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (henceforth referred to as Government of the United Kingdom), in collaboration with the World Heritage Centre, organised an International Expert Meeting on the Revision of the Operational Guidelines in Canterbury. Following this meeting, the World Heritage Committee, at its twenty-fourth session in 2000, decided to simplify and restructure the Operational Guidelines in a more logical order and present them in a more user-friendly form. The Committee also decided to revise some of the criteria and improve the link between the cultural and natural heritage criteria, identify gaps, propose new sections and define some of the concepts to clarify them. During the 2000 Meeting on the Revision of the Operational Guidelines, Christina Cameron stressed that over the years, the results of expert meetings and other revisions had been fed into the Operational Guidelines on an *ad hoc* basis. This had resulted in long sections on certain specific issues (twentieth-century cities for example) whilst others were missing (UNESCO 12 October 2000a, 4). The name and recommendations of the Global Strategy in particular were not mentioned in this document. As already discussed in Section 1.4.4., the Operational Guidelines also did not define authenticity according to the Nara Document. Over the past ten years, a number of important changes to the text of

the Guidelines have been suggested which have been included in the latest draft version of the Operational Guidelines. This has included revision to the six cultural heritage criteria; unification of the cultural and natural heritage criteria and revision of the definition of the test of authenticity.

1.5.4.1. Revision of the six cultural heritage criteria

As previously stressed (see Section 1.5.1.), the scope of cultural heritage criterion (vi) was reduced following the inscription of Hiroshima Peace Memorial (Genbaku Dome) (Japan) on the World Heritage List in 1996. At its sixth extraordinary session in 2003, the World Heritage Committee decided to revise the wording of cultural heritage criterion (vi) and to expand its scope as follows: 'be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance. The Committee considers that this criterion should preferably be used in conjunction with other criteria' (UNESCO 27 May 2003).

These 2002 Draft Operational Guidelines also contain a revised version of cultural heritage criterion (v). This criterion includes, for the first time, reference to 'sea-use' and also refers to 'human interaction with the environment'. This criterion reads as follows: 'is an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change' (UNESCO 28 May 2002, Paragraph II.C.2.). The changes to these two criteria are crucial as they widen their scopes and allow different types of cultural heritage sites to be included on the World Heritage List.

1.5.4.2. Unification of the cultural and natural heritage criteria

In March 1996 an expert meeting on World Heritage natural criteria was organised at the Parc National de La Vanoise in France (UNESCO 26 September 1996). Experts from Australia, France, Germany, Indonesia, New Zealand, Switzerland and the United Kingdom participated at this meeting as well as representatives from UNESCO, ICOMOS and IUCN. This expert group discussed the important issue of the continuum from nature to culture stated in Article 1 of the Convention. As

previously explained, Article 1 of the Convention explicitly links natural and cultural heritage. However, natural and cultural heritage are considered as separate in the Operational Guidelines. Indeed, cultural and natural heritage sites nominated for inclusion on the List have to fulfil two distinct sets of criteria. At the meeting in La Vanoise, experts recommended that the World Heritage Committee consider the possibility of developing one set of criteria, incorporating natural and cultural heritage (UNESCO 26 September 1996, 4). They highlighted that this would provide a single and more coherent World Heritage identity. This recommendation was further reiterated at the World Heritage Global Strategy Natural and Cultural Heritage Expert Meeting held in Amsterdam in 1998 (UNESCO 1998). Representatives from the different regions of UNESCO who participated in this meeting included those from Australia, China, Czech Republic, Egypt, France, Japan, Kenya, Lebanon, Russia, Papua New Guinea, The Netherlands, Sweden and Zimbabwe. At its sixth extraordinary session in 2003, the World Heritage Committee decided to combine the six cultural and four natural heritage criteria into a single list of criteria running from (i) to (x) (UNESCO 27 May 2003). It is regrettable to note that it took more than ten years since the adoption of the category of cultural landscape for the cultural and natural heritage criteria to be unified in the Operational Guidelines.

1.5.4.3. Revision of the test of authenticity

Some of the meetings organised as part of the implementation of the Global Strategy, including 'Authenticity and Integrity in an African context' held in May 2000 in Great Zimbabwe (UNESCO 9 October 2000), stressed that relevant Articles of the Nara Document, in particular Articles 9, 11 and 13, should be included in the Operational Guidelines. The 2002 draft revised version of the Operational Guidelines reflects these comments and concerns (UNESCO 28 May 2002). It clearly refers to the Nara Document and to its wide definition on authenticity. It has to be stressed, again, that it is regrettable that it took ten years between the adoption of the Nara Document on Authenticity and reference to this document in the Operational Guidelines.

1.5.5. Assuring the representation of the diversity of the world's cultural and natural heritage on the World Heritage List

In 1999, at the twelfth General Assembly of States Parties, the then Assistant-Director-General for Culture, Hernan Crespo-Torral observed that the geographical and regional imbalance on the List had not changed since 1994, in spite of the efforts of the Committee and its Secretariat, and the adoption of the Global Strategy (UNESCO 8 November 1999). The General Assembly adopted a number of resolutions; it invited, in particular, the World Heritage Committee to 'evaluate the progress in the implementation of the Global Strategy Action Plan with the participation of all States Parties and define, should the need arise, adjustment measures to fulfil its objectives'(UNESCO 8 November 1999).

1.5.5.1. A new priority system for the selection of nomination dossiers

In 2000, at its twenty-fourth session in Australia, the World Heritage Committee adopted a drastic priority system for the selection of nomination dossiers to assure a more balanced World Heritage List (UNESCO 11 December 2000). This measure was also adopted by the Committee in order to manage better its own workload, that of its Bureau, of the Secretariat and of the advisory bodies. The Committee decided that, from 2002 onwards, it will only consider thirty nomination dossiers per year exclusive of nominations deferred or referred at previous sessions of the Committee. This number was raised to forty nomination dossiers at the twenty-seventh World Heritage Committee in 2003 (UNESCO 10 December 2003) and to forty-five at the twenty-eighth session of the Committee in 2004. The Committee decided that the number of nomination dossiers submitted by each State Party should be limited to one; States Parties that have no properties on the List have the opportunity to submit two or three nomination dossiers. This drastic measure might have resulted from the increasing over-representation of sites from Europe on the List as stressed during the twelfth General Assembly of States Parties (UNESCO 8 November 1999). This drastic measure might have been taken because quantitative and geographical imbalances contradict the spirit of the Convention which aims to represent the diversity of the world's cultural and natural heritage rather than just the heritage of European States

Parties. It is hoped that this reform will help to reduce the number of nomination dossiers submitted by European States Parties.

1.5.5.2. Analyses of the World Heritage List and Tentative Lists

In 2000, at its twenty-fourth session, the World Heritage Committee also requested the advisory bodies to analyse the World Heritage List and Tentative Lists as well as the recommendations of all the regional and thematic meetings on the harmonisation of Tentative Lists held since 1983 and regional meetings on the Global Strategy organised since 1994 (UNESCO 11 December 2000). According to the World Heritage Committee, this analysis should provide States Parties with a clear overview of the present situation of the World Heritage List and Tentative Lists as well as geographical and thematic gaps in the List. This should also help determine whether the different meetings organised as part of the Global Strategy have influenced States Parties' selection of sites.

ICOMOS organised four meetings between 2001 and 2004 with different experts from different regions including Egypt, Israel, Germany, Finland, France, Madagascar, Mexico, United Kingdom and Zimbabwe (ICOMOS 2004, 14). The results of the analyses conducted by ICOMOS show that the geographic imbalance has not changed since 1994. As of 2003, 55% of the cultural and mixed cultural and natural heritage sites on the World Heritage List were located in Europe and North America. As of 2002, a total of 866 sites were on Tentative Lists. 399 of them (46%) were on a Tentative List from Europe or North America. Tentative Lists are important as they provide an indication of the sites that States Parties plan to nominate in the next five to ten years, and therefore provide an indication of the evolution of the World Heritage List in the medium term. Geographical analyses of Tentative Lists therefore demonstrate that, in the near future, the Europe/North America region would continue to dominate the List (ICOMOS 2003, 40).

ICOMOS analyses have also demonstrated that most properties illustrating under-represented themes on the List have been located in Europe. For example only thirteen of the thirty-seven cultural landscapes on the World Heritage List are located in a non-European country as of 2003. ICOMOS analyses have also stressed that the

regional expert meetings recommended by the text of the Global Strategy and organized in all the UNESCO regions between 1995 and 2003 have not had a major impact on the regional balance of the List (ICOMOS 2003, 38-41).

The analyses conducted by ICOMOS have also stressed that most wide themes defined in the 1994 report of the Global Strategy have also not been represented on the World Heritage List in their wealth and complexity (ICOMOS 2003, 40-43). The broad theme 'movement of people (nomadism, migration)' is one example. As stressed by ICOMOS, surviving nomadic pastoralist cultures are currently represented by a single inscription, that of the Laponian Area (Sweden). Transhumance is still widely practiced around the world but the only landscape of this kind currently on the List is the Pyrenean transfrontier region of Mont Perdu, between France and Spain (ICOMOS 2003, 41).

1.5.6. Problems with the Global Strategy

A number of reasons may explain the difficulties in implementing the Global Strategy. Some of these difficulties are linked, as previously stressed, to the revised Operational Guidelines. These include the 1996 restriction of the scope of cultural heritage criterion (vi) which has made it difficult for non-traditional and non-monumental types of properties from non-European countries to be nominated for inclusion on the World Heritage List. The Operational Guidelines have also not been respected in some cases. Indeed, the 1996 revised versions of the Guidelines stress that States Parties should 'consider whether their cultural heritage is already well represented on the List and if so to slow down voluntarily their rate of submission of further nominations' [UNESCO February 1996, Paragraph 6(vii)]. Nonetheless, in some cases, this paragraph has not been respected. For example, ten sites from Italy were inscribed on the List in 1997.

Some problems are also linked to national circumstances. These include the lack of financial and administrative capacity as well the lack of a national or regional inventory of cultural heritage. The implementation of the World Heritage Convention is also limited because of internal political instability. Some States Parties have also

recently stressed their lack of understanding of the World Heritage Convention (UNESCO 16 November 2000, 54-56).

The themes identified in the Global Strategy as being under-represented on the List are also, in some cases, problematical. In his in-depth analysis of World Heritage cultural landscapes (1992-2002), Fowler also notes that potential cultural landscapes have deliberately *not* been nominated as such by States Parties for inclusion on the List (Fowler 2003a, 22). This situation might be due to the fact that, according to Fowler, States Parties seem to believe that it is more difficult to submit a successful nomination dossier for a cultural landscape than for a cultural or natural site (*ibid.*). This situation might also be due to the fact that cultural landscapes are perceived as requiring more complicated management.

Labadi (2005a, 89-102) has also highlighted a number of problems with the themes of the Global Strategy. The 1994 text of the Global Strategy refers, *inter alia*, to the heritage of the twentieth century. Some national legislations on archaeology and cultural heritage exclude this type of heritage, making its preservation difficult. Moreover, some definitions of the broad themes defined at the 1994 meeting present some inconsistencies, depending on the UNESCO document taken into consideration. This is the case with the definition of industrial heritage. An analysis of the industrial heritage sites on the World Heritage List demonstrates that the World Heritage Committee has adopted an all-encompassing definition of this category of heritage without limiting it to a specific period or region. The inclusion on the List in 2000 of the Neolithic flint mines at Spiennes (Belgium) exemplifies this statement. On the other hand, the definition of industrial heritage presented on the website of the World Heritage Centre until April 2004 seemed to limit this category of cultural heritage to the specific period of the Industrial Revolution: '*The Industrial Revolution* profoundly modified landscapes and life styles. The massive means employed to extract raw materials and exploit the minerals and agricultural products resulted in great achievements and grandiose constructions, testifying to the creative genius of humankind' (*italics added for emphasis*).

1.6. Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to present the complex accounts of the implementation of the World Heritage Convention from the standpoint of the World Heritage Committee. It has also showed that this history of the implementation of the Convention is not linear but more complex and circular with contradictory recommendations and decisions. The evolution of the cultural heritage criteria constitutes one example. The scope of the first version of the cultural heritage criteria in the 1977 version of Operational Guidelines was rather wide and encompassed a wide diversity of types of cultural heritage sites. The scope of the 1980 version of cultural heritage criteria was however reduced since the World Heritage Committee feared that sites that were not of truly outstanding universal value could be nominated and subsequently inscribed on the List. This reduction favoured monumental cultural heritage from Europe. From 1992 to 1995 the World Heritage Committee has again attempted to widen the scope of the cultural heritage criteria and make them relevant to a variety of cultural heritage manifestations. The scope of cultural heritage criterion (vi) was then reduced in 1996, restricting again the types of cultural heritage that could be nominated for inclusion on the World Heritage List. Finally, at its sixth extraordinary session in 2003, the World Heritage Committee decided again to expand the scope of some of the cultural heritage criteria including criterion (vi). This example demonstrates the complexity of the implementation of the World Heritage Convention. The chapters on the interpretation of the data analysis will analyse how this complex framework has been understood and implemented by States Parties.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL ORIENTATIONS

2.1. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to present the theories against which both the data analysis (Chapter 3) and the interpretation of the results of this analysis (Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7) have been examined. My approach is not defined by its adherence to a single theoretical paradigm; rather it aims to take on board different developments made thus far in cultural resource management, archaeological theory, anthropology and cultural studies. This chapter also complements the reflection, started in Chapter 1, on the World Heritage Convention. Indeed, this chapter presents previous perspectives on the World Heritage Convention and its implementation from the standpoint of academics and criticises them in view of the approach taken in my research.

2.2. The importance of values

The World Heritage Convention's main aim is to draw up a list of sites of outstanding universal value which should be conserved for all humanity. Over the past twenty years the concept of value has taken an increasing role in discourses on heritage conservation. 'It is self-evident that no society makes an effort to conserve what it does not value' (de la Torre and Mason 2002, 3). My research has adopted the definition of value given by Mason (2002, 5) in his article published as part of an ongoing project on cultural heritage and values initiated in 1998 by the Getty Conservation Institute. According to Mason, values embody 'the qualities and characteristics seen in things, in particular the positive characteristics (actual and potential)' (2002, 5). The increased importance played by the concept of values in

heritage discourses stems from the recognition that sites do not have intrinsic, objective significance (Hodder 2000, 88-89). Over time groups of people create values which change and sometimes compete.

Before devising a method for the conservation of sites of special importance, it is necessary to understand the different values that make them so special and important (see Kerr 1996, 5). It is generally accepted that these different values that make a site significant should be recorded in a 'statement of significance'. As explained in Chapter 3 (Section 3.2.2.), nomination dossiers of heritage sites for inclusion on the World Heritage List, which constitute the data for my research, can be regarded as statements of significance. Hence it is important to analyse nomination dossiers/statements of significance according to the different values for which the sites have been nominated for inclusion on the World Heritage List. It has to be stated that the World Heritage Committee has not requested States Parties to write their nomination dossiers according to value-led typologies. However, the 1994 Nara Document stresses the importance of values. As stressed in this document, the understanding of the values that make a site special is a prerequisite for assessing its authenticity and conserving it (Article 9). Hence it is not unlikely that, as part of their nomination dossiers, States Parties would have analysed the different values for which their sites should be inscribed on the World Heritage List.

2.2.1. Previous perspectives on World Heritage values

The following section analyses previously published academic perspectives on the values for which sites have been nominated for World Heritage status and included on the World Heritage List. This section does not refer to any publication dealing with post-inscription management of World Heritage sites, as this falls outside the scope of this study. The main aim of this small section is to show the limits of previous writings on the values for which sites have been nominated for inclusion and/or included on the World Heritage List. This section also aims to demonstrate the need for more detailed analyses of the different values for which sites have been nominated for inclusion on the World Heritage List, thereby justifying close scrutiny of the nomination dossiers. This section focuses on theoretical publications published by scholars independently from UNESCO and the World Heritage Committee. Debates

on World Heritage values from the standpoint of the World Heritage Committee have been presented in Chapter 1.

2.2.2. Outstanding universal value

To be inscribed on the World Heritage List, sites have to be of 'outstanding universal value' (UNESCO 1972, Preamble, Articles 1 and 2). As stressed by Titchen, 'at their April 1972 meeting at UNESCO House in Paris, the Committee of Experts working to finalise the draft of the Convention noted their deliberate intention of not defining the expression of outstanding universal value' (1996, 237). This author goes on to stress that the drafting of the six cultural and four natural heritage criteria to guide the nomination and inclusion of sites on the World Heritage List could have better defined the phrase 'outstanding universal value'. She nonetheless concludes that these criteria have been broadly phrased and refer to an indistinct diversity of values including 'historic, artistic, scientific, aesthetic, ethnological, anthropological and conservation value' (Titchen 1996, 237). Hence she highlights the difficulties in assessing the values for which sites have been nominated for inclusion and/or inscribed on the List by simply analysing the criteria they fulfil. This justifies the need to analyse whole nomination dossiers and to devise a methodology that would record all the values justifying the 'outstanding universal value' of nominated properties (see Chapter 3).

Cleere has also discussed the notion of 'outstanding universal value' (see, for instance, Cleere 1996, 227-233). Like Titchen, he stresses that 'outstanding universal value' has not been 'defined explicitly' (1996, 227). He stresses that this notion of 'outstanding value' implies comparative assessments among similar properties (Cleere 1996, 230). Nonetheless, he does not refer to the comparative assessments undertaken by States Parties in their nomination dossiers. He only refers to the efforts by ICOMOS to conduct and publish studies on thematic comparative analyses of sites. In the same article, in relation to World Heritage, he also asks, 'what are the values to be assessed?' (Cleere 1996, 229). He maintains that the 'values' taken into account are 'largely mainstream European cultural values' (Cleere 1996, 230). He defines 'mainstream European cultural values' as operating 'in accordance with an aesthetic and historical perspective that is grounded in European culture, even though

transported to the Americas' (Cleere 1996, 229). He justifies his claim with a typological and thematic analysis of the sites inscribed on the World Heritage List. He has reaffirmed this viewpoint, shared, among others, by Byrne (1991, 274) in more recent articles (see Cleere 2000, 101; Cleere 2001b, 25). Nonetheless, his analysis refers to the geographical location and types of sites nominated for inclusion and subsequently inscribed on the World Heritage List rather than to the reasons/values why these sites have been nominated. These types of properties include 'archaeological sites', 'historic towns', 'Christian monuments', 'Palaces and castles' and 'Buddhist and Hindu Monuments' (Cleere 1996, 229). He does not explain how States Parties understand and interpret the notion of outstanding universal value in their nomination dossiers. Other authors such as Byrne who also stress the Eurocentric bias of international systems do not further explain these statements and do not illustrate them with precise examples taken from the implementation of the World Heritage Convention. Cleere and Byrne do not further explain how this Eurocentric framework has been understood and implemented in non-European countries.

In a more recent article Cleere stressed that 'the introduction of the concept of the cultural landscape should assist in recognition being paid' to non-European cultural heritage (2000, 103). However, Fowler, in his analysis of the first ten years of the implementation of the category of cultural landscape, stressed that the geographical distribution of cultural landscapes on the World Heritage List is biased towards Europe (Fowler 2003a, 24). In 2002, 65% of the cultural landscapes on the List were located in Europe and 35% in the rest of the world. Moreover, Fowler seems to be of the opinion that cultural landscapes have been included on the World Heritage List on the basis of similar values to cultural heritage sites (Fowler 2003b, 29-30). Indeed, over the years criterion (iv) has been widely used for the inscription of both architectural monumental sites and cultural landscapes. Fowler concludes that cultural landscapes seem 'to be adhering to a commonly-used criterion for conventional sites' (ibid.). Fowler's conclusions have been further tested in the interpretation of the data analyses (see Chapter 4, Section 4.14).

Lowenthal discusses important philosophical issues related to the concept of universality applied in the context of the World Heritage Convention (1998, 227-250). This concept of universality implies that World Heritage sites belong to all people,

that they are 'the common heritage of humankind'. Nonetheless, Lowenthal goes on to stress that 'heritage provokes internal as well as international rivalry' (1998, 229). This author does not further explain how this rivalry is at play at the international level of the World Heritage Committee or at the national level of World Heritage sites. He neither details nor exemplifies whether this rivalry is expressed in nomination dossiers of sites for inclusion on the World Heritage List. Most of his examples are movable heritage, which is excluded from the World Heritage Convention as exemplified in this quote: 'asked to return books and art central to German heritage, Russians retorted that the French never gave back Napoleonic loot, that the Germans burned millions of Russian books, that Nazis had seized much from Jewish owners, that return would undermine Russian claims to czarist treasures, and that wartime booty was just reparation for past slurs' (Lowenthal 1998, 229).

Choay echoes Lowenthal's viewpoint in her article commenting on the World Heritage Convention (2001b, 13). She highlights that cultural heritage is strongly linked to strategies of national cultural identity rather than universalism. However Choay, like Lowenthal, does not illustrate her comments with examples from the World Heritage List or from discussions derived from the reports of the World Heritage Committee meetings.

2.2.3. Outstanding universal value: an evolving concept

Titchen (1996, 237) and Cleere (2001a, 10) highlight that the notion of outstanding universal value evolves over time. As explained by Titchen, this is partly due to the regular revision of the cultural and natural heritage criteria detailed in the Operational Guidelines (1996, 239). In this article she does not provide a detailed account of the evolution of these heritage criteria in the Operational Guidelines. However, she does provide a detailed account of the evolution of the cultural and natural heritage criteria from 1977 to 1994 in her unpublished PhD thesis (Titchen 1995, 114-145). Nonetheless both her thesis and the above-mentioned article do not explain whether and how these changes have been understood by States Parties and implemented at national level in their nomination dossiers. Furthermore she does not explain whether the changes in the wording of the criteria have had an impact on the values for which sites have been nominated for inclusion on the World Heritage List.

Cleere attempts to present the evolution of the values for which industrial heritage sites have been nominated for inclusion, and included on the World Heritage List (2001a, 8-13). He stresses that some sites have been inscribed on the List primarily for their architectural and town-planning value. Examples include Røros (Norway, inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1980) or the City of Potosí, (Bolivia, inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1987). He then explains that more recent sites have been nominated for their technological importance as is the case of the Canal du Midi (France, inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1995). Nonetheless, as further explained below (see Section 2.3.), it is extremely rare that a site fulfils only one value; 'heritage is multivalent' (Mason 2002, 8). Cleere's article omits to detail the values for which sites were nominated in all their complexity and variety. As detailed in Chapter 3, the method that has been devised to analyse the data set allows the recording of the multivalent and diverse values for which sites have been nominated for inclusion on the World Heritage List by States Parties.

2.2.4. Political and economic values

Scholars have also clarified the notion of World Heritage according to other values, mainly political and economic ones. Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge stress the different 'political' values of World Heritage listing using two examples, Robben Island (South Africa, inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1999) and the Historic District of Québec (Canada, inscribed on the List in 1985), (2000, 243-254). Nonetheless, none of their explanations is based on documents related either to the nomination dossiers of these two sites, the discussions by the World Heritage Committee on the inscription of these sites on the World Heritage List or to other documents produced for the management of these World Heritage sites (such as management plans). Hence their reflection on the 'political values' of these two World Heritage sites is based on peripheral and secondary publications that do not investigate the values for which these two sites were nominated for inclusion and inscribed on the World Heritage List. This research differs in its approach because it is based on primary sources, namely nomination dossiers of sites for inscription on the World Heritage List, as further explained in Chapter 3.

According to Hewison, the positive values of 'stewardship, scholarship and identity' heralded in the text of the World Heritage Convention are, in practice, reduced to economic value: 'those universal values in the United Nations World Heritage Convention, those values of stewardship, scholarship and cultural identity are now subservient to questions of cash flow and consumer orientation' (1989, 22). Like Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge he does not back up his statement with an analysis of documents related to the nomination of sites for inclusion or their inscription on the World Heritage List. Moreover, he does not justify this claim by giving any lengthy example of the relationship between economic value and World Heritage. He also stresses that economic values are invariably negative for cultural heritage sites. Nonetheless, reports such as those by English Heritage (1997), for instance, have shown that the development of a site's economic value could have positive impacts by encouraging its sustainable development and generating employment opportunities for the local population.

Hitchcock also explains that the nomination of Zanzibar Stone Town for inscription on the World Heritage List was economically driven: 'Zanzibar's conservation movement was not driven entirely by the need to develop tourism, but it was one of the most influential factors' (2002, 161). Nonetheless his article does not refer to the nomination dossier of Zanzibar. He also does not comment on the values for which Zanzibar was included on the List, which include its symbolic value as a site associated with slavery and the defence of human rights. This article does not even mention the criteria under which the site was included on the World Heritage List.

Boniface (1995, 42-43) and Smith (2002, 141) highlight the contradiction in the framework of the Convention between the need to conserve sites and to make them accessible to the widest possible public. They do not, however, explain how this contradiction has been further dealt with either by the World Heritage Committee or by States Parties in their nomination dossiers, *id est* the main document detailing States Parties' understanding and implementation of the Convention and Operational Guidelines.

2.2.5. Summary

This literature survey demonstrates that published articles discussing the values for which sites have been nominated for inclusion and/or included on the World Heritage List present some limits and weaknesses. This literature survey highlights that no published research has yet analysed in detail the multifaceted values for which sites have been nominated for World Heritage status and how these values change according to geographical locations and evolve in relation to the World Heritage Committee's discussions. This is rather surprising as a number of value-systems have been devised in theoretical publications that can be applied to the variety of cultural heritage sites. This literature survey highlights the need for a more holistic and encompassing assessment of the values for which sites have been nominated for inclusion on the World Heritage List. The next section reviews some value-systems that have been devised and published in the field of cultural resource management and assesses their strengths and weaknesses in relation to the data set and research questions being addressed in my research.

2.3. Value-typologies in publications on cultural resource management

My first research question: 'What are the values for which the sampled sites have been nominated for World Heritage over time?' could be answered by drawing up a value-typology and applying it to the data set that are nomination dossiers. A variety of value-typologies have been detailed in publications on cultural resource management and those potentially applicable to my data set are summarised in Table 2.1.

Creating a value-typology presents a number of positive aspects. As stressed by Mason, 'establishing a typology of values will facilitate discussion and understanding of the different valuing processes at play in heritage conservation' (2002, 9). As illustrated in Table 2.1., an important aspect of these typologies is that they do not focus solely on one particular type of value. On the contrary, they demonstrate the diversity and wide-ranging types of values that can be applied to heritage sites from economic to social and/or historical. Adopting a value-typology also enables sites to be assessed in a holistic manner. In fact, as stressed by Pearson and Sullivan:

'a (...) reason for site assessment is that the role of good management is to conserve as much of the cultural significance of the place as possible. (...) This is all part of the process of conserving cultural significance: we need an objective and professional statement of *all* the reasons a place is important, to enable management policies to be developed that will safeguard its total value' (1995, 129)

Moreover, as stressed by Mason, value-led conservation of sites provides a flexible methodology which accommodates different types of cultural heritage site (2002, 9). Therefore, if carefully devised, a single value-system could be applied to the whole of my data set detailed in Chapter 3.

Another important aspect highlighted by some of these typologies is that values can contradict each other. This idea is particularly well-illustrated in Riegl's typology in which 'age value' contradicts 'newness value': 'newness value is (...) the most formidable opponent of age value' (1996[1903], 80). This idea is also illustrated in Carver's value-system where the environmental and archaeological value of the site contradicts its production value, that is the possibility of using it for agricultural or mineral exploitation (1996, 47). This mineral or agricultural exploitation of a site might indeed destroy its environmental and archaeological value. A famous example is Kakadu National Park, an Australian World Heritage site (inscribed on the List in 1981 and extended in 1987 and 1992). The proposal, now withdrawn, for uranium mining and milling within the boundaries of this World Heritage site presented a real threat to its outstanding universal value.

Some of these typologies, Lipe's (1984, 3) in particular, have been widely quoted [see Carver (1996, 46)] and applied in the analysis of cultural heritage sites [see Stanley-Price (1990, 286)]. Others have been put into practice in the conservation of cultural heritage sites, showing their applicability on the ground. This is the case, for example, of the Australia ICOMOS Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Significance (henceforth referred to as the Burra Charter), widely used for the conservation of, *inter alia*, Australian heritage sites but also applied more recently to the conservation and management of the cultural heritage from other cultures including those of China (Agnew and Demas 2002, 4).

Table 2.1. Summary of value-typologies potentially applicable to the data set

Riegl (1903)	(Lipe 1984)	ICOMOS (Australia) Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Significance (Burra Charter) (1979 revised in 1981, 1988 and 1999)	Darvill (1995)
Age Historical Deliberate Commemorative Use Newness	Economic Aesthetic Associative/ symbolic Informational	Aesthetic Historic Scientific Social Spiritual	Use value Archaeological research Scientific research Creative arts Education Recreation and Tourism Symbolic representation Legitimation of Action Social Solidarity and integration Monetary and economic gain Option value Stability Mystery and Enigma Existence value Cultural Identity Resistance to change
Carver (1996)	English Heritage (1997)	Deeben <i>et al</i> (1999)	Mason (2002)
Market values Capital/ estate value Production value [including agricultural, mineral extraction, etc.] Commercial value Residential value Community values Amenity value [provides something to be shared by the community] Political value [a vote winner] Minority/ disadvantaged/ descendant value [wins the support of the disaffected] Local style value (rather than aesthetic, which is unknowable) [wins the support of the elders] Human values Environmental value Archaeological value	Cultural Educational and academic Economic Resource Recreational Aesthetic	Perception Aesthetic value Historical value Physical quality Integrity Preservation Intrinsic quality Rarity Research potential Group value Representativity	Socio-cultural values Historical value Cultural/symbolic value Social value Spiritual/religious value Aesthetic value Economic values Use (market) value Non-use (non-market) values: -Existence -Option -Bequest

Importantly, Table 2.1. shows an evolution, over time and across cultures, of the process of heritage valuation. An analysis of the value-systems presented in Table 2.1. over time reveals that social value does not figure in Riegl's typology, the oldest of the value-systems. In his 1903 text, Riegl stresses the difference between those who are educated and can appreciate works of art and monuments and the 'populace' who are unappreciative of their beauty: '(...) newness value has always been the art value of the mass majority of the less educated or uneducated; whereas relative art value, at least since the beginning of more recent times, could only be evaluated by the aesthetically educated' (1996[1903], 80). Despite being written in 1979, five years before Lipe's value-systems, the Burra Charter's value-system includes reference to social value whilst Lipe's typology omits it. This shows the originality of the Burra Charter's typology. From the mid-1990s onward, all the value-typologies presented in Table 2.1., with the exception of Deeben *et al*, mention the social value of heritage sites. This might illustrate the democratisation of heritage conservation and an increased refutation of Riegl's viewpoint.

An analysis of the value-systems presented in Table 2.1. according to cultures reveals that the economic and market values are not mentioned in Australian value-typologies either in the original [(ICOMOS (Australia) 1979)] or revised versions [ICOMOS (Australia) 1981; ICOMOS (Australia) 1988; and ICOMOS (Australia) 1999 (see also Truscott and Young 2000, 107-115)] of the Burra Charter and in the Dutch value-system developed by Deeben *et al* (1999, 181). According to Okawa (2002, 181), the omission of economic value from these typologies might be due to the understanding of cultural heritage sites as lacking any market value. Economic and market values are nonetheless increasingly mentioned in value-typologies used by English and North American organisations such as English Heritage (1997) or Mason and the Getty Conservation Institute (2002). This might denote an increased belief in the market value of cultural heritage sites in those two societies.

All of these value-typologies, with the exception of those developed by Lipe and in the Burra Charter, also present some weaknesses. Carver's definition of 'community value' is rather restricted: 'community values are those intended to benefit society more widely and more generally, for example the provision of a public swimming

pool, the construction of roads, parks, sewers, schools or hospitals' (1996, 47). As he further notes, these are tangible gains. Nonetheless his value-typology does not accommodate non-tangible knowledge and values held by community groups on cultural heritage sites. Moreover, his indication that 'local style value' is primarily supported by the elders is not further explained and is rather difficult to understand (ibid.). Why would other age groups not support this value too?

Darvill's value-system also seems inadequate. His 'option value' is especially difficult to evaluate as it refers to the values that cultural properties will have in the future. Yet future values are unknowable: it is impossible to foresee what future generations will make of our heritage (Carver 1996, 46). Some of Darvill's values moreover strongly overlap; this is the case for archaeological and scientific research which he considers to be separate. This is also the case for 'creative arts' and 'symbolic representation'. 'Creative arts' is defined by Darvill as the use of heritage sites for visual, literary and oral works of art. 'Symbolic representation' is defined as the 'symbolic uses of images of archaeological sites' (Darvill 1995, 44-45). It seems difficult to distinguish between these two values. Cultural heritage sites can indeed be used as symbols in visual, literary and oral works of arts. This idea is further developed in the section defining architectural and aesthetic value (see Section 2.4.1.2.). 'Stability' (a sub-category of 'option value') and 'resistance to change' (a sub-category of 'existence value') can also be considered as overlapping strongly. Resistance to change might, indeed, be associated with stability and continuity.

The 'cultural value' and 'recreational value' presented in English Heritage's typology seem also to overlap strongly. English Heritage's 'cultural value' is defined as providing a sense of place and a context for everyday life: 'Its appreciation and conservation foster distinctiveness at local, regional and national level. It reflects the roots of our society and records its evolution' (1997, 4). Recreational value refers to the fact that 'the historic environment plays a very significant role in providing for people's recreation and enjoyment. Increasingly, the past and its remains in the present are a vital part of people's everyday life and experiences' (ibid.). These two definitions convey the same idea of the past as a provider of context and a part of people's everyday life and experience. These two definitions overlap each other and could be combined into a single value.

The value-typology of Deeben *et al* also presents some problems. One value of Deeben *et al*'s typology is the 'intrinsic quality' of a building. It has been argued that a heritage place does not have any 'intrinsic qualities' and that its values change over time. 'Rarity', a sub-value of the overall main value 'intrinsic quality', can also be considered as problematic as this is difficult to assess. Early railways, for example, might not be considered to be rare. Yet, for some, the Great Western Railway: Paddington-Bristol is considered to be a rare and unique example of the genius of Isambard Kingdom Brunel. This was one of the reasons for selected parts of this railway line to be included on the Tentative List of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (Department for Culture, Media and Sport 1999, 58-61).

Some of the values presented in Mason's typology are too broad and vague, including his 'cultural/symbolic value' which encompasses, at the same time, 'political value', 'craft or work-related values', defined as the skills and knowledge used to build a specific building and 'heritage values' which are 'used to stimulate ethnic-group identity, in cases in which the group does not have a strong religious aspect' (2002, 12). Moreover, some of his values repeat themselves such as socio-cultural and non-use values: 'many of the qualities described as socio-cultural values are also non-use values' (2002, 12). As illustrated in Table 2.1. Mason further divides 'non-use values' into three sub-values 'Existence', 'Option' and 'Bequest'. He defines 'Existence' as being the action of valuing a heritage property for its mere existence without necessarily visiting it. 'Option value' is defined as the wish to preserve a site because of the possibility that it will be visited and enjoyed in the future. 'Bequest value' records the desire to preserve a site for the enjoyment of future generations (Mason 2002, 13). It is expected that these values would be implicit in nomination dossiers rather than explicitly detailed as justifying the nominated site's outstanding universal value.

2.4. A unique and original value-typology

These weaknesses make it difficult to select one of the value-typologies presented in Table 2.1. to analyse the data set here. For this reason it was decided to create a unique value-system for the purpose of this research derived from and inspired by the value-systems presented in Table 2.1. The values chosen are the following: social, architectural and aesthetic, economic and informational value. As further explained in Section 2.4.1.5., it is also important to consider the state of conservation and degree of authenticity of the site. These values mainly combine the typology of Lipe and the Burra Charter which have been widely used in cultural resource management. They represent diverse values that are distinct from each other. They have also been included as they will best reply to my research questions. These four values are defined below and represent only the overall typology that will be used in analysing nomination dossiers. As explained by Marquis-Kyle and Walker (1992, 22) a more precise set of categories for assessing cultural significance may be prepared as understanding of a particular place increases. As detailed in Chapter 3, more complex and precise categories and sub-categories have been devised to code the data set in greater detail and to record the different aspects of each of these overall values. The definitions of the overall categories and the more precise categories and sub-categories are defined and detailed in two different Chapters: this chapter for the overall values and Chapter 3 for the sub-categories. Indeed, two separate sources have been drawn on to identify these values: the overall categories derive from the theoretical literature whilst the development of the sub-categories is more grounded in the information contained in the data set, namely the nomination dossiers.

2.4.1. Definition of the overall values

The next section defines the values selected which derive from theoretical writings. By necessity, these definitions have to be derived from theoretical writings as the World Heritage Committee has not reflected on and defined these concepts and values.

2.4.1.1. Social value

The definition of 'social value' presented by Marquis-Kyle and Walker in their illustrated explanation of the Burra Charter has been adopted in this research. According to these authors, social value 'embraces the qualities for which a place has become the focus of spiritual, political, national or other cultural sentiment to a majority or a minority group' (Marquis-Kyle and Walker 1992, 23). More precisely, 'social value' records the tangible and intangible links that present and past populations have developed with the nominated property. It also records the different, sometimes conflicting uses of the nominated property by past and present community groups and the special knowledge held by local community groups or individuals concerning the property (Johnston 1992, 7). For instance, former and present-day miners at Potosí (Bolivia, inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1987) retain special knowledge of the working traditions and social relations in the mine as well as myths and beliefs linked to their working environment. Their knowledge is invaluable to understand fully the 'outstanding universal value' of the site.

English Heritage (1997, 2) and Lipe (1984, 5) strongly link political and social values. As stressed by Lipe,

in Western societies, cultural resources such as (...) preserved battlefields (...) often are used to send broadly integrated messages, reminding the populace of (...) historical events that evoke the common origins or common experiences of what may be an internally rather heterogeneous society (...). With the aid of appropriate cultural resources, such messages give the society's members a subjective sense of the group's permanence and authenticity by demonstrating that it existed long before they, or perhaps even their grandparents were born' (1984, 5-6)

Political value, as explained by Lipe, is strongly linked to providing people with a sense of belonging, and defining people's identities at local and national level. Political and social values are hence strongly connected.

Different methods can be used for the assessment of the social value of a place, including the observations of the use of the place by different community groups, the recording of individual histories and their connections with the site or the organisation of small workshops to determine the different reasons why a site is important to local communities. Recording the social value of a site hence requires the involvement of local communities. This aspect has been made clear, for example, in the 1999 revised version of the Burra Charter [ICOMOS (Australia) 1999, Article 12 and 26(3)].

2.4.1.2. Architectural and aesthetic value

'Architectural value' refers to the design or style of a building. Chartres, Amiens, Reims and Bourges cathedrals, all World Heritage Sites, are important examples of French Gothic art. This value furthermore encompasses the specific materials and techniques used for the construction of a building. A building can also be of architectural interest because of the specific arrangement of its different parts and their harmonious or disruptive relationships with each other. This value can also record the specific rules followed by an architect in the construction of a specific building. An example is the cathedral of Modena, part of a World Heritage Site. Its design was based on a geometrical process recommended by Vitruvius in *De Architectura* and frequently used during the Renaissance: 'the breadths and the lengths of the atria are composed in three ways (...) the third is that the breadth is determined on the basis of a quadrilateral having equal sides and in that quadrilateral the diagonal is found and this resulting length is given to the atrium' (De Architectura VI, 3, 141, 1-7; quoted in Government of Italy 1996b).

'Aesthetic value' records subjective perceptions and is strongly linked to a specific society's conception of beauty, aesthetic ideals and harmony (Pearson and Sullivan 1995, 134-138; Lipe 1984, 7). Artists, writers, poets and photographers have also drawn inspiration from monuments, giving them a great symbolic, evocative and aesthetic dimension. The use of ruins in paintings such as those of the German

romantic painter Caspar David Friedrich (1774-1840) provides such a dimension. A landscape can also have aesthetic qualities because of its scenic or visual qualities, the careful arrangement of order and wilderness or reclusive and open spaces. As highlighted by Pearson and Sullivan, Western societies particularly value old and monumental buildings which are credited with aesthetic value (1995, 138). Examples include the Pyramids in Giza, Angkor Wat or Macchu Pichu, all on the World Heritage List.

2.4.1.3. Economic value

According to English Heritage, a site has an economic value when it makes 'a significant contribution to economic development by encouraging tourism, but more generally [when] it also supports viable communities by creating good environments where people will prefer to live and work' (1997, 4). This definition refers to two important aspects of economic value. The first one, included in the first part of this quotation, refers to the development of tourism. This includes the opening of the property to visitors and the introduction of entrance fees. This also refers to the production and exchange of goods and activities whether they are being sold or not. These activities are diverse and include: the provision of shops selling souvenirs, cafés, and restaurants within the site. These also refer to the provision of interpretative activities such as guided tours or audio and visual presentations. The Franciscan monks at Assisi, for example, provide guided tours of the Basilica of St Francis. Souvenir shops, hotels and restaurants can also be found in the historic centre of Assisi. These activities and goods can bring economic gains and financial resources for the conservation of sites.

The second important implicit aspect contained in the second part of the quote by English Heritage cited above refers to the use of a heritage site for the improvement of the community's environment and everyday life. This quote also includes the different tourism and development plans that have been devised to develop economically the site or the region where it is located.

The development of economically-driven activities might endanger a site because of the wear and tear of visitors. The development of economically-driven activities

should hence be carefully planned and undertaken in a sustainable manner. Sustainability can be defined as the careful and difficult balance between the protection of cultural heritage and economic development (Mason 1999, 12). If developed in a sustainable way, cultural heritage sites have fewer chances of being over-exploited or endangered.

2.4.1.4. Informational value

The definition of informational/historical value presented by Marquis-Kyle and Walker in their illustrated explanation of the Burra Charter Burra Charter has been selected: 'a place may have historic value because it has influenced, or has been influenced by an historic activity, event, phase or activity' (1992, 23). As explained by English Heritage (1997), a site has historical value because it helps to explain and illustrate materially one or more events of history. A place might be of important historical value because it highlights a long sequence of history. The cathedral of Notre-Dame, the former Abbey of Saint-Remi and the Palace of Tau in Reims which form part of a French World Heritage site, for instance, were all linked to the coronation of the kings of France from the ninth to the nineteenth century and hence illustrate a long sequence of history.

A site might also have different histories and interpretations. Different explanations of the function(s) of Stonehenge, for example, have been competing against each other, including associations with ritual or astronomic activities. The historical value of a site can also change in time in relation to the creation of new knowledge and the re-examination of other sites. As illustrated by Pearson and Sullivan 'war histories written after World War I, compared with those written now, reflect changing perceptions of war, imperialism and the world generally over sixty years' (1995, 141). These reconsiderations may have changed the historical values of such sites.

Informational value is also closely linked to the educational and research value of the property. In fact, as stressed by Pearson and Sullivan, research on a property by excavation, survey or detailed archival research will provide information and increase the overall knowledge on a particular academic area of study (1995, 151). It will also provide the opportunity to formulate new interpretations about the past.

Archaeological research at Spiennes (Belgium, inscribed on the World Heritage List in 2000) for example will improve knowledge about Neolithic flint mining. Important too is the educational potential of sites which provide tangible examples to illustrate historical facts taught to school-children and older students.

Information on the rarity of the site coupled with comparative analyses with similar properties is important to determine whether this site is the most representative of a particular event in history. Analyses of the influences exerted by other sites on the nominated property and those exerted by the nominated site on other properties are important to determine how unique, original and representative the site is. An interesting example is the Derwent Valley Mills World Heritage Site. This site relates to developments in technology in the eighteenth century that introduced the mechanically powered factory system within the textile industry. Its first development in Derby in 1721 was inspired by machinery and the organisation of labour in Silk Mills from Northern Italy. The further development of the Valley was conducted by Richard Arkwright in Cromford in the 1770s and 1780s. He constructed a water-powered cotton spinning mill at Cromford using power from a tributary of the river Derwent to operate his machinery. This system was 'so efficient and profitable that [it was] replicated hundreds of times before the end of the century and the textile mill became the archetypal factory of the Industrial Revolution' (Government of the United Kingdom 2000a, 33). Hence this example is important because it clearly illustrates foreign influences exerted on it as well as the influence this site has exerted on subsequent development of textile mills and machinery both at home and abroad.

2.4.1.5. State of conservation, restoration, reconstruction and degree of authenticity, factors affecting the site and its level of adaptation and/or re-use

In addition to these four values, it is also important to assess the state of conservation, restoration, reconstruction of the site and its degree of authenticity as well as the factors that are affecting the site and its level of adaptation and/or re-use. The definitions of these terms are provided in Chapter 3, Section 3.5.6. The values from which a site derives its significance and its state of conservation, restoration, reconstruction and degree of authenticity and adaptation are indeed intimately linked. As stressed by Marquis-Kyle and Walker in their illustrated explanation of the Burra

Charter 'for any given place the significance will be greater where evidence of the association or event survives in situ, or where the settings are substantially intact, than where it has been changed or evidence does not survive' (1992, 23).

2.5. Theories guiding the interpretation of the data analysis

As previously stressed, values are not inherent in material cultures (Hodder 2000, 88-89). Values change according to particular cultural, intellectual, historical and psychological frames of reference held by specific groups and evolve with time (Darvill 1995, 40). As stressed by Thomas 'because each of us (...) has a different set of experiences to draw upon, we will each construct the past in different ways' (2000, 4). Different, often conflicting values can then be attributed to the same cultural property by different individuals or community groups (Ashworth 1998, 112). These relativist perspectives on values in archaeology have been stressed primarily by post-processual archaeologists (see Thomas 2000, 4-13). Theories developed by post-processualists as well as those developed by the New Archaeology and processual archaeology (see Binford 1989) have guided the value-led analyses of nomination dossiers and the interpretation of the results. The next paragraph clarifies the main positions of the New Archaeology and of processual and post-processual archaeology. It has to be stressed that not all processualists and post-processualists have identical views on archaeology. However, some core ideas and visions of archaeology unify these two groups. The most important and core ideas are presented below. The last paragraph details how these two theoretical frameworks have been combined to analyse and interpret the data set.

2.5.1. Are objectivity and truth a myth?

The New Archaeology and processualism, developed in the Anglo-Saxon world in the 1960s and 1970s, had sought to turn archaeology into a science which would attain, with the use of rational method, the objective truth, free from biases (Thomas 2000, 5). The New Archaeology borrowed some methods from the natural sciences and used a hypothetico-deductive-nomological model (HDN) (Johnson 1999, 39; Renfrew and Bahn 1991, 416). 'The HDN model suggests that one proceeds as a scientist by taking

a specific hypothesis and testing it. The deductions one makes from the results of the test should then be used to produce generalizing explanations' (Johnson 1999, 39). According to Martin, this differs from the old archaeology which collected facts in a random and haphazard manner with no clear goals and/or research questions (1972, 12). The methods and models used by the New Archaeology and processualists presented some positive aspects. New Archaeologists and processualists, following scientific conventions, made explicit the assumptions on which they built their arguments and clearly defined the terms they used. They also emphasised the importance of a representative sample of sites that would enable hypotheses to be tested. Through this method, New Archaeologists and processualists hoped that archaeology would be more accurate, rigorous and systematic and less speculative than before. Through the use of a scientific method, the New Archaeology and processualists also hoped to explain archaeological phenomena rather than simply describing them (Binford 1972a, 93).

One might argue that this desire to turn archaeology into a science has been influenced by the Enlightenment and modernist philosophy which also advocates rational and scientific methods to attain the objective and intrinsic truth. 'Like the Enlightenment, the New Archaeology emphasised reason, and optimistically believed that there was no aspect of the past which was inaccessible to scientific method' (Thomas 2000, 17). As further demonstrated in Chapter 1 (Section 1.2.2.2.), these philosophical standpoints might also have influenced the philosophy of the World Heritage Convention and the first decades of its implementation. The modernist philosophy might also have influenced the Constitution of UNESCO. The use of reason is one of the fundamental aspects of this text. The opening lines of this Constitution read 'since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed' (UNESCO 1945). The preamble of this Constitution also indicates that States signatory believe 'in the unrestricted pursuit of objective truth' (UNESCO 1945). This is also an unequivocal reference to the modernist philosophy.

However post-processualists have criticized the New Archaeology for not admitting that the practice of archaeology and interpretations of the past are never objective or free from biases. Post-processualists, in particular, have demonstrated that the remains

of the past have often been manipulated for political purposes (see Kohl and Fawcett 1995a, 3-18). Kohl and Fawcett provide the case of Iraq as an example where Saddam Hussein deliberately manipulated Mesopotamia's glorious past to justify his attempted annexation of Kuwait (1995a, 5). Heritage sites have also been manipulated and represented as glorified icons of national identity in some cases such as Masada in Israel or Borobodur in Indonesia (Anderson 1991, 183). These examples demonstrate, for post-processualists, that a unique, objective and all-encompassing truth and version of the past does not exist. Post-processualists believe, on the contrary, in different, competing representations of the past produced by different groups of people or individuals. These different representations are never all-encompassing and, as such, always exclude other versions of the past or values. 'Post-processualists therefore encourage experimentation with multiple interpretations, and deny the necessity of coming up with one final conclusion that explains "everything"' (Johnson 1999, 106).

Not all versions of the past are credited with the same degree of truth or credibility. Some members of societies and institutions are credited as having more power and credibility than others in producing truth and knowledge on a particular subject. '[Truth] is produced and transmitted under the control, dominant if not exclusive, of a few great political and economic apparatuses (university, army, writing, media)' (Foucault 1986, 73). Truth and knowledge also change in time. Foucault, whose writings have been widely used in archaeology and cultural studies (see Hooper-Greenhill 1992 or Mirzoeff 1998, 172), has argued that the knowledge and truth produced by the human sciences are also tied to power because of the way in which they are used to regulate and normalise individuals (Foucault 1986, 74). The interpretation of Great Zimbabwe over the past two centuries illustrates this theory. In the nineteenth century white British settlers provided a specific interpretation of Great Zimbabwe. For them, Great Zimbabwe could only have been built 'in a distant past by a race, preferably white, superior to the country's indigenous population' (Pwiti 1994, 339). The recognition by British settlers that this archaeological site had been built by the indigenous population was impossible as this would have contradicted the foundation of their colonial and imperial rule and their claims that Africa had a 'long history of barbarity and backwardness' (Pwiti 1994, 338-339). Recognition of the

local origin of Great Zimbabwe was subsequently used as a symbol by black nationalists in their quest for independence.

2.5.2. History: linear or multifaceted?

The New Archaeology and processual archaeology also emphasised cultural evolution, borrowing from the writings and ideas of Darwin. According to this theoretical standpoint, cultures and societies follow a linear evolution from simple to complex. The New Archaeology and processual archaeology also tended to share the theory that culture is defined as human beings' extrasomatic means of adaptation to their sociological and ecological environment (Binford 1972b, 22). This meant that human beings adapted to their environment through culture. Therefore alterations in all aspects of cultural systems were explained as adaptive responses to variations and changes in the environment. There was therefore 'a general tendency to believe in the capacity of human beings to invent and reinvent new forms of technology (...) as these were required by evolving social systems' (Trigger 1989, 296-297). This also denoted a belief in progress as human beings gradually acquired greater ability to control their environment and to support the formation of more complex societies. This theory might again have been influenced by the Enlightenment and modernist philosophies which also advocate a linear and progressive understanding of history and the evolutions of cultures through similar stages of development. This conception itself might have been inspired by the Judeo-Christian tradition, with its linear view of history leading towards redemption (Trigger 1989, 56).

These views that cultures and societies follow a linear evolution from simple to complex have been challenged in recent years. Foucault in particular highlights that any studied period of history has 'several pasts, several forms of connection, several hierarchies of importance, several networks of determination, several teleologies' (1972, 5). For this reason, it is impossible to consider history as linear and progressive. The Ayodhya case illustrates the fact that a single and linear evolution of history does not exist, but several competing pasts (see Layton and Thomas 2001, 2-3; Lal 2001, 117-126; Sharma 2001, 127-138). Babri-Masjid, a 450-year-old mosque located in Ayodhya (India) was destroyed in December 1992 by Hindu fundamentalists. Since the nineteenth century it had become an object of dispute and

conflict between Hindus and Muslims. Hindus believed that the mosque was built on a former Hindu temple erected on the site of the birthplace of the Hindu deity Rama. Different versions of the past have been competing against each other, some supporting the possibility that a temple preceded the Babri-Masjid, others opposing it.

2.5.3. Universalism versus the incredulity towards meta-narratives

The New Archaeology and processualism also look for consistent patterns used for drawing generalities across cultures and for universal statements. These two groups therefore seek the similarities between cultures rather than their differences and particularities (Renfrew and Bahn 1991, 416). These generalisations enable the formulation of meta-narratives, grand narrative systems. By drawing generalities, New Archaeologists and processualists hope to transform archaeology from a very specialised and marginalised subject to one which is more central and relevant to societies (Martin 1972, 6).

This universalist framework again has its roots in the Enlightenment. 'The Enlightenment philosophy shares the view that the concept of reason and science could be applied to any and every situation and that their principles were the same in every situation' (Hamilton 1992, 21). These philosophical standpoints might also have influenced the philosophy of the World Heritage Convention. The concept of universalism, discussed in Section 2.2.2., is at the core of the Convention. Indeed it is indicated in the Preamble to the Convention that the 'disappearance of any item of the cultural or natural heritage constitutes a harmful impoverishment of the heritage of all the nations of the world' and that parts of the cultural and natural heritage should be 'preserved as part of the world heritage of mankind as a whole'.

Universalist frameworks, including that of the World Heritage Convention, have been increasingly criticised in the past few decades. 'Cross-cultural generalisations were habitually used as the basis for establishing universal laws of culture, but in practice they had the effect of erasing variability, reducing humanity to a set of standardized themes (...)' (Thomas 2000, 7). As detailed in Chapter 1, for instance, the definition of authenticity provided in the Operational Guidelines has been criticised for not taking into account the complex diversity of understanding of this concept world-wide

(see for instance, von Droste and Bertilsson 1995, 5). This generalisation also simplifies the complexity of different cultures, which can lead to stereotyping. Stereotyping can be defined as exaggerating and simplifying the principal characteristics of a community (Hall 1997b, 257-279). This stereotyping and often racial interpretation of other nations' pasts has not been uncommon since the nineteenth century (Hides 1997, 27). As stressed by Merriman, British museums have interpreted objects from colonised countries in a linear and stereotyping manner until the last decades of the twentieth century (2000, 301-302). These problems with meta-narratives and cross-cultural generalisations have led some post-processualists to advocate the contextualisation of archaeology. Hodder, in particular, stresses that a specific object can only be understood by studying it within its local, historical, scientific and social contexts (2000, 88-89).

2.5.4. Exclusion or inclusion of individuals and cultural diversity?

The cross-cultural generalisations and universalist frameworks drawn by the Enlightenment, the New Archaeology and processualists have also been criticised for not focusing enough on the diversities of human experiences. According to Moreland 'the view that culture was an "extrasomatic means of adaptation for the human organism" (Binford 1972: 22) resulted in an ultimately conservative view of society in which people reacted, via the objects and institutions they created, to external stimuli in an attempt to return to a pre-existing stable state. Human creativity was reduced to behavioural responses in a depersonalised past' (Moreland 2001, 78).

Post-processualists, on the other hand, believe in the individual as active and 'meaningfully creating his or her world' (Hodder 1985, 23). Post-processualists also believe in the individual as an agent of change in society. They also are interested in different, sometimes conflicting representations of the past according to different groups such as gender, social classes or specific ethnic communities. From the 1980s onwards, for instance, 'gender archaeology emerged within the conceptual space of post-processual archaeology' (Meskell 2001, 194). Gender archaeology criticises androcentric presentations of archaeology that position men at the centre of archaeological discourses and marginalise women. Gender archaeology has been unravelling this male-biased interpretation of the past and partially correcting these

biases using diverse methods, including the increased focus on the rediscovery and rewriting of the history of archaeology to reflect the important role played by women as well as 'numerous volumes dedicated to eminent women of the past' (Meskell 2001, 194).

Some projects have also paid particular attention to taking into consideration the representation of cultural diversity within archaeological narratives and interpretations. This is the case, for instance, of the 'Peopling of London project: 15,000 years of settlement from Overseas' undertaken by the Museum of London which aimed to provide a 'new approach to London's history' and 'incorporate the previously hidden history of cultural diversity' into the Museum's galleries (Merriman 1997, 120).

Post-processualists have also paid particular attention to diverse and conflicting understandings and representation of places and landscapes according to different community groups. Strang for instance analyses how 'Aboriginal groups and the white Australian cattle farmers who live on the western coast of the Cape York Peninsula in Far North Queensland' have constructed 'different relationships with their shared environment, seeing it, experiencing it and valuing it in wholly different ways' (Strang 1999, 206).

2.5.5. Criticisms of post-processualism

Defenders of modernist and universalist frameworks have nonetheless criticised cultural relativism and post-processualism for exacerbating racist behaviours by stressing the differences and incompatibilities between cultures (Kahn 2001, 2). These modernist and universalist frameworks, which are believed to undermine differences and are exclusionary of cultural diversity, can nonetheless always be reinterpreted. As argued by Bakhtin, meaning is never fixed and can be changed and adapted to different and new situations. 'The word does not exist in a neutral or impersonal language...rather it exists in other people's mouths, serving other people's intentions; it is from these that one must take the word and make it one's own' (Bakhtin, 1981, 293-294 quoted in Hall 1997b, 235). In other words any existing meaning can be subverted and transcoded, *id est* appropriated for new meaning (Hall 1997b, 270).

Universalist discourses can then, in theory, be resisted, subverted and transcoded to accommodate the diversity of perspectives and cultural heritage. This has been clearly demonstrated with the political struggles for decolonization during which the colonised subjects resisted, subverted and finally overthrew imperial oppression: 'while dominant forms of humanism, both liberal and socialist, have privileged European thoughts and values, they have also served strategically to legitimate movements for civil rights and struggles for national liberation in non-Western countries' (Jordan and Weedon 1995, 28). Another more recent example concerns the issue of globalisation. Globalisation assumes that the cultures are becoming the same all around the world (see Featherstone 1990). However, one cannot ignore the concomitant movements of regionalism and particularisms world-wide (Welsch 1999, 204).

The past ten years of the implementation of the World Heritage Convention have also demonstrated that this universalist framework could potentially accommodate the diversity of cultural heritage and different perspectives. This is illustrated with the 1992 adoption of the category of cultural landscape, the Global Strategy and the Nara Document (see Chapter 1 for more details). The proposal, in 2000, to establish a World Heritage Indigenous Peoples Council of Experts (WHIPCOE) to give a voice and a representative power to indigenous groups at the World Heritage Committee meetings represents another concrete attempt to recognise the plurality of views on heritage.

Following the introduction of the category of cultural landscape, Tongariro National Park (New Zealand) and Uluru-Kata-Tjuta National Park (Australia), both originally nominated as natural heritage sites were re-inscribed as cultural landscapes in 1993 and 1994 respectively (see Chapter 1, Section 1.4.2. for more details). These re-inscriptions demonstrate that the values for which these two sites have been inscribed on the List have evolved in time with a wider recognition of different perspectives and different versions of the past.

Renfrew has also stressed some problems with the method used by post-processualists, when, by rejecting the use of scientific methods, they have

lacked a coherent and explicit logical framework which would permit critical analysis or evaluation in the light of further data (...). Often today the individual observer offers an interpretation of the archaeological finds made in a specific context but does so without at the same time seeking to address the inherent problem of making the relevance of these views both clear and acceptable to a different observer who may be undertaking the task of interpreting the same finds from the same context (Renfrew 2001, 123).

2.5.6. Moving beyond the dichotomy between processual and post-processual archaeology

Champion stresses that one of the major challenges faced by contemporary archaeology is to identify ways in which to avoid 'the crude choice' between following a processual or post-processual theoretical framework (1991, 143-144). My research borrows from both the processualist and post-processualist framework, considering them to be complementary rather than opposed and presents novel possibilities of engaging with the concerns of these two approaches.

2.5.6.1. The importance of a processual framework for the selection and analysis of the data set

As advocated by the New Archaeology and processualism, this research follows scientific rules. More precisely, it has clarified in the introduction the issues that will be analysed. As further detailed in Chapter 3, the method used for analysing the data has been clearly explained as well as the terms that have been used. Chapter 3 has also explained the relationship between the issues under consideration in this research and the selected data. The analysis is also grounded in the texts of nomination dossiers and as much information as possible, both quantitative and qualitative, has been extracted from these documents. This is a very important and original dimension of this research. Indeed, Section 2.2.4. in particular has stressed that numerous previous researches on the values for which sites have been nominated for inclusion on the World Heritage List can be criticised for not being able to justify their claims and for not grounding their analyses in nomination dossiers. Quantitative analyses are also rare in the field of cultural heritage (for an exception see Merriman 2000b). However, it was felt that quantitative analyses would complement the results of the qualitative analyses by clearly presenting the values that are central in nomination dossiers and those that are marginalised or even omitted by States Parties. Moreover,

the use of quantitative analyses has helped to detect stable patterns and/or disruptions in the use of specific values by States Parties.

2.5.6.2. The importance of a post-processual framework for the selection and analysis of the data set

The qualitative interpretation of the results of the data analyses has paid particular attention to the concerns of post-processual archaeology. Representation is a central thread of this qualitative interpretation. Representation refers to how specific themes have been interpreted and given precise meanings (Hall 1997a, 61-62) and how these meanings might have evolved over time. As defined by Moser, 'the field of archaeological representation addresses the ways in which knowledge about the past is constructed through the different modes of presenting out disciplinary findings' (2001, 262). Representation addresses the ways in which different interpretations are given to specific events or objects and the aspects that are omitted. It also addresses who is mentioned in archaeological interpretation and who is marginalised or silenced and whether the presentation of a specific version of the past helps to legitimize a specific group of society. Representation therefore helps to unravel relations of power. Using representation as a thread through the qualitative interpretation of the data analysis denotes a belief that archaeology and the presentation of the past are not neutral and apolitical activities.

More precisely, the qualitative interpretation has been organised thematically and has analysed a number of issues that have been of primary concern for post-processualists. According to Merriman, the main criticism that emerges from literature on the representation of the past, at least in museums, is that the museum 'represents a partial, commodified and mythical past. This serves to legitimate the dominant forces that brought it into being, and to exclude other versions of history that might provide a different perspective' (2000a, 300). Chapter 4 has analysed how the past and the nation have been represented in nomination dossiers and whether the results support or contradict Merriman's comments. Chapter 5 has also analysed whether nomination dossiers have represented cultural and human diversity or whether patterns of exclusion of specific groups have emerged.

Theorists analysing the representation of the past at heritage sites have also stressed its commercialisation and commodification (see Hewison 1989, 22). In some cases, this commercialisation and commodification have led to a reconstruction and a destruction of the authenticity of the site (West 1988, 36-60). These issues have been considered in Chapter 6, dedicated to analysing the representation of economic value, and Chapter 7 which examines the representation of authenticity and the state of conservation, restoration and reconstruction of nominated properties in nomination dossiers.

2.6. Conclusion

This chapter has presented an original value-typology that has been used to analyse the data set, the sampled nomination dossiers. This chapter has also presented an original theoretical framework combining processual and post-processual archaeology for the analysis of the data and the interpretation of the results of these analyses. Indeed, a processual methodology, further detailed in Chapter 3, has been used to explore post-processual issues and themes in the interpretation of the results of the data analysis. This combination represents novel possibilities of engaging with the concerns of these two approaches as further detailed in the following chapters.

CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY FOR THE DATA ANALYSIS

3.1. Introduction

This chapter aims to clarify the sampled data and the method employed for the data analysis, essential for the understanding and interpretation of the results detailed in Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7. This chapter moreover completes Chapter 2 by detailing the different categories and sub-categories devised to code the data.

3.2. Presentation of the data

3.2.1. Why nomination dossiers?

Nomination dossiers, drafted by States Parties, 'should provide all the information to demonstrate that the property nominated is truly of "outstanding universal value"' (UNESCO February 1997, Paragraph 10). These documents will best help reply to my research questions. Other documents produced by States Parties as part of their implementation of the World Heritage Convention, including Tentative Lists and management plans, have not been consulted. Tentative Lists, documents which indicate cultural and natural heritage sites that States Parties plan to nominate in the next five to ten years (UNESCO 1972, Article 11), have been rejected since most of them do not provide enough information on the reasons why States Parties have selected these sites and on their values. This conclusion was reached following the completion, by the author of this thesis, of the first ever analyses of current Tentative Lists as part of an ICOMOS project (see Chapter 1, Section 1.5.5.2.). Management plans also fall outside the scope of this research. Not all World Heritage Sites have management plans which, firstly, would have considerably reduced the sample that could be considered. Management plans also do not justify the values for which sites

are being nominated for World Heritage in the same length and detail as nomination dossiers.

3.2.2. Importance and limits of nomination dossiers

The data analysis of this research focuses on nomination dossiers considered to be statements of significance because they have to explain the values for which properties are nominated for World Heritage and identify the policies and strategies for their protection (Clark 2001). This research only concentrates on nomination dossiers as text documents. It does not analyse the process and protagonists involved in writing nomination dossiers. Such an analysis would have been a very time-consuming task and would not have helped to answer the research questions.

Assessing the significance of properties is a crucial step for their appropriate long-term conservation and management (see for instance Kerr 1996, 3; Pearson and Sullivan 1995, 3). 'Documenting the significant values of a place is one of the most important parts of the process of protecting heritage, and the key for knowing how to manage the place appropriately. It is also important for explaining the significance of the place to others' (Australian Heritage Commission 2003). In fact, the long-term management and conservation of sites should preserve and protect the values that have been ascribed to them in nomination dossiers/statements of significance (Clark 2001). As summarised by the National Trust, nomination dossiers or statements of significance should provide 'a rationale for management, form a basis for future consultations and sharpen the definition of management objectives' (National Trust 2003). Nomination dossiers are also very important as they are one of the few documents that explain in detail and over time States Parties' understanding and interpretation of the World Heritage Convention.

3.2.3. Number of nomination dossiers selected

A relatively large sample of nomination dossiers has been selected for analysis. Indeed, as explained in Chapter 2 (Section 2.5.6.) and further detailed below (Section 3.6.), they have been analysed both qualitatively and quantitatively to identify the different values for which sites have been nominated for inclusion on the World

Heritage List. In order for the data to be significant, it was felt that the quantitative analysis needed to be based on at least ten per cent of all the nomination dossiers available. By using such a sample size, it has been possible to detect recurring and central themes in States Parties interpretation of the World Heritage Convention as well as those themes that are marginalised in nomination dossiers. Indeed, if only one or a few cases had been selected, it would not have been possible to detect whether the results of the analyses constituted typical or untypical cases. Moreover, the conclusions would not have been able to be generalised if the analyses were based on one or a few cases because this sample would have been too small.

As of March 2003, seven hundred and thirty cultural and natural heritage sites have been included on the World Heritage List. The total population of this research, that is the objects that one wants to study (Orton 2000, 17-18), is hence constituted by the seven hundred and thirty nomination dossiers of these sites. The target population of this research, *id est* 'the population from which information is wanted' (Orton 2000, 18), is composed of the five hundred and sixty three cultural heritage sites on the World Heritage List as of March 2003. The other one hundred and sixty seven natural and mixed cultural and natural heritage sites have not been taken into consideration because the aims and research questions of this thesis relate specifically to cultural resource management and cultural heritage studies and not to natural resource management. As detailed in Chapter 1 (see Section 1.2.3.), although the World Heritage Convention aims to protect both natural and cultural heritage as indicated in its first article (UNESCO 1972), cultural and natural heritage sites have been considered as two distinct categories in the Operational Guidelines.

3.3. Sampling strategy

3.3.1. Purposeful sampling: typical and extreme case sampling

A total of one hundred and six nomination dossiers have been analysed. Sections 3.3.1. and 3.3.2. detail how their selection was undertaken. Non-probability (purposeful) sampling was chosen as the best way to tackle the selection of nomination dossiers and to reply to the research questions. Probability (random) sampling was discarded for this research as this method would have introduced too

many variables, in particular, too many types of properties (religious, military sites, historic centres...). The logic and power of non-probability sampling lies in selecting information-rich cases for in-depth study, multiple comparisons and for identifying patterns more easily (Kelle and Laurie 1995, 23). Using non-probability sampling which focuses on specific categories of cultural heritage would make it possible to reduce the nominal variables and to draw more coherent results.

More precisely, two main sampling strategies were used for selecting the nomination dossiers that would be analyzed: typical case sampling on the one hand and extreme case sampling on the other. Typical case sampling involves 'taking a sample of what one would call typical, normal or average for a particular phenomenon' (Fridah 2002), whilst extreme case sampling means 'learning from highly unusual manifestations of the phenomenon of interest' (ibid.). The rationale behind this sampling strategy is that, beyond a mere reduction of the variables, patterns and evolution can be better highlighted by comparing extreme and more typical cases.

Religious heritage has been chosen as the typical case. Religious heritage is a traditional category of cultural heritage which, according to single and multi-category analyses of the World Heritage List is one of the most represented groups on the World Heritage List (see ICOMOS 2003, 15). Religious has been understood broadly as encompassing what human beings consider as 'holy, sacred, spiritual or divine' (New Encyclopaedia Britannica 1995, 1016), whether or not a god is being worshipped. Religious, in this research, refers to a wide variety of cultural heritage properties including cathedrals, mosques, early Christian monuments, sacred archaeological sites, grottoes, temples, pilgrimage routes and cemeteries. Originally, cultural heritage mainly referred to movable religious material and immovable properties (Chastel 1997, 1434). Religious heritage can, as such, be considered as *the* traditional category of cultural heritage *per se*. As further explained below (see Section 3.3.2. below), religious heritage will be further divided between sites located in Europe and sites located in the rest of the world.

Industrial heritage was chosen as an extreme case as it is a non-traditional category of cultural heritage, numerically under-represented on the World Heritage List. According to a list compiled by the UNESCO World Heritage Centre and presented

on its website (www.unesco.org/whc), only thirty-three industrial heritage sites have been inscribed on the World Heritage List as of March 2003. Industrial heritage is a recent branch of cultural heritage. It is only in the past forty years that co-ordinated movements and policies for documenting, recording and listing that type of heritage have been developed, mainly in Europe (Labadi 2001, 77). Other non-traditional categories of cultural heritage, modern heritage for example, were not considered for this research because they are so few in number that they would not have provided a large enough sample. The definition of industrial heritage in this research is not restricted to the Industrial Revolution. Buchanan (1981, 106) and Raistrick (1972, 4) stress that industrial archaeology should be concerned with industrial monuments from any period, ranging from Neolithic flint mines to Roman structures or twentieth century blast-furnaces. Nonetheless, industrial heritage has to be distinguished from crafts because of the organisation of production and the quantity produced which reaches beyond the local market (Andrieux 1992, 6).

My sampling strategy also reflects the discussions and recommendations of the World Heritage Committee and experts who, since the first years of the implementation of the World Heritage Convention and as detailed in Chapter 1 (see Sections 1.3.4. and 1.4.3.), have tried to achieve a thematic balance between traditional and non-traditional categories of cultural heritage on the World Heritage List.

3.3.2. Method for the selection of nomination dossiers

The first step was to select the industrial heritage sites to be studied. The official list of thirty-three industrial properties on the World Heritage List compiled by the World Heritage Centre and presented on its website (www.unesco.org/whc) as of 2003 was chosen. Two more sites were included because they correspond to the definition of industrial heritage presented above (Section 3.3.1.). The first one is 'the 18th-Century Royal Palace at Caserta with the Park, the Aqueduct of Vanvitelli, and the San Leucio Complex' (nominated by Italy in 1996) which was selected because it consists in part of a royal and national silk factory which is an important feature of the nomination dossier. The second property taken into account is the 'Beemster Polder' (nominated by the Netherlands in 1998). The Beemster Polder is a hydraulic and civil engineering

monument related to water management and should, as such, be considered to be an industrial heritage site.

The second step was to select the religious properties to be studied. To reduce the variables, it was decided to select all the religious properties from the same States Parties that were chosen for their industrial heritage sites wherever possible. Because of the numerical importance of European religious properties in comparison to those in the rest of the world [one hundred and thirty-one religious properties located in forty-two European countries compared to one hundred religious properties in sixty-seven non-European countries (UNESCO 12 October 2000b, 15-22)], it was decided to further sample the traditional heritage sites according to their geographical region. This stratified purposeful sampling has created two groups. The first group consists of religious heritage sites in Europe and matches the States Parties that have industrial sites on the World Heritage List. This cluster plays the role of a control group: it comprises the most typical category of cultural heritage properties on the World Heritage List (European and Christian monuments). The second group records religious heritage sites located in the rest of the world and again matches the States Parties that have industrial sites on the World Heritage List. This second cluster represents a typical group which nonetheless, in numerical terms, is not as typical and as represented as the European religious properties on the World Heritage List. This stratified purposeful sampling is also important as it would help to reveal the differences in the values for which sites located in different geographical region have been nominated. Hence, in total, three categories of cultural heritage on the World Heritage List are considered: the most typical sites (European religious properties), typical sites (Non-European religious properties) and under-represented sites (industrial heritage).

As the UNESCO World Heritage Centre has not established an official list of religious properties on the World Heritage List, the selection was guided by the ICOMOS multi-category analysis of this List (ICOMOS 2003). In a number of cases, only nomination dossiers which focus solely on a religious property, as indicated by their title, were considered. In a few cases, the nomination dossier of a religious site and its associated civil buildings was selected when a strong link was established, in this dossier, between these different civil and religious monuments. This is the case,

for instance, of the nomination dossiers of 'Studley Royal Park and the ruins of Fountains Abbey' (Government of the United Kingdom 1986) or 'Assisi, the Basilica of San Francesco and other Franciscan Sites' (Government of Italy 1999) which only briefly describe the secular buildings within the nominated property. Conversely, the nomination dossier of 'Paris, Banks of the Seine' (Government of France 1990) which includes Notre Dame de Paris was not selected even though the latter is an important religious monument. This nomination dossier does not focus primarily on Notre Dame and does not clearly link Notre Dame with the other monuments which form it.

As for archaeological sites, only nomination dossiers that primarily concentrate on a religious structure or sites described in nomination dossiers as 'sacred' were taken into account. This is the case, for instance, of the 'Pre-Hispanic City of Teotihuacan' (Government of Mexico 1986) or the 'Pre-Hispanic City of Chichen-Itza' (Government of Mexico 1987b). As illustrated in Table 3.1 a total of one hundred and six nomination dossiers were selected which represents 19% of the cultural heritage sites on the World Heritage List and 14.5 % of the whole List as of March 2003 (descriptions of these properties are provided in Appendix 6). A total of nineteen out of one hundred and seven States Parties (18%) that have cultural heritage sites on the World Heritage List have been selected (as of March 2003).

Table 3.1. List of the 106 selected properties

States Parties selected (in alphabetical order)	Religious heritage in Europe. Control Group. Most typical category on the World Heritage List (the dates are those when the nomination dossier was written)	Religious heritage in non-European countries. Typical category of sites on the World Heritage List (the dates are those when the nomination dossier was written)	Industrial Heritage Under represented category on the World Heritage List (the dates are those when the nomination dossier was written)
Austria		N/A	1995 Semmering Railway 1996 Hallstatt-Dachstein Salzkammergut Cultural Landscape
Belgium	1997 Flemish Béguinages 1999 Notre-Dame Cathedral in Tournai	N/A	1997 The Four Lifts on the Canal du Centre and their Environs, La Louvière and Le Roeulx (Hainault) 1999 Neolithic Flint Mines at Spiennes (Mons)
Bolivia	N/A	1989 Jesuit Missions of the Chiquitos 1997 Fuerte de Samaipata 1999 Tiwanaku: Spiritual and Political Centre of the Tiwanaku Culture	1986 City of Potosí
Brazil	N/A	1982 Ruins of São Miguel das Misões 1984 Sanctuary of Bom Jesus do Congonhas	1979 Historic Town of Ouro Preto

China	N/A	<p>1986 Mogao Caves</p> <p>1993 Ancient Building Complex in the Wudang Mountains</p> <p>1993 Temple and Cemetery of Confucius, and the Kong Family Mansion in Qufu</p> <p>1993, 1999, 2000 Historic Ensemble of the Potala Palace, Lhasa</p> <p>1997 Temple of Heaven: an Imperial Sacrificial Altar in Beijing</p> <p>1998 Dazu Rock Carvings</p> <p>1999 Longmen Grottoes</p> <p>2000 Yungang Grottoes</p>	<p>1999 Mount Qincheng and the Dujiangyan Irrigation System</p>
Czech Republic	1993 Pilgrimage Church of St John of Nepomuk at Zelena Hora	N/A	<p>1994 Kutná Hora: Historic Town Centre with the Church of St Barbara and the Cathedral of Our Lady at Sedlec</p>
Finland	1990 Petäjävesi Old Church	N/A	<p>1995 Verla Groundwood and Board Mill</p>
France		<p>1979 Chartres Cathedral</p> <p>1979 Mont-Saint-Michel and its Bay</p> <p>1979 Vézelay, Church and Hill</p> <p>1980 Amiens Cathedral</p> <p>1980 Cistercian Abbey of Fontenay</p> <p>1982 Church of Saint-Savin sur Gartempe</p> <p>1990 Cathedral of Notre-Dame, Former Abbey of Saint-Remi and Palace of Tau, Reims</p> <p>1991 Bourges Cathedral</p> <p>1997 Routes of Santiago de Compostela in France</p>	<p>1981 Royal Saltworks of Arc-et-Senans</p> <p>1984 Pont du Gard (Roman Aqueduct)</p> <p>1995 Canal du Midi</p>

<p>Germany</p>	<p>1978 Aachen Cathedral 1980 Speyer Cathedral 1982 Pilgrimage church of Wies 1984 St Mary's Cathedral and St Michael's Church at Hildesheim 1991 Abbey and Altenmünster of Lorsch 1991 Maulbronn Monastery Complex 1995 Cologne Cathedral 1999 Monastic Island of Reichenau</p>	<p>N/A</p>	<p>1991 Mines of Rammelsberg and Historic Town of Goslar 1993 Völklingen Ironworks 1999 The Zollverein Coal Mine Industrial Complex in Essen</p>
<p>India</p>	<p>N/A</p>	<p>1982 Ajanta Caves 1982 Ellora Caves 1982 Sun Temple, Konarak 1982 Khajuraho Group of Monuments 1982 Churches and Convents of Goa 1982 Elephanta Caves 1982 Group of Monuments at Pattadakal 1983 Group of Monuments at Mahabalipuram 1987 Brihadisvara Temple, Thanjavur 1989 Buddhist Monuments at Sanchi 1992 Qutb Minar and its Monuments, Delhi 2002 Mahabodhi Temple Complex at Bodh Gaya</p>	<p>1998 Darjeeling Himalayan Railway</p>

Italy	<p>1979 The Church and Dominican Convent of Santa Maria delle Grazie with the 'Last Supper' by Leonardo da Vinci</p> <p>1986 Piazza del Duomo, Pisa</p> <p>1995 Early Christian Monuments of Ravenna</p> <p>1996 Cathedral, Torre Civica and Piazza Grande, Modena</p> <p>1999 Assisi, the Basilica of San Francesco and other Franciscan Sites</p>	N/A	<p>1994 Crespi d'Adda</p> <p>1996 18th Century Royal Palace at Caserta with the Park, the Aqueduct of Vanvitelli, and the San Leucio Complex</p>
Mexico	N/A	<p>1986 Pre-Hispanic City of Teotihuacan</p> <p>1987 Pre-Hispanic City of Chichen-Itza</p> <p>1993 Earliest 16th Century Monasteries on the Slopes of Popocatepetl</p>	<p>1987 Historic Town of Guanajuato and Adjacent Mines</p> <p>1992 Historic Centre of Zacatecas</p>
Netherlands		N/A	<p>1996 Mill Network at Kinderdijk-Elshout</p> <p>1997 D.F. Wouda Steam Pumping Station</p> <p>1998 Beemster Polder</p>
Norway	1977 Urnes Stave Church	N/A	1978 Røros
Poland	<p>1998 Kalwaria Zebrzydowska: the Mannerist Architectural and Park Landscape Complex and Pilgrimage Park</p> <p>2000 Churches of Peace in Jawor and Swidnica</p>	N/A	1978 Wieliczka Salt Mine
Slovakia	1991 Spišský Hrad and its Associated Cultural Monuments	N/A	1991 Banska Stiavnica

Spain	<p>1983 Burgos Cathedral 1983 Monastery and site of The Escorial, Madrid 1988 Poblet Monastery 1992 Royal Monastery of Santa Maria de Guadalupe 1992 Route of Santiago de Compostela 1996 San Millán Yuso and Suso Monasteries 2000 Catalan Romanesque Churches of the Vall de Boi</p>	N/A	<p>1985 Old Town of Segovia and its Aqueduct 1996 Las Médulas</p>
Sweden	<p>1989 Skogskyrkogården 1995 Church Village of Gammelstad, Luleå</p>	N/A	<p>1989 Engelsberg Ironworks 2000 Mining Area of the Great Copper Mountain in Falun</p>
United Kingdom	<p>1985 Durham Castle and Cathedral 1986 Studley Royal Park including the Ruins of Fountains Abbey 1987 Westminster Palace, Westminster Abbey and Saint Margaret's Church 1987 Canterbury Cathedral, St Augustine's Abbey and St Martin's Church</p>	N/A	<p>1985 Ironbridge Gorge 1999 Blaenavon Industrial Landscape 2000 New Lanark 2000 Saltaire 2000 Derwent Valley Mills</p>

3.3.3 Non-variables and variables

3.3.3.1. Non-variables

Non-variables are elements within the data sets that remain constant. The language that nomination dossiers were submitted in is considered to be a non-variable. In fact, each nomination dossier had to be fully understood to code it in a consistent manner, regardless of the language in which it was submitted. Since the author of this research is bilingual in French and English, only nomination dossiers which were submitted in French and English were taken into consideration. Although nomination dossiers are only supposed to be nominated in English and French, they have also been submitted in other languages. These dossiers, such as the Vatican City (Holy See, 1983) which is written in Italian, were omitted no matter how important the religious or industrial heritage site was.

3.3.3.2. Nominal and interval variables

‘Variables can be defined as the observable characteristics that vary among the population’ (Palmquist 2003). Nominal variables cannot be ordered, and do not refer to any measurement (Shennan 1997, 9). States Parties are nominal variables. Nomination dossiers can also be considered to be nominal variables, since none is identical and each differs slightly according to the geographical and cultural environment in which it was written. These aspects have been taken into account in the qualitative analysis of the results of the data analysis by focusing on the individual characteristic of each dossier whenever possible (see Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7).

An interval variable is a ‘variable in which both the order of data points and distance between data points can be determined, e.g. percentage scores and distances’ (Palmquist 2003). The dates on which nomination dossiers were written are interval variables. Dates are an important variable as this research looks at the evolution of the values for which properties have been nominated over time for inscription on the World Heritage List. Unless indicated, this thesis refers to the year when nomination dossiers were written and not when they were included on the World Heritage List. The date of drafting can then be more closely correlated to the framework of the

World Heritage Convention, in particular the Operational Guidelines, which are often subjected to revision. Indeed, as further detailed in the chapters interpreting the results of the data analysis, nomination dossiers have, in some cases, been analysed in the light of the text of the Operational Guidelines to which they correspond. It has hence been necessary to refer to the dates when nomination dossiers were written because they correspond to a specific version of the Operational Guidelines and cultural heritage criteria.

The dated changes in the format and requested content of the nomination dossier which are laid out in the Operational Guidelines can also be considered as interval variables. These changes reflect discussions and decisions taken at the World Heritage Committee meetings. These changes in the required content of the nomination dossiers in the Operational Guidelines are recorded in Table 3.2 from 1977 to 2002. Table 3.2 does not present the requested content of the nomination dossier in the 2002 draft revised version of the Operational Guidelines as this format has not yet been implemented.

Another interval variable consists of the number of pages and words of each of the nomination dossiers. They have evolved over time, with the earliest nomination dossiers being rather short in comparison with the most recent ones. The nomination dossier of 'Wieliczka Salt Mine' (Government of Poland 1978) for instance, which was one of the first properties to be inscribed on the World Heritage List is only five pages long. Conversely, the nomination dossier of the 'Catalan Romanesque Churches of the Vall de Boí' (Government of Spain 2000) written twenty-two years later is 245 pages long.

Table 3.2. Evolution in the requested content of nomination dossiers in the Operational Guidelines from 1977 to 2002

1. 1977 version of the Operational Guidelines (Paragraph 13), unmodified in 1978 (Paragraph 13)	2. 1980 version of the Operational Guidelines (Paragraph 33); unmodified in 1983 (Paragraph 41.) and 1986 (Paragraph 50)
<p>'(i) Specific location</p> <p>Country. State, Province or Region. Name of property (local and eventually other names) Exact location on map and indication of geographical co-ordinates.</p> <p>(ii) Juridical data</p> <p>Owner Legal status Responsible administration</p> <p>(iii) Identification</p> <p>Description and inventory Maps and/or plans Photographic and/or cinematographic documentation History Bibliography</p> <p>(iv) State of preservation/conservation</p> <p>Diagnosis Agent responsible for preservation and conservation History of preservation/conservation Proposed projects for preservation/conservation Means for preservation/conservation (legal, technical, administrative and financial ones, etc.) Management plans</p> <p>(v) Justification for inclusion in the World Heritage list</p> <p>For cultural property the justification should be based on the criteria listed in paragraph 7.</p>	<p>'(i) <u>Specific location</u></p> <p>Country State, province or region Name of property Maps and plans with indications of location of property and of geographical co-ordinates</p> <p>(ii) <u>Juridical data</u></p> <p>Owner Legal Status: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Category of ownership (public or private) • Details of legal and administrative protective measures, taken or envisaged for the conservation of property • State of occupancy and accessibility to the general public Responsible administration</p> <p>(iii) <u>Identification</u></p> <p>Description and inventory Photographic and cinematographic documentation History Bibliography</p> <p>(iv) <u>State of preservation/conservation</u></p> <p>Diagnosis Agent responsible for preservation/conservation History of preservation/conservation Measures for preservation/conservation (including management plans or proposals for such plans) Development plans for the region</p> <p>(v) <u>Justification for inclusion in the World Heritage List</u></p> <p>All relevant information to be provided to demonstrate that the property nominated is of 'outstanding universal value' in terms of the criteria adopted by the Committee. Statement is to include a comparative evaluation of properties of the same type or having similar features which are found in other countries'</p>

<p>(excluding the section requesting specific supplementary documents (maps, legal texts, photos...))</p> <p>3. 1988 version of the Operational Guidelines (Paragraph 52); unmodified in 1992 (Paragraph 54), 1994 (Paragraph 65), 1995 (Paragraph 64) and 1996 (Paragraph 64)</p> <p>(a) Specific location</p> <p>Country State, province or region Name of property Maps and plans with indications of location of property and of geographical Co-ordinates</p> <p>(b) Juridical data</p> <p>Owner</p> <p>Legal status:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> . category of ownership (public or private) . details of legal and administrative provisions for the protection of the property. . The nature of the legal texts as well as their conditions of implementation should be clearly specified. . state of occupancy and accessibility to the general public <p>Responsible administration</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> . details should be given to the mechanism or body already set up or intended to be established in order to ensure the proper management of the property <p>(c) Identification</p> <p>Description and inventory Photographic and cinematographic documentation History Bibliography</p> <p>(d) State of preservation/conservation</p> <p>Diagnosis Agent responsible for preservation/conservation History of preservation/conservation Measures for preservation/conservation (including management plans or</p>	<p>4. 1997 version of the Operational Guidelines (Section G. Paragraph 64); unmodified in 1999 (Section G. Paragraph 64)</p> <p>1. <u>Identification of the Property</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Country (and State Party if different) b. State, Province or Region c. Name of Property d. Exact location on map and indication of geographical coordinates to the nearest second e. Maps and/or plans showing boundary of area proposed for inscription and of any buffer zone f. Area of site proposed for inscription (ha.) and proposed buffer zone (ha.) if any <p>2. <u>Justification for Inscription</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Statement of significance b. Possible comparative analysis (including state of conservation of similar sites) c. Authenticity/Integrity d. Criteria under which inscription is proposed (and justification for inscription under these criteria) <p>3. <u>Description</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Description of Property b. History and Development c. Form and date of most recent records of site d. Present state of conservation e. Policies and programmes related to the presentation and promotion of the property <p>4. <u>Management</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Ownership b. Legal status c. Protective measures and means of implementing them d. Agency/agencies with management authority e. Level at which management is exercised (e.g., on site, regionally) and
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<p>Proposals for such plans) Development plans for the region</p> <p>(e) Justification for inclusion in the World Heritage List</p> <p>Information should be provided under three separate headings as follows: (i) the reasons for which the property is considered to meet one or more of the criteria set out under paragraphs 24 and 36 [paragraph 24 and 44 in the 1994, 1995 and 1996 version of the Operational Guidelines] above, ii) an evaluation of the property's present state of preservation as compared with similar properties elsewhere; iii) indications as to the authenticity of the property'</p>	<p>name and address of responsible person for contact purposes</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> f. Agreed plans related to property (e.g., regional, local plan, conservation plan, tourism development plan) g. Sources and levels of finance h. Sources of expertise and training in conservation and management techniques i. Visitor facilities and statistics j. Site management plan and statement of objectives (copy to be annexed) k. Staffing levels (professional, technical, maintenance) <p>5. <u>Factors Affecting the Site</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Development Pressures (e.g., encroachment, adaptation, agriculture, mining) b. Environmental Pressures (e.g., pollution, climate change) c. Natural disasters and preparedness (earthquakes, floods, fires, etc.) d. Visitor/ tourism pressures e. Number of inhabitants within site, buffer zone f. Other <p>6. <u>Monitoring</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Key indicators for measuring state of conservation b. Administrative arrangements for monitoring property c. Results of previous reporting exercises'
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One of the aims of this research is to establish the quantitative evolution of the values for which the selected sites have been nominated for inclusion on the World Heritage List over time. Since the nomination dossiers have, in general, changed in length over time, this study might be biased because the documents being compared are not the same length. A similar problem relates to the number of sentences of nomination dossiers. As further explained below (Section 3.4.3.), the sentence is the unit chosen to code the selected nomination dossiers. This study might also be skewed because each nomination dossier is composed of different numbers of sentences. However, as detailed below in Section 3.6., the quantitative interpretation of the results of the data analysis is not based on a study of all the results of the coding of each separate nomination dossier. The quantitative interpretation is based on an analysis of the mean or average of the results of the quantitative analysis calculated over a five year period. Analyses of the mean or average of the results over a five year period have helped to even out the differences in the length and in the number of sentences of nomination dossiers.

3.4. Methodology for the analysis of the sampled population

3.4.1. Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software versus manual data handling

Although manual data handling and analysing have been widely employed using card index and 'cut-and-paste techniques' (Kelle 1995, 5; Taylor and Bogdan 1984, 136), an alternative method was looked for due to the amount of data that needed to be analysed, including some five hundred pages long nomination dossiers (see, for instance, the 'Routes of Santiago de Compostela in France', 1997): 'Cards and file folders are reasonably workable if the number of sites is small and the data collection not extended. But they are increasingly difficult and very time-consuming as the database gets larger' (Miles and Huberman 1984, 67; Kelle 1995, 5).

A Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS) was chosen to code the nomination dossiers. CAQDAS is becoming increasingly used in the fields of social sciences such as psychology, sociology and political sciences (see for instance, Barry 1998; Kelle 1997, 1; Coffey, Holbrook, and Atkinson 1996, 7). The

author of this research is not aware that CAQDAS has ever been used in a published academic project in the field of archaeology, understood in its widest sense as encompassing cultural resource management, cultural heritage and material studies. The author circulated an electronic mail to an active list of more than 800 members who use ATLAS.ti (see www.atlasti.de), requesting information on published research in archaeology which has used this method. None of the members knew of such a method having been used in the field of archaeology. Hence the methodology used for analyzing the nomination dossiers is innovative. The use of a CAQDAS program was first considered whilst researching a more suitable method than the manual coding of nomination dossiers and reading literature in the wider field of social science.

Using a CAQDAS program presents a number of advantages in comparison with the manual coding of nomination dossiers. As further explained below (Section 3.4.3.), CAQDAS facilitates the coding of texts more systematically and thoroughly than doing it manually (Fielding 1994), and helps manage the data and assist in the mundane task of ordering the data material (Kelle 1997, 15). Moreover, some CAQDAS programs enable the automatic quantification of codes, an important stage in the data analysis (see Section 3.4.5. for more details). This helps in determining the frequency of values mentioned in nomination dossiers and in drawing patterns concerning their evolution (Kelle 1995, 9).

Using CAQDAS for handling data analysis presents some problems (see Seidel 1991; Kelle 1995). Social scientists are interested in the meaning of texts which are ambiguous and have to be understood in all their complexity and subtleties. Computers will never be able to comprehend a text in the same way as the human brain. This is the reason why it is often felt that 'content analysis is too atomistic and over-simplistic to really capture the semantic content of texts' (Kracauer 1952/1953, 632). Nonetheless social scientists do not use computers to analyse text. 'The central analytic task in qualitative analysis - understanding the meaning of text - cannot be computerised because it is not an algorithmic process and hence cannot be considered a mechanical task' (Kelle 1995, 3). At each step of the data analysis the role of the computer remains restricted to a tool for the intelligent management, storing and retrieving of the data (Kelle 1997, 14). The analysis itself is undertaken by the human

interpreter. It was important to be aware of these limitations before choosing a CAQDAS program and starting the analysis.

3.4.2. Programs considered and chosen

An increasing number of Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software programs are available, some of which were not suitable for this analysis. ATLAS.ti was chosen after reading comparative literature on text analysis softwares (see for instance Alexa and Zuell 1999; Barry 1998; Tesch 1990), and trying the demonstration versions of ATALS.ti, QSR Nud*ist (Qualitative Solution and Research; Non-Numeric Unstructured Data * Indexing, Searching, and Theorizing) and Ethnographer in order to compare them.

As the unit of coding was the sentence (see Section 3.4.3. for more details), it was necessary to choose a program which would allow any amount of text to be coded as some sentences are short. This is the reason why Ethnographer, for instance, was not chosen as the smallest unit of text that this program can code is forty-two characters and some sentences in nomination dossiers were shorter than that (Qualitative Research and Consulting 2003). As explained below (Section 3.4.3.), when coding, special attention was given to the different explicit and implicit meanings that could be given to each sentence and the ambiguities in the use of specific terms. Sentences were coded with as many codes as necessary to reflect these different meanings. Programs which did not allow manual and multiple codings were discarded without trial, including, for instance, Code-A-Text, Diction or DIMAP-MCCA (Dictionary Maintenance Programs-Minnesota Context Content Analysis) (Alexa and Zuell 1999, 10).

QSR Nud*ist software and ATLAS.ti presented all the features required, such as on-screen manual and automatic coding, display of codes, unlimited layers of coding, search engine and the possibility of merging different documents that have been coded separately. ATLAS.ti was chosen since it has the easiest learning curve and the most user-friendly interface. On a more pragmatic level, ATLAS.ti was also chosen because it is a low-cost product in comparison with other similar CAQDAS programs.

3.4.3. Steps followed in coding the sampled population

The first step was to collect the sampled nomination dossiers. The nomination dossiers that had been inscribed on the World Heritage List from 1978 to 2000 were provided by the World Heritage Centre on CD-ROMs in 'read only' Portable Document Format (PDF). The eight remaining nomination dossiers of sites inscribed on the World Heritage List in 2001 and 2002 were accessed and photocopied at the ICOMOS World Heritage Documentation Centre in Paris. All the nomination dossiers provided on CD-ROMs from the World Heritage Centre were checked against their hard copies at ICOMOS Documentation Centre to make sure that the definite and final version of nomination dossiers, on which the World Heritage Committee based its decision to inscribe a site on the World Heritage List or defer it, was taken into consideration. In fact, in some cases, including instances of referral or deferral of the nomination dossier by the World Heritage Committee or its Bureau, more than one version exists of nomination dossiers. For example, the World Heritage Centre's CD-ROM does not include the final version of the nomination dossier of 'Westminster Palace, Westminster Abbey, and Saint Margaret's Church' (Government of the United Kingdom 1987a). This property was initially nominated as Westminster Palace only. This is this version that is available on the CD-ROM. Following ICOMOS and the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee's recommendations for deferral, an enlarged nominated dossier was submitted including not only Westminster Palace but also Westminster Abbey and Saint Margaret's Church. This final version, available at ICOMOS Documentation Centre, was the one taken into consideration in this research.

Documents could only be analysed in ATLAS.ti if they were in ASCII code (American Standard Code for Information Interchange), *id est* in text format. Hence the second step was to scan and digitise all the nomination dossiers using Optical Character Recognition (OCR) and save them as text-only files. Scanning was labour intensive in the case of long documents such as the 500 page nomination dossier of the Routes of Santiago de Compostela in France (France, 1998). A number of factors affected OCR accuracy and the scanned nomination dossiers required further editing. This was especially the case for the nomination dossiers in French and those which contained foreign terms as well as faded types (as in the case of some early

nomination dossiers) (see Haigh 1996, 3). Variations in typeface such as bold, italics, font size or use of unusual fonts which are common features of nomination dossiers also resulted in lack of proper reading of the characters (Haigh 1996, 4). Some of the earliest nomination dossiers were not recognised by OCR because of their poor quality and had to be re-typed manually. OCR also did not recognise tables. These tables, which refer, *inter alia*, to visitor figures or the structure of the staff team managing the property, were not taken into consideration when coding nomination dossiers but have been referred to in the further stage of the interpretation and analysis (see Chapter 6, Section 6.2.). The most recent nomination dossiers and in particular those of the 'Derwent Valley Mills' (Government of the United Kingdom 2000a), 'New Lanark' (Government of the United Kingdom 2000b) and 'Saltaire' (Government of the United Kingdom 2000c) also required a fair amount of editing due to their aesthetic and stylistic presentation. Some sections of these nomination dossiers consisted of some photographs in the background with some texts in the foreground. These sections were not recognized by OCR and had to be typed manually. Because of the length of these three nomination dossiers, scanning and editing them was a very time-consuming task.

Once the nomination dossiers had been scanned and digitised, the third step was to decide on the unit of text to be coded. It was decided that the basic unit of text to be coded would be the sentence. A sentence was understood as being 'a group of words that form a statement, command, exclamation or question and which begins by a capital letter and ends with any of the following marks .!?' (Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English 1992, 952). Coding by word would have been virtually impossible because of the amount of text available and coding by paragraph would not have provided the desired degree of detail.

It was also decided at that stage to code the whole text for frequency and not for existence. Coding for frequency means that each concept or idea is counted as many times as it is referred to within the texts. Existence means that each idea or concept is counted only once no matter how many times it appears (Palmquist 2003). Coding for existence would have provided very limited insight into nomination dossiers as it would not have helped to quantify precisely each value. Nonetheless, the information contained within each sentence was coded for existence and not for frequency. If one

specific code such as 'reference to the lower classes/women', for instance, was used three times in a sentence, it was only counted once within this specific sentence.

Once all the nomination dossiers had been scanned and edited, the fourth step was to code them using ATLAS.ti. A code can be defined as 'a container that can hold material unified by a common definition' (Richards and Richards 1995, 82). In this research, codes, values and categories are used as synonymous terms. The codes had to reflect both the wider historic and conceptual framework, presented in Chapter 1 and 2 and the empirical data (Kelle 1997, 12; Roller, Mathes and Eckert 1995, 170). As stressed by Araujo creating categories/codes: 'constitutes a dual challenge: on the one hand the categories must be empirically grounded and be defined in relation to chunks of data. On the other hand, categories must be related to the wider conceptual framework' (1995, 96).

The four categories defined and explained in Chapter 2 (Section 2.4.1.) namely social, architectural and aesthetic, economic and informational values formed the basis for the development of the coding system. Coding was undertaken chronologically, starting from the earliest nomination dossiers. The four categories mentioned above were sufficient to code these early nomination dossiers which are rather short. As the nomination dossiers analysed became more substantial and detailed, these four categories became too broad. Sub-categories were created to reflect in more detail the wealth of information contained in nomination dossiers. These categories and sub-categories emerged by a slow process of reading each sentence of nomination dossiers and associating it with a code. They were refined by becoming more and more familiar with the content of the nomination dossiers and by constantly creating, renaming, deleting and redefining categories and sub-categories (Kelle 1997). Consequently, as explained in Section 3.4.4., the whole coding of nomination dossiers had to be undertaken a second time when the list of categories and sub-categories was finalised in order to ensure consistency.

Hence coding was regarded as an interpretative task for the purposes of this research. Special attention was given to the different explicit and implicit meanings that could be given to each sentence and the ambiguities in the use of specific terms. Sentences were coded with as many codes as required to highlight these different meanings. It

was necessary to create categories and sub-categories broad enough to encompass the diversity of information contained in the nomination dossiers of the three groups of cultural heritage taken into consideration (religious heritage of European countries, religious heritage of non-European countries and industrial heritage). Conversely, the number of categories created had to be limited, to avoid repeating the information contained in each category and counting it more than once (Richards and Richards 1995, 86-88). This does not contradict the assignment of one sentence to more than one category. Assigning one sentence to more than one category helps highlight its different meanings and does not count the same information twice. For instance, the sentence 'Charlemagne was crowned at Reims' can be coded using the two following codes: 'political value' and 'reference to the middle and upper classes/men' (see Section 3.5. for a definition of the codes used).

ATLAS.ti was an essential tool in facilitating the coding of sentences by easily enabling the deletion and renaming of codes/categories. ATLAS.ti was never used for coding the data in an automated way, that is by setting parameters and running a search for frequency of certain words. As explained above, coding was undertaken at both an explicit and implicit level and automated coding would have prevented recording the implicit meanings of some words, phrases or sentences. Automated coding would also have caused more errors as some homonyms cannot be distinguished by computer. This is the case, for instance, with the word 'mine' which can be a pronoun, an explosive device or a hole in the ground (Palmquist 2003).

It was important to code as many sentences of each nomination dossier as possible to mirror the information they contained. Nonetheless some information which would not have helped to answer the research questions was not taken into consideration and was not coded. This includes the bibliography, the photographic and/or cinematographic documentation, the sources and levels of funding and/or any address, maps and plans.

This stage also included the definition of translation rules. This consists of 'developing a set of rules [which] helps the researcher ensure that he/she is coding things consistently throughout the text, in the same way every time' (Palmquist 2003). In this research, these translation rules consisted of defining and limiting precisely

each code to the information it should record. These definitions are presented in the section below (Section 3.5.). Translation rules are crucial as they protect against the analysis being invalid and give the coding process a crucial level of consistency and coherence (Seidel and Kelle 1995, 54). Creating the translation rules was a slow process which was not completed until all the nomination dossiers had been coded, when the researcher had full information on each code. For this reason, the whole coding of nomination dossiers had to be undertaken a second time to check for inconsistencies. As a result, coding was a very long and time-consuming process. However, a high level of consistency and rigour was thus achieved in coding the nomination dossiers.

3.4.4. Issues of reliability and validity

In this research, reliability is understood narrowly as being synonymous with stability. Stability is defined as ‘the tendency for coders to consistently re-code the same data in the same way over a period of time (diachronic reliability)’ (Palmquist 2003). By re-coding all the nomination dossiers after having coded them all once and having defined all the translation rules, a high degree of stability was achieved. Additionally, it can be argued that a high degree of stability was achieved since the coding was undertaken by one person only. Indeed, differences of interpretation of the same text might have occurred if more than one person had coded the data set.

Validity refers to ‘the degree to which a study accurately reflects or assesses the specific concept that the researcher is attempting to measure’ (Palmquist 2003). External validity refers to the extent to which the results of a study are generalisable. One hundred and six nomination dossiers of cultural heritage sites for World Heritage status have been sampled which represent 14.5% of the whole World Heritage List as of March 2003. Three types of cultural heritage were selected, firstly the most typical sites, secondly typical properties and finally an under-represented category of properties on the World Heritage List. This selection has enabled a variety of case studies to be taken into consideration which would allow some generalisations to be drawn regarding similar types of properties. Internal validity refers ‘to the rigor with which the study was conducted’ (Palmquist 2003). The previous Section 3.4.3. as well

as the paragraph above on the reliability/stability of the analysis have covered this aspect of internal validity.

3.4.5. Results of the analyses

The coding of the nomination dossiers was followed by a frequency count of the occurrence of each code within each of the nomination dossiers. This stage was automated by ATLAS.ti. These results have been tabulated and presented in Appendix 7. This stage also included calculating the percentages of each of the frequency counts. Again, the results have been tabulated and presented in Appendix 8.

3.5. Definition of the categories and sub-categories

3.5.1. Introduction

The following section systematically defines each of the categories or sub-categories that have been used to code the nomination dossiers. The four main overall categories, namely social, architectural and aesthetic, economic and information values have already been defined and presented in Chapter 2 (Section 2.4.1.). When available and as presented below, existing definitions given by UNESCO of the categories and sub-categories have been used. Since these values/categories have been used to code a wide variety of nomination dossiers from nineteen different States Parties, it was decided to use the most orthodox, widely used and understood definition of each category as provided by the online version of the Oxford English dictionary or other encyclopaedia such as the New Encyclopaedia Britannica. These definitions were chosen over more unusual or restricted ones which might have been problematic in coding the dossiers.

3.5.2. Social value

'Social value' has been sub-divided into nine sub-categories: 'political value', 'religious value', 'reference to the lower classes/women', 'reference to the lower classes/men', 'reference to the lower classes/collective citation', 'references to the middle and upper classes/women', 'reference to the middle and upper classes/men',

‘reference to the middle and upper classes/collective citation’ and ‘references to the local population’.

3.5.2.1. Political value

‘Political value’ refers to political actions or practices. Politics is defined as ‘the science dealing with the form, organisation, and administration of a state or part of one, and with the regulation of its relations with other states’ (Oxford English Dictionary Online). This sub-category codes sentences explaining the importance of the site for the political development of the country or, in the case of former colonial countries, of the former colonial power and the role played by the nominated property in the fight for independence from this colonial power. ‘Political value’ also codes the involvement of specific monarchs or members of governments in the construction, development and/or destruction of the nominated property, buildings located within this property or other sites mentioned in the nomination dossier. This value also refers to royal and governmental rituals that take place within the property such as royal coronation ceremonies, royal weddings and burials. This value also codes references to the organisation of trade unions and other political organisations.

3.5.2.2. Religious value

‘Religious value’ has been understood in this research, and, as defined above, (see Section 3.3.1.) in a broad way as encompassing what humankind considers to be ‘holy, sacred, spiritual or divine’ (New Encyclopaedia Britannica 1995, 1016), whether or not a God is being worshipped. The teachings of Confucius, for instance, who is not considered *stricto sensu* as a God have been coded as religious value. Because of the wide sample taken into consideration in this research, many religions are represented including the Catholic, Protestant, Islamic, Buddhist and Taoist faiths. More precisely, the sub-category ‘religious value’ refers to explanations of the spiritual dimension of the nominated property and/or of specific movable and non-movable works of art located within the boundary of the nominated property or of other sites mentioned in the nomination dossier. It also records the relationship between the site and religious figures such as saints or apostles. In fact, the nominated property might be, for instance, the place where a saint was born, where s/he taught

and/or preached and/or where s/he was tortured and/or killed. This value also records quotes from religious books such as the Bible, religious customs, traditions or rituals that have been and are still being staged within the property, and the organisation of pilgrimages. When a religious monument has been described for its architectural and not for its spiritual importance, the sentence has been coded as 'architectural value of religious buildings, works of art, remains', and not as 'religious value'.

3.5.2.3. References to lower, middle and upper classes (women, men and collective citation) and to the local population

The other seven sub-categories record the representation of human and cultural diversity, in particular, references to the lower, middle and upper classes as well as references to the local population. Six sub-categories code references to people according to their stated social class. Social class refers to 'how people make a living' (Smelter and Bates 2001, 1933) and to their social status. This classification is important to determine who is represented in/ omitted from nomination dossiers. More specifically, the two sub-categories 'reference to the lower classes, women' and 'reference to the lower classes, men' refer to the coding of any description and explanation of the living and working conditions of poor people and low-paid manual workers according to their biological sex, whether masculine or feminine. The value 'reference to the lower classes, collective citation' refers to mentions of the lower class taken as a whole or references to a number of individuals or families.

Lower class includes those 'who hold low paying jobs and [in some circumstances] low skilled jobs and lack of property. Associated with these conditions are relatively low living standards, restricted access to higher education and exclusion, to a certain extent, from the spheres of important decision-making' (New Encyclopaedia Britannica 1995, 919). This sub-category includes, for instance, miners or bricklayers as well as the peasantry. A peasant is defined as a small farmer or labourer who works on the land and 'relies for his subsistence mainly on the produce of his own labour and that of his household' (Oxford English Dictionary Online).

The two sub-categories 'reference to the middle and upper classes, women' and 'reference to the middle and upper classes, men' code references to the middle or

upper classes according to their biological sex, whether masculine or feminine. The value 'reference to the middle and upper classes, collective citation' refers to mentions of the middle and/or upper classes taken as a whole, a collection or number of individuals or references to families. Middle and upper classes include references to property owners, engineers, financial entrepreneurs and their families who have inhabited, invested and/or worked in the nominated property or related ones mentioned in the nomination dossier. They also record mentions of the intelligentsia (artists, painters, musicians, writers...) associated with the property because it was or has been their place of residence and/or it is depicted in their work. They also include architects who built the nominated property completely or partially, or worked on some of the buildings within it or on other buildings mentioned in the nomination dossier. They also record official figures including members of royal families and of governments. They also contain members of the clergy associated with the property or other properties mentioned in the nomination dossiers.

The value 'local population' codes generic references to groups which inhabited or still inhabit or work regularly (at least six months a year) or permanently within the site. This code refers to specific local groups such as the Catholics or the Protestants as well as mention of ethnic groups that inhabit the property or the buffer zone. This sub-category also records mentions of the number of people inhabiting the property or its demographic evolution. References to the local population might include explanations of the reasons why it values the place and its emotional attachment to it, how it uses the property or some of its buildings and the special meanings and values it might attach to a site (Johnston 1992, 21). This also includes the roles the local population has played in the nomination for World Heritage status and has and will play in its conservation, management and touristic development. This is an important sub-category since it is stated, in the Operational Guidelines that 'participation of local people in the nomination [and conservation] process is essential to make them feel a shared responsibility with the State Party in the maintenance of the site' (UNESCO February 1997, Paragraph 14).

3.5.3. Architectural and aesthetic value

As stressed by Pearson and Sullivan, when tackling the values for which sites should be conserved in cultural resource management, the architectural and aesthetic values of a building were once the principal determinant in conserving it (1995, 138). It is hence important to record mentions of the architectural and aesthetic value of the buildings referred to in nomination dossiers to determine whether these dossiers focus primarily on this value or on other less traditional ones such as the social value of the site. More precisely, the category 'architectural and aesthetic value' was sub-divided into the following sub-categories namely 'layout of the town/settlement' and architectural and aesthetic value 'of religious buildings, works of art, remains', architectural and aesthetic value 'of secular buildings, works of art, remains' and architectural and aesthetic value 'of industrial buildings, works of art, remains'.

3.5.3.1. Layout of the town/settlement

More specifically, the sub-category 'layout of the town/settlement' codes sentences which provide information on the planning of towns or villages and map out the spatial relationship between the different areas and buildings within them. Descriptions of the layout of monuments which do not include their spatial relationship to the rest of the town were coded as architectural and aesthetic value of religious, secular or industrial buildings and not as layout of the town. Settlement has been used to code description of the topographical setting of a human establishment. The description of the foundation of a town or a village next to a lake or on a mountain, for instance, would be coded as settlement (Bahn 1992, 450). This also includes the geological formation or the soil on which a specific settlement has been established.

3.5.3.2. Architectural and aesthetic value of religious, secular and industrial buildings, works of art, remains

The sub-category 'architectural and aesthetic value of religious buildings, works of art, remains' includes a wide variety of immovable properties of any cult such as churches, cathedrals, chapels, monasteries, convents, temples, grottoes, caves or the

descriptions of parts of them such as altars, vaults or religious statues. More precisely this sub-category refers to the description and/or explanation of the particular styles, forms and artistic features of religious buildings of any cult that still exist or used to be part of the nominated property but have since disappeared as well as other properties mentioned in nomination dossiers. It also records reference to the dimensions of a building and the materials used in its construction. This sub-category also records mention of the spatial layout of religious groups of monuments.

The sub-category 'architectural and aesthetic value of secular buildings, works of art, remains' includes a wide diversity of buildings which are civil, 'non-ecclesiastical, non-religious or non-sacred' (Oxford English Dictionary Online). This includes description of the distinctive architectural and/or aesthetic features of civil buildings, such as castles, town halls, historic hotels, private houses, clock towers, columns, fountains or statues that are still *in situ* or have disappeared. This sub-category also records mentions of the spatial layout of civil groups of monuments.

The sub-category 'architectural and aesthetic value of industrial buildings, works of art, remains' covers places that serve for the extraction or production of materials, for their storage and their transport. Examples include descriptions of mills, ironworks, railway stations, bridges, aqueducts and warehouses as well as pieces of machinery and tools. This sub-category codes descriptions and explanations of the distinctive architectural forms, styles, features and designs of industrial buildings and movable engines that had or still have an industrial use. This also includes descriptions of the dimensions of buildings and the material used in their construction and records mentions of the spatial layout of industrial groups of monuments. This sub-category was only used to code the nomination dossiers of industrial heritage sites. It did not apply to the nomination dossiers of religious sites which do not contain industrial heritage buildings.

3.5.4. Economic value

The category 'economic value' was divided into three sub-categories namely 'touristic venue/visitor numbers', 'visitor facilities and activities' and 'development project/regeneration'. The sub-category 'touristic venue/visitor numbers' refers to the property as a venue open for tourism. It includes, in particular, mention of the opening times of the property or buildings within it and the number of visitors to the property over time. It also codes information on the programmes for the promotion of the nominated property as a touristic venue. It also refers to the mention of tourism as a historic phenomenon occurring over the centuries as the property was, for instance, part of the Grand Tour or a place of pilgrimage.

The sub-category 'visitor facilities and activities' refers, as its name indicates, to the different on-site facilities and activities provided for visitors and tourists. This includes descriptions of on-site interpretation facilities such as museums, visitor centres and exhibitions, signs, audio-visuals aids, guided tours, guide books and brochures. This sub-category also includes descriptions of the provision of car parks, restaurants, refreshment facilities, overnight accommodation, souvenir shops, information desks and lavatories. Sentences describing projects to develop national, regional and local tourist plans, to develop visitor facilities and activities or to launch new press campaigns have been coded as development project.

The sub-category 'development project/regeneration' refers to the different plans (international, national, regional and local) presented in the nomination dossier to develop visitor activities and facilities in order to increase the popularity of the property, provide greater access to it, increase economic income and create employment. Examples range from projects to create museums or interpretation centres to projects for the creation or widening of car parks and restaurants. Regeneration refers to actions that have been, or projects that will be, undertaken to transform derelict buildings or declining areas into active places and improve the quality of people's lives, their well-being, their safety and environment and provide them with more employment and leisure opportunities.

3.5.5. Informational value

'Informational value' was divided into the following sub-categories: 'research value/documentation on the property', 'history and development', 'explanation of the functioning of the industrial structure', 'importance and influence of the property in the region/country/world', 'influence from other countries', 'comparison with other sites' and 'relation between cultural and natural elements'. The sub-category 'research value/documentation on the property' refers to on-site educational and research projects which have been, or are planned to be, conducted on site including archaeological excavations. It also refers to research equipment available on site such as, for instance, an archaeological research centre as well as links with research institutions such as museums or universities. This sub-category also refers to questions raised about the significance of the site that have not yet been solved. It also includes mention of on-site archives and historic books which record the historic significance of the property. This sub-category also codes references and quotes mentioned in the main text of the nomination dossier (but not in the bibliography section which has not been coded as stated in Section 3.4.3.) which explain the different values of the property.

The sub-category 'history and development' records chronological references to dated events linked to the nominated property and other sites mentioned in the nomination dossier. This sub-category also refers to the dated description of phases in the construction, development and changes of the property or buildings within it. This sub-category also codes sentences containing temporal phrases such as 'well into the 20th century', 'in the following years' or 'currently'.

The sub-category 'explanation of the functioning of the industrial structure' refers to the technological and scientific explanations of the working of pieces of machinery and industrial structures such as lifts or textile mills. This sub-category does not apply to religious properties and buildings. Explanations of the functioning of religious properties and buildings have been coded as religious value because these are linked with the celebration of the cult or with religious rituals.

The sub-category 'importance and influence of the property on the region/country/world' indicates the social, economic, architectural or historic influence exerted by the nominated site at an international, national or regional level.

The sub-category 'influence from other countries' records, as its name suggests, the architectural, economic, historic or social influences from other countries. The two categories 'importance and influence of the property in the region/country/world' and 'influence from other countries' help explain the historical, cultural and economic links between countries, continents and cultures and demonstrate the hybridity and universal aspect of the site.

The sub-category 'comparison with other sites' refers to any comparison with similar sites located within or outside the country where the nominated site is located to explain why the property possesses more original characteristics than similar ones. This is an important sub-category as the nominated site should be compared with similar properties to establish its outstanding universal value as well as its higher degree of authenticity and better state of conservation.

The three sub-categories mentioned above ('importance and influence of the property on the region/country/world', 'influence from other countries' and 'comparison with other sites') are very important as they reflect the main overall ideas that have been expressed over the years in the six cultural heritage criteria described in the Operational Guidelines [UNESCO February 1997, Paragraph 24 (a and b)].

The sub-category 'relation between cultural and natural elements' records, as its name indicates, sentences explaining the relationship between the cultural and natural features of the nominated site. This is an important sub-category as the originality of the World Heritage Convention is to recognise the entwined relationship between nature and culture as declared in Article 1: 'for the purposes of this Convention, the following shall be considered as "cultural heritage":

Sites: works of man or the combined works of nature and man, and areas including archaeological sites which are of outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological point of view'.

This sub-category also records mentions of the property as a ‘cultural landscape’ as well as sentences describing the specific features of cultural landscapes as defined in the Operational Guidelines. The definition of the three categories of cultural landscape in the Operational Guidelines is provided in Section 1.4.2. of Chapter 1 *in extenso*. This sub-category is part of the overall category ‘informational value’ because it provides information on the intertwined cultural and natural features of the nominated property.

3.5.6 Authenticity, conservation, restoration, reconstruction, adaptation/re-use, factors affecting the site

Six categories were further created to record the degree of authenticity and state of conservation of the property. In fact, the state of conservation/preservation and degree of authenticity of a site are key elements in the assessment of its value, as stated in the Operational Guidelines [UNESCO February 1997, Paragraph 24(b)]. It is hence important to analyse States Parties’ understanding of these notions and their development over time.

3.5.6.1. Authenticity

For the purposes of this research authenticity has been defined according to its etymological meaning: ‘authentic refers to the Greek *authentikos* (autòs, myself, the same) and the Latin *auctor* (an original, authority) and thus to original as opposed to counterfeit’ (Jokilehto 1999a, 296). Authenticity as original also means being unique, true and genuine (*ibid.*). This research has adopted the definition of authenticity provided in the 2002 draft revised version of the Operational Guidelines which derives from the Nara Document on Authenticity (1994). Indeed this definition is more complex and encompassing than the previous definition of authenticity provided in the Operational Guidelines (see Chapter 1, Section 1.5.4. for more information)

Depending on the nature of the cultural heritage, and its cultural context, properties may be understood to meet the test of authenticity if their cultural values (as recognised in the nomination criteria proposed) are truthfully and credibly expressed through a great variety of attributes including:

- form and design;
- material and substance;
- use and function;
- traditions;
- techniques and management systems;
- location and setting;
- language, and other forms of intangible heritage;
- spirit and feeling; and
- other internal and external factors (UNESCO 28 May 2002, Paragraph II.C.3).

3.5.6.2. Conservation/Preservation

The category 'conservation' refers to description and explanation of the 'diverse processes of looking after a *place* so as to retain its *cultural significance*' [ICOMOS (Australia) 1999, Article 1(4)]. This includes descriptions of the legal measures of protection that apply to the property and explanation of the articles and provisions of these legal tools. This category also codes sentences stating how the current state of conservation is being maintained and explaining conservation plans relating to nominated properties. It also includes sentences explaining measures that have been, or will be, taken against threats and factors affecting the properties such as floods, fires or earthquakes as well as programmes for risk-preparedness. Descriptions of policies for the conservation of the properties have been coded as conservation and not as political value.

3.5.6.3. Restoration

It is important to record mentions of the state of restoration of nominated properties as this can affect their authenticity. The Venice Charter gives a basic definition of restoration as being that it 'aims to preserve and reveal the aesthetic and historical value of the monument and is based on respect for original material and authentic documents'(1964, Article 9). Because of the diversity of definitions of restoration and since this term seems to have been understood differently by States Parties and theorists in the wider field of conservation/restoration, it was difficult, if not impossible, to choose just one specific definition of restoration. In fact, the Burra

Charter, for instance, stresses that restoration consists of ‘returning the existing *fabric* of a place to a known earlier state by removing accretions or by reassembling existing components without the introduction of new materials’ [ICOMOS (Australia) 1999 Article 1(7)]. Nonetheless, as explained by Aplin, it is unlikely that restoration will not introduce new materials such as cement or plaster in revealing the aesthetic and historical value of the monument (2002, 72). This is the reason why, whenever the term restoration was used, it was coded disregarding its implied meaning.

3.5.6.4. Reconstruction

As in the case of the category ‘restoration’, it is important to record the level of reconstruction of nominated properties as this can affect their authenticity. According to the Operational Guidelines, reconstruction is ‘only acceptable if it is carried out on the basis of complete and detailed documentation of the original and to no extent on conjecture’ [UNESCO February 1997, Paragraph 24(b) (ii)]. However, neither the Operational Guidelines nor the Committee have ever defined this term precisely. This is the reason why, whenever the term reconstruction was used in nomination dossiers, it was coded disregarding its implied meaning.

3.5.6.5. Adaptation/re-use

The category ‘adaptation/re-use’ refers to the changes made to the building material or to the property in order to ‘suit the existing *use* or a proposed use’ [ICOMOS (Australia) 1999, Article 1(9)]. This includes, for instance, the installation of heating or electricity. This category also includes compatible re-use which respects the significance of the place and where most changes are reversible. As Aplin explains, compatible re-use of a building would, for instance, ‘include using false ceilings to lower the ceiling height and hide necessary electrical wiring and air-conditioning ducts while retaining and protecting the original decorative ceiling’ (2002, 73). This sub-category also records mention of re-use of buildings or properties without explanations of how this re-use would respect their historic fabric and significance. Descriptions of plans for the re-use of the nominated property or specific buildings within it have been coded as development project. When nominated sites have been adapted and transformed into facilities for visitors (including restaurants, hotels,

museums), sentences have been coded as 'visitor facilities and activities' and not as 'adaptation/re-use'.

3.5.6.6. Factors affecting the site

The last category 'factors affecting the site' has been understood as encompassing all the different natural and man-made threats that are currently affecting and/or might affect the property in the future. These include development pressures such as demolition of important historic buildings or construction of new buildings which would disfigure the nominated property, uncontrolled housing development, encroachment of private buildings on the nominated property, modern industrial activities near or within the boundaries of the nominated property or the introduction of pipelines or other cables within archaeological sites. This also includes tourism pressures such as damage caused by increase of heat or humidity levels. Factors affecting the site also include environmental pressures such as air pollution due to heavy traffic and/or the presence of major roads within the properties. Natural threats include, *inter alia*, floods, fires, earthquakes or landslides. Sentences explaining the measures that have been taken or will be taken against these threats and factors affecting the site as well as the programmes for risk-preparedness have been coded as conservation.

3.6. Method for the display of the results of the data analysis and their interpretation

Three steps have been taken in the presentation and interpretation of the results of the data analysis. The first step was to find a method to display the results of the analyses; the second step was to provide a quantitative interpretation of the results of the data, and the third step was to provide a qualitative interpretation of these results.

It was decided to quantify the evolution of the values for which sites have been nominated for inscription on the World Heritage List. Indeed this would help determine quantitatively the main values for which sites have been nominated and determine whether patterns of change have occurred over time. This would also help determine whether some values are quantitatively marginalised or, alternatively, given

prominence. The first step was therefore to find a method to display the results of the quantitative analyses simply and clearly. The tables with all the quantitative results of the analyses are presented in Appendices 7 and 8. However, it is difficult, from these tables, to detect patterns of evolution. It was therefore decided to display the results of the analyses in charts as they enable easier and clearer depictions of patterns. A number of graphics were tried out, such as scatter plots and bar charts. Nonetheless, owing to the large amount of data and results, these charts were either very difficult to read (as in the case of the scatter plots) or very difficult to display on a single page (as in the case of the bar charts). This is the reason why it was decided to summarise the results and only display the mean - that is the average or 'typical value'- of the frequency counts calculated over a five-year period from 1977 to 1996 and a six year period from 1997 to 2002. The mean is one of the most commonly used measures of central tendency. It is calculated by totalling the results of the frequency counts and then dividing them by the number of observations (Fink 1995, 17). The formula is $\Sigma X/n$ with Σ representing the sum; X representing individual results and n representing the total number of observations (Fink 1995, 17).

In calculating the mean, the results of the frequency counts that were equal to zero could have been ignored. However, this would have resulted in the omission of some important results *id est* that the State Party did not refer to the value under consideration in the nomination dossier. This is the reason why the frequency counts equal to zero have also been taken into consideration when calculating their mean.

It has also been decided to calculate and display graphically the mean percentages of the frequency counts because they complement the results of the mean of the frequency counts. The percentages of the results of the frequency counts for each of the values considered had, first, to be calculated. Secondly, these percentages of the frequency counts were added up and divided by the number of nomination dossiers available for each of the periods studied to obtain the mean percentages. These mean percentages are important and interesting because they present the average proportion of each category or sub-category in relation to the whole nomination dossier. Since the length of nomination dossiers changes over time, it is necessary to calculate the average frequency of each value mentioned in nomination dossiers to determine the ones which are cited more than the others overall. In fact, in a specific time period,

the frequency counts of some values can increase whilst their percentages may decrease. In this instance, these percentages indicate that mentions of these values do not increase, within each whole nomination dossier, as much as mentions of other values.

Using the mean presents a number of advantages. It helps simplify and summarise the data (Shennan 1997, 34). A single graph can also be used to display the mean of the frequency counts for a particular value for the three groups of cultural heritage considered. This greatly facilitates the comparison between these three groups of cultural heritage. This comparative element is an important aspect of this research and is referred to in the third research question which questions whether the values for which cultural heritage sites have been nominated have evolved differently according to specific categories of cultural heritage. It is important to note that the different graphs produced to represent the means and mean percentages of each value and sub-value have different scale (see Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7 for more information).

However, a problem with the mean is that it is sensitive to extreme values and consequently can be a poor measure of central tendency if the data contain a few values that are much larger or smaller than the rest of the data. The solution found was to complement the graphical display of the results of the data analysis with a textual explanation of irregularities and an analysis of individual situations. The mean was also calculated over a five-year period and therefore only a few nomination dossiers were taken into account for each calculation. This prevented the mean from representing a skewed image of the results as much as possible.

In order to simplify the presentation of the charts and the quantitative and qualitative interpretation, the names of the three groups of cultural heritage considered have been referred to using their acronyms. The European religious group thus has become ERG, the non-European religious group has become NERG and the industrial heritage group has become IHG. To further simplify the qualitative interpretation of the results, some very long titles of nomination dossiers have been shortened. The full title and shortened version have been clearly indicated in the chapters interpreting the results of the data analysis.

The second step has been to provide a short paragraph detailing the charts and the quantitative evolution of the frequency counts. In most cases, these quantitative interpretations have been related to the evolution of the framework of the World Heritage Convention and discussions and recommendations by the World Heritage Committee presented in Chapter 1. This is an important aspect of the interpretation as this would help answer the second research question: 'how have the values (for which sites have been nominated) evolved over time in relation to the World Heritage Committee's discussions and recommendations?'

The third step in the interpretation of the data analysis has been to interpret qualitatively the results of the data analysis. The main aim of this qualitative interpretation is to reply to the fourth research question: 'What information do these values provide on States Parties' representation of the past and the nation, of human and cultural diversity, economic value, and authenticity and conservation?' The method used for this third step has been based on sub-dividing the categories and sub-categories defined in Chapter 2 and in this chapter, to code the data set into more precise categories. After these new categories were defined they were then used to re-code the data. This method is referred to as hierarchical coding (Richards and Richards 1995, 80-95). These more precise categories were selected because they are theoretically relevant *id est* that they have been mentioned and discussed in theoretical references from cultural heritage studies, archaeology and anthropology, because they are relevant from the standpoint of the implementation of the World Heritage Convention and because they are relevant to the data set.

This re-coding has allowed the finding of themes that the three groups of cultural heritage under consideration share. The retrieval and detailed analysis of these re-coded sentences that illustrate themes shared by the three groups of cultural heritage under consideration has also enabled the detection of subtle changes in the understanding of these specific themes. Subtle differences can be noted, for example, in the interpretation of the sub-category 'Layout of the town/ settlement' according to the groups of cultural heritage considered (see Chapter 4, Section 4.4.1.). Through this hierarchical coding, themes that are unique to only one or two of the three groups of cultural heritage under consideration could also be detected (Seidel and Kelle 1995, 57). An example from Chapter 5 (Section 5.2.) is the representation of women from

the lower classes which differs from one cultural heritage group to the other. Hence this re-coding has enabled the retrieval of 'frequent ("typical") or highly untypical, marginal cases' (Kelle 1995, 15). Furthermore, this re-coding has also enabled the comparison of the results of the analysis with theoretical standpoints to determine whether they confirm or contradict each other. Through this method, themes that have been mentioned in theoretical literature as being important but that have been omitted in nomination dossiers have also been disclosed.

This re-coding did not need to be as detailed as the first coding explained in Section 3.4.3. Indeed, the aim of this re-coding was to find themes that are similar or unique to the data set. Therefore not all sentences needed to be re-coded. Only some examples of sentences that illustrated or contradicted a specific theme or concept needed to be re-coded.

This method presented a problem: the decontextualisation of the sentences retrieved. Indeed, as previously explained, all the re-coded sentences relating to one theme across the database had to be retrieved to allow easier comparison between each nomination dossier. Hence studied sentences were taken out of their original context. For this reason, during the qualitative interpretation, retrieved sentences were re-read in their original context to ensure they were properly understood (Seidel and Kelle 1995, 60-61).

3.7. Conclusion

This chapter has detailed the reasons for the selection of the nomination dossiers of three specific groups of cultural heritage. It has also explained why and how ATLAS.ti has been used for analysing quantitatively and qualitatively the 106 nomination dossiers selected. The following chapters detail and interpret the quantitative and qualitative results of these analyses.

CHAPTER 4

REPRESENTING THE NATION/REPRESENTING THE PAST

4.1. Introduction

This chapter analyses quantitatively and qualitatively the results of the coding of the overall 'architectural and aesthetic value', 'informational value' as well as 'political value' and 'social value' presented in Chapter 3 as sub-categories of the overall category 'social value'. This is the biggest chapter on interpretation as it analyses a total of thirteen sub-categories. These values and sub-values have been grouped together as their analyses can help to detail States Parties' representation of the nation and the past. The use of cultural heritage to represent the past and the nation is an important theme that has been widely commented on in theoretical literature (see for example Lowenthal 1998; Hobsbawm and Ranger 1984; Trigger 1995, 263-279 and Fowler 1987, 229-248). These theoretical findings have been applied and compared to the data set. When applicable, relevant existing UNESCO publications have also been referred to and compared to the results of the data analyses.

4.2. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of ‘political value’

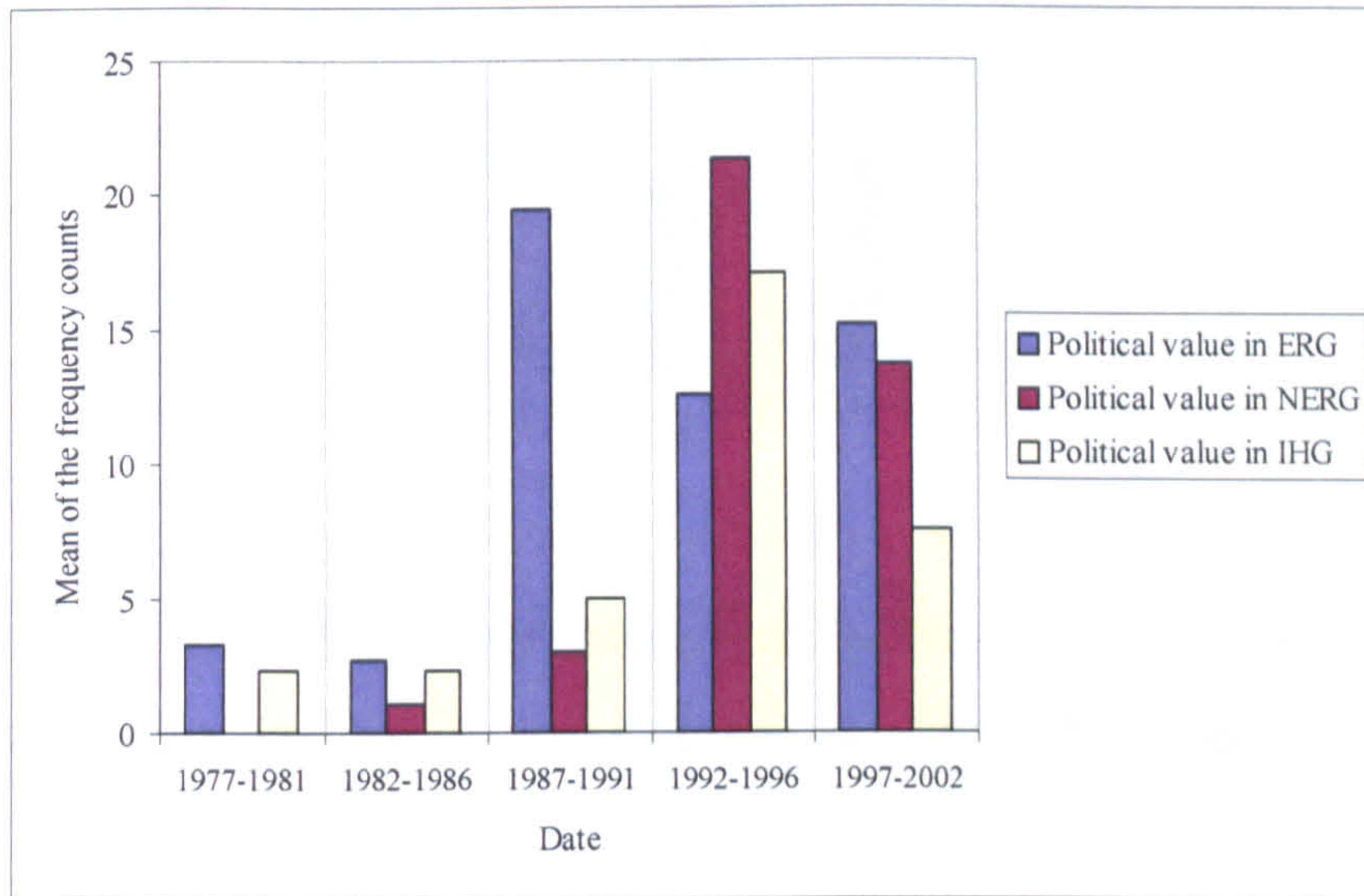


Figure 4.1.A. Means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘political value’ for the three groups of cultural heritage

Figure 4.1.A. demonstrates that mentions of ‘political value’ increase for the IHG and NERG from 1977 to 1996 on average. The average means of the frequency count for this value reach peaks, during the 1992-1996 period, at twenty-one sentences for the NERG and at seventeen sentences for the IHG. The means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of this sub-category then decrease for these two groups during the 1997-2002 period. The means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘political value’ follow a more irregular evolution for the ERG and reach a peak during the 1987-1991 period at nineteen sentences.

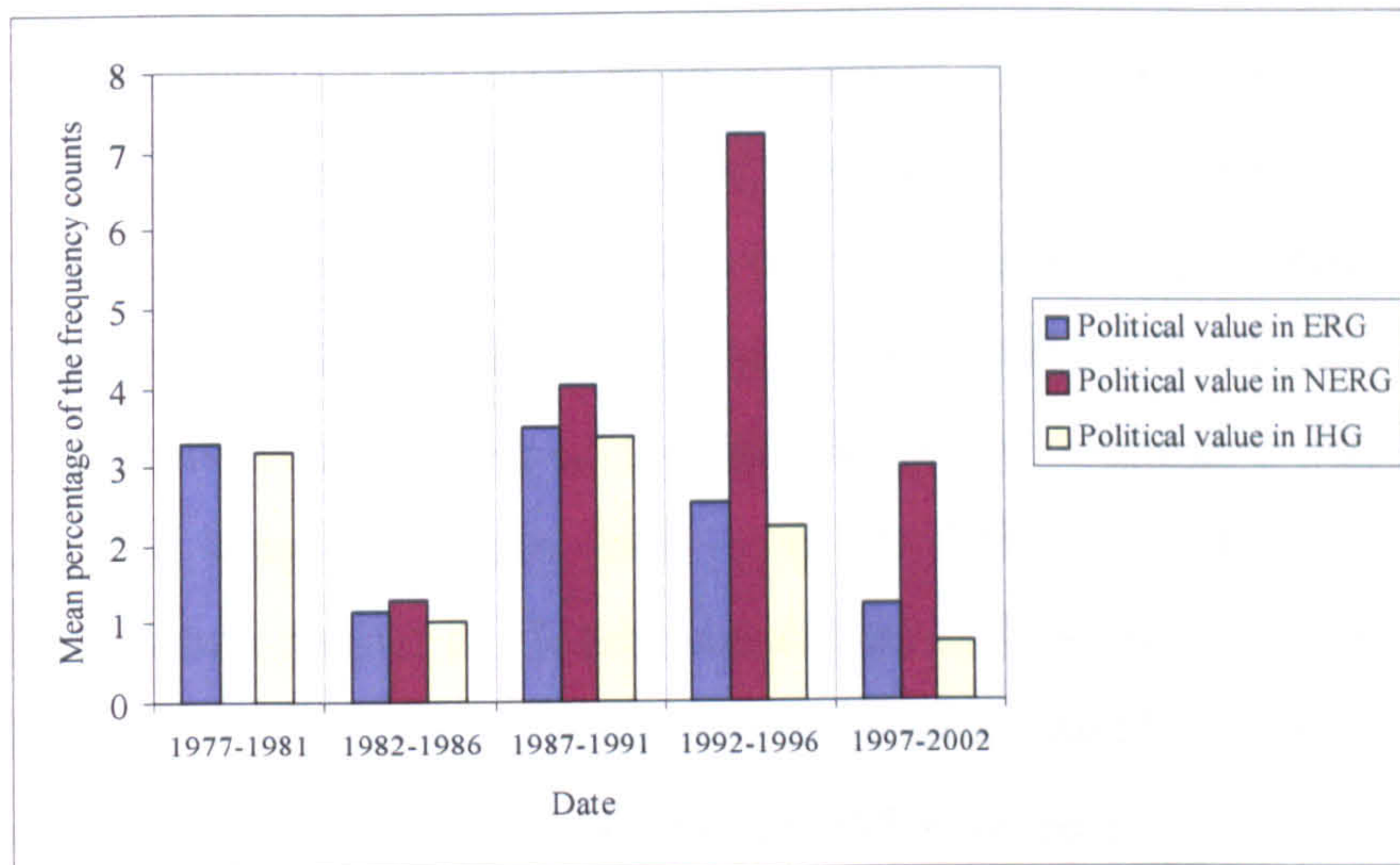


Figure 4.1.B. Mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘political value’ for the three groups of cultural heritage

As illustrated by Figure 4.1.B. the mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘political value’ reach a peak, for the three groups of cultural heritage considered, at 7.21% for the NERG during the 1992-1996 period. This figure reflects the high mean of the frequency count of the occurrence of this sub-category for the NERG during the 1992-1996 period. The mean percentages of the occurrence of ‘political value’ for the other two groups of cultural heritage do not go higher than 3.48% from 1977 to 2002.

4.2.1. The importance of traditions

The qualitative analysis of the results of the frequency counts for this sub-category confirms the importance and centrality of the relationship between political values and traditions for the three groups of cultural heritage considered. As explained by Hobsbawm, ‘the object and characteristic of “traditions”, including invented ones, is invariance. The past, real or invented, (...) to which they refer imposes fixed (normally formalized) practices, such as repetition’ (Hobsbawm 1984, 2). Sixteen nomination dossiers from the ERG, nine from the NERG and three from the IHG detail political traditions that have taken place within the nominated property. These traditions are the most precisely described in the nomination dossiers from the ERG compared with the other two groups of cultural heritage. These descriptions stress that political traditions have been repeated over the centuries, providing a great sense of

unity, continuity and stability of the nation. Examples include the nomination dossier of the 'Cathedral of Notre-Dame, Former Abbey of Saint-Remi and Palace of Tau, Reims'. It details that Reims has been the place for the coronation of all the kings of France from 1131 (Louis VIII) to 1825 (Charles X) (Government of France 1990). The nomination dossier of 'Poblet Monastery' highlights that it was the burial place for the kings of Spain from 1196 to 1479 (Government of Spain 1988). The nomination dossier of 'Westminster Palace, Westminster Abbey and Saint Margaret's Church' also details the different traditions of the Houses of Parliament including the rituals performed during the opening of Parliament:

the Queen and Prince Philip sit on Chairs of State in the centre compartment [of a Throne designed by Pugin]. The Prince of Wales sits in the compartment on the Queen's right and Princess Anne sits in the one on her left. During debates privy councillors (whether or not they are members of the House of Lords) and the eldest sons of peers may sit on the steps of the Throne. In front of the Throne is the Woolsack, where the Lord Chancellor sits as Speaker of the House of Lords, with the Mace behind him. In front of the Chancellor's Woolsack are two woolsacks where the Judges sit at the opening of Parliament, and in front of them again is the Table of the House, with chairs for three Clerks, and a table for the official reporters (Government of the United Kingdom 1987a, 12).

One example, the 'Semmering Railway' from the IHG, is important because it contradicts previous theoretical standpoints on political traditions (Government of Austria 1995). Samuel is of the opinion that industrial heritage and less traditional forms of cultural heritage present a different image of the past and the nation than more traditional ones, at least in the English context (Samuel 1994, 158). These less traditional forms of cultural heritage have indeed 'little or nothing to do with the continuities of monarchy, parliament or British national institutions' (ibid.). The nomination dossier of the 'Semmering Railway' however states that the choice of Classical stylistic details of the railways by the Monarchy reflects concerns for the maintenance of the continuity of monarchical order at a time when Austria was experiencing social upheaval. It further states that the Classical style was chosen as apposed to a neo-Gothic style, 'which had suddenly become associated with the nationalist pan-German aspirations of the 1848 Revolution' (Government of Austria 1995).

4.2.2. Political value and land control

Theorists have also detailed the use of the past as a political tool to justify the 'ownership of land claimed to have been held "since time immemorial" or to support policies of domination and control over neighbouring peoples' (Kohl and Fawcett 1995a, 5; but see also Fowler 1987, 230 or Lowenthal 1998, 235). The most striking examples confirming the use of the past as a justification for the ownership of land are the dossiers of the 'Potala Palace' located in Tibet and nominated by China in 1993 and its two subsequent extensions with the 'Jokhang Temple Monastery' (1999) and 'Norbulingka' (2000). These three nomination dossiers distort the actual relationship by stressing the long-term friendship between China and Tibet and the close political relationship that they have developed over the years, statements that help justify the 1949 Chinese annexation of Tibet. The nomination dossier of the 'Potala Palace' in particular stresses that its collection of artefacts and historical documents are 'not only of great artistic value but also tell the long history of the friendly contacts and cultural exchanges between the Tibetan and the Han people for more than 1,000 years. They also form a strong proof that Tibet is an inseparable part of the Chinese territory' (Government of China 1993a, 5).

Neither the 1994 report of the eighteenth session of the World Heritage Committee, nor the evaluation by ICOMOS comment on this political use of the World Heritage Convention (October 1994; UNESCO. 31 January 1995). On the contrary, the World Heritage Committee, its Bureau and ICOMOS encouraged the Chinese authorities to extend the boundaries of the site. Following these recommendations, the Chinese authorities nominated the Jokhang Temple Monastery and Norbulingka as extensions to the 'Potala Palace'. It is arguable that the inscriptions of the Potala Palace and its two extensions on the World Heritage List represent international and official recognition and acceptance of China's annexation of Tibet. At the very least, the recommendations of the 1994 World Heritage Bureau and Committee could be perceived as encouragement of China's occupation of Tibet. However, it is important to stress that ICOMOS, in its evaluation of the nomination dossier of the 'Potala Palace', noted its awareness of the destruction of cultural and religious monuments in Tibet (October 1994). ICOMOS expressed concern at the destruction of cultural and religious heritage in the vicinity of the Potala Palace. This continuing destruction has

led the World Heritage Committee to recommend to the Chinese authorities that they 'mitigate the negative impact on the World Heritage value of this property caused by development pressures' and to call for a national policy to protect all remaining historic traditional buildings in Lhasa during its twenty-seventh session in 2003 (UNESCO 10 December 2003).

4.2.3. Homogeneous or contested political groups

The results of this analysis for the sub-category 'political value' highlight that the past is used to stress the unity of the nation (see Trigger 1995, 268). One way of stressing the unity of the nation is to omit mention of political opponents, a strategy adopted in most nomination dossiers. Only five nomination dossiers, those of the 'Historic Town of Ouro Preto' (Government of Brazil 1979), the 'Historic Town of Guanajuato and Adjacent Mines' (Government of Mexico 1987a), the 'Historic Centre of Zacatecas' (Government of Mexico 1992), the 'Semmering Railway' (Government of Austria 1995) and the 'Mining Area of the Great Copper Mountain of Falun' (Government of Sweden 2000), all from the IHG mention political forces that were opposed to the main rulers.

It is important to note that two nomination dossiers, the 'Historic Town of Ouro Preto' (Government of Brazil 1979), and the 'Historic Town of Guanajuato and Adjacent Mines' (Government of Mexico 1987a) stress the symbolic importance of the sites which are linked to the fight for independence. These aspects are all the more important as they have been detailed in the section 'Justification for inclusion in the World Heritage List'. This is the reason why the 'Historic Town of Guanajuato and Adjacent Mines' was nominated under cultural heritage criterion (vi) as it is 'directly or tangibly associated with events or with ideas of beliefs of outstanding universal value'. It is worth noting that this important idea of the fight for independence was accepted by the World Heritage Committee as a valid idea fulfilling criterion (vi). The historic town of Guanajuato and adjacent mines were hence inscribed, *inter alia*, under this criterion. The World Heritage Convention and the Operational Guidelines have been criticised for being Eurocentric (see Cleere 1996, 230; Byrne 1991, 274). The examples of the nomination dossiers of the 'Historic Town of Ouro Preto' and the 'Historic Town of Guanajuato and Adjacent Mines' however prove that other ideas,

such as the independence of former colonial countries, can also be expressed within the framework of the World Heritage Convention.

4.3. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of ‘religious value’

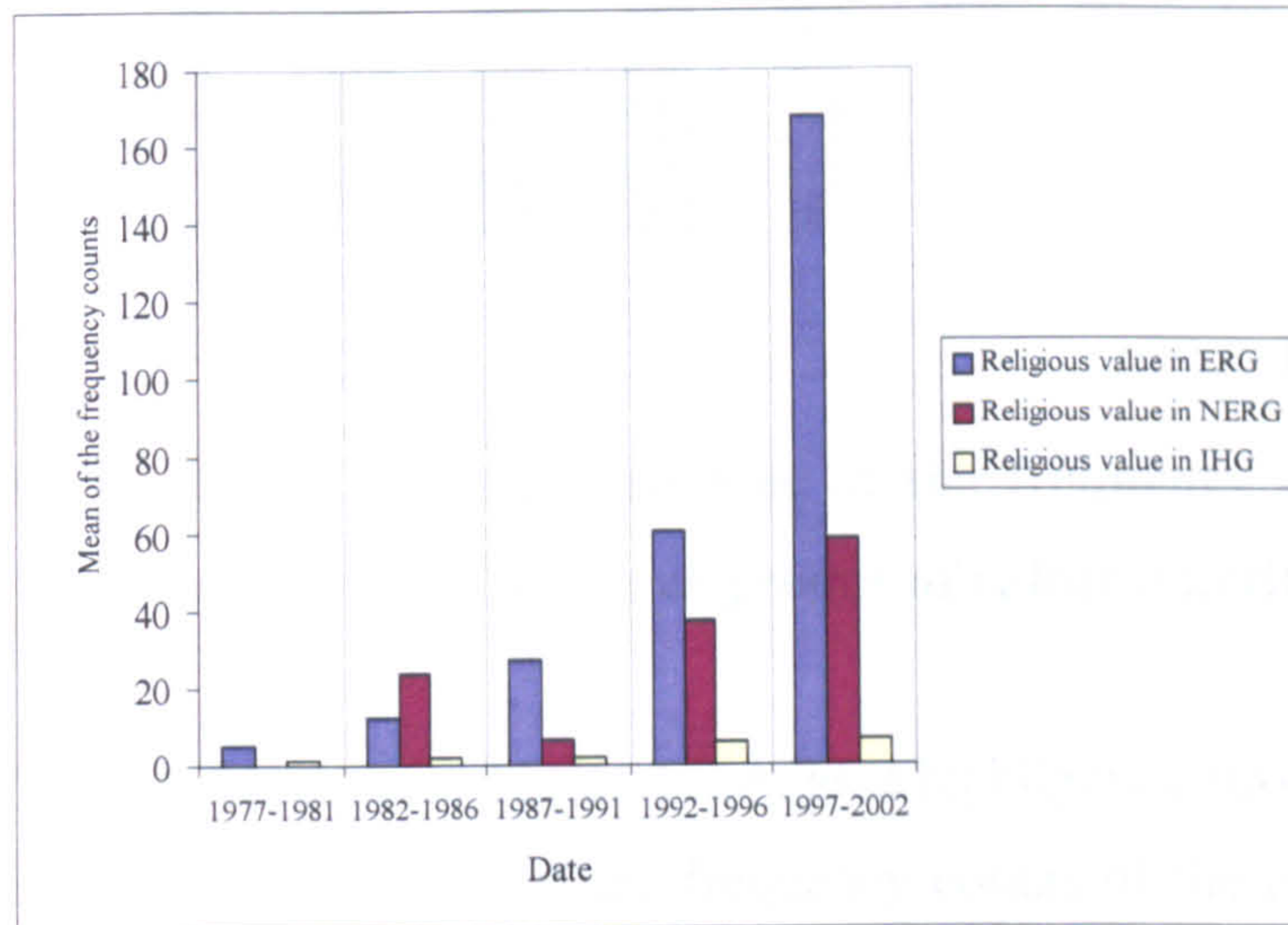


Figure 4.2.A. Means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘religious value’ for the three groups of cultural heritage

Figure 4.2.A. shows that mentions of ‘religious value’ gradually increase during the five periods considered for the ERG. The means of the frequency counts for this value increase for the NERG from 1987 onwards. During the 1997-2002 period, it reaches peaks for the ERG at 167 sentences and for the NERG at fifty-nine sentences on average per nomination dossier. As illustrated by Figure 4.2.A. a strong difference in scale can be noted between the ERG and NERG on the one hand, and the IHG on the other. Indeed, the highest peak for the mean of the frequency counts of the occurrence of this sub-category reaches only seven sentences for the IHG. This result is unsurprising, since religious value should be more relevant and important for the two cultural heritage groups which focus on religious heritage than for the industrial heritage group.

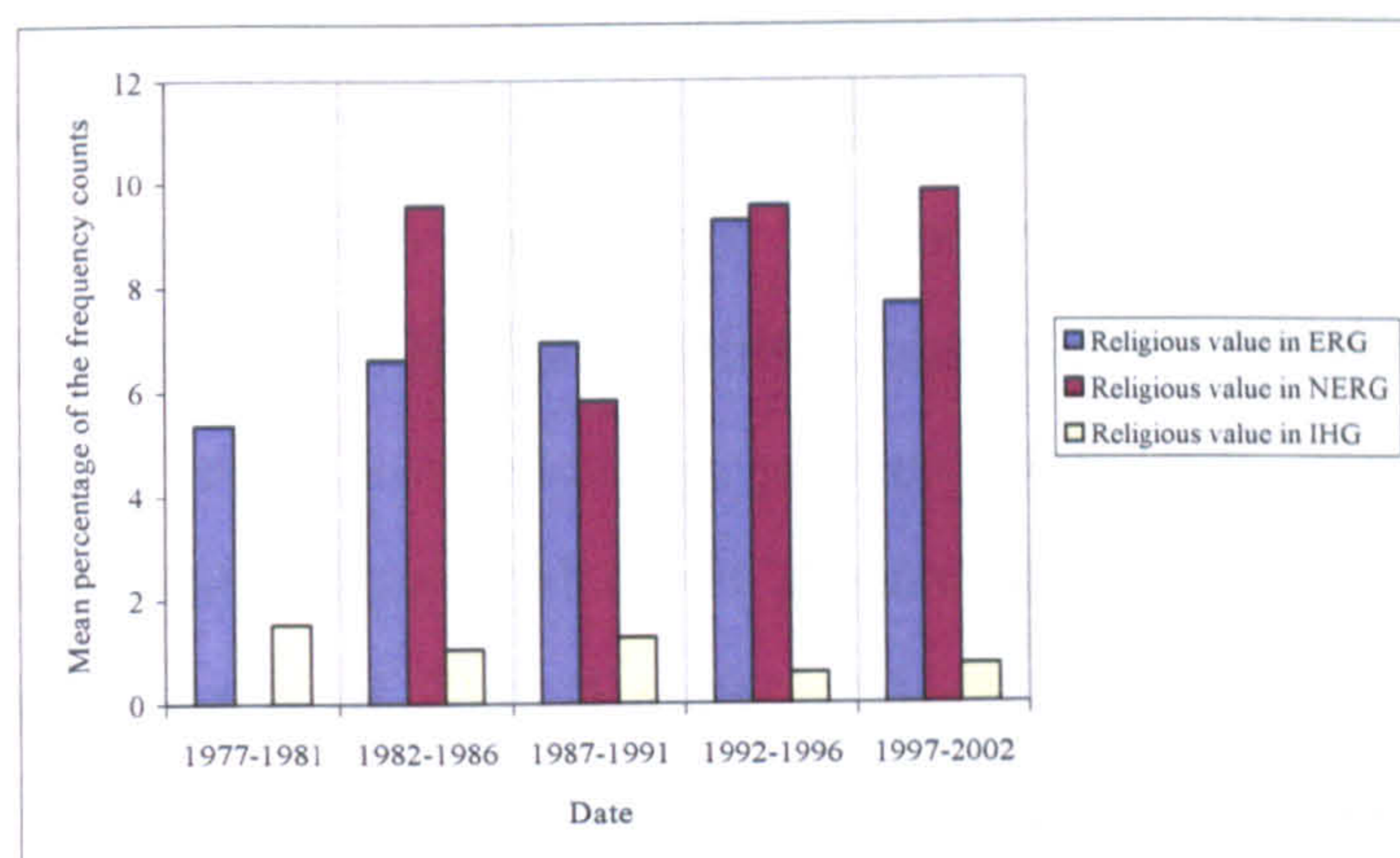


Figure 4.2.B. Mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘religious value’ for the three groups of cultural heritage

Figure 4.2.B mirrors Figure 4.2.A. as it highlights a strong difference in scale between the mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘religious value’ for the ERG and NERG on the one hand, and for the IHG on the other hand. The mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of this value for the IHG do not go higher than 1.52%. Of the other two categories of cultural heritage, the highest mean percentages of the frequency counts are reached at 9.86% by the NERG during the 1997-2002 period.

4.3.1. Links between political and religious values

The qualitative analysis of the frequency counts of this sub-category highlights the strong links between political and religious values (see Le Goff 1998, 194 and Trigger 1995, 266 for example). As clearly highlighted by Trigger, ‘throughout much of recorded human history royal families and ethnic groups have sought to bolster their prestige by invoking mythical links to the gods or to some glorious human past’ (Trigger 1995, 266). More precisely, fifteen nomination dossiers from the ERG, six from the NERG and one dossier from the IHG, namely ‘Mount Qincheng and the Dujiangyan Irrigation System’ (Government of China 1999b) mention the link between political and religious values. One theme that is found across these nomination dossiers is the use of a particular religion by rulers to help create an image of the past and the nation which goes beyond historical continuity into mythologies, timelessness and eternity. This construction of the nation based on such ideas has

already been stressed in a number of texts on this subject (see Kertzer 1988, 53; Hobsbawm 1984, 7; Gellner 1997, 8; Anderson 1991, 11). Hobsbawm also stresses that the nation is represented beyond effective continuity and into 'semi-fiction' and eternity (1984, 7). This mythical, eternal dimension of the nation stressed through the use of religious value by political monarchs and leaders is exemplified in the nomination dossier of the 'Cathedral of Notre-Dame, Former Abbey of Saint-Remi and Palace of Tau, Reims' and its explanation of the symbolic and mythical dimension of the coronation of the kings of France (Government of France 1990). This dossier explains that, at the baptism of Clovis, an ampulla containing a holy chrism was brought by a dove from heaven. This baptism of Clovis, considered to mark the foundation of France (Le Goff 1998, 198) helps to create an image of the nation that has mythical foundations and is based on an act of God. This phial and its contents were subsequently used for the coronation of the great majority of the kings of France at Reims.

Another dimension of the relationship between political and religious values is the use of a specific religion by the rulers or monarchs for societal control. The nomination dossier of the 'Ancient Building Complex in the Wudang Mountains' for instance, explains the ideological use of Taoism by the Emperor Zhu Di in order to control the population: 'the mountains were turned into a major zone where control of ideology was achieved through the practice of religion' (Government of China 1993b, 2).

4.3.2. The continuity of eternal religious myths

The use of religious value shares further similarities with 'political value' as it is also used to stress the continuity of the nation. Indeed, thirty-seven nomination dossiers from the ERG, twelve from the NERG and seven from the IHG mention that the site has been an active religious centre or a place of pilgrimage for at least four or five centuries. This idea of continuity is underlined in nomination dossiers of pilgrimage sites from the ERG and NERG that are still in use. Examples include the nomination dossiers of the French and Spanish 'Routes of Santiago de Compostela' and 'Assisi, the Basilica of San Francesco and other Franciscan Sites' (Government of Italy 1999) which have been places of pilgrimage since the Middle Ages. One of the reasons why the 'Mahabodhi Temple Complex at Bodh Gaya' was nominated for inclusion on the

World Heritage List was because it 'bears a unique and exceptional testimony to the importance given to this place of pilgrimage by people from different countries through the passage of many centuries' (Government of India 2002, 5). It is interesting to note that Lowenthal stresses that 'churches, cathedrals, and religious art are stewarded less as sacred legacies than as objects of national pride and secular profit' (1998, 62). Here it is demonstrated that religious sites tend to be presented as objects of national pride. However, nomination dossiers also highlight the sacred dimensions of religious monuments for past and present generations. The continuity of the religious faiths at these monuments has also been highlighted in some of the ICOMOS evaluations. This is the case, for instance, for the ICOMOS evaluation of the 'Route of Santiago de Compostela' (October 1993b). ICOMOS also recommended the inclusion of the 'Mahabodhi Temple Complex at Bodh Gaya' on the World Heritage List on the basis of criterion (iii) because it is a place of continuing worship of Lord Buddha (March 2002).

4.3.3. Inclusive versus exclusive national identity

Theorists have also stressed that the past is used to define a cultural identity which includes some groups of the population and excludes others (see Kristiansen 1993, 16 in particular). This dichotomy of inclusion/exclusion of specific groups can be applied to the results of the frequency counts for the sub-category 'religious value'. There is a marked difference between the ERG and the industrial heritage sites located in Europe on the one hand and the NERG on the other.

Most nomination dossiers from the ERG and the industrial heritage sites located in Europe focus primarily on the Christian faith with the exception of two nomination dossiers, those of the 'Beemster Polder' (Government of the Netherlands 1998) and the 'Old Town of Segovia and its Aqueduct' (Government of Spain 1985). Two nomination dossiers from the ERG, 'Vézelay, Church and Hill' (Government of France 1979c) and the 'Routes of Santiago de Compostela in France' (Government of France 1997), refer in particular to the Crusades, a strong political and religious symbol that situates France in opposition to the Muslim world. The nomination dossier of the 'Vézelay, Church and Hill' stresses in three different places the links between this site and the Second and Third Crusades. This site has also been

nominated under criterion (vi) because St Bernard advocated the Second Crusade in 1146 on the hill of Vézelay and Philippe Auguste and Richard Lion Heart set out from Vézelay for the Third Crusade (Government of France 1979c, 5). It has also been included on the World Heritage List by the World Heritage Committee under criterion (vi) for this very reason. Vézelay is also a site mentioned in the nomination dossier of the 'Routes of Santiago de Compostela in France'. This nomination dossier justifies the importance of Vézelay because of its links to the Second and Third Crusades. These two examples mirror some theorists' views such as those of Hallam and Street (2000, 8) that stress that the national identity of European nation-states has been fashioned in opposition to and exclusion of Islam. This can be considered as being contrary to the messages of intercultural understanding, dialogue, and tolerance advocated by UNESCO, for instance in the *Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity* (UNESCO 2001). Indeed, these ideas of opposition and exclusion can lead to a rejection of Islamic culture and to a failure to appreciate it.

Contrarily, the 'Old Town of Segovia and its aqueduct' was nominated for inclusion on the World Heritage List because it represents a type of social structure where different religious faiths coexisted, including the Christians and the Jews (Government of Spain 1985). Because of these different faiths, this site was nominated under criterion (vi). ICOMOS evaluation recommended its inscription under this criterion (iv), a recommendation which was followed by the World Heritage Committee (November 1985; UNESCO December 1985).

Moreover eight dossiers from the NERG highlight the diversity of faiths represented at the nominated site, illustrating this idea of inclusion. This is the case of the Mogao caves which include: 'a great number of Buddhist, Taoist, Confucian, Manichaeic and Parsiist scriptures' (Government of China 1986, 1). The sites nominated by India also represent a great variety of religions including Buddhism, Hinduism and Jainism, as illustrated by the nomination dossier of the 'Ellora Caves' (Government of India, 1982e) and Islam as illustrated by the dossier of 'Qutb Minar and its Monuments, Delhi' (Government of India, 1992). These descriptions confirm previous publications on India which stress the diversity of religious beliefs. A chapter on Indian Culture published as part of a report by a UNESCO International expert group on diversity mentions that the people of India have primarily adopted the Hindu faith but that

various minorities exist: 'India's [minorities] include Moslems, Christians, Sikhs and Buddhists' (Gandhi 1993, 113).

4.4. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of 'layout of the town/settlement'

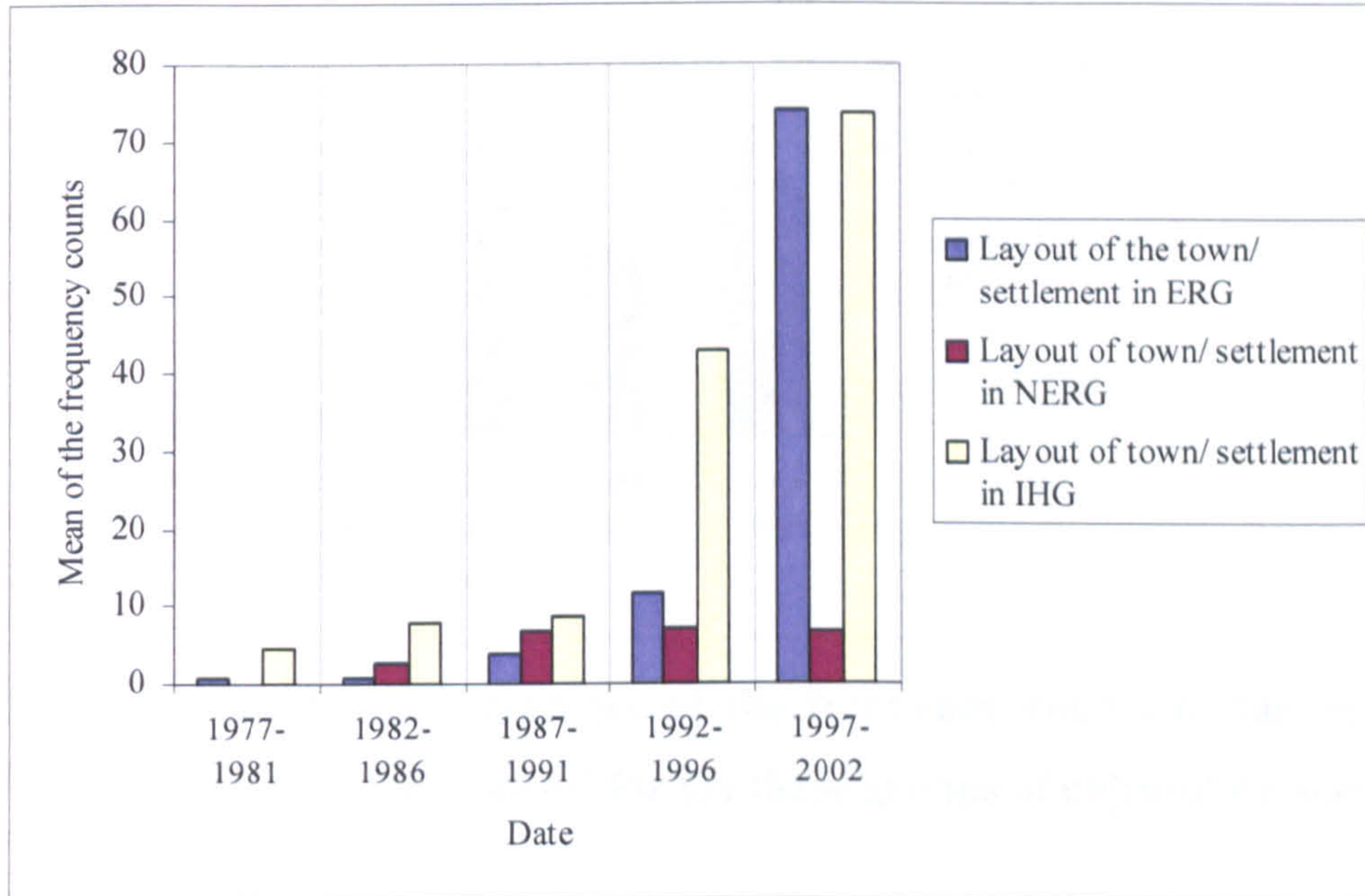


Figure 4.3.A. Means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of 'layout of the town/settlement' for the three groups of cultural heritage

As illustrated by Figure 4.3.A. the means of the frequency counts for the category 'layout of the town/settlement' gradually increase from 1977 to 2002 for the ERG and IHG. The means of the frequency counts reach a peak at seventy-four for the ERG and at seventy-three for the IHG during the 1997-2002 period. As also illustrated by Figure 4.3.A. a difference in scale can be noted between the ERG and IHG on the one hand, and the NERG on the other. Indeed, the highest peak for the NERG is a mere seven sentences reached during the 1992-1996 period.

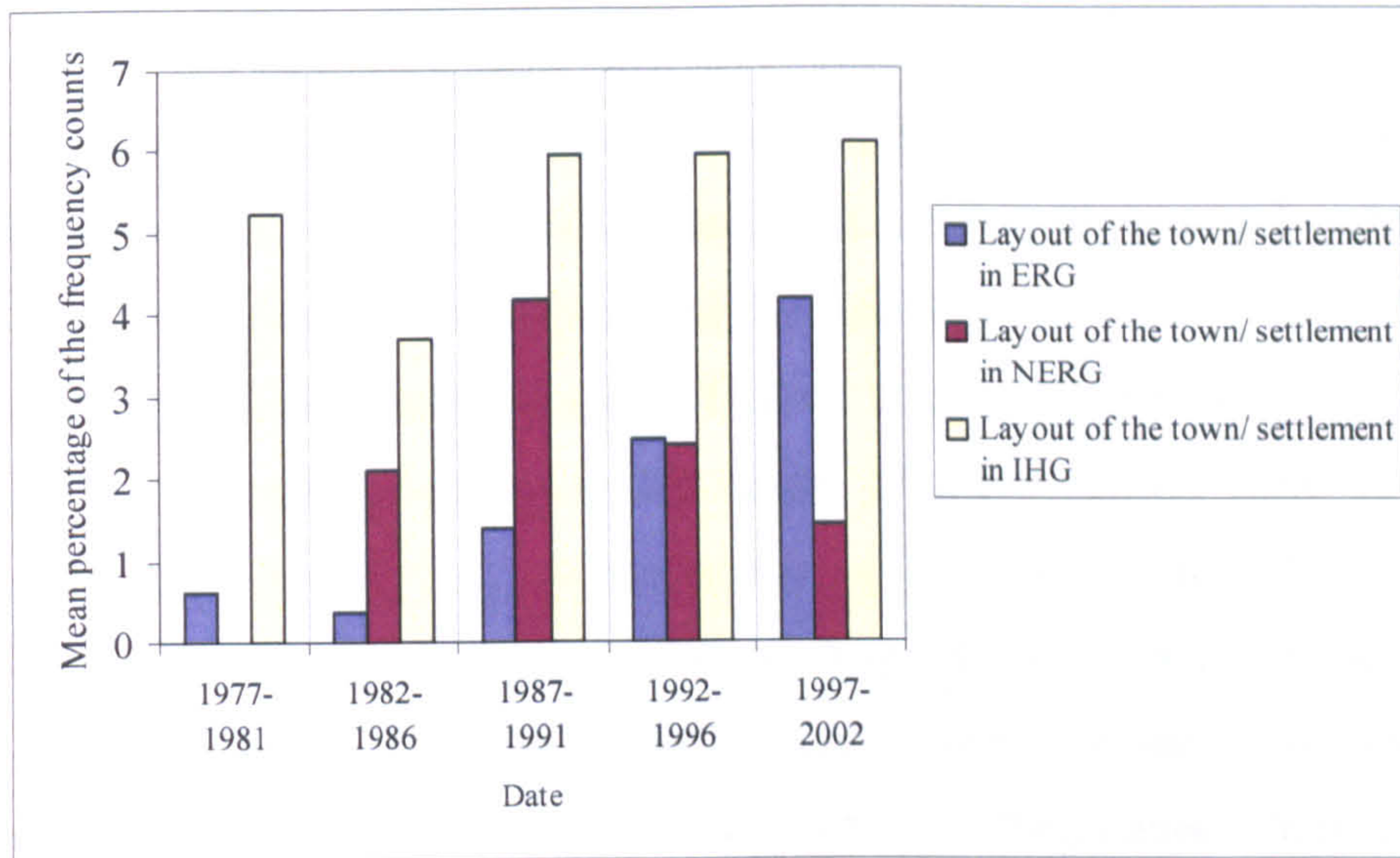


Figure 4.3.B. Mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of 'layout of the town/settlement' for the three groups of cultural heritage

Figure 4.3.B. demonstrates that the highest peak is reached by the IHG at 6.09% during the 1997-2002 period. The evolution of the mean percentages of the occurrence of 'layout of the town/settlement' for the ERG is similar to the evolution of their means of the frequency counts. From 1982 onwards these mean percentages increase and reach a peak at 4.19% during the 1997-2002 period. The evolution of the mean percentages of the NERG is more irregular with a peak at 4.19% during the 1987-1991 period.

4.4.1. Representations of power in the description of the 'layout of the town/settlement'

Previous theoretical perspectives demonstrate that descriptions and representations of the layout of a town highlight relationships of power between specific community groups (Harley 1992, 237). These relationships of power can be noted in the descriptions and representations of the 'layout of the town/settlement'. Some subtle differences can however be noted in these representations between the ERG and NERG on the one hand and the IHG on the other. More precisely, nine nomination dossiers from the ERG and seven from the NERG describe the importance of the

religious building as the structure around which the layout of the town has been developed. These descriptions demonstrate the importance of the religious authorities and the powers they have exercised both on the landscape and its population. Examples include the nomination dossier of the 'Earliest 16th Century Monasteries on the Slopes of Popocateptl' (Government of Mexico 1993) which states that the urban structure has been organised around the monasteries, or the dossier of the 'Cathedral, Torre Civica and Piazza Grande, Modena' (Government of Italy 1996b) which states that the church is located in the centre of the medieval zone of the city. Other nomination dossiers describe the location of the main religious building on a hillside, implicitly underlining the powerful position of the church and the moral control it exercised as an omnipresent and visual feature of the landscape. This idea is illustrated in the nomination dossier of the 'Pilgrimage Church of St John of Nepomuk at Zelena Hora' which stresses that: 'the founding of the church on a hill (...), representing the highest elevation far and wide' (Government of the Czech Republic 1993).

Eleven nomination dossiers from the IHG on the other hand do not focus solely on the location of the main religious building within the layout of the town. They stress the importance of the layout of streets as a way of social control. Good examples that illustrate this statement are the strict gridlines of Crespi d'Adda (Government of Italy 1994) and Saltaire (Government of the United Kingdom 2000c) which denote a desire for social and moral order. These strict gridlines are also a way for the entrepreneur to appropriate and control the space and his workforce. As stressed by Harley, the workers were 'prisoners in [this] spatial matrix' (1992, 245). The nomination dossier of 'Crespi d'Adda' also focuses on three monuments which symbolically represented, 'according to Silvio Benigno [Crespi], the prestige and the sacredness of the values of labour and industry' the church, the castle and the mausoleum of the founder's family (Government of Italy 1994, 8).

4.4.2. Exclusion from the centre of the town

Two nomination dossiers from the ERG, namely the 'Flemish Béguinages' (Government of Belgium 1997a) and the 'Churches of Peace in Jawor and Swidnica' (Government of Poland 2000), indicate that these sites were located outside of the city

centre. The nomination dossier of the 'Churches of Peace in Jawor and Swidnica' is the only one of the two to indicate clearly that this location 'was designed to emphasise the exclusion of Protestants from urban communities' (ibid., 12). The nomination dossier of the 'Flemish Béguinages' implies that they were constructed outside the city centre because the Béguines did not belong to any of the main religious groups (Government of Belgium 1997a).

4.4.3. The unplanned layout of the town

It is interesting to note, however, that seven nomination dossiers from the IHG mention that the town follows an unplanned and informal layout dictated by the industrial activity. This unplanned layout of the settlement has, above all, been stressed in the nomination dossiers of industrial sites from Latin America including the 'Historic Town of Ouro Preto' (Government of Brazil 1979), the 'Historic Town of Guanajuato and Adjacent Mines' (Government of Mexico 1987a) and the 'Historic Centre of Zacatecas' (Government of Mexico 1992). These three nomination dossiers indicate that one of the most important and original aspects of the site are that it does not follow the traditional gridline pattern which ordered most colonial towns. This emphasis on the lack of a gridline layout might be read as a challenge to the colonial and social order and status quo that the Spanish crown wanted to impose through the control of the layout of the town and the map. As explained by Harley, these gridline layouts of the towns imposed by the Spanish Crown 'were used to legitimise the reality of conquest and empire. They helped create myths which would assist in the maintenance of the territorial status quo (Harley 1988, 282). By emphasising this unplanned layout, the nomination dossiers of the 'Historic Town of Ouro Preto', the 'Historic Town of Guanajuato and Adjacent Mines' and the 'Historic Centre of Zacatecas' might raise doubts about the power and control exercised by the colonists. This idea is all the more important as descriptions of the unplanned layout of the town are mentioned in the section 'justification for inclusion on the World Heritage List'. The importance and originality of the layout of these towns are reflected in the ICOMOS evaluations of the dossiers of the 'Historic Town of Guanajuato and Adjacent Mines' and the 'Historic Centre of Zacatecas' (September 1988; October 1993a). These evaluations recommend their inscription on the World Heritage List on the basis of criterion (iv) because of their urban topography.

4.5. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of ‘architectural and aesthetic value of religious buildings, works of art, remains’

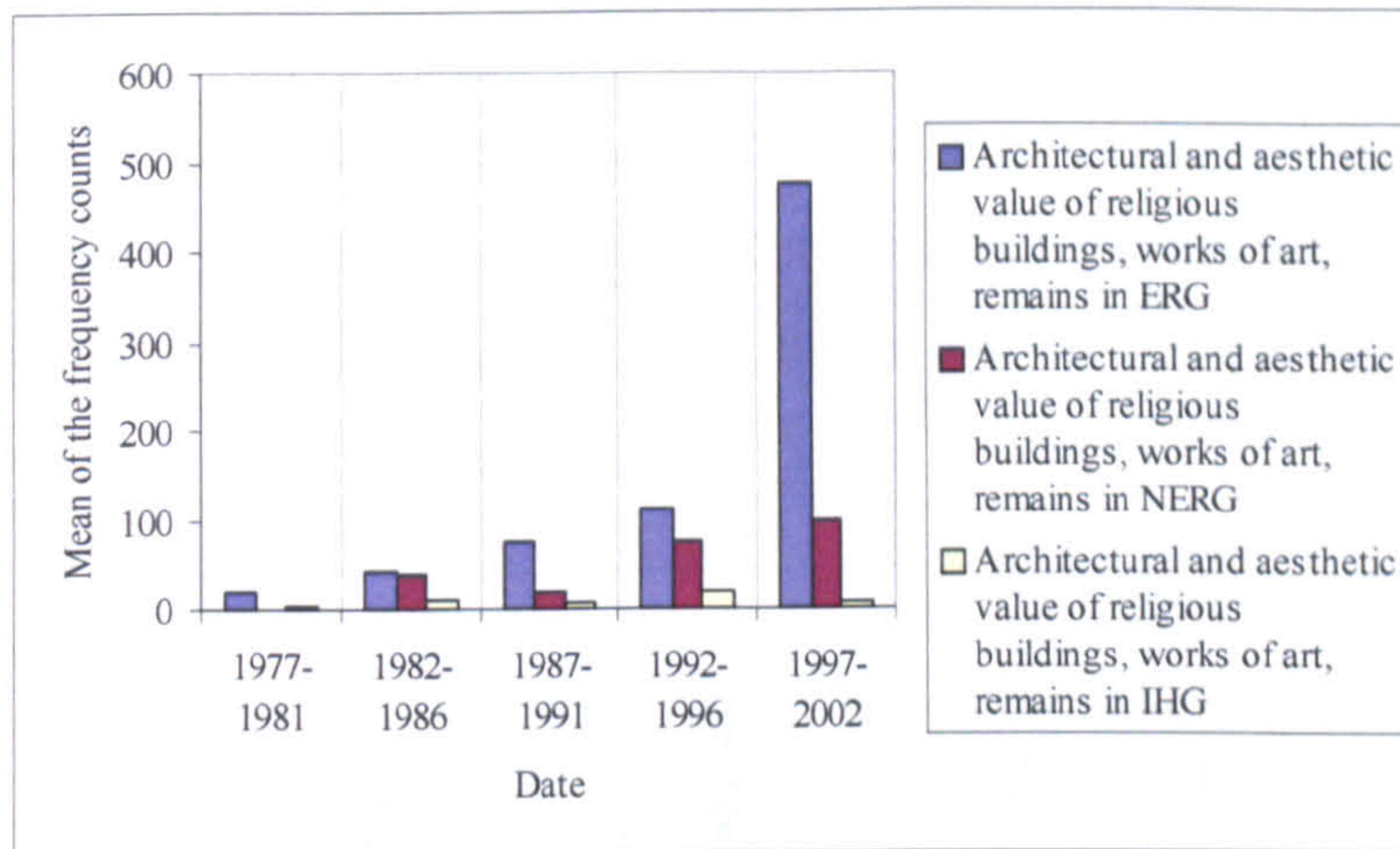


Figure 4.4.A. Means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘architectural and aesthetic value of religious buildings, works of art, remains’ for the three groups of cultural heritage

The sub-category ‘architectural and aesthetic value religious buildings, works of art, remains’ is mentioned in all the nomination dossiers from the ERG. Only one nomination dossier from the NERG does not mention it, the ‘Jesuit Missions of the Chiquitos’ (Government of Bolivia 1989). On the other hand, thirteen nomination dossiers of the IHG do not mention this value, a result which might have been expected since religious buildings are not central to the IHG. As illustrated by Figure 4.4.A. the means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘architectural and aesthetic value of the religious buildings, works of art, remains’ gradually increase for the ERG from 1977 to 2002. During the period 1997-2002, the mean of the frequency counts of this sub-category reaches a maximum for the ERG with an average of 477 sentences per nomination dossier. This is the highest mean of the frequency counts across the twenty-nine values considered in this data analysis. This result is partly due to the high frequency counts of the occurrence of this sub-category in the nomination dossier of the ‘Routes of Santiago de Compostela in France’ which reaches an unprecedented 1841 sentences (Government of France 1997). This sub-category does not follow the same evolution for the other two groups of cultural heritage considered. The highest mean of the frequency counts of the occurrence of this sub-category for

the NERG ‘only’ reaches ninety-eight sentences on average per nomination dossier during the period 1997-2002. This difference in scale between the two groups of religious heritage is surprising. This might be due to the difference in the length of nomination dossiers with those from the ERG being longer than those from the NERG. The nomination dossier of the ‘Routes of Santiago de Compostela in France’ for instance, is more than five hundred pages long and is the longest document of the data set (ibid.). This demonstrates the importance of analysing the percentages of each sub-category as this provides a better way of comparing the three groups of cultural heritage under consideration.

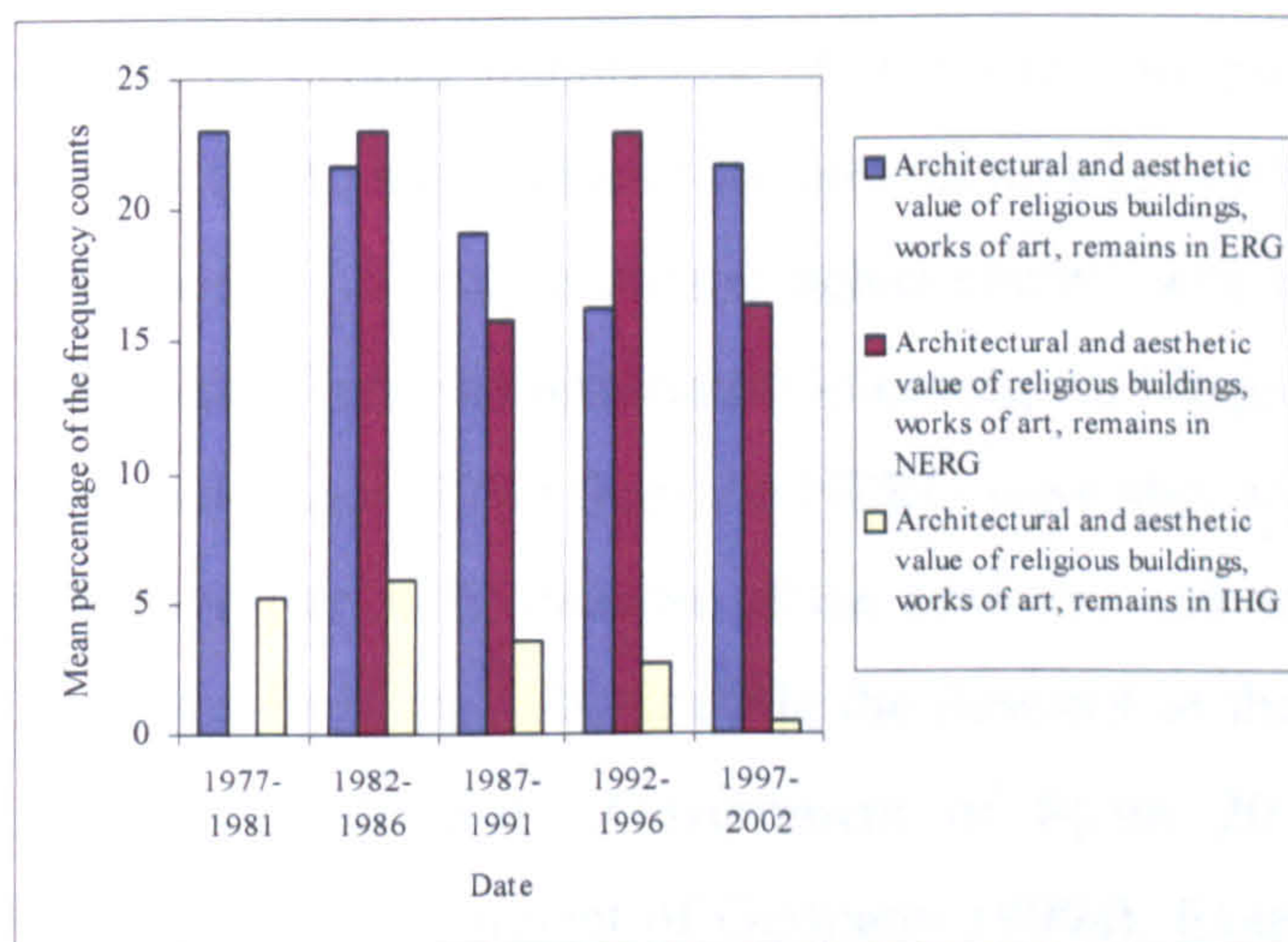


Figure 4.4.B. Mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘architectural and aesthetic value of religious buildings, works of art, remains’ for the three groups of cultural heritage

As illustrated by Figure 4.4.B. the mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘architectural and aesthetic value of religious buildings, works of art, remains’ are rather high for the ERG and NERG. They reach a minimum of 15.77% for the NERG during the 1987-1991 period and a maximum of 23% for the ERG in the 1977-1981 period. These are some of the highest percentages across the twenty-nine values considered in this analysis. These figures could be predictable considering that the architectural and aesthetic value of the property, described in the section ‘Identification; Description’ of nomination dossiers, tends to be one of the longest sections of these documents. Although the 1994 text of the Global Strategy stresses that States Parties should move away from an architectural and monumental conception of cultural heritage to one which is much more anthropological (see

Chapter 1, 1.4.3.), Figure 4.4.B shows that the architectural and aesthetic value of religious buildings continues to be one of the longest sections of nomination dossiers.

4.5.1. References to the architectural and aesthetic value of the site as a 'justification for inclusion on the World Heritage List'

All the nomination dossiers from the ERG, twenty-eight from the NERG and four from the IHG mention the architectural and aesthetic value of the site in the section of nomination dossiers 'justification for inclusion on the World Heritage List'. This shows the central importance of this value in particular for the ERG. Chapter 1, Section 1.4.3., has stressed that cultural heritage criterion (i) was revised in 1994. The reference to 'a unique artistic achievement' was removed as this phrase favoured aesthetically and architecturally-pleasing buildings. Four dossiers (31%) from the ERG and seven (77%) from the NERG were still nominated after 1994 under cultural heritage criterion (i) because of the aesthetic and architectural value of the property. Examples from the ERG include the dossiers of the 'Catalan Romanesque Churches of the Vall de Boí' (Government of Spain 2000) or the 'Monastic Island of Reichenau' (Government of Germany 1999a). Examples from the NERG include all the Chinese dossiers nominated after 1994 including 'the Temple of Heaven: an Imperial Sacrificial Altar in Beijing' (Government of China 1997) or 'Dazu Rock Carvings' (Government of China, 1998).

4.5.2. Emphasis on mythologies, timelessness and eternity

Some themes that emerged through the qualitative analysis of this sub-category are similar to those for 'religious value' across the three groups of cultural heritage considered. One such theme is the description of the architectural and aesthetic value of the property to create an image of the past and the nation which goes beyond historical continuity into mythologies, timelessness and eternity. This confirms previous theoretical viewpoints that stress that the architectural and aesthetic value of monuments is used to stress the eternal dimension of nations (see Léon 1951, 29). All the nomination dossiers from the ERG, twenty-nine from the NERG and fifteen from the IHG describe a number of architectural symbols that embody these notions of mythic time, eternity and timelessness. One striking commonality for the ERG and

IHG is the high number of properties with Gothic religious buildings. A Gothic religious building with its

complex and systematic use of arches and vaulting made it a far richer evocation of the heavenly Jerusalem than the flat-ceilinged naves of the Early Christian and early medieval basilicas or the less fully articulated interiors of other Romanesque traditions. Since Antiquity, the circle and the sphere, by virtue of their having no beginning and no end, were associated with eternity and by extension with immortality and heaven; hence arches and vaults which are part-circular or part-spherical in shape and which rise high over our heads also function as symbols of heaven (Wilson 1992, 8).

Examples of nomination dossiers from the ERG which contain Gothic religious buildings include 'Chartres Cathedral' (Government of France 1979b); 'Vézelay, Church and Hill' (Government of France 1979c); 'Amiens Cathedral' (Government of France 1980a) and 'Durham Castle and Cathedral' (Government of the United Kingdom 1985b). Examples of nomination dossiers from the IHG which contain Gothic religious buildings include 'Kutná Hora: Historic Town Centre with the Church of St Barbara and the Cathedral of Our Lady at Sedlec' (Government of the Czech Republic 1993), 'Hallstatt-Dachstein Salzkammergut Cultural Landscape' (Government of Austria 1996) and the 'Beemster Polder' (Government of the Netherlands 1998). Only the nomination dossier of the 'Churches and Convents of Goa' from the NERG contains Gothic religious buildings (Government of India 1982c).

This central idea of eternity is also expressed through the use of symbolic architectural forms. One example is the nomination dossier of the 'Temple of Heaven: an Imperial Sacrificial Altar in Beijing' from the NERG which indicates that the two corners in the south of the temple are in the shape of right angles, and the two northern corners are in the shape of arches, 'which reflect the understanding of ancient Chinese on heaven and earth: The heaven is round, and the earth is square'. This nomination dossier also indicates that 'the round and blue colours of the Hall of Prayers for Bumper Harvests symbolize "heaven"' (Government of China 1997, 42).

4.5.3. Emphasis on classical architecture

The emphasis on classical architecture is another central theme that characterises the results of this analysis. This helps to establish a symbolic linkage to Rome, which was 'the best and greatest' (Summerson 1980, 90). It also highlights the belief in the architecture of antiquity being applied universally to 'all honourable building enterprises' (ibid., 25). It furthermore helps to highlight ideas of continuity with the past through these references to antiquity. More precisely, fifteen nomination dossiers from the ERG and seven from the IHG refer to the importance of the classical architecture of religious buildings. Examples of nomination dossiers that describe the classical features of religious monuments, buildings or works of art include 'Studley Royal Park including the Ruins of Fountains Abbey Studley Royal Park' (Government of the United Kingdom 1986), for the ERG, and the '18th Century Royal Palace at Caserta with the Park, the Aqueduct of Vanvitelli, and the San Leucio Complex' (henceforth referred to as the '18th Century Royal Palace at Caserta', (Government of Italy, 1996a) and 'Saltaire' (Government of the United Kingdom, 2000c) for the IHG.

4.5.4. Monuments as icons of national heroism

This qualitative analysis also supports previous theoretical standpoints that stress that the construction of the nation is based on emphases on great deeds and monuments considered to be 'icons of national heroism' (Silberman 1995, 257). Stressing the monumental dimension of religious buildings, works of art and remains illustrates Renan's definition of the nation as heritage and project: 'to have accomplished great things together' (Renan 1994[1882], 17). More precisely, thirty-five nomination dossiers from the ERG and twenty-three from the NERG emphasise the monumentality of religious buildings by providing their exact measurements. The first sentences of the section 'Description' of the nomination dossier of 'Cologne Cathedral' (Germany, 1995) for instance read as follows: 'High Gothic five-aisled basilica (144.38 m long) with a projecting transept 86.25. m wide and two-tower façade (157.38 m high). The height of the interior is 43.38 m; the height of the side aisles, 19.80 m' (Government of Germany 1995). Another example is the nomination

dossier of the ‘Mogao Caves’ that stresses that ‘there are still 492 caves preserved containing more than 45,000 square metres of murals: and more than 2,400 painted Buddhist sculptures from the times of the Northern Wei, Western Wei, Northern Zhou, Sui, Tang, Five Dynasties, Song, Western Xia, and Yuan dynasties, and five wooden structures from the Tang and Song dynasties’ (Government of China 1986, 3).

4.6. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of ‘architectural and aesthetic value of secular buildings, works of art, remains’

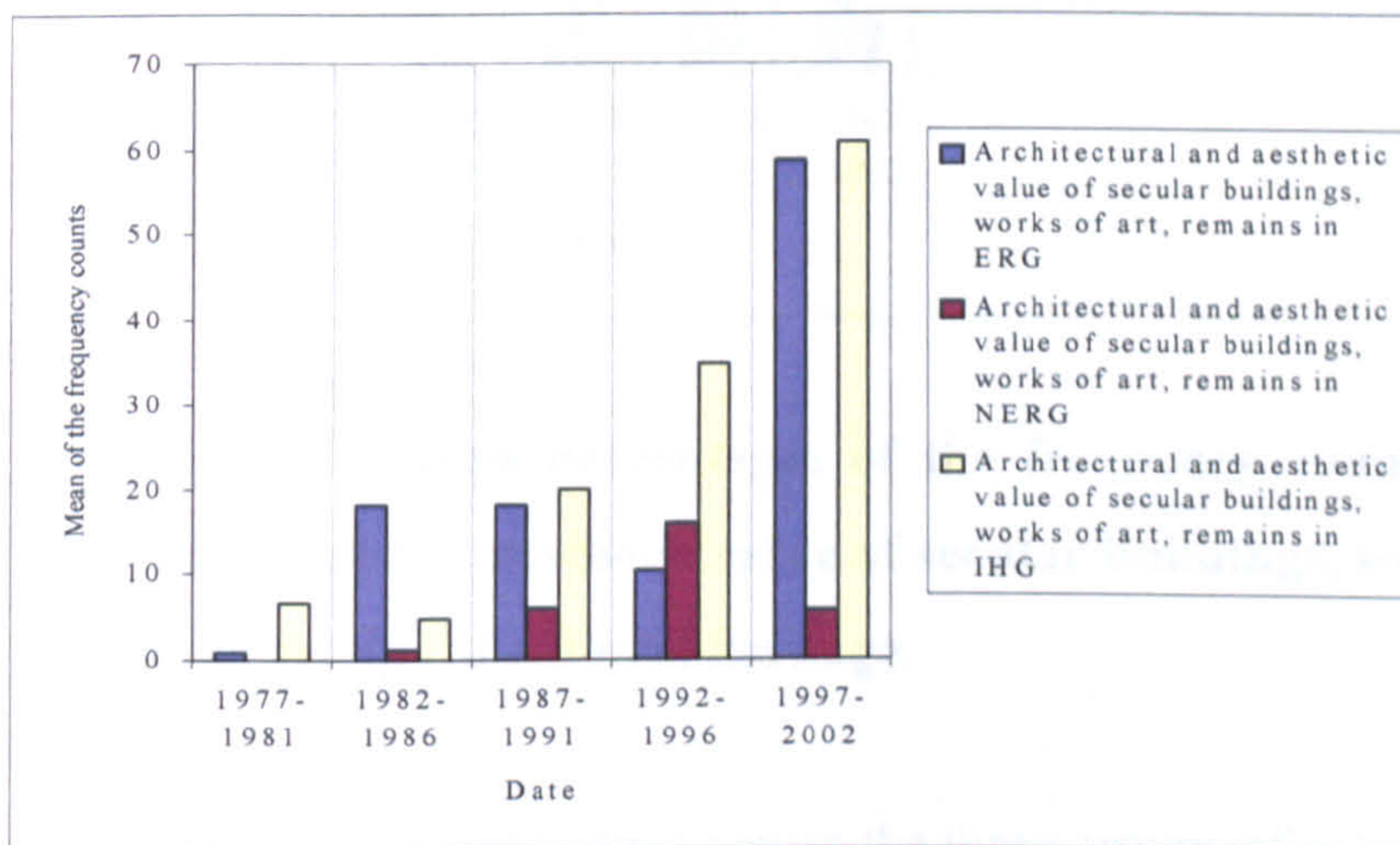


Figure 4.5.A. Means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘architectural and aesthetic value of secular buildings, works of art, remains’ for the three groups of cultural heritage

The sub-category ‘architectural and aesthetic value of secular buildings, works of art, remains’ is mentioned in twenty-three nomination dossiers of the ERG, seventeen dossiers of the NERG and twenty-nine of the IHG. As illustrated by Figure 4.5.A, the means of the frequency counts for this sub-category only reach a maximum, across the three groups of cultural heritage, at fifty-nine sentences for the ERG during the 1997-2002 period. These means are much smaller than the means of the frequency counts of ‘architectural and aesthetic value of religious value, works of art, remains’. This demonstrates the peripheral space occupied by this type of building in nomination dossiers from this group. This was predictable since, as explained in Chapter 3 (Section 3.3.2.), this research selected sites that focused primarily on religious and industrial heritage sites.

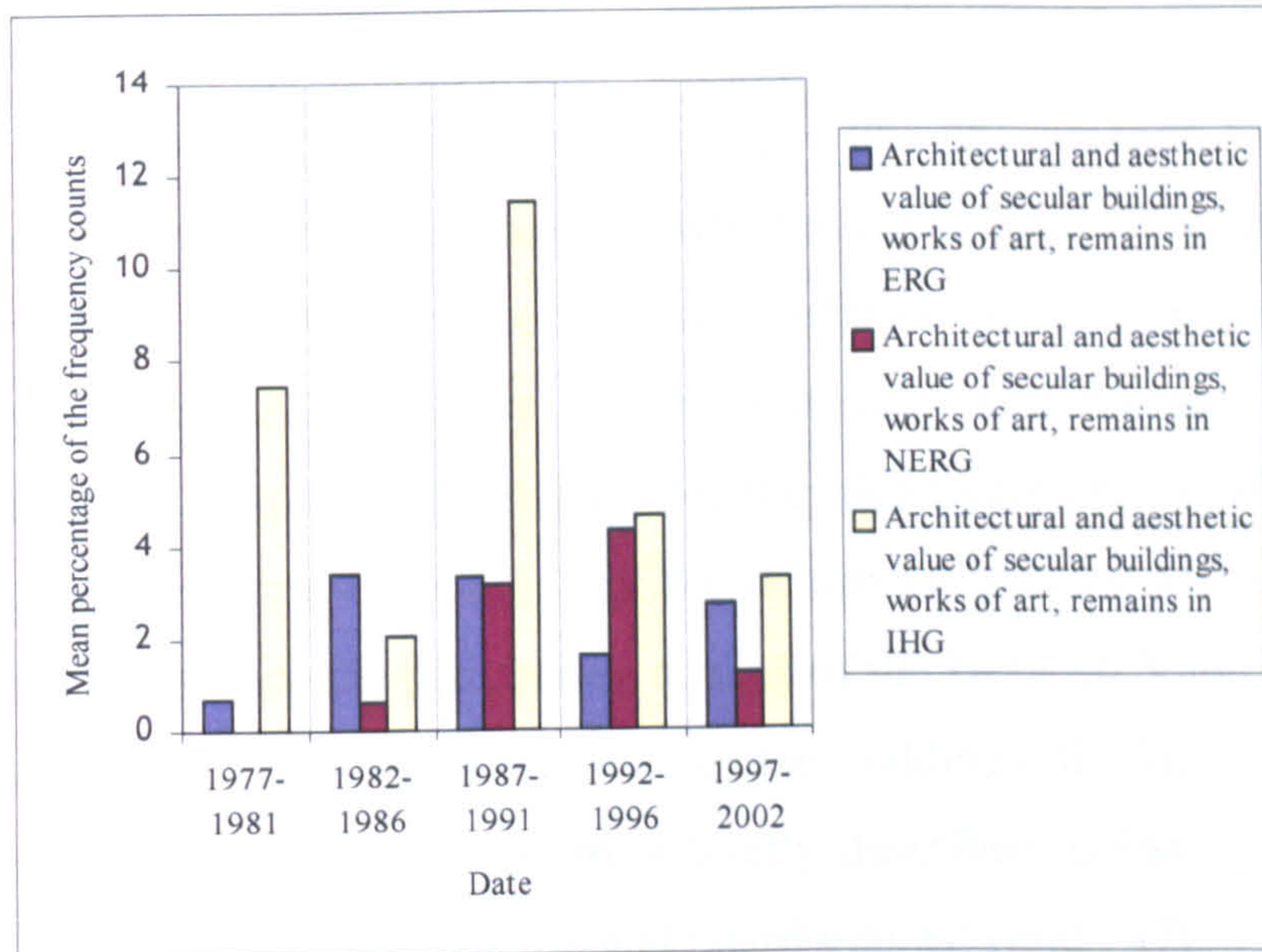


Figure 4.5.B. Mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘architectural and aesthetic value of secular buildings, works of art, remains’ for the three groups of cultural heritage

The highest mean percentage across the three groups of cultural heritage considered is reached at 11.45% for the IHG during the 1987-1991 period. These results are not as important as the mean percentages for the sub-category ‘architectural and aesthetic value of religious buildings, works of art, remains’. As previously stated, this was predictable since this research selected sites that focused primarily on religious and industrial heritage sites.

4.6.1. Emphasis on continuity

A theme shared with ‘architectural and aesthetic value of religious buildings, works of art, remains’ is the emphasis on the use of specific architectural styles that evoke ideas of continuity of the nation. This idea of continuity through the use of a specific style is highlighted in seventeen nomination dossiers from the ERG, nine from the NERG and twelve from the IHG. Some nomination dossiers including ‘Assisi, the Basilica of San Francesco and other Franciscan Sites’ (Government of Italy 1999), the ‘Routes of Santiago de Compostela in France’ (Government of France 1997) or the

'Piazza del Duomo, Pisa' (Government of Italy 1986) describe Roman remains and monuments of classical design. In some cases, the adoption of a specific style helps to give the impression of antiquity and continuity with the past. These results echo some academics such as Hobsbawn who called this phenomenon 'invented traditions' that are 'responses to novel situations which take the form of references to old situations' (1984, 2). Included in these 'invented traditions' is the choice of specific architectural style which 'automatically implies continuity with the past' (Hobsbawn 1984, 1). Hobsbawn provides the example of the 'deliberate choice of a Gothic style for the nineteenth-century rebuilding of the British Parliament' (1984, 1-2). Examples from the IHG include the nomination dossier of the Derwent Valley Mills (Government of the United Kingdom 2000a). One of the buildings, the Greyhound Hotel, located on the Market Place in Cromford is briefly described as having a 'dignified pediment' and a 'Roman Doric doorcase and raised quoins' (ibid., 47).

4.6.2. Monuments as a representation of the grandeur of the nation

Eight nomination dossiers from the NERG emphasise the monumentality of secular buildings by providing their exact measurements. As explained in the previous section, through these descriptions, monuments illustrate a grand concept of the nation. One example is the nomination dossier of the 'Pre-Hispanic City of Chichen-Itza' which explains that the observatory or 'El Caracol' has a diameter of eleven meters and was built on a rectangular platform which has sixty-seven and fifty-two metre-long walls (Government of Mexico 1987b).

4.7. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of ‘architectural and aesthetic value of industrial buildings, works of art, remains’

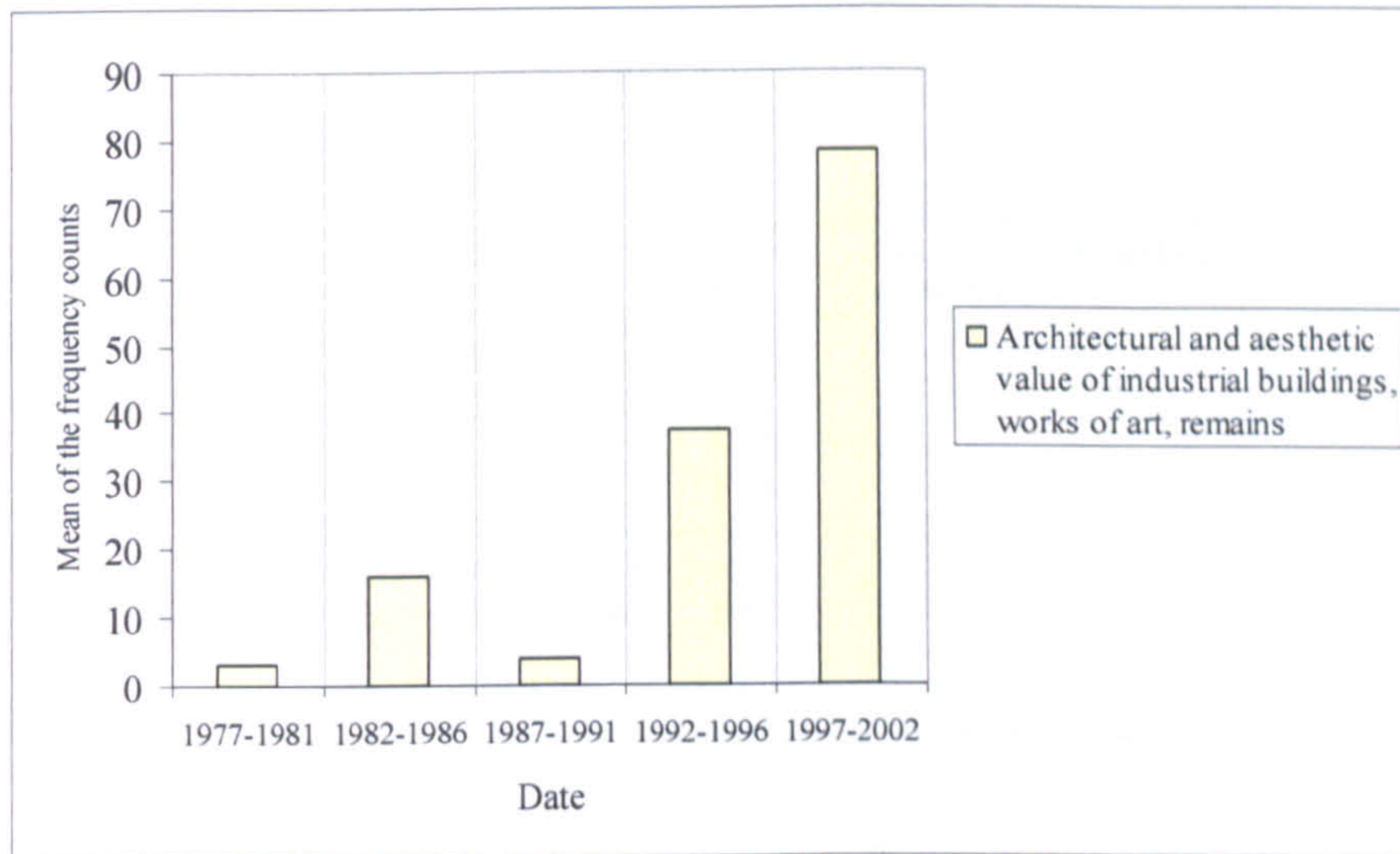


Figure 4.6.A. Means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘architectural and aesthetic value of industrial buildings, works of art, remains’

As illustrated by Figure 4.6.A. the means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of the sub-category ‘architectural and aesthetic value of industrial buildings, works of art, remains’ increase from the 1987-1991 period onwards. It reaches a maximum at seventy-nine sentences during the period 1997-2002. This is the highest frequency count for the IHG if compared with the other two sub-categories referring to the architectural and aesthetic value of nominated properties.

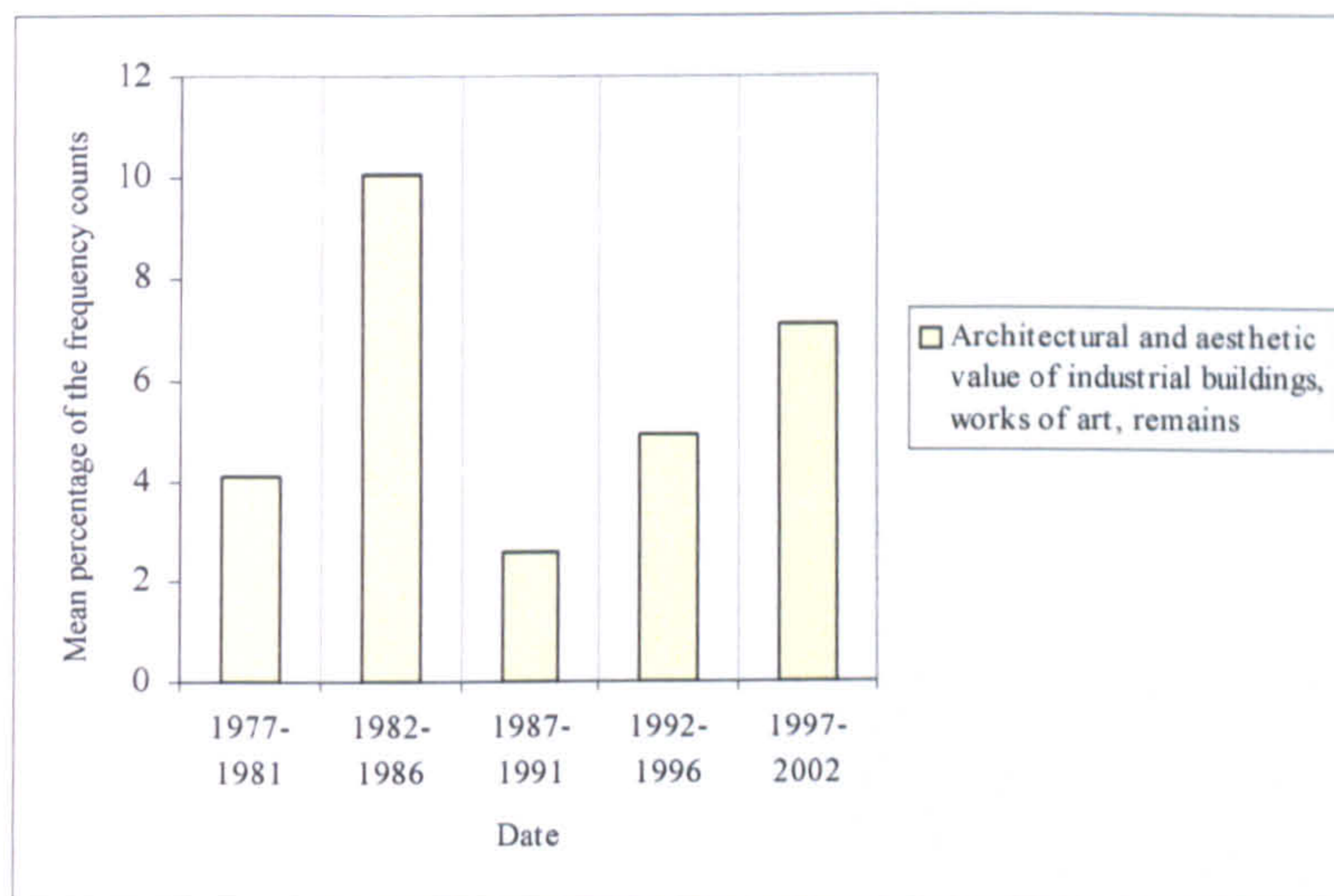


Figure 4.6.B. Mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘architectural and aesthetic value of industrial buildings, works of art, remains’

As illustrated by Figure 4.6.B. the mean percentages for this sub-category follow a more irregular evolution than their means of the frequency counts. The highest mean percentage is reached at 10.05% during the 1982-1986 period. It can be noted nonetheless that the mean percentages rise from the 1987-1991 period onwards to reach 7.11% during the 1997-2002 period.

4.7.1. References to the architectural and aesthetic value of the site as a ‘justification for inclusion on the World Heritage List’

Cultural heritage criterion (i) was revised in 1994 with the removal of the reference to ‘a unique artistic achievement’ which favoured architecturally and aesthetically-pleasing buildings. Five nomination dossiers from the IHG (31%) were nominated after 1994 under cultural heritage criterion (i) because of the aesthetic and architectural value of the property. Examples include the dossier of ‘DF Wouda Steam Pumping Station’ (Government of the Netherlands 1997) or ‘Beemster Polder’ (Government of the Netherlands 1998).

4.7.2. The architectural beauty of industrial heritage sites

It has been stressed in literature that the architectural and aesthetic value of industrial heritage sites is different from other categories of cultural heritage such as religious sites. Indeed, industrial heritage sites tend to be considered as unprepossessing and unattractive (Alfrey and Putnam 1992, 2). The results from the data analysis however contradict these assertions. No nomination dossier provides a negative description of the architectural values of the building or site. Moreover, nineteen nomination dossiers insist on the architectural beauty of the industrial heritage site. The nomination dossier of the 'Ironworks Völklingen' in its section on the justification for inclusion on the World Heritage List refers to the ironworks as a 'cathedral' of the industrial age (Government of Germany 1993, 7). As a further example, the nomination dossier of the 'Royal Saltworks of Arc-et-Senans' also stresses that 'this is the first instance of a factory being built with the same care and concern for architectural quality as a palace or an important religious building' (Government of France 1981, 7).

4.7.3. Monuments as icons of national heroism

Some themes that have emerged through the qualitative analysis of this sub-category are similar to those for the sub-category 'architectural and aesthetic value of religious buildings, works of art and remains' and 'architectural and aesthetic values of secular buildings, works of art and remains'. One of these themes is the emphasis on the monumentality of industrial heritage buildings by providing their dimensions. As previously explained, stressing the monumentality of sites helps to provide an image of the nation as heroic and grand. More precisely, twenty-five nomination dossiers mention the dimensions of the site, whether monuments or underground mines. Examples include the nomination dossiers of the 'Wieliczka Salt Mine' (Government of Poland 1978), the 'Pont du Gard' (Government of France 1984) and the 'Mining Area of the Great Copper Mountain in Falun' (Government of Sweden 2000). For instance, the nomination dossier of the 'Mining Area of the Great Copper Mountain in Falun' stresses that 'this open pit is about 350 x 300 metres wide and about 90 m

deep. The mine has been excavated down to about 400 metres below ground, with numerous subterranean galleries and faces' (ibid., 9).

Because of their dimensions, some of these sites are described as landmarks, comparable to spires of churches. This is the case of the nomination dossier of the 'Zollverein Coal Mine Industrial Complex in Essen' which stresses that the ironworks are 'visible from far away' and 'the perfectly shaped expression of a (...) distinct and symbolic landmark' (Government of Germany 1999b, 8).

4.7.4. Emphasis on continuity

Another theme that is similar to those for the sub-categories 'architectural and aesthetic value of religious buildings, works of art and remains' and 'architectural values of secular buildings, works of art and remains' is the construction of an image of continuity through references to classical architecture. Twelve nomination dossiers are linked to the Roman period, use Greco-Roman or classical architectural features, or make reference to classical times. Roman sites of high architectural value are represented by the 'Pont du Gard' (Government of France 1984) and the 'Old Town of Segovia and its Aqueduct' (Government of Spain 1985). These two sites are described in their nomination dossiers as two of the most important monuments from Roman times.

The use of classical style for the construction of industrial heritage also denotes a belief in order through the use of and respect for the five orders of classical architecture (Tuscan, Ionic, Doric, Corinthian and Composite orders) (Summerson 1980, 10). This taste for order and the rational is well expressed in the nomination dossier of the 'Royal Saltworks of Arc-et-Senans' (Government of France 1981). This site contains a Director's villa and has buildings for the processing of salt and for the lodging of the workers organised on a panopticon hemisphere around this villa. The whole site is neo-classical. The Director's villa, in particular, has a pediment pierced in the middle by an oculus which symbolises knowledge, surveillance and the need for order.

4.8. Quantitative and qualitative analysis ‘research value/documentation on the property’

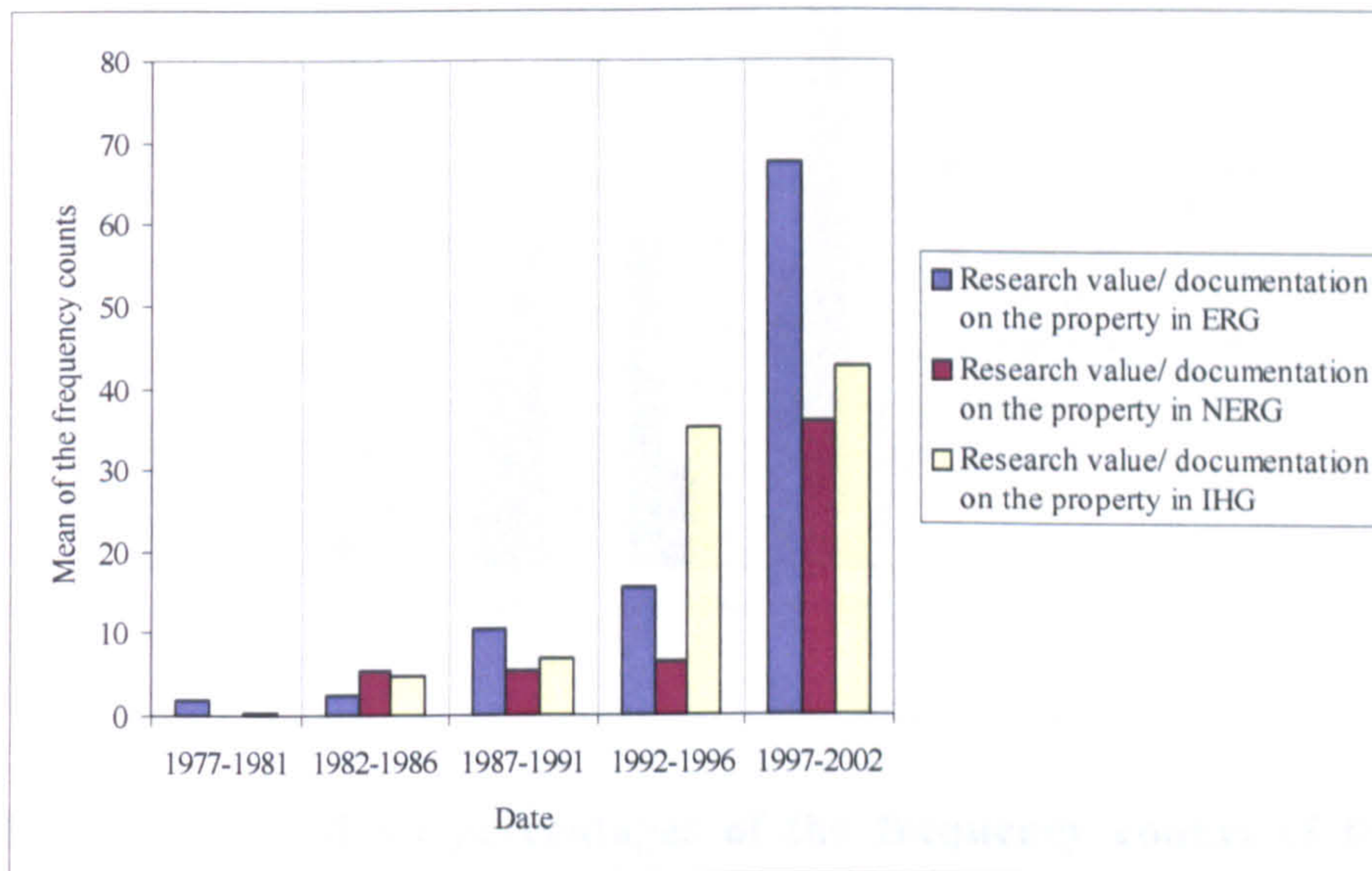


Figure 4.7.A. Means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘research value/documentation on the property’ for the three groups of cultural heritage

As illustrated by Figure 4.7.A. the means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘research value/documentation on the property’ increase gradually for the ERG and IHG from 1977 to 2002. Peaks are reached for the ERG at sixty-seven sentences and for the IHG at forty-two sentences during the 1997-2002 period. The evolution of the means of the frequency counts of this sub-category for the NERG is not as high as for the other two groups of cultural heritage considered. The highest peak for this sub-category is reached for the NERG at thirty-six sentences during the 1997-2002 period.

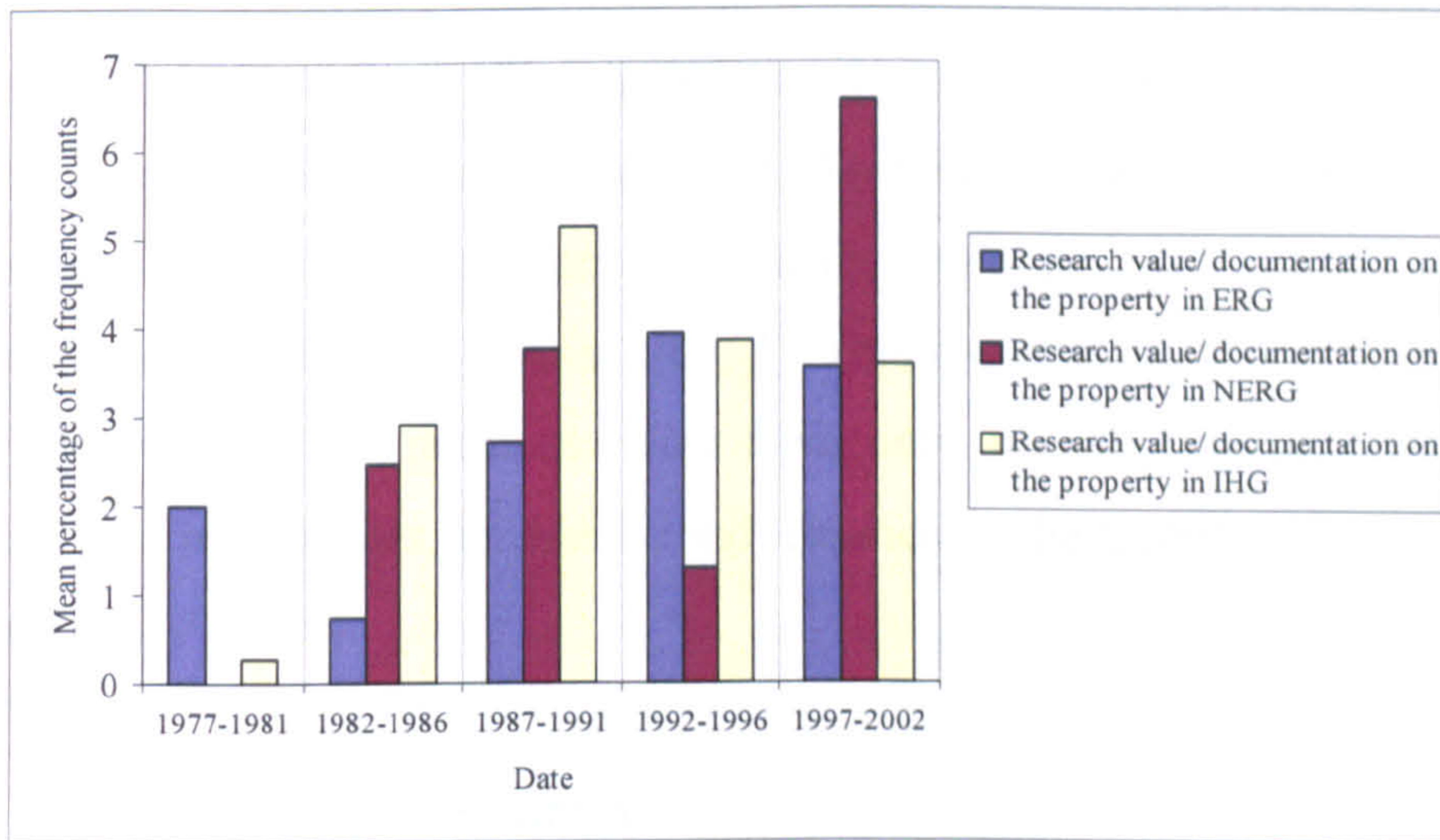


Figure 4.7.B. Mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘research value/documentation on the property’ for the three groups of cultural heritage

The mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘research value/documentation on the property’ follow a different evolution to the means of the frequency counts. They reach a maximum, across the three groups of cultural heritage under consideration at 6.58% for the NERG during the 1997-2002 period. The highest peak for the IHG is reached at 5.14% during the 1987-1991 period. The highest peak for the ERG is reached at 3.93% during the 1992-1996 period. This is rather small considering that Article 27(1) of the World Heritage Convention stresses the importance of educational programmes which have been recorded under this sub-category.

4.8.1. Grandeur of the nation

Some themes that have emerged through the qualitative analysis of this sub-category are similar to those found for the previous categories studied in this chapter. Ten nomination dossiers from the ERG, six from the NERG and four from the IHG mention that the nominated site, or a building within it, contains a library with precious books and/or records on the property or particular aspects of it, emphasising the richness and grandeur of the nation. For example, the nomination dossier of

'Assisi, the Basilica of San Francesco and other Franciscan Sites' highlights that the Library of the International Society for Franciscan Studies contains 509 parchments as well as numerous illuminated manuscripts from the twelfth and fourteenth centuries (Government of Italy 1999). Another case is the nomination dossier of the 'Mogao Caves' which stresses that this site contained 'tens of thousands of books and relics' (Government of China 1986, 4). This nomination dossier further indicates that a number of these precious relics have been illegally carried away and are 'now scattered in institutes, museums, and libraries in the USSR, U.K., France, Japan, and the U.S.A' (ibid.).

4.8.2. Emphasis on continuity

Fifteen nomination dossiers from the ERG, eight from the NERG and seventeen from the IHG mention some research programmes that have taken place at the site, most of which have been excavations. In most cases these excavations attempt, *inter alia*, to find remains of earlier settlements and to date them. The stated aims of these excavations are diverse but they mainly include research of previous settlements and their organisation. Hence these excavations attempt to prove materially the continuity of the settlement. Examples of nomination dossiers that stress that excavation has resulted in the discovery of earlier settlements include the nomination dossier of the 'Engelsberg Ironworks' which stresses that remains of 'primitive clay-clad reduction furnaces' (Government of Sweden 1989a, 1) have been found. Another instance is the nomination dossier of the 'Urnes Stave Church' which indicates that remains of an older church were discovered during excavations (Government of Norway 1977). Some of these nomination dossiers, including 'Kalwaria Zebrzydowska: the Mannerist Architectural and Park Landscape Complex and Pilgrimage Park' (henceforth referred to as 'Kalwaria Zebrzydowska'), (Government of Poland 1998), 'Notre-Dame Cathedral in Tournai' (Government of Belgium 1999b) or the 'Monastic Island of Reichenau' (Government of Germany 1999a), indicate that these excavations have been undertaken in collaboration with universities. It is interesting to note that most nomination dossiers that mention collaborative fieldwork with universities have been nominated after 1994. This increase might have been encouraged by the 1994 document on the Global Strategy that mentions the importance of collaborative work with universities.

4.8.3. References to primary and secondary education

Six nomination dossiers from the ERG, five from the NERG and seven from the IHG mention present-day educational activities that have been organised on-site. Across the three groups of cultural heritage considered, only two nomination dossiers, those of the 'Church Village of Gammelstad, Luleå' (Government of Sweden 1995) and the 'Kalwaria Zebrzydowska' (Government of Poland 1998), provide details of these educational activities. The nomination dossier of the 'Church Village of Gammelstad, Luleå', in particular, details a religious and educational tradition that has been preserved; the younger generations gather in the church town for two weeks before Midsummer to study for confirmation, using the church cottages as temporary residences (Government of Sweden 1995). The other nomination dossiers do not provide any more information on the educational activities developed on site. This is rather intriguing, in particular in the case of the Chinese nomination dossier of 'Longmen Grottoes' and which mentions that these sites are 'a base for promoting patriotic education among teenagers' (Government of China 1999b, 32). However, none of these three nomination dossiers provides any detailed information about this 'patriotic education'. The lack of precision is surprising, considering that the educational dimension of properties is an important and central theme of the World Heritage Convention as highlighted by Article 27(1) and has been also stressed by other cultural heritage organisations including English Heritage (Fairclough 1999,131; Corbishley 2004, 68).

4.9. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of ‘history and development’

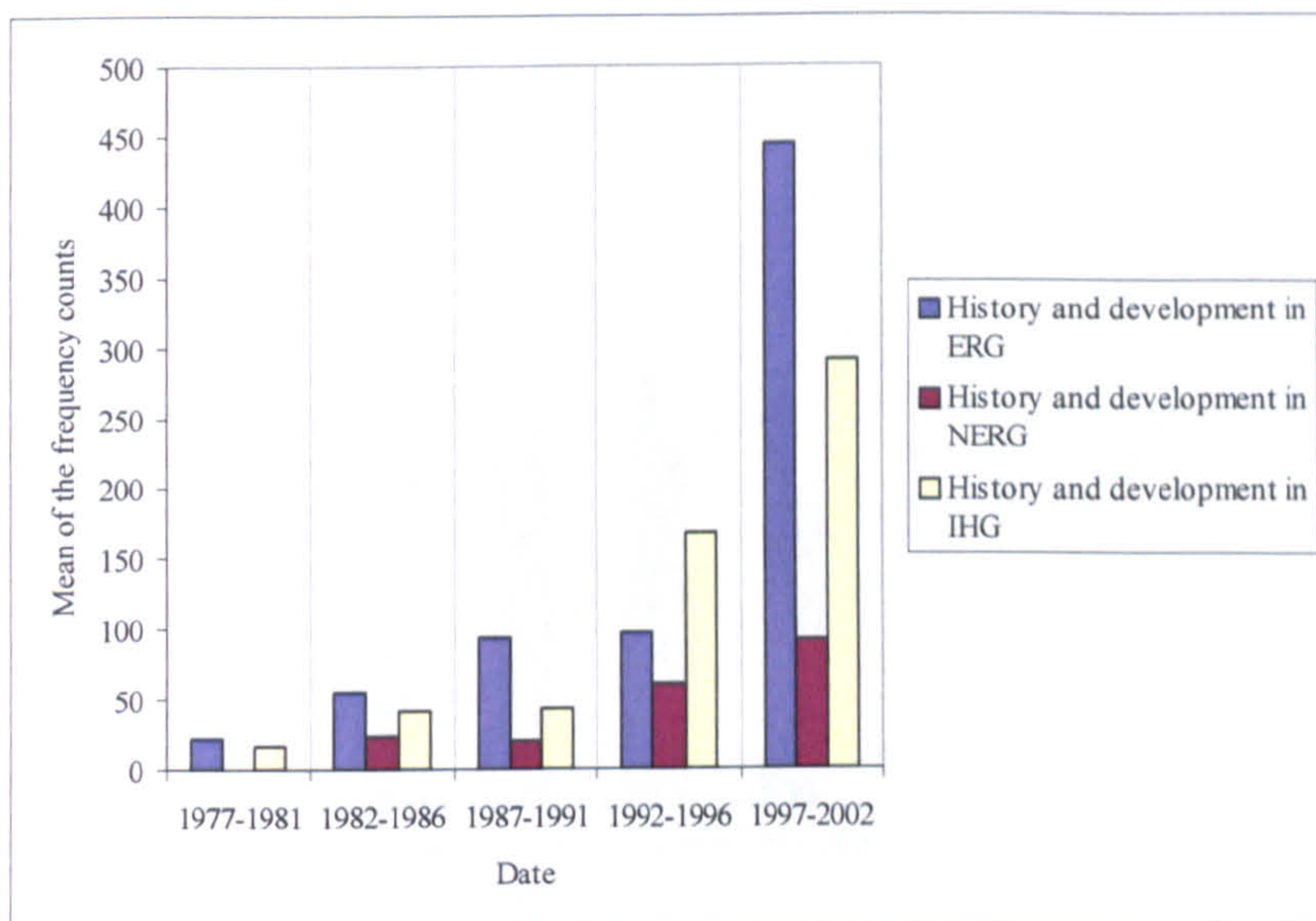


Figure 4.8.A. Means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘history and development’ for the three groups of cultural heritage

The first and subsequent versions of the Operational Guidelines have requested States Parties to provide information on the history (and, since 1997, on the ‘History and Development’) of the nominated site in their nomination dossiers. All the nomination dossiers from the three groups of cultural heritage mention this sub-category. As indicated by Figure 4.8.A. the means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘history and development’ gradually increase, over the five time periods considered, for the ERG and IHG. The frequency counts also increase for the NERG from 1987 onwards but to a lesser extent than for the other two groups of cultural heritage. For the ERG this sub-category reaches one of the highest peaks of all the twenty-nine sub-categories considered in this analysis at 444 sentences on average per nomination dossier for the 1997-2002 period. This peak is mainly due to the frequency count of this sub-category reaching 1643 sentences in the nomination dossier for the ‘Routes of Santiago de Compostela in France’ (Government of France 1997) and 509 sentences in the dossier of ‘Assisi, the Basilica of San Francesco and other Franciscan Sites’ (Government of Italy 1999). The means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of this sub-category also reach an important level at 291 sentences for the IHG during the 1997-2002 period. This is partly due to a peak at 831 sentences for the dossiers of

the ‘Derwent Valley Mills’ (Government of the United Kingdom 2000a) and 524 sentences for ‘New Lanark’ (Government of the United Kingdom 2000b).

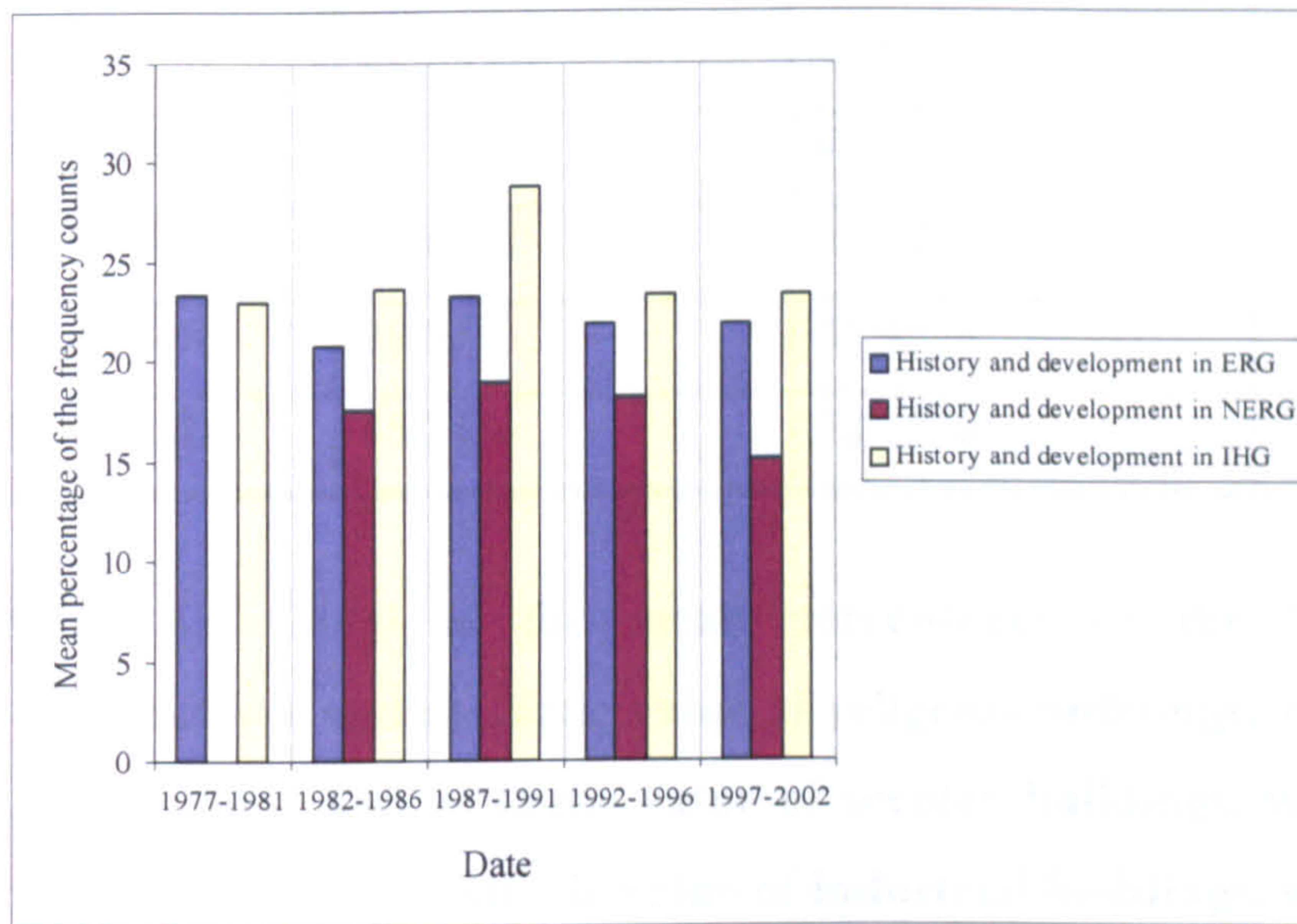


Figure 4.8.B. Mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘history and development’ for the three groups of cultural heritage

As illustrated by Figure 4.8.B. all the mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘history and development’ for the three groups of cultural heritage under consideration reach between 15% (for the NERG during the 1997-2002 period) and 29% (for the IHG during the 1987-1991 period). Figure 4.8.B. shows that the evolution of the mean percentages of this sub-category is rather constant over the five time periods considered.

The Table below presents the combined results of the mean percentages of the frequency counts relating to the architectural and aesthetic value of the nominated sites (*id est* ‘architectural and aesthetic value of religious buildings, works of art, remains’; ‘architectural and aesthetic value of secular buildings, works of art, remains’; ‘architectural and aesthetic value of industrial buildings, works of art, remains’) and ‘history and development’.

Date	Total ERG	Total NERG	Total IHG
1977-1981	47.08%	N/A	39.72%
1982-1986	45.76%	41.12%	41.55%
1987-1991	45.65%	37.77%	46.44%
1992-1996	39.81%	45.43%	35.57%
1997-2002	45.21%	32.77%	34.13%

Table 4.1. Total of the mean percentages of the frequency counts for ‘architectural and aesthetic value of religious buildings, works of arts, remains, ‘architectural and aesthetic value of secular buildings, works of arts, remains, ‘architectural and aesthetic value of industrial buildings, works of arts, remains’ and ‘history and development’

Table 4.1. demonstrates that, on average, references to the architectural and aesthetic value of the property and to its history and development add up to between almost a third (as is the case for the NERG during the 1997-2002 period) and almost half (as is the case for the ERG during the 1997-2002 period) of nomination dossiers.

4.9.1. Linear history

Gillis (1994, 6) and Nora (1998, 623) stress that historical accounts relating to elitist heritage including religious cultural heritage tend to be presented in a linear and sequential form. On the other hand, these theorists also stress that historical accounts relating to more popular forms of cultural heritage such as industrial heritage tend to follow different, less linear narratives and sequences. However, all the nomination dossiers from the ERG, NERG and IHG provide a linear and sequential description of history. According to Hastrup (1992, 1), this is a Western way of presenting history. All these nomination dossiers refer to the chronological description of the construction of the nominated property or significant buildings within it. For the industrial heritage sites, these linear descriptions tend to focus on the period of exploitation of the site until its decline, where relevant. A number of cases also introduce and present the biography of an important male figure that has been linked

to the site either as an architect, an engineer or an entrepreneur in a linear manner. Examples include Erik Gunnar Asplund in the nomination dossier of the 'Skogskyrkogården' (Government of Sweden 1989b) (ERG), António Francisco Lisboa, also known as Aleijadinho in the nomination dossier of the 'Sanctuary of Bom Jesus do Congonhas' (Government of Brazil 1984) (NERG) or Cristoforo Benigno Crespi in the nomination dossier of 'Crespi d'Adda' (Government of Italy 1994) (IHG).

Implied in these linear representations of history is the idea of continuity. Some nomination dossiers, such as the 'Mill Network at Kinderdijk-Elshout' (Government of the Netherlands 1996), the 'Mount Qincheng and the Dujiangyan Irrigation System' (Government of China 1999b) and the 'Longmen Grottoes' (Government of China 1999b), even detail in a chronological manner the geological formation of the site, going back to 4000 BC in the case of the Mill Network at Kinderdijk-Elshout and to 500 million years ago in the case of the Longmen Grottoes.

This linear, continuous and unilateral presentation of history is problematic as it omits different perspectives and other histories that might have been linked to the site. As stressed by the academics Blok (1992, 121) and Carr (1987, 11) any representation of history is necessarily selective since all the historical details cannot be narrated. However, the nomination dossiers from the three groups of cultural heritage present a very restricted vision of history which focuses almost exclusively on the construction of the site. A number of important aspects are missing such as the historical contexts in which the nominated property was constructed. Some members of the clergy were opposed, for instance, to the construction of the early French Gothic Cathedrals because they were too opulent and magnificent. Onians quotes for instance Saint Bernard who 'talked derisively of "the vast height of your churches, their immoderate length, their superfluous breadth"' (1988, 113). Indeed, as explained by Onians, architecture has a negative status 'in a strict system of Christian morality. To build for any purpose implied an inappropriate faith in the permanence of material things in this world and was easily seen as an expression of personal vainglory' (1988, 112).

Lowenthal stresses the differences between history and heritage. 'History seeks to convince by truth and succumbs to falsehood. Heritage exaggerates and omits,

candidly invents and frankly forgets, and thrives on ignorance and error' (1998, 121). Lowenthal seems to imply that the historical facts and history related to heritage sites tend to be different from historical narratives written for instance in the field of academia. The selective and restricted representation of the history of the nominated properties would tend to confirm these differences between academic historical narratives and historical narratives related to cultural heritage sites.

4.10 Quantitative and qualitative analysis of 'explanation of the functioning of the industrial structure'

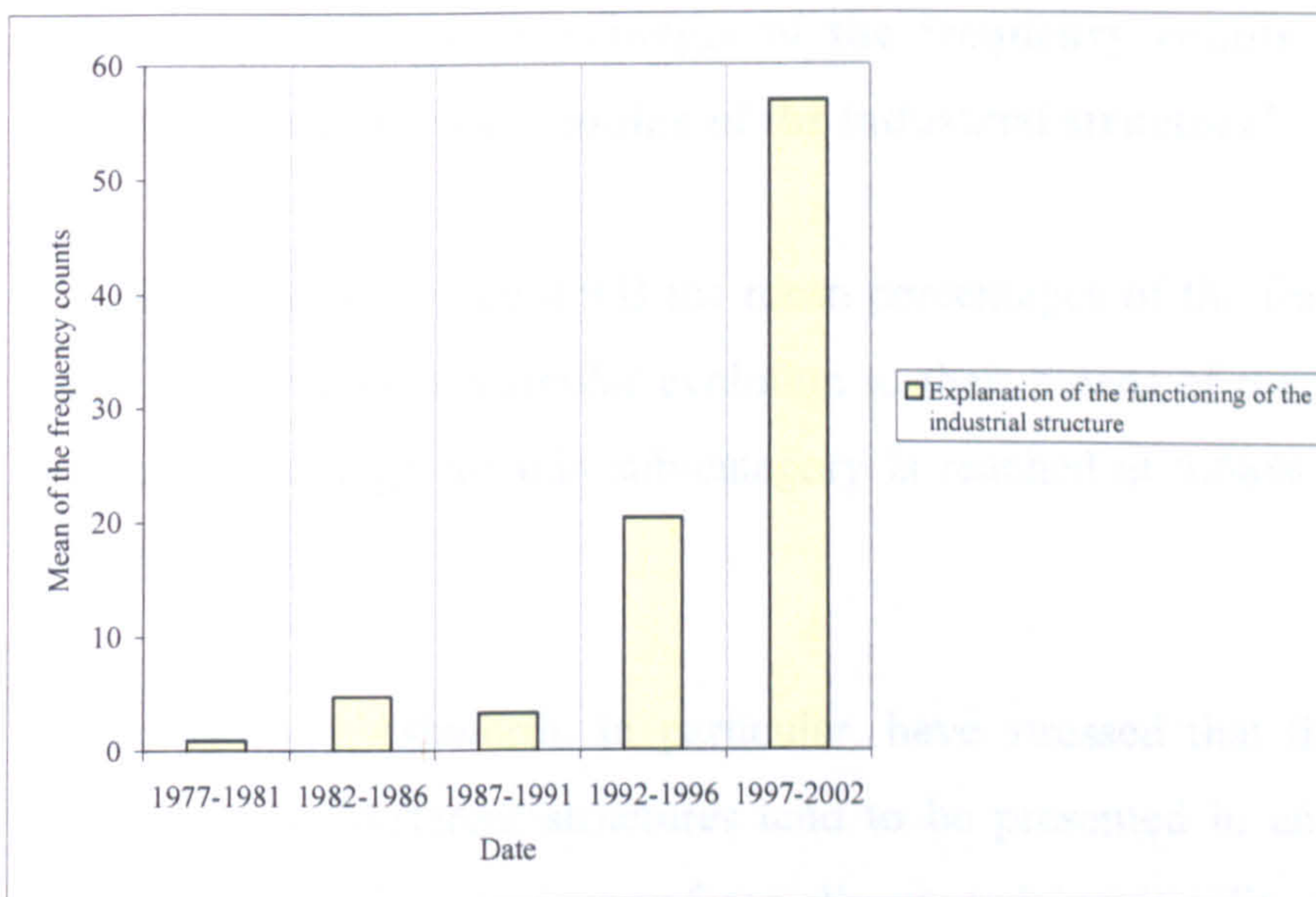


Figure 4.9.A. Means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of 'explanation of the functioning of the industrial structure'

As illustrated by Figure 4.9.A. the means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of the sub-category 'explanation of the functioning of the industrial structure' increase gradually from 1987 onwards and reach a peak at fifty-seven sentences during the 1997-2002 period.

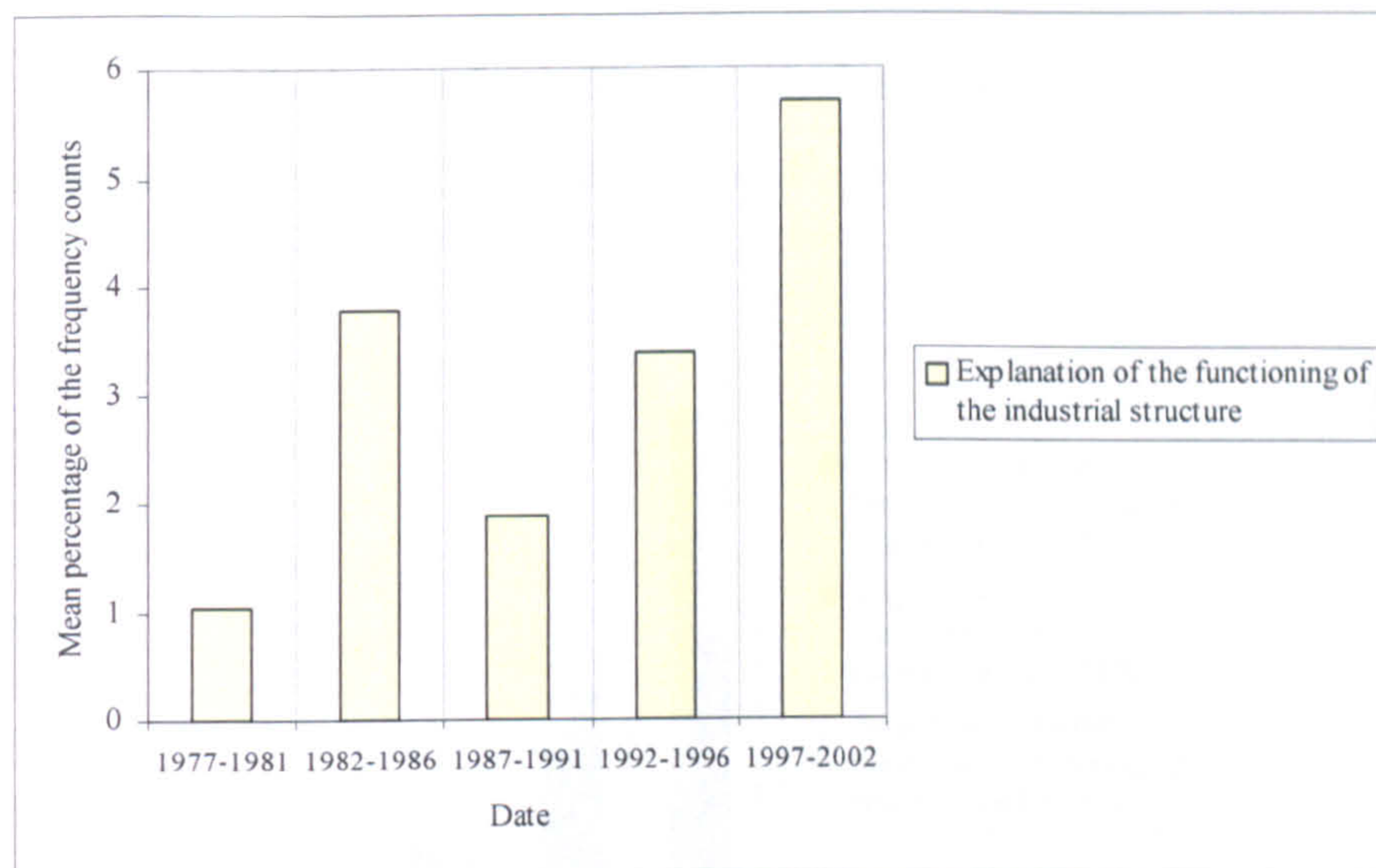


Figure 4.9.B. Mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘explanation of the functioning of the industrial structure’

As illustrated by Figure 4.9.B the mean percentages of the frequency counts for this sub-category follow a similar evolution to their means of the frequency counts. The highest percentage for this sub-category is reached at 5.68% during the 1997-2002 period.

Tunbridge and Ashworth, in particular, have stressed that the technology and the functioning of different structures tend to be presented in an objective and neutral manner which gives an ‘aura of socially neutral inevitability to the industrialisation process, and a pervading theme of progress legitimate[s] what had occurred and marginalise[s] many of the negative social impacts’ (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996, 77). All the nomination dossiers from the IHG explain the functioning of the industrial structures in an objective and neutral manner. According to Kavanagh this helps present a ‘safe’ and ‘sanitised’ version of the past (1993, 19).

As illustrated by Figure 4.10.A indeed, the highest peak only reaches 3.8% for the IHG during the 1982-1986 period. The means of the frequency counts for this sub-category increase from 1992 onwards and reach their highest peak during 1997-2002 for the three groups of cultural heritage. The mean number of fifty-seven sentences for the IHG, forty-one for the MUG and twenty-five sentences for the MUG.

4.11. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of ‘importance and influence of the property in the region/ country/world’

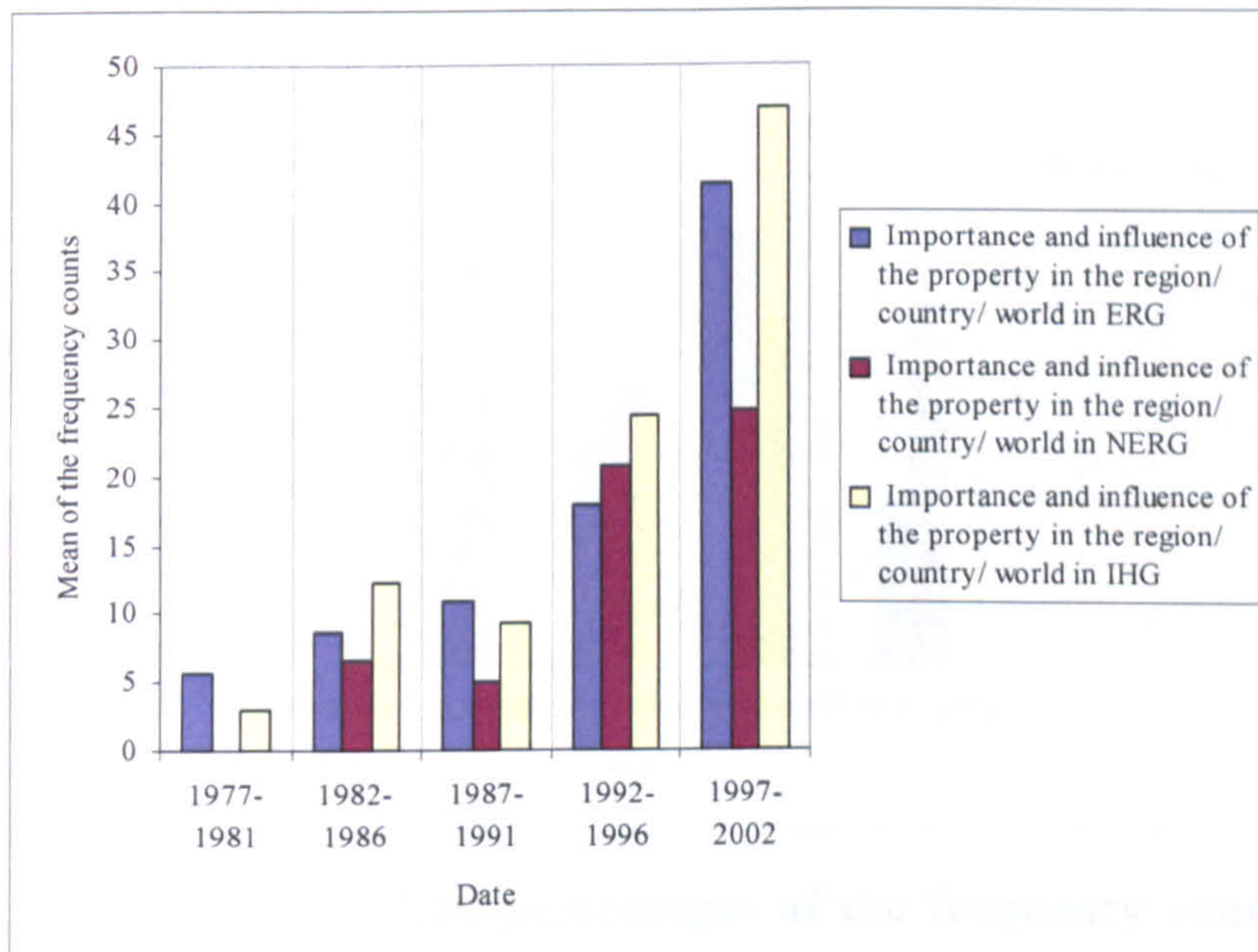


Figure 4.10.A. Means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘importance and influence of the property in the region/country/world’ for the three groups of cultural heritage

All the nomination dossiers from the three groups of cultural heritage under consideration mention this sub-category with the exception of the nomination dossier of Røros (Government of Norway 1978). This result is not very surprising considering that the main requirement of the World Heritage Convention is that the site should be of ‘outstanding universal value’. Criterion (ii) refers more particularly to the influence exerted by the nominated property on other sites in other cultural areas of the world.

Until 1991 the means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of this sub-category are rather small as indicated by Figure 4.10.A. Indeed, the highest peak only reaches twelve sentences for the IHG during the 1982-1986 period. The means of the frequency counts for this sub-category increase from 1992 onwards and reach their highest peaks in the period 1997-2002 for the three groups of cultural heritage considered. They reach an average of forty-seven sentences for the IHG, forty-one sentences for the ERG and twenty-five sentences for the NERG.

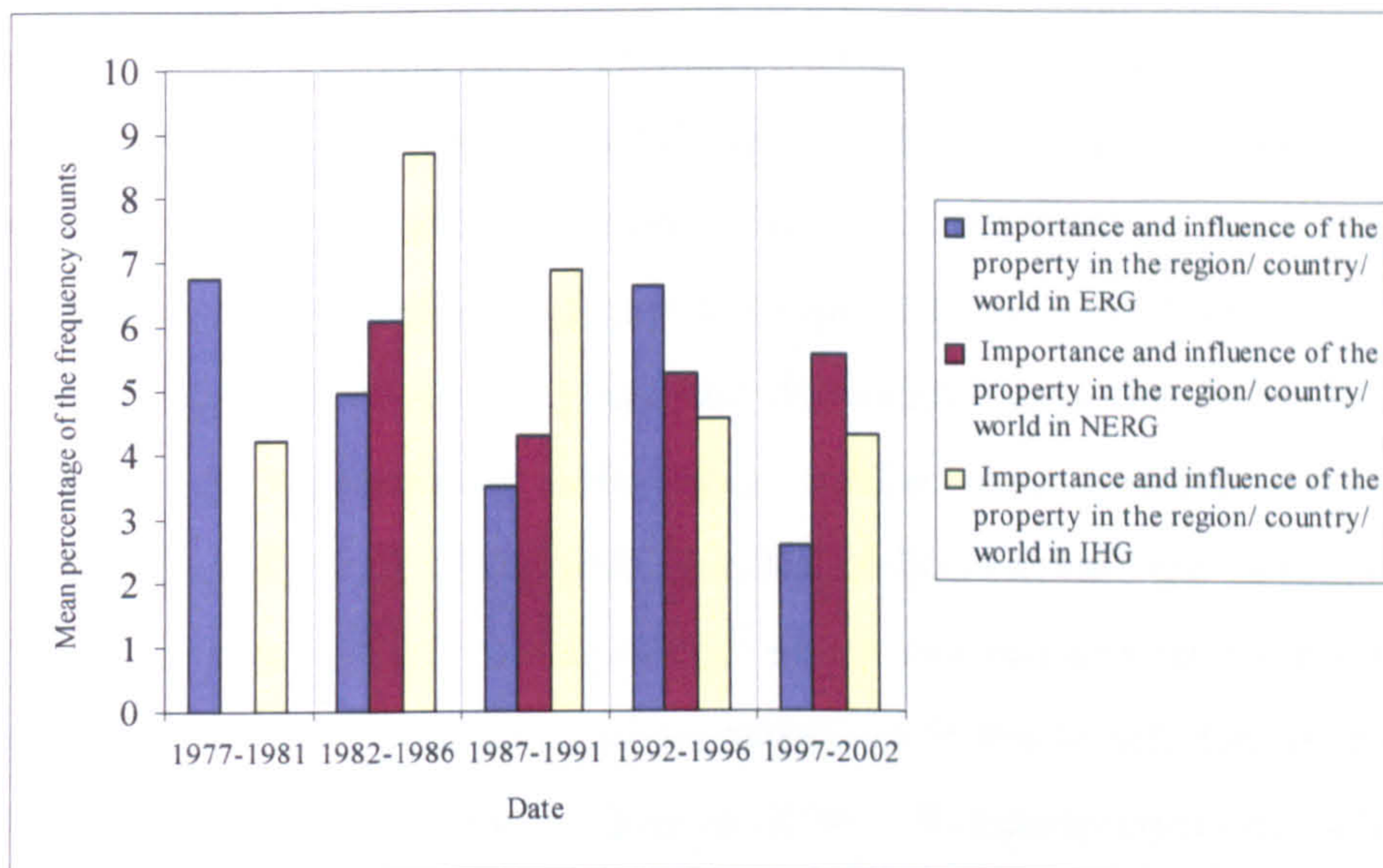


Figure 4.10.B. Mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘importance and influence of the property in the region/country/world’ for the three groups of cultural heritage

As illustrated by Figure 4.10.B. the mean percentages of the frequency counts for this sub-category reach their highest peak for the IHG at 8.71% during the 1982-1986 period. The mean percentages of this sub-category then gradually decrease from 1987 onwards reaching only 4.29% during the 1997-2002 period. The mean percentages of the frequency counts for the ERG also decrease during the 1997-2002 period. These decreases might reflect the revision of criterion (ii) which from 1994 onwards refers not only to the influence exerted by the property on other sites but also to the influence it has received from other cultures and countries. This hypothesis will be further analysed in the following section analysing the evolution of the sub-category ‘influence from other countries’.

4.11.1. Use of superlatives

All the nomination dossiers from the three categories of cultural heritage considered use superlatives to describe the nominated property, such as ‘the most important’ or ‘the best of its kind’ in the region, country or in the world. Superlatives hence seem to be used by all three groups to express the outstanding value of the nominated property. This use of superlatives strengthens the presentation of the site as grand

which characterises other sub-categories already analysed including 'architectural and aesthetic value of religious buildings, works of art, remains', 'architectural and aesthetic value of secular buildings, works of art, remains' or 'research value/documentation on the property'. The use of superlatives is certainly encouraged by the wordings of the six cultural heritage criteria. These wordings encourage an emphatic representation of the past and the nation. This also helps sustain claims of superiority in comparison with other similar sites located in other countries (Lowenthal 1998, 128). Examples from the NERG include the nomination dossier of the 'Pre-Hispanic City of Chichen-Itza' which stresses that its monuments are one of the most important Mesoamerican constructions in the world (Government of Mexico 1987b, 18), or the nomination dossier of the 'Yungang Grottoes' which states that these are 'the best works produced during the second period of the prosperity of Buddhist cave art in the world' (Government of China 2000b, 11). Examples from the IHG include the nomination dossiers of the 'City of Potosí' (Government of Bolivia 1986) and the 'Historic Town of Guanajuato and Adjacent Mines' (Government of Mexico 1987a) which both stress that these were the most important industrial centres of their time in the world.

A closely related theme is the use of superlatives or terminologies to highlight ideas of primacy, such as that the site is the oldest structure or building of that kind in the world, or that the industrial process used is the oldest and longest one in use in the world. This result supports previous theoretical perspectives such as those of Lowenthal who asserts that 'precedence evokes pride and proves title. To be first in a place warrants possession; to antedate others' origins or exploits shows superiority' (1998, 174). Sixteen nomination dossiers from the ERG, four from the NERG and twenty-one from the IHG refer to this idea of primacy. Examples from the ERG include the nomination dossier of 'Canterbury Cathedral, St Augustine's Abbey and St Martin's Church' which stresses that this site was 'the cradle of the Christian faith' in England (Government of the United Kingdom 1987b, 1) or the dossier of 'Kalwaria Zebrzydowska' which highlights that this site is the oldest Calvary in Poland (Government of Poland 1998). Examples from the NERG include the 'Mahabodhi Temple Complex at Bodh Gaya' which is 'the cradle of Buddhism' (Government of India 2002, 7). Examples from the IHG include the dossier of the 'Ironbridge Gorge' which stresses that this structure was the 'first of its kind' (Government of the United

Kingdom 1985a, 14), and the 'Semmering Railway' which is the 'first noteworthy mountain railway the world had seen up to that point' (Government of Austria 1995). It is interesting to note that two different sites from the ERG, both from Germany, are presented in their nomination dossiers as being the first; Aachen Cathedral is described as 'the first major vaulted building of the early Middle Ages' (Government of Germany 1978, 7) whilst Speyer Cathedral is also described as 'the first (...) vaulted church building in Europe' (Government of Germany 1980, 11). All these examples show the importance of centrality of claims of uniqueness and priority in nomination dossiers that has also been stressed by Lowenthal (1998, 173-191).

Lowenthal warns of the dangers of such representations of the past and the nation: 'Claims of ownership, uniqueness, and priority engender strife over every facet of collective legacies' (1998, 234). According to Lowenthal, these claims help to stress the differences between different cultures and nations rather than to promote ideas of a shared and common past and legacies between nations (ibid.).

4.11.2. Influence exerted on the world as expression of universalism

Seven nomination dossiers from the ERG, three from the NERG and seven from the IHG emphatically stress that the site was essential for the development of other countries world-wide and that without this site the history of the world would have been different. Through these claims, the universal value of the nominated property is demonstrated. An example from the ERG is the nomination dossier of 'Westminster Palace, Westminster Abbey and Saint Margaret's Church' which describes the Palace abbey and church as having played a major role in promoting the idea of democracy (Government of the United Kingdom 1987a). An example from the NERG is the nomination dossier of the 'Mahabodhi Temple Complex at Bodh Gaya' which stresses that Buddhism has transformed and influenced the lives of millions around the world (Government of India 2002). Examples from the IHG include the nomination dossier of 'Wieliczka Salt Mine' (Government of Poland 1978) which highlights that a number of technical solutions that had been developed at that site have subsequently had an important role in the development of world industry, and the nomination dossier of the 'Ironbridge Gorge' which stresses that this site is 'the direct ancestor of every large metal-framed structure, of the Brooklyn Bridge, the

Sydney Harbour Bridge and of the bridge which crosses the Bosphorus, as well as of every skyscraper' (Government of the United Kingdom 1985a, 22).

4.12. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of 'influence from other countries'

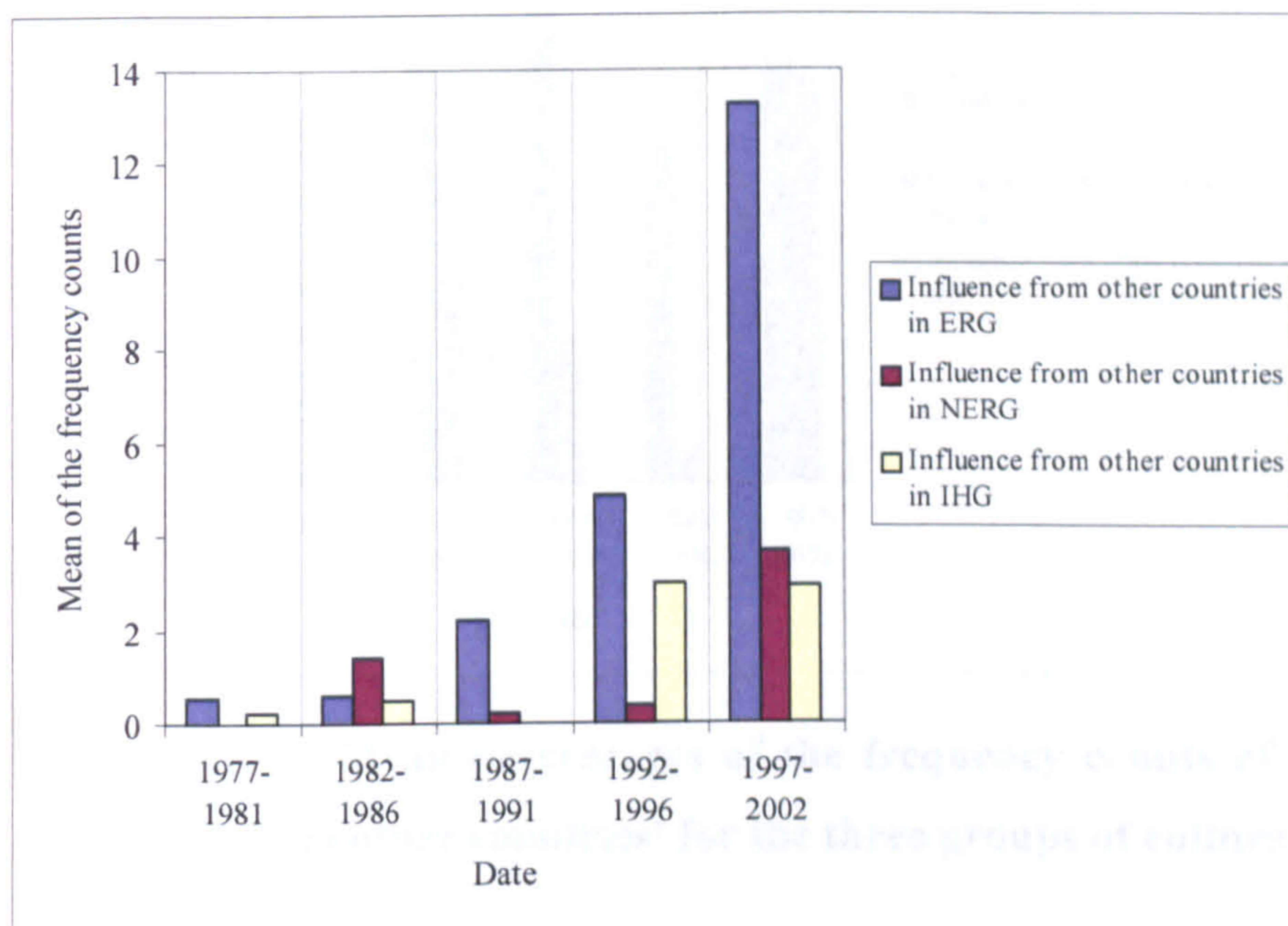


Figure 4.11.A. Means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of 'influence from other countries' for the three groups of cultural heritage

Until 1994 the World Heritage Convention and its Operational Guidelines did not directly refer to the influence exerted by other countries and cultures on nominated properties (see Chapter 1, Section 1.4.3. for further details). Nonetheless as indicated by Figure 4.11.A., this sub-category was mentioned in nomination dossiers before 1994. However, as illustrated by Figure 4.11.A. the means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of the sub-category 'influence from other countries' for the three groups of cultural heritage considered are not very high until 1996. They reach a maximum of only five sentences for the ERG during the 1992-1996 period. This small figure might be due to the fact that the Operational Guidelines did not expressly request States Parties to detail this sub-category in their nomination dossiers. From 1997 onwards, with the changes to the Operational Guidelines, this sub-category is mentioned more frequently in nomination dossiers from the ERG and the NERG.

During that period, the means of the frequency counts of this sub-category reach their highest peak at thirteen sentences for the ERG.

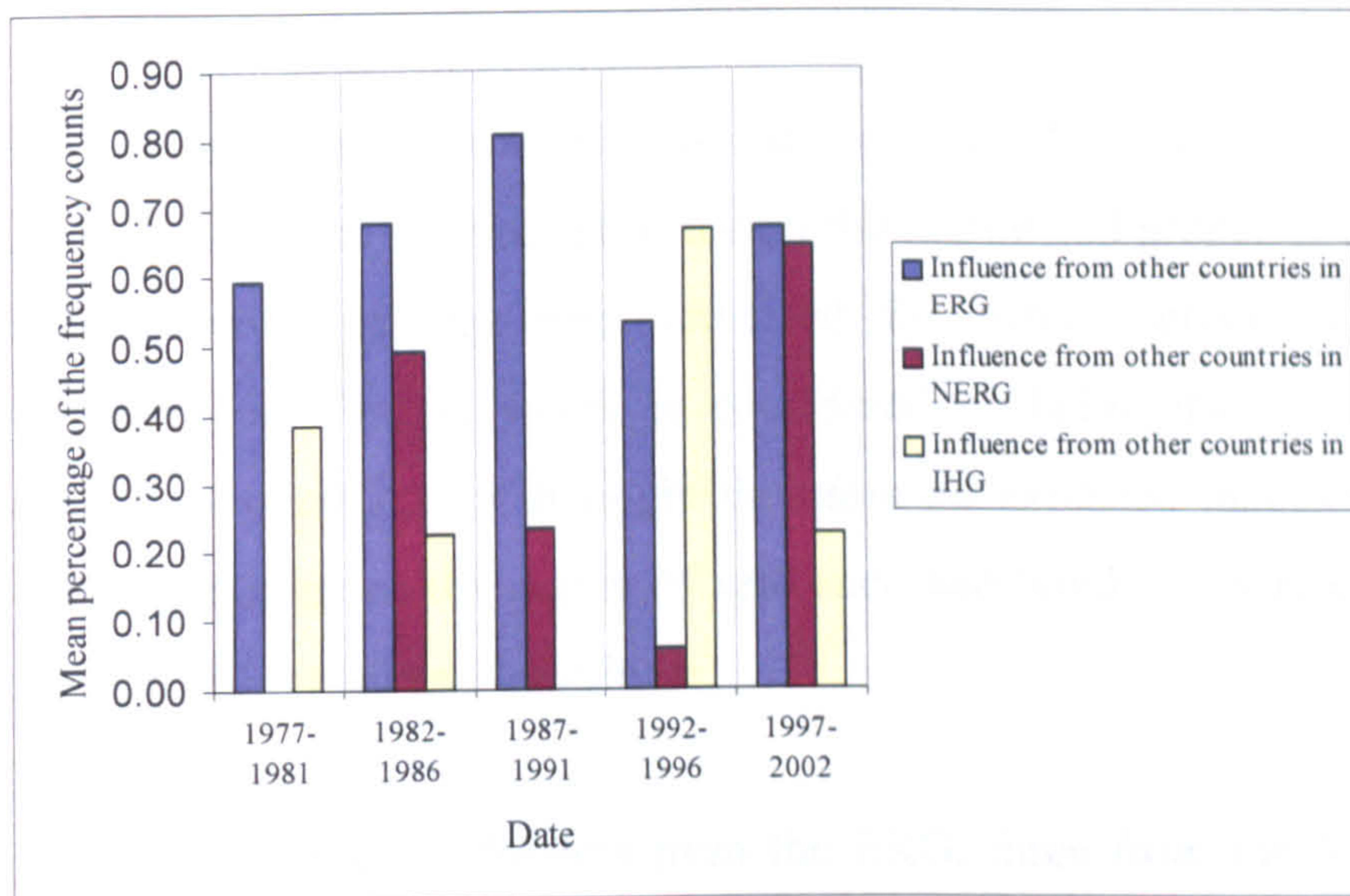


Figure 4.11.B. Mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘influence from other countries’ for the three groups of cultural heritage

As illustrated by Figure 4.11.B. the mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘influence from other countries’ do not even reach an average of 1% of nomination dossiers for any of the three groups of cultural heritage considered. This is not surprising for the period 1977-1996 since this sub-category was not mentioned in the Operational Guidelines. However, this result is more surprising for the 1997-2002 period when this sub-category was referred to in cultural heritage criterion (ii) (see Chapter 1, Section 1.4.3.). It is interesting to compare these mean percentages with the mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of the sub-category analysed in the previous section, that is ‘importance and influence of the property in the region/country/world’. The latter is far better represented, on average, in nomination dossiers than ‘influence from other countries’, even after the 1994 revision of cultural heritage criterion (ii). Therefore the changes in the wording of the Operational Guidelines did not have a major impact on the quantitative representation of this value in nomination dossiers.

4.12.1. Is Europe the sole referent?

One important theme to analyse is the location of the countries that have been mentioned as having exerted influence on the nominated property. Indeed, the World Heritage Convention has been criticised for being Eurocentric, *id est* that it concentrates on Europe, which is considered as being the referential point (see Chapter 2, Section 2.2.2.). It might therefore be expected that nomination dossiers would take Europe as the region of reference and would only refer to the influence exerted by this region and its culture.

Twenty-one nomination dossiers from the ERG, three from the NERG and thirteen from IHG refer to influences from a European country or a site located in a European country. The figure is so high for the ERG because nomination dossiers tend to stress the intellectual sharing between countries. However, four nomination dossiers from the ERG, eight from the NERG and one from the IHG, 'the Old Town of Segovia and its Aqueduct' (Government of Spain 1985), refer to the influences exerted by non-European countries and cultures on the nominated property. All the nomination dossiers from the ERG refer to the Mudejar style which was influenced by Islamic art. These references to the Mudejar style are not neutral and imply a relationship of power between the Christians and the Moors, since this style was developed by the Moors who were permitted to remain in Spain after the Christian reconquest. References to this type of architecture therefore suggest a relationship of control and power of the Christians over the Muslims.

The references from the NERG are different to the references from the ERG as they do not imply a relationship of control between different cultures. They simply stress in a more neutral manner that cultures in the region have interacted and have influenced each other. The nomination dossier of the 'Yungang Grottoes' for instance emphasises that cave art from the early period (during the 4th and 5th centuries) has been distinctly influenced by the Gandhara and other ancient arts of India (Government of China 2000b, 10-11).

4.13. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of ‘comparison with other sites’

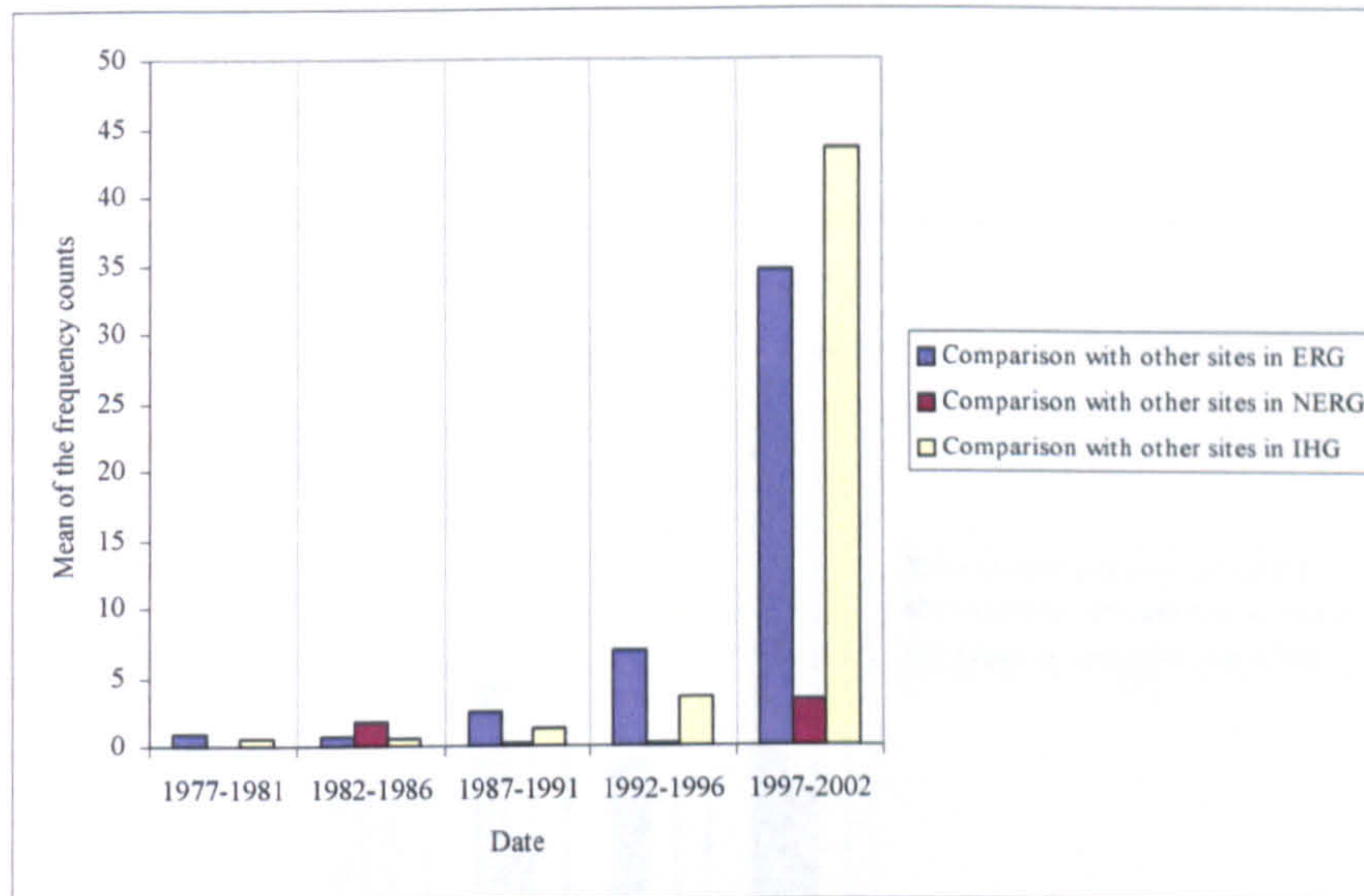


Figure 4.12.A. Means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘comparison with other sites’ for the three groups of cultural heritage

From 1980 onwards and as indicated in Chapter 3, Table 3.2., the requested content of nomination dossiers in the Operational Guidelines stipulate that States Parties should provide a comparative evaluation of properties of the same type or having similar features which are found in other countries. Despite these guidelines, not all nomination dossiers mention this sub-category after 1980. As indicated by Figure 4.12.A. the means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘comparison with other sites’ are very small until 1996. The highest peak for the three groups of cultural heritage under consideration is reached at seven sentences for the ERG during the 1992-1996 period. One striking result is that the means of the frequency counts of the ERG and IHG in the period 1977-1981, of the ERG and IGH for 1982-1986, of the NERG for 1987-1991, and of the NERG for the 1992-1996 period do not exceed one sentence. These results are rather remarkable considering that the need for comparative analysis has been stressed in the Operational Guidelines from 1977 onwards. However, during the 1997-2002 period, the means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of this sub-category demonstrate important increases for the ERG and IHG. The means of the frequency counts of this sub-category reach thirty-four sentences for the ERG and forty-four sentences for the IHG. This is due to a peak, for

the ERG, at 133 sentences for the ‘Kalwaria Zebrzydowska’ (Government of Poland 1998) and a peak, for the IHG, at 257 sentences for ‘New Lanark’ (Government of the United Kingdom 2000b). It has to be noted that the means of the frequency counts for the NERG have remained small and have only reached three sentences during this 1997-2002 period.

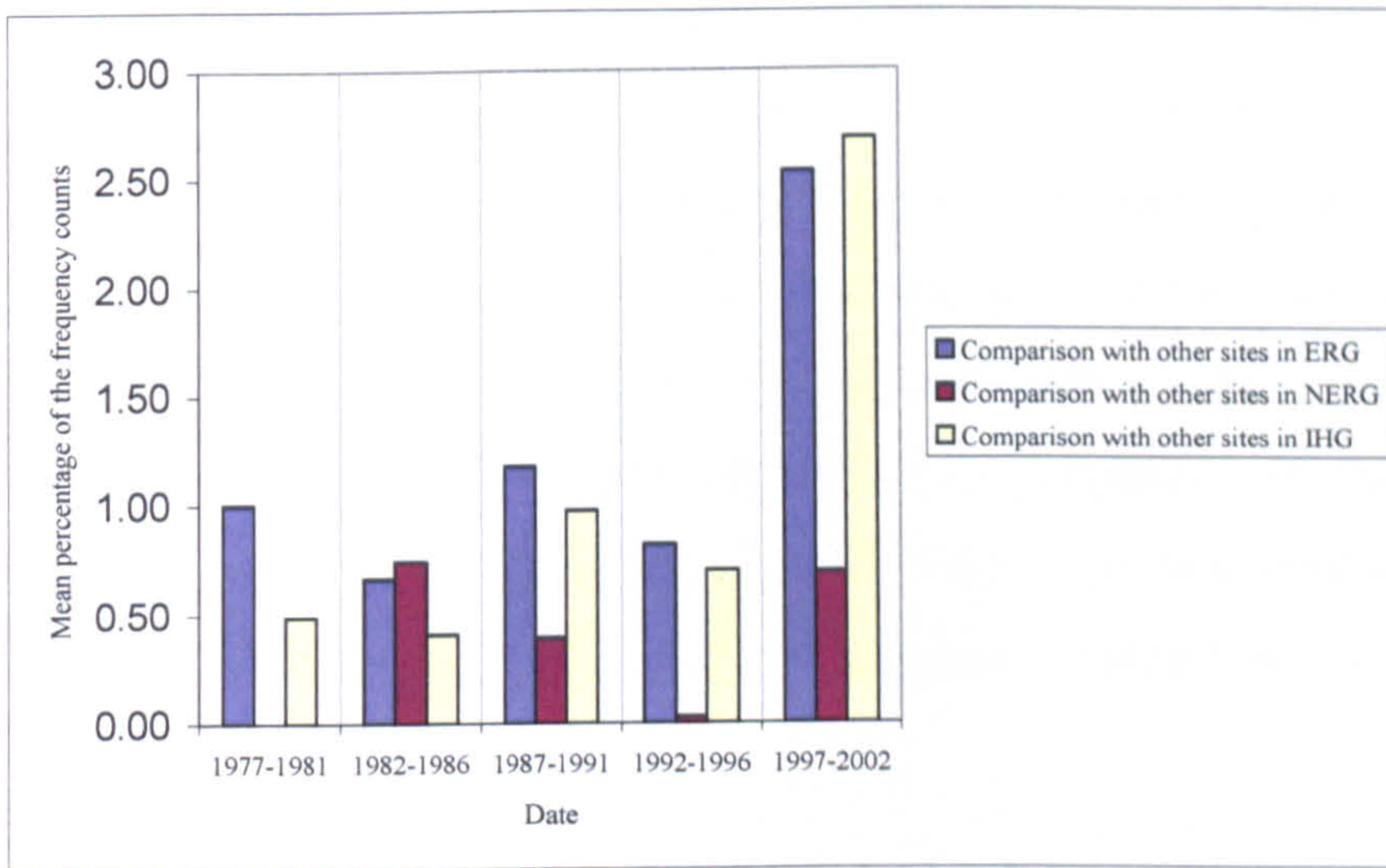


Figure 4.12.B. Mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘comparison with other sites’ for the three groups of cultural heritage

As illustrated by Figure 4.12.B. the mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘comparison with other sites’ are small until the 1997-2002 period. The highest percentage is reached at 1.18% by the ERG during the 1987-1991 period. These figures are not surprising considering the small means of the frequency counts. These mean percentages are higher during the 1997-2002 period and reach 2.53% for the ERG and 2.69% for the IHG. These figures reflect the increase of the means of the frequency counts for this sub-category. These increases might have resulted from the 1997 revised version of the Operational Guidelines which request States Parties to provide a more comprehensive comparative analysis of the property in nomination dossiers than previously. It could nonetheless be argued that these increases are rather low considering that this sub-category is supposed to constitute an important aspect of nomination dossiers.

4.13.1. Use of comparative analysis to highlight the exceptional nature of sites

Sixteen nomination dossiers from the ERG, ten from the NERG and seventeen from the IHG use the request for comparative analysis to stress emphatically the positive features of the nominated property. However, some subtle differences can be noted in the presentation of the comparative analyses. Some nomination dossiers stress the similarities between the nominated property and other sites, including properties already inscribed on the World Heritage List. Comparing the similarities between the nominated property and a World Heritage site is an obvious way of highlighting the nominated property's exceptional and outstanding value. This is the case of the nomination dossier of 'Tiwanaku' which is compared with the Pre-Hispanic City of Teotihuacan, a World Heritage Site in Mexico. The two sites are described as having 'chronological, political, social and cultural similarities' (Government of Bolivia 1999).

Other nomination dossiers, on the other hand, focus on criticising and presenting the negative aspects of similar sites, including those inscribed on the World Heritage List. The nomination dossier of the 'Mining Area of the Great Copper Mountain in Falun' for example, compares this property with other similar ones linked to copper mining inscribed on the World Heritage List, namely Røros and the Mines of Rammelsberg and Historic Town of Goslar. After briefly presenting the historical values of these two properties, the nomination dossier of 'the Mining Area of the Great Copper Mountain in Falun' concludes that 'none of these, however, can rival the values possessed by the Great Copper Mountain in Falun as an industrial monument and man-made landscape, by virtue of its age, its history and its international significance' (Government of Sweden 2000, 7).

4.13.2. The impossibility of comparative analyses

Four nomination dossiers from the ERG and one from the IHG highlight the difficulty, even the impossibility of comparative analysis between similar cultural heritage properties. One example is the nomination dossier of 'Blaenavon Industrial Landscape' (Government of the United Kingdom 1999) from the IHG. This dossier

tries to present a comparative analysis of Blaenavon with similar sites concerned with ironworking already on the World Heritage List. It states however that this comparative analysis is difficult to achieve as these sites ‘represent different chronological periods, different forms of technology, and distinctive cultural traditions’ (ibid., 13). This finding confirms previous theoretical standpoints such as those of Choay (2001b, 14) who is of the opinion that any cultural heritage site is unique and therefore will always be different and original in comparison to other properties.

4.14. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of ‘relation between cultural and natural elements’

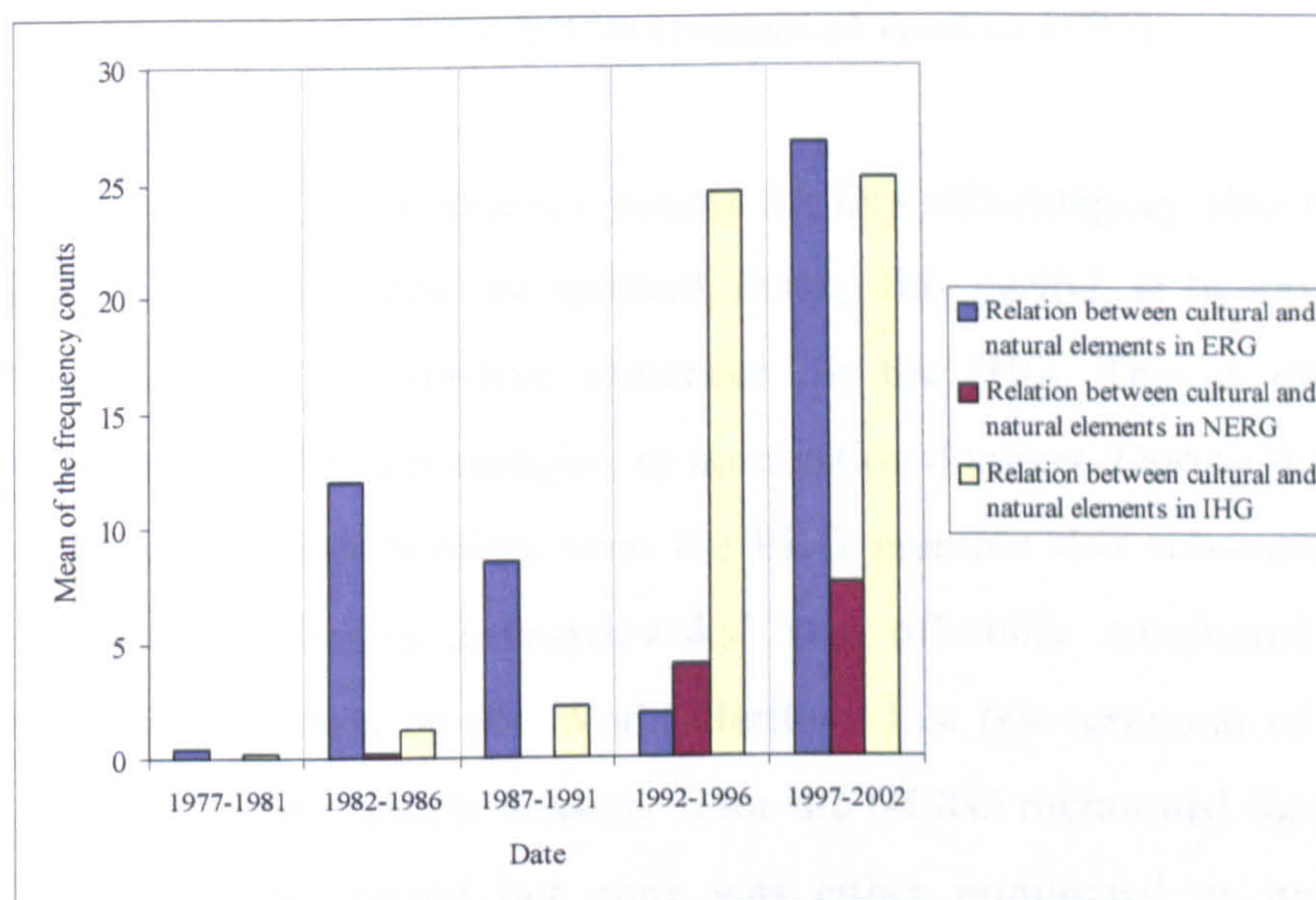


Figure 4.13.A. Means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘relation between cultural and natural elements’ for the three groups of cultural heritage

The sub-category ‘relation between cultural and natural elements’ records a key aspect of the World Heritage Convention, namely the links between the natural and cultural dimension of nominated properties. As detailed in Chapter 1, this link is clearly indicated in Article 1 of the Convention. Nonetheless, it was not until 1992 that the Operational Guidelines were revised to include definitions of cultural landscapes. As illustrated by Figure 4.13.A., despite the lack of references to the link between nature and culture in the Operational Guidelines, nomination dossiers mentioned these relationships between natural and cultural elements. From 1977 to

1996 twelve nomination dossiers from the ERG, five from the NERG and twelve from the IHG mention this category. Nonetheless, from 1977 to 1996 the means of the frequency counts for this sub-category are rather small, with the exception of the IHG. During the 1992-1996 period the mean of the frequency counts for the IHG peaks at twenty-three sentences. This is due to increased mentions of this category at eighty-two sentences in the nomination dossier of the 'Hallstatt-Dachstein Salzkammergut Cultural Landscape' which was nominated and subsequently inscribed as a cultural landscape on the World Heritage List (Government of Austria 1996). Interestingly, during the same period, mentions of this sub-category reached ninety-four sentences in the nomination dossier of the 'Semmering Railway', which was neither nominated nor inscribed as a cultural landscape on the List (it was nominated and inscribed as a cultural heritage property) (Government of Austria 1995).

The means of the frequency counts for this sub-category also increase in the 1997-2002 period. Maxima are reached, during this period, at twenty-seven sentences for the ERG and twenty-five sentences for the IHG. This is due to an increase in references to this sub-category in nomination dossiers. During that period seven out of eight nomination dossiers from the ERG mention this sub-category. However, only one site, 'Kalwaria Zebrzydowska' was officially nominated and inscribed as a cultural landscape on the World Heritage List (Government of Poland 1998). Eight out of nine nomination dossiers from the NERG mentioned this sub-category during the 1997-2002 period but none was either nominated or inscribed as a cultural landscape on the World Heritage List. Twelve out of fourteen sites from the IHG mention this sub-category during the 1997-2002 period. However, only one of these sites, 'Blaenavon Industrial Landscape' was nominated and inscribed as a cultural landscape on the World Heritage List (Government of the United Kingdom 1999).

Hence, this quantitative analysis demonstrates that some nomination dossiers provide explanation of the links between the natural and cultural elements of the site but have not been nominated or inscribed as cultural landscapes on the List. This mirrors the findings of Fowler in his in-depth analysis of World Heritage cultural landscapes (2003). As further detailed in Chapter 1, Section 1.5.6., Fowler notes that potential cultural landscapes have deliberately *not* been nominated as such by States Parties for inclusion on the List (Folwer, 2003a, 22).

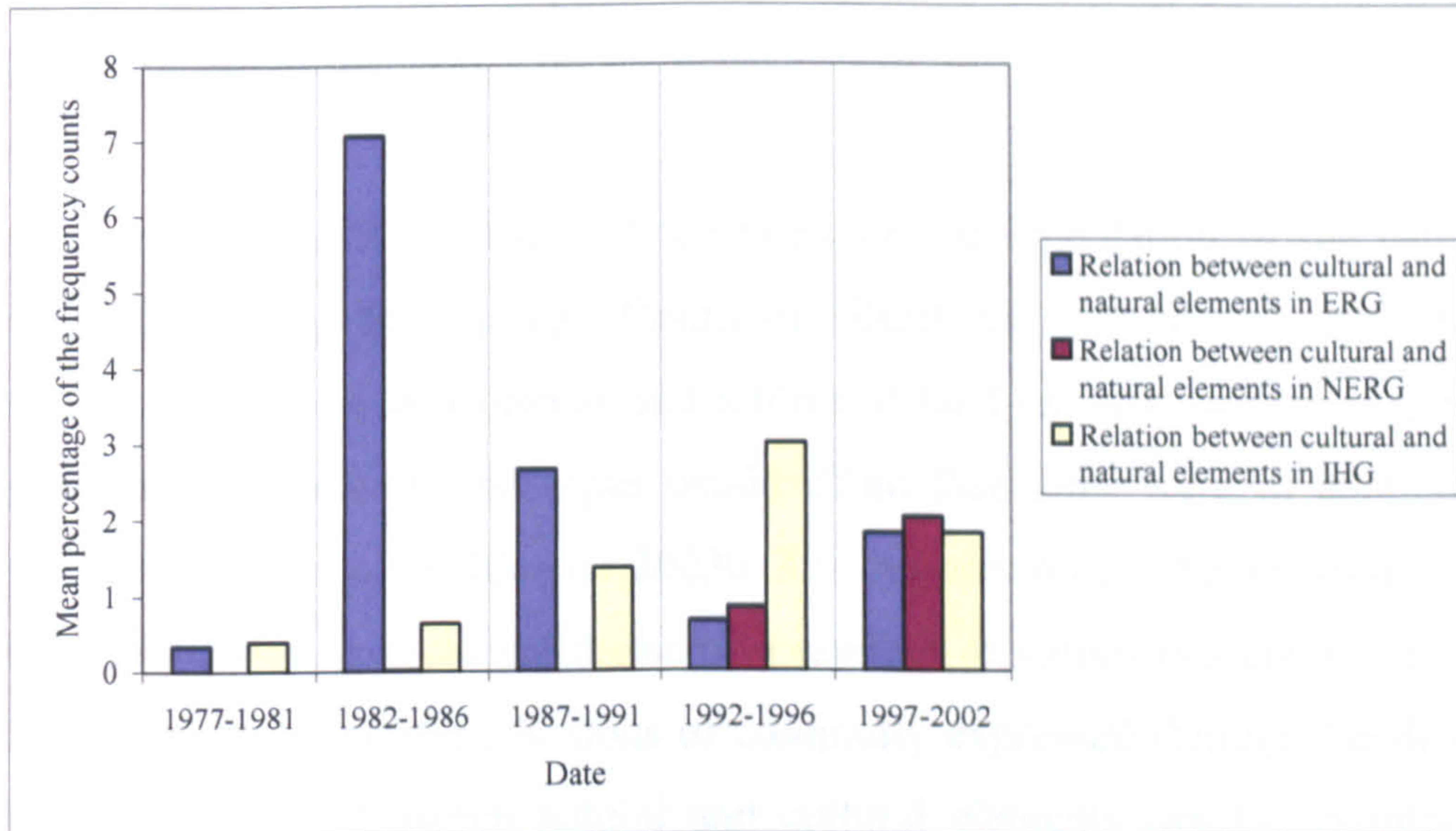


Figure 4.13.B. Mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘relation between cultural and natural elements’ for the three groups of cultural heritage

Figure 4.13.B shows that the mean percentages of the frequency counts for this sub-category follow a different evolution to the means of the frequency counts. It is interesting to note, in particular, the small mean percentages for the three groups of cultural heritage under consideration during the 1992-2002 period. Indeed, the highest mean percentage is reached at only 3% for the IHG during the 1992-1996 period. The highest mean percentage during the 1997-2002 period is reached at 2.03% for the NERG. These low percentages show that explanations of the links between natural and cultural elements only occupy a small proportion of nomination dossiers.

4.14.1. The continuity of cultural landscapes

As explained in Chapter 1 (Section 1.4.2.) the 1992 introduction of the category of cultural landscape, which is encompassed in the sub-category ‘relation between natural and cultural elements’ led to the introduction of a number of new concepts and ideas, including the intangible and religious dimension of the landscape and to a more holistic concept of cultural heritage which does not simply focus on the architectural and aesthetic value of sites. The qualitative analysis has analysed whether these new

ideas and concepts are also implied in text segments recording the 'relation between cultural and natural elements'.

Fowler, in his analysis of the first ten years of implementation of the category of cultural landscape, stresses that 'Continuity itself has also already appeared as a recurring factor, both as a lifeway and a form of land use. At least two-thirds of the World Heritage cultural landscapes would claim that some form of continuity was integral to their character' (Fowler 2003b, 33). As previously stressed in this chapter, continuity has been a recurrent theme of a number of values including, for instance, 'History and Development'. Notions of continuity expressed through the description of the relationships between natural and cultural elements can be recorded in ten nomination dossiers from the ERG, four dossiers from the NERG and ten from the IHG. Examples include the nomination dossier of the 'Hallstatt-Dachstein Salzkammergut Cultural Landscape' which stresses that 'the cultural landscape of the Hallstatt-Dachstein region boasts a continuing organic evolution covering 2,500 years' (Government of Austria 1996, 59) and the nomination dossier of the 'Beemster Polder' which stresses that the cultural landscape created by the Beemster Polder has remained unchanged (Government of the Netherlands 1998).

4.14.2. Harmonious or disharmonious relations between people and the environment?

As stressed by Fowler, there is still no example of a cultural landscape on the List that reflects the disharmonious relations between people and their environment (2003b, 33). Nonetheless, one nomination dossier from the ERG, 'Kalwaria Zebrzydowska' (Government of Poland 1998), and six nomination dossiers from the IHG mention the disharmonious or conflictual relations between people and their environment. The nomination dossiers of the 'D.F. Wouda Steam Pumping Station' (Government of the Netherlands 1997) and 'Beemster Polder' (Government of the Netherlands 1998) indicate that the Dutch landscape has been created through a continuous struggle against the water. The nomination dossier of 'Kalwaria Zebrzydowska' indicates that 'as in the case in many historic gardens, there are certain signals of conflicts between vegetation and architectural structures' (Government of Poland 1998, 21). These examples are nonetheless rare and instances of the harmonious relations between

people and their environment are found more often. This is the reason why Fowler's viewpoint that harmony plays an important role in the description of the links between people and their environment is partly confirmed (2003b, 33). Eleven nomination dossiers from the ERG, five from the NERG and eleven from the IHG mention the harmonious relationship between people and their environment. Examples of nomination dossiers that stress that the natural and cultural environment have developed in a harmonious manner include the 'Pilgrimage church of Wies' (Government of Germany 1982) or 'Studley Royal Park including the Ruins of Fountains Abbey' (Government of the United Kingdom 1986) for the ERG, the 'Temple of Heaven: an Imperial Sacrificial Altar in Beijing' (Government of China 1997) for the NERG and the 'Ironbridge Gorge' (Government of the United Kingdom 1985a) and the '18th Century Palace at Caserta' (Government of Italy 1996a) for the IHG.

4.14.3. Intangible links between people and their environment

Plachter and Rössler stress the importance of the intangible component of a cultural landscape (1995, 15). As defined by Plachter and Rössler, 'The intangible component arises from ideas and interactions which have an impact on the perceptions and shaping of a landscapes such as sacred beliefs closely linked to the landscapes and the way it has been perceived over time' (ibid.). Two different intangible themes that are associated with the landscape can be found; firstly, artistic and literary associations, and, secondly, religious associations. Four nomination dossiers from the IHG [the 'Ironbridge Gorge' (Government of the United Kingdom 1985a), the 'Hallstatt-Dachstein Salzkammergut Cultural Landscape' (Government of Austria 1996), the 'Semmering Railway' (Government of Austria 1995) and 'New Lanark' (Government of United Kingdom 2000b)] mention artistic and literary associations with the landscape. The nomination dossier of 'New Lanark', for instance, mentions that 'the landscape of the Falls of Clyde, of which New Lanark forms part, was highly influential to the career of Scottish landscape painter Jacob More, and was also painted by Turner, alluded to by Sir Walter Scott and versified by Wordsworth' (ibid., 39). According to Bender, a number of conflicting viewpoints can be recorded on the representation of the natural elements, ranging from 'an elitist aesthetic "viewpoint" (a "correct" way of seeing) and an alternative, peasant's "close-up" landscape of open

field and drove-way' (Bender 1993, 2). However these four nomination dossiers only refer to the 'elitist aesthetic viewpoint' of the painter or the literate figure and omit any mention of alternative and less scholarly perspectives on the landscape.

Seven nomination dossiers from the ERG and four from the NERG mention the religious dimension of the cultural landscape. This is the case, in particular, for 'Kalwaria Zebrzydowska' which is a 'transposition of the plan of Jerusalem to the local landscape forms in Kalwaria Zebrzydowska' (Government of Poland 1998, 38).

4.15. Summaries and conclusions

This chapter has made a number of significant and original findings. Quantitatively, it has demonstrated the centrality of values detailing the architectural and aesthetic significance of sites well as their history and importance, in the nomination dossiers of the three groups of cultural heritage considered. Indeed, these values represent between forty and fifty per cent of nomination dossiers with no major evolution over time. These data demonstrate some problems in the implementation of the decisions of the World Heritage Committee by States Parties. Indeed, Chapter 1 has demonstrated, for instance, the importance of the text of the Global Strategy which stresses that States Parties should move away from an architectural and monumental conception of cultural heritage to one which is much more anthropological in their implementation of the World Heritage Convention. However, this chapter has demonstrated the centrality of an architectural, aesthetic and monumental presentation and understanding of cultural heritage from the early years of the implementation of the Convention up to the present.

Qualitatively, this chapter has made a fundamental finding; all these sites from these different regions and different categories of heritage represent the past and the nation in a very similar manner. This is a very important conclusion as it contradicts previous theoretical standpoints that have stressed that the nation was constructed differently according to diverse categories of heritage. Most nomination dossiers analysed focus on detailing traditions held at the site for centuries in order to provide a great sense of unity, continuity and stability of the nation. This chapter has also stressed that the great majority of the nomination dossiers considered stress the

monumentality and importance of sites in order to help to provide an image of the nation as heroic, grand and powerful. It is often believed that the representation of the nation helps to construct a national collective identity. Hence this chapter has made a fundamental and original finding: the representation of the nation in nomination dossiers helps to construct or reaffirm a national collective identity that is similar, regardless of the region where the site is located or the typology of heritage and is based on images of tradition, cohesion, unity, continuity, stability, grandeur and heroism.

This is also the first time that research on World Heritage demonstrates so clearly that a State Party can nominate a site located on disputed territories as an affirmation of its ownership of these lands and its domination over the local populations. Indeed, Francioni only noted that a State Party might not want to nominate sites of outstanding universal value because they represent the heritage of minority groups toward which it is hostile or indifferent (2002, 4). This affirmation of the ownership of land is exemplified in the nomination dossiers of the 'Potala Palace' located in Tibet and nominated by China in 1993 and its two subsequent extensions, the 'Jokhang Temple Monastery' (1999) and 'Norbulingka' (2000). These three nomination dossiers have been used to stress the long and close relationship that has developed between China and Tibet over the centuries. These dossiers can be considered as helping to justify the 1949 Chinese annexation of Tibet by China, which is still widely contested.

CHAPTER 5: REPRESENTATION OF HUMAN AND CULTURAL DIVERSITY

5.1. Introduction

This chapter analyses quantitatively and qualitatively the results of the coding of the sub-categories of 'social value' with the exception of 'political value' and 'religious value' that have been analysed in the previous chapter. This chapter is important vis-à-vis the overall mission of UNESCO. Since its creation, UNESCO has indeed been committed to the respect and promotion of human and cultural diversity in accordance with the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (United Nations 1948) and other universally recognised legal instruments such as the *Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity* (UNESCO 2001). Paradoxically, there is a lack of studies have been conducted either by the World Heritage Centre or UNESCO on the representation of cultural and human diversity in cultural heritage sites in general and at World Heritage sites in particular. For this reason the qualitative analyses in this chapter will primarily compare our results to theoretical literature on this subject produced outside of UNESCO and the World Heritage Centre.

5.2. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of 'reference to the lower classes/women'

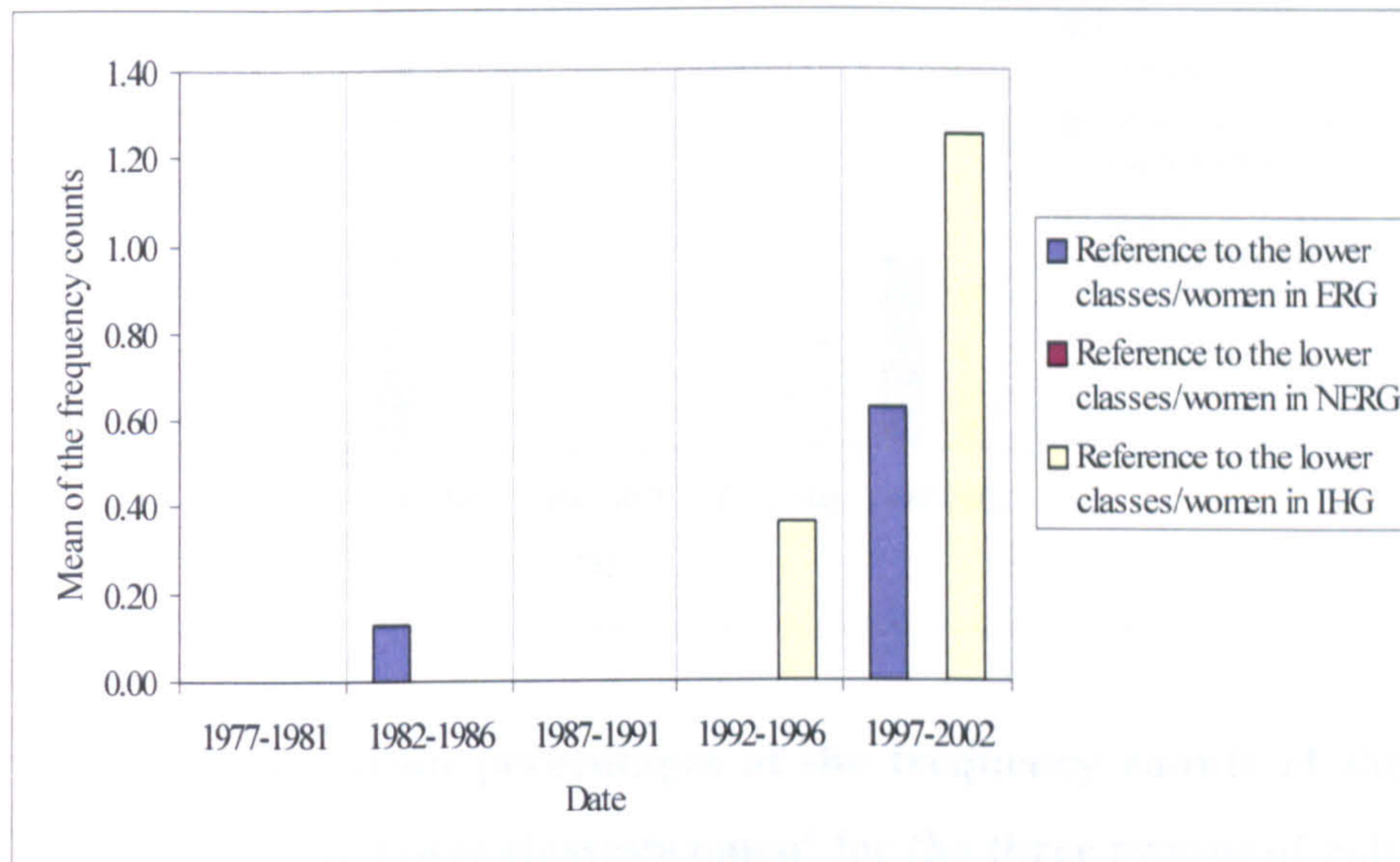


Figure 5.1.A. Means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of 'reference to the lower classes/women' for the three groups of cultural heritage

Figure 5.1.A. shows that mentions of the sub-category 'reference to the lower classes/women' increase from 1997 onwards for both the ERG and IHG. Nonetheless, the scale of these frequency counts and their means are small. The latter, as indicated in Figure 5.1.A., peaks at only 1.25 for the IHG. These small figures illustrate the marginalisation of women from the lower classes in nomination dossiers. Figure 5.1.A. also shows that no references have been made to women from the lower classes in the nomination dossiers of non-European religious properties. Importantly too, no nomination dossier from the industrial heritage group located outside Europe has mentioned women from the lower classes.

... gives social context (UNESCO Unit for the Promotion of the Status of Women and Gender Equality 2001, 6). According to Pater in her analysis of the representation of women in museums for instance, 'visiting museums to look at the lives and work of women, the visitor will find that women are represented mainly - and usually - in the home'. Nonetheless, some of the women from the lower classes are represented 'in the home'. Representations of women are according primarily to class as detailed below and in the next section on the 'reference to the middle and upper classes/women'. Subtle differences in

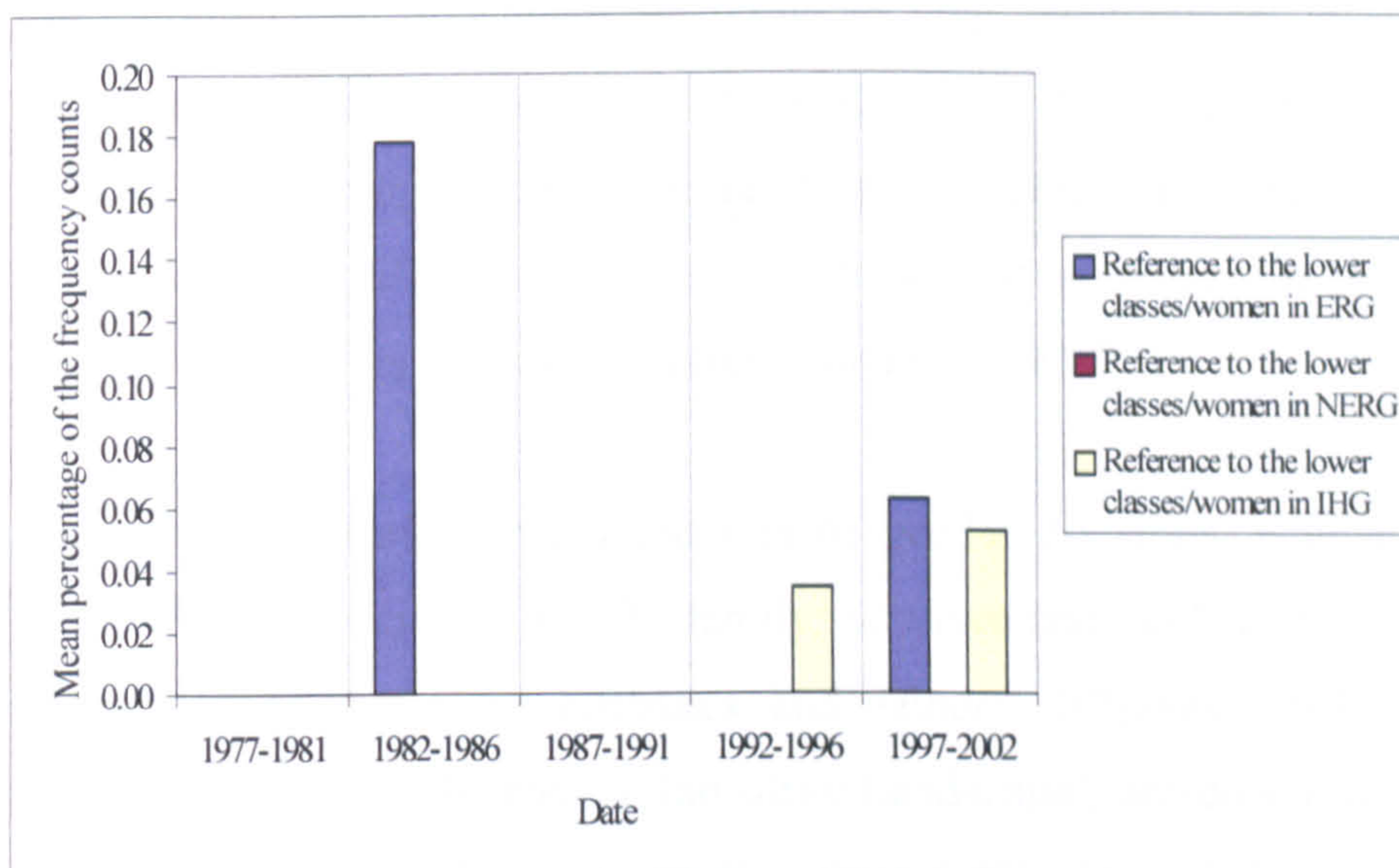


Figure 5.1.B. Mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘reference to the lower classes/women’ for the three groups of cultural heritage

As explained in Chapter 3, the mean percentages are important to present the average proportion of a value in relation to the whole nomination dossier. The mean percentages for the value ‘reference to the lower classes/women’ demonstrate the strong marginalisation of women from the lower classes in nomination dossiers as they do not even reach 0.20%. This result was predictable from the small means of the frequency counts.

The qualitative analysis of the frequency counts of this sub-category is interesting as some results contradict previously published theoretical findings on the representation of gender in cultural heritage sites. In my research, gender refers to ‘the roles, responsibilities, constraints, opportunities and needs of women and men in all areas and in any given social context (UNESCO Unit for the Promotion of the Status of Women and Gender Equality 2000, 6). According to Porter in her analysis of the representation of women in museums for instance, ‘entering museums to look at the history of men and women, the visitor will find that women are represented mainly - if not exclusively - in the home’ (1988, 106). Nonetheless, none of the women from the lower classes are represented ‘in the home’. Representations of women are different according primarily to class as detailed below and in the next section on the sub-category ‘reference to the middle and upper classes/women’. Subtle differences in

the representation of women according to their geographical location can also be noted in nomination dossiers as detailed below. This fact that women are not a homogeneous group echoes some theorists' viewpoints, including those of Mohanty, who stresses the difference between experiences of women in the first and third world in some of her texts on Feminism (see Mohanty 1992, 75).

According to Charles, in her analysis of gender divisions, women 'are defined in terms of their position within the family: as wives and mothers, not workers. Men are defined as workers, not husbands and fathers' (Charles 1993, 101). Only one nomination dossier, 'Blaenavon Industrial Landscape', presents a woman as 'the bride of...' (Government of the United Kingdom 1999). Nonetheless, in other instances, this very nomination dossier, as well as the other four nomination dossiers from the IHG, present women from the lower classes as workers. Two of these five nomination dossiers, the 'Derwent Valley Mills' (Government of the United Kingdom 2000a) and the 'Canal du Midi' (Government of France 1995), explain in one sentence that women undertook tasks differentiated from those of men. In other instances, these two nomination dossiers also suggest that women are equal to men and are capable of doing the same jobs, hence describing women in an egalitarian manner. The nomination dossier of 'Blaenavon Industrial Landscape', for instance, quotes that: 'AJ Munby, the commentator on *Working Women*, wrote of the "robust and fearless girls who work at those mountain mines"' (Government of the United Kingdom 1999, 31). In a sense, these descriptions can contradict the definition of women as 'Others', inferior to men (see, for instance, de Beauvoir 1974, 16). This representation also contradicts some findings from cultural heritage theorists who stress that women are usually represented as passive (Porter 1996, 105).

Nonetheless all these nomination dossiers omit a description of the living and working conditions of these women and the reasons why employers preferred to employ women, neglecting to mention that they provided cheaper labour than men (as stating by de Beauvoir 1974, 147). Moreover, women were, in general, 'considered more docile' (Bradley 1992, 203) and were reputed to provide better quality work than men (de Beauvoir 1974, 144). Whilst some theorists such as Skeggs (1997, 74) or Bradley (1992, 204) state that female factory and mine workers tend to be described

negatively as ‘dirty and dangerous’ in historical narratives, their representations in nomination dossiers are more neutral.

On the other hand, the three nomination dossiers from the ERG that mention the sub-category ‘reference to the lower classes/women’ confirm previous theoretical findings that women are usually presented as harmless and ‘weak’ (Conkey and Spector 1998, 13). These nomination dossiers present a concordant image of simple, religious and poor women which contradicts the strong, robust and egalitarian image of women presented in the industrial heritage group.

5.3. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of ‘reference to the middle and upper classes/women’

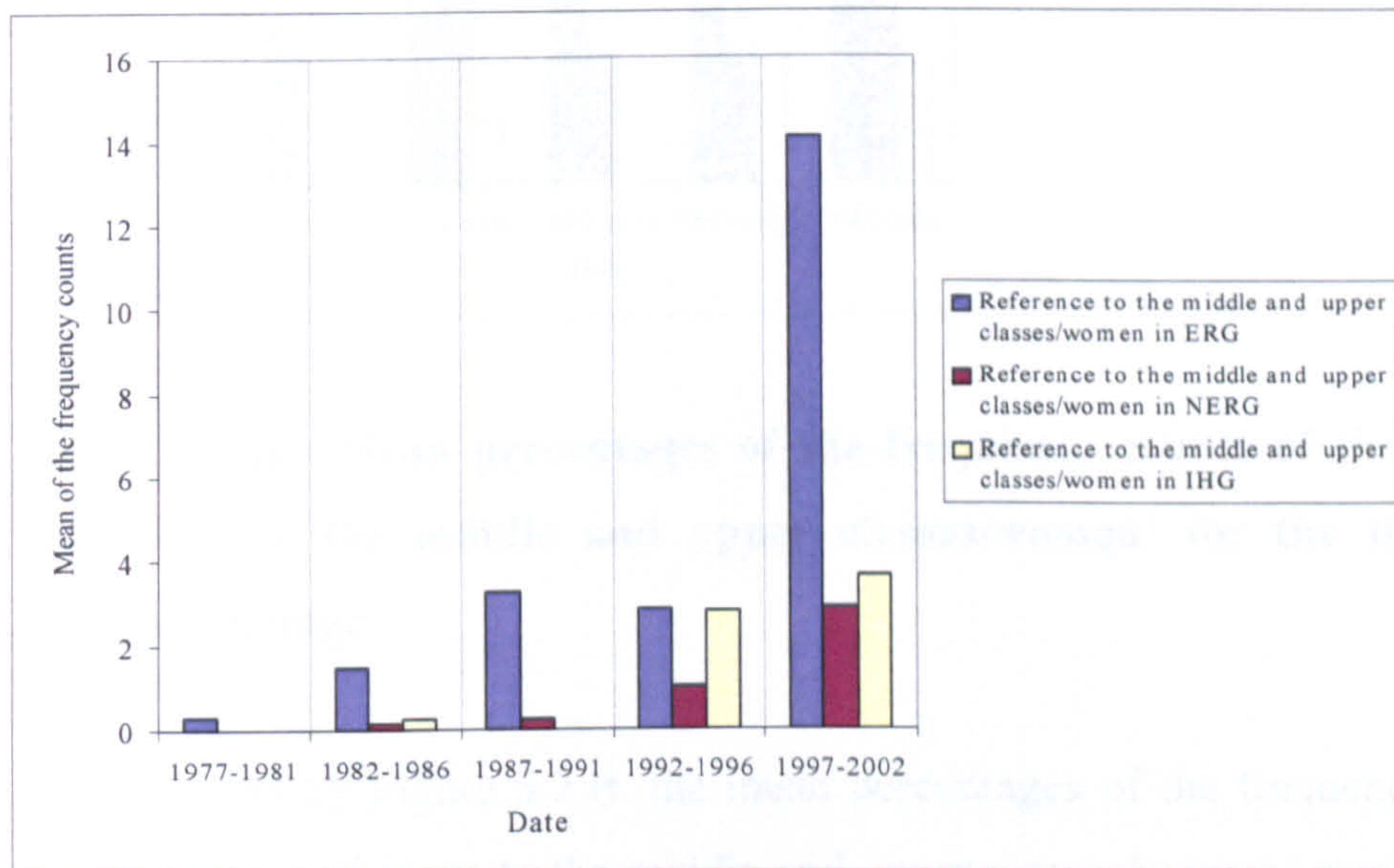


Figure 5.2.A. Means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘reference to the middle and upper classes/women’ for the three groups of cultural heritage

The sub-category ‘reference to the middle and upper classes/women’ is mentioned more often, across the three groups of cultural heritage under consideration, than ‘reference to the lower classes/women’. This sub-category is mentioned the most in nomination dossiers of the ERG [twenty-one out of forty-three dossiers, (49%)]; followed by those of the IHG [fifteen out of thirty-five dossiers, (43%)] and finally by those of the NERG [eight out of thirty dossiers (27%)]. As illustrated by Figure 5.2.A. this sub-category is, on average, increasingly mentioned in nomination dossiers from the mid-1990s onwards. The highest mean reached by the ERG during the 1997-2002

period, is due to a peak in cardinal numbers at thirty-nine sentences for the nomination dossier of the ‘Flemish Béguinages’ (Government of Belgium 1997a) and forty-seven sentences for the dossier of the ‘Routes of Santiago de Compostela in France’ (Government of France 1997). Despite this increase, the means of this sub-category are, overall, small as they do not even reach, on average, fifteen sentences.

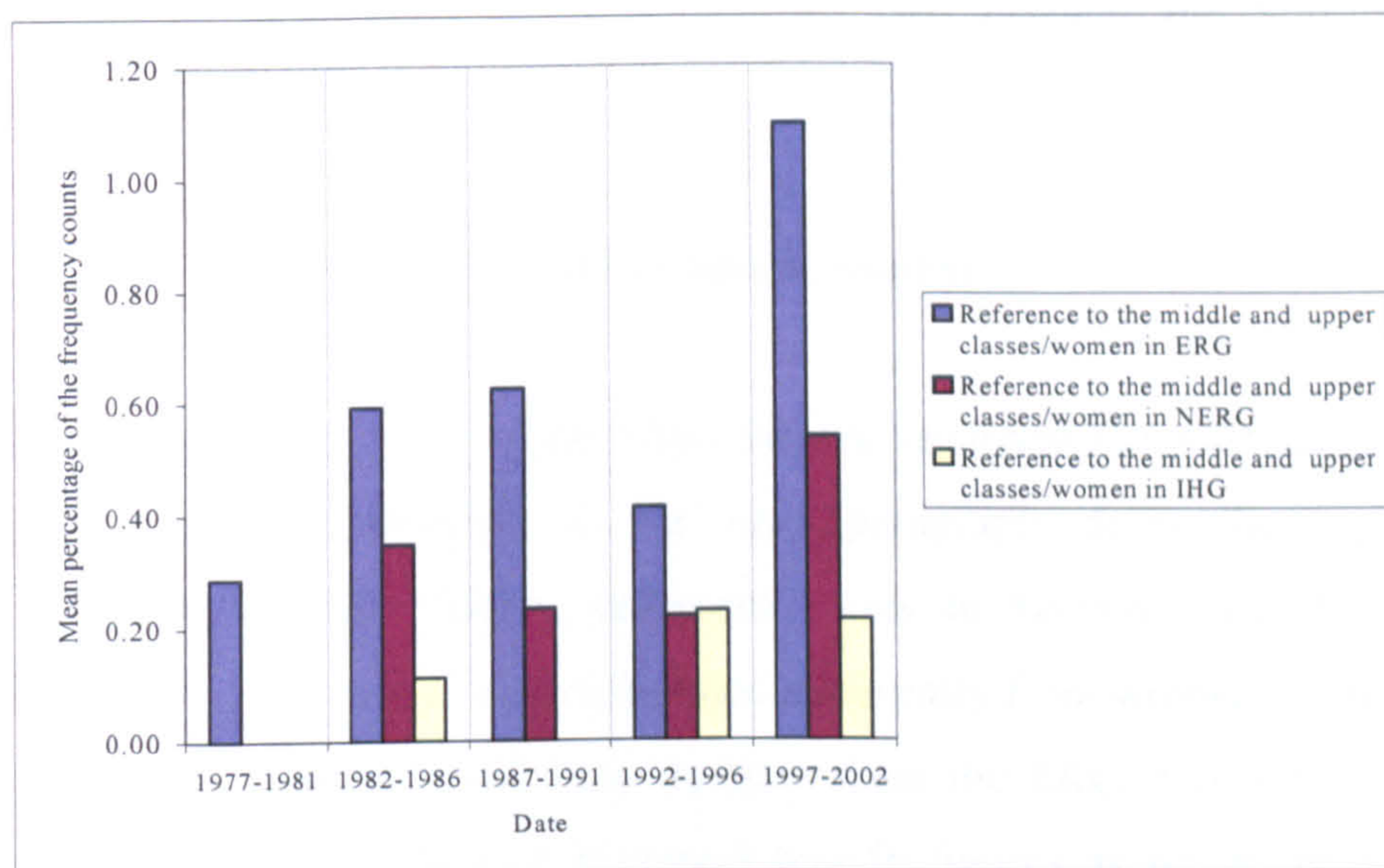


Figure 5.2.B. Mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘reference to the middle and upper classes/women’ for the three groups of cultural heritage

As illustrated by Figure 5.2.B. the mean percentages of the frequency counts of the sub-category ‘reference to the middle and upper classes/women’ reach 1.10% at their maximum. This was predictable from the low means of the frequency counts. Indeed, although the frequency counts for the sub-category ‘reference to middle and upper classes/women’ are more significant, numerically, than those for ‘reference to the lower classes/women’, they are still, overall, quite few. The results for this sub-category and the sub-category ‘reference to the lower classes/women’ are quite surprising since, as stated in Chapter 1, the Global Strategy (1994-present) has explicitly encouraged States Parties to present nominated properties ‘in their broad anthropological context’ (UNESCO 13 October 1994). This result is also surprising from the wider perspective of UNESCO which has encouraged the empowerment of women since its creation and through different programmes (UNESCO Unit for the Promotion of the Status of Women and Gender Equality 2000, 10). These

programmes could have influenced States Parties' drafting of nomination dossiers. It seems indeed that one of the first steps in the empowerment of women is the recognition and account of their roles in past history. This result is however not surprising from a theoretical standpoint as scholars in cultural studies have often pointed out that women are 'traditionally' under-represented in cultural heritage, even more so for those from the lower classes (see Pearson and Sullivan 1995, 312; Kavanagh 1993, 22).

5.3.1. Representation of female historical figures

The qualitative analysis of this sub-category separates the representation of female historical figures, detailed in the next paragraph, from the representation of contemporary female figures, presented below in Section 5.3.2. Women from the middle and upper classes are represented differently from women of the lower classes. In particular, thirteen nomination dossiers from the ERG, five from the NERG and seven from the IHG present historical female figures as wives, brides, mothers or sisters of a male character from the middle or upper classes. This partly confirms Charles' point of view presented in the Section 5.2. (see also Horne 1984, 100). This is not the only representation of women from the middle and upper classes. Twelve nomination dossiers from the ERG, six from the NERG and seven from the IHG present these women as queens, empresses or princesses, that is, as heads of state or members of royal families. According to some scholars, women who are part of the 'official history' (Samuel 1994, 6) tend to be mentioned more and documented better than other categories of women (Waaldijk 1995, 16). Nonetheless, these mentions of public female figures are short and superficial, in particular when compared to the representation of men from the middle and upper classes (see below, Section 5.5.).

Whilst queens and princesses are presented as taking an active role in commanding the construction, conservation or restoration of the nominated properties or buildings within them, only one nomination dossier from the whole data set, 'Assisi, the Basilica of San Francesco and other Franciscan Sites' (Government of Italy 1999), mentions a female historical figure, Amalia Dupré, who was a sculptor at the end of the nineteenth century. This omission is quite surprising since, at least in Europe and

North America, recent studies have focused on historical female sculptors, architects or assistants (see Suominen-Kokkonen 1992 or Torre 1977, for example).

Some scholars, Charles or Porter for instance, have highlighted that women are represented in cultural heritage sites mainly at home or 'engaged in ladylike pursuits', including needlework or lace-making (Porter 1988, 106-107). Only two nomination dossiers across the whole data set - the 'Routes of Santiago de Compostela in France' (Government of France 1997) and the 'Flemish Béguinages' (Government of Belgium 1997a), both from the ERG - present women in 'ladylike' pursuits, including lace-making. The 'Flemish Béguinages' is the only dossier from the whole data set to present a reflection on femininity. It qualifies the Béguines as 'independent women' but explains that their ascetic conception of happiness as religious women has always been difficult to understand, even for feminist theorists (*ibid.*).

Whilst some theorists have also stressed that women are traditionally presented negatively in relation to men (see for example Beasley 1999, 9), most women from the middle and upper classes are presented in a neutral manner in nomination dossiers, with the exception of one from the ERG and two from the IHG. In particular, the dossier of the 'Semmering Railway' is stereotypical in its presentation of a woman enervated by the pressures of life. More precisely, this nomination dossier presents Olga Waissnix, the wife of the proprietor of the Thalhof hotel, as 'consumed with unrequited love for her regular guest, Arthur Schnitzler, and the epitome of a woman enervated by the tension between the amorous adventure of a summer flirtation and the brutal stress of the tourism industry' (Government of Austria 1995). This is a rather negative presentation of a woman who seems to be without nerve and strength.

5.3.2. Representation of contemporary female figures

Five nomination dossiers from the ERG, one from the NERG and three from the IHG mention women as conservators or researchers. Two of these nomination dossiers from the ERG quote women researchers, presenting them as active subjects and giving them some authority. These are the only two instances in nomination dossiers where women, regardless of class, are quoted. This result is insignificant when compared with quotes from men from the middle and upper classes (see below,

Section 5.5.4). This discrepancy might be explained by the poor representation of women as lecturers, readers or professors in some academic departments, including geography and archaeology departments (Gilchrist 1998, 49). This imbalance between women and men has also been noted in recent studies requested by UNESCO (see for example Cliche, Mitchell, and Joh 1998, 2). According to de Beauvoir, women are also often considered as not having original and interesting ideas, contrary to their male counterparts (1974, 24).

5.3.3. Discussion of the results

This quantitative marginalisation of women might reflect the marginal position of women in history. These male-centred narratives have been widely denounced as biased, for instance, in studies on the representation of gender in archaeology. For example Conkey and Spector 'argue that the archaeological "invisibility" of females is more the results of a false notion of objectivity and of the gender paradigms archaeologists employ than of an inherent invisibility of such data' (1998, 15). Papers published by UNESCO have also stated that the contributions of women over the years have not been sufficiently recognised (see for instance Cliche, Mitchell, and Joh 1998, 2 and the UNESCO Unit for the Promotion of the Status of Women and Gender Equality 2000, 10). This lack of representation of women might also denote a lack of studies of the different roles held by women in the past.

5.4. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of 'reference to the lower classes/men'

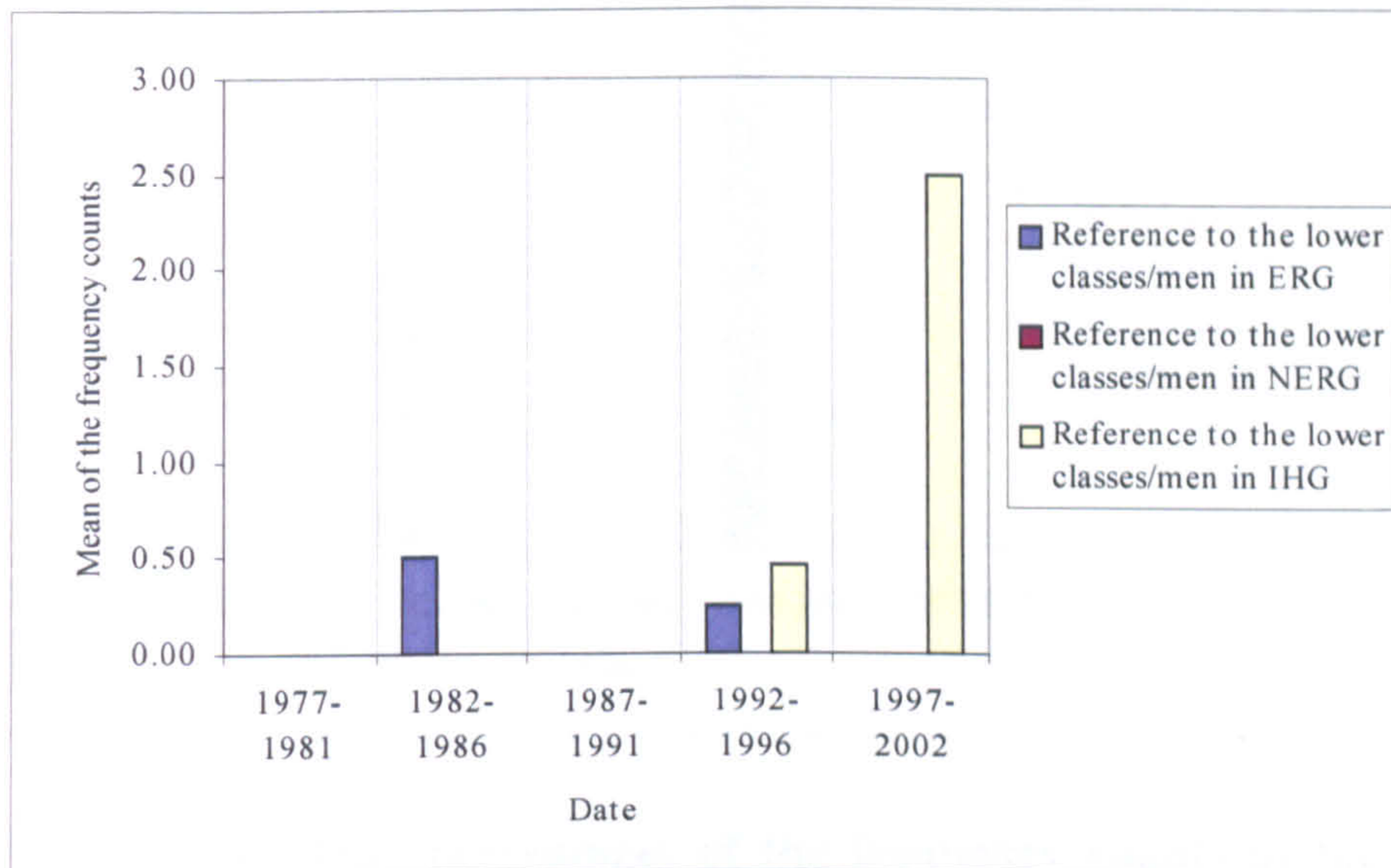


Figure 5.3.A. Means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of 'reference to the lower classes/men' for the three groups of cultural heritage

As illustrated by Figure 5.3.A. the sub-category 'reference to the lower classes/men' is increasingly mentioned in nomination dossiers from the IHG from 1992 onwards. Nonetheless, the scales of these frequency counts are small and consequently the scales of their means are small too. As indicated by figure 5.3.A., these means only reach an average of 2.5 sentences for the IHG at their maximum. Figure 5.3.A. demonstrates the marginalisation of men from the lower classes in nomination dossiers. This marginalisation is all the more striking when compared with the numerically important frequency counts for the sub-category 'reference to the middle and upper classes/men'.

the sub-category 'reference to the lower classes/men' in nomination dossiers out of those from the IHG present men from the lower classes, poor and religious. In nomination dossiers from the IHG, men from the lower classes are presented as workers, as is the case for their female counterparts. The marginalisation in the gender representation for the lower classes across the three groups of cultural heritage in which they are mentioned. This contradicts the research findings which shows that men and women, because of their gender, do not share similarities (see for instance Rowland and Klein 1990, 271-272; Rowland 1993, 21).

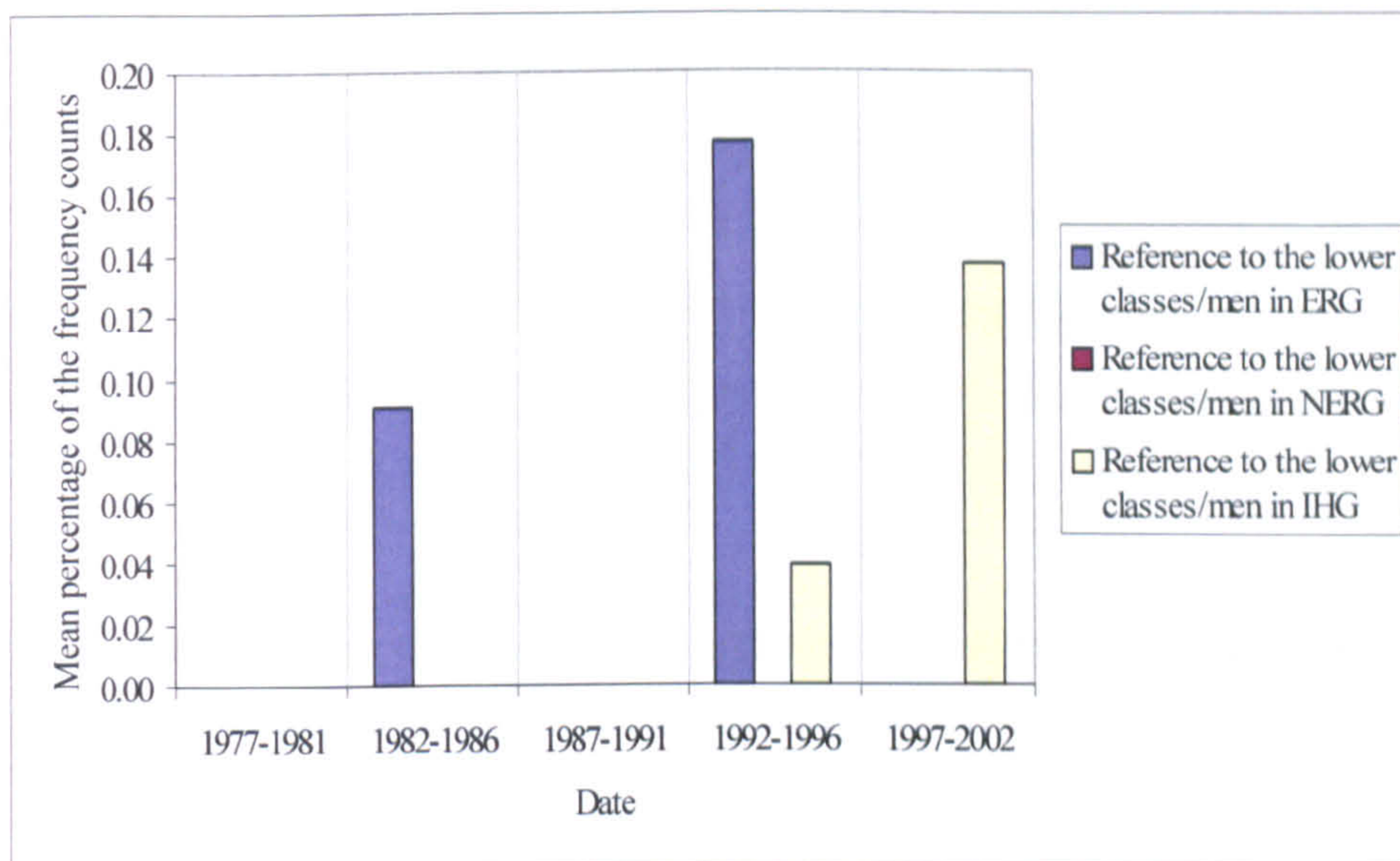


Figure 5.3.B. Mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘reference to the lower classes/men’ for the three groups of cultural heritage

The mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of this sub-category are small and do not even reach an average of 0.20% per nomination dossier. These results demonstrate the marginalisation of men from the lower classes in nomination dossiers. These results are similar those for the sub-category ‘reference to the lower classes/women’ which also did not reach 0.20%. This result is not surprising theoretically as lower classes are traditionally marginalised in historical narratives (see Horne 1984, 56 for instance).

The qualitative analysis of the frequency counts of ‘reference to lower classes/men’ shows similar patterns to the sub-category ‘reference to the lower classes/women’. In fact, two nomination dossiers out of three from the ERG present men from the lower classes as simple, poor and religious. In nomination dossiers from the IHG, men from the lower classes are presented as workers, as is the case for their female counterparts. This reveals the similarities in the gender representation for the lower classes across the two groups of cultural heritage in which they are mentioned. This contradicts some theoretical findings which stress that men and women, because of their gender differences, do not share similarities (see for instance Rowland and Klein 1990, 271-301; or Badinter 1995, 21).

Only one nomination dossier, ‘the Four Lifts on the Canal du Centre and their Environs, from the IHG, describes precisely the working roles of men operating the lifts (Government of Belgium 1997b). This precise description is important as it has been stressed in academic literature that the working classes’ working and social roles have not been systematically recorded and are slowly disappearing (Jordan and Weedon 1995, 128).

5.5. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of ‘reference to the middle and upper classes/men’

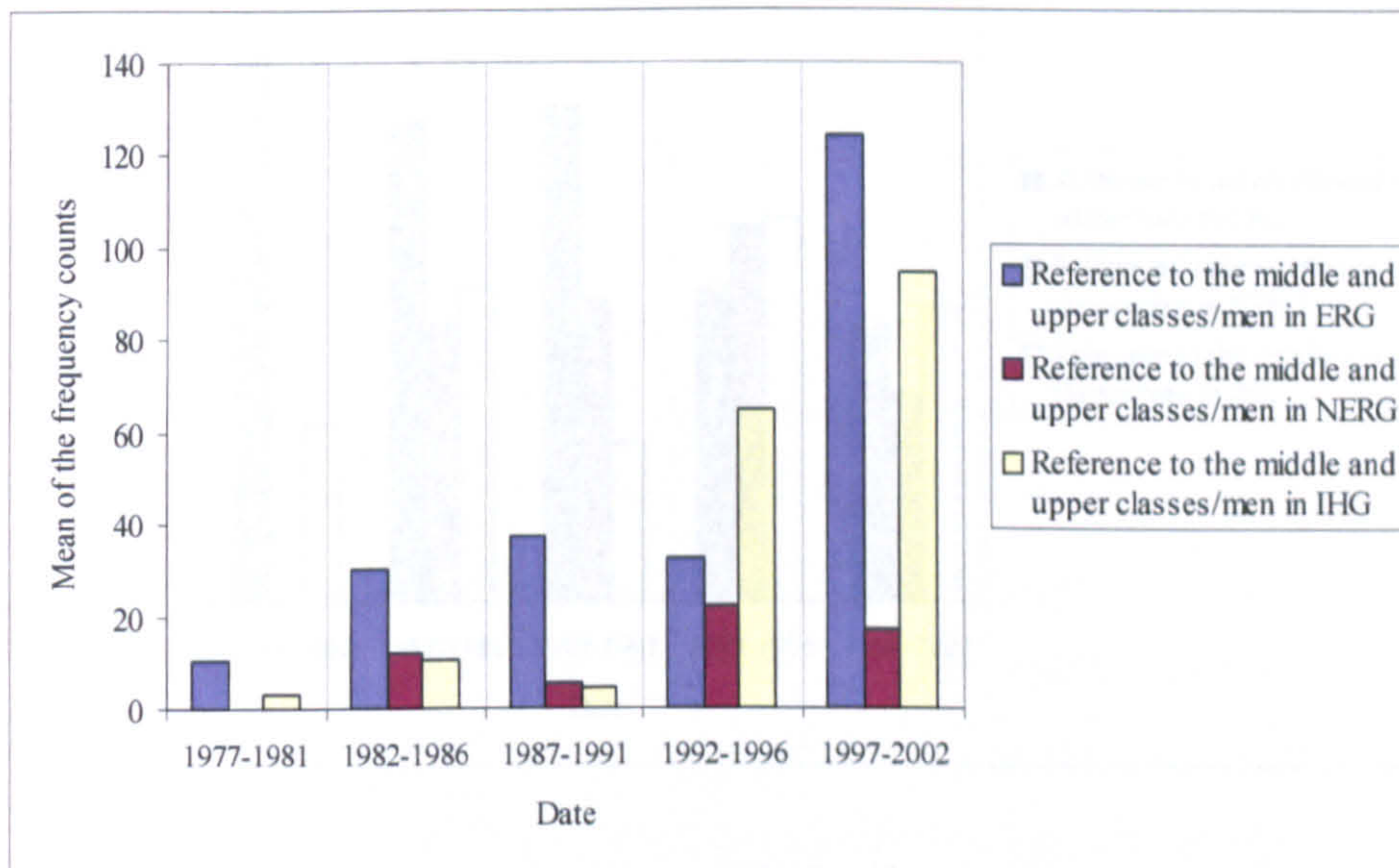


Figure 5.4.A. Means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘reference to the middle and upper classes/men’ for the three groups of cultural heritage

As illustrated in Figure 5.4.A., the means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘reference to the middle and upper classes/men’ reach an unprecedented scale for the three types of cultural heritage considered. In comparison to other sub-categories related to human and cultural diversity, it is the most frequently mentioned sub-category for the three groups of cultural heritage. It is mentioned in forty-one nomination dossiers from the ERG, twenty-seven from the NERG and thirty-three from the IHG. This sub-category is mentioned in every nomination dossier from the EHG from 1987 onwards and every dossier from the IHG from 1984 onwards. The highest mean of the frequency counts across the three groups of cultural heritage considered is reached by the ERG at 124 sentences during the 1997-2002 period. This is due to a peak in cardinal numbers at 513 sentences for the nomination dossier of the

‘Routes of Santiago de Compostela in France’ (Government of France 1997) and 249 sentences for the dossier of ‘Assisi, the Basilica of San Francesco and other Franciscan sites’ (Government of Italy 1999). The mean of the frequency counts for the IHG also reaches an unprecedented scale at ninety-four sentences. This is due to a peak in cardinal numbers at 153 in the dossier of ‘New Lanark’ (Government of the United Kingdom 2000b) and at 448 in the dossier of the ‘Derwent Valley Mills’ (Government of the United Kingdom 2000a).

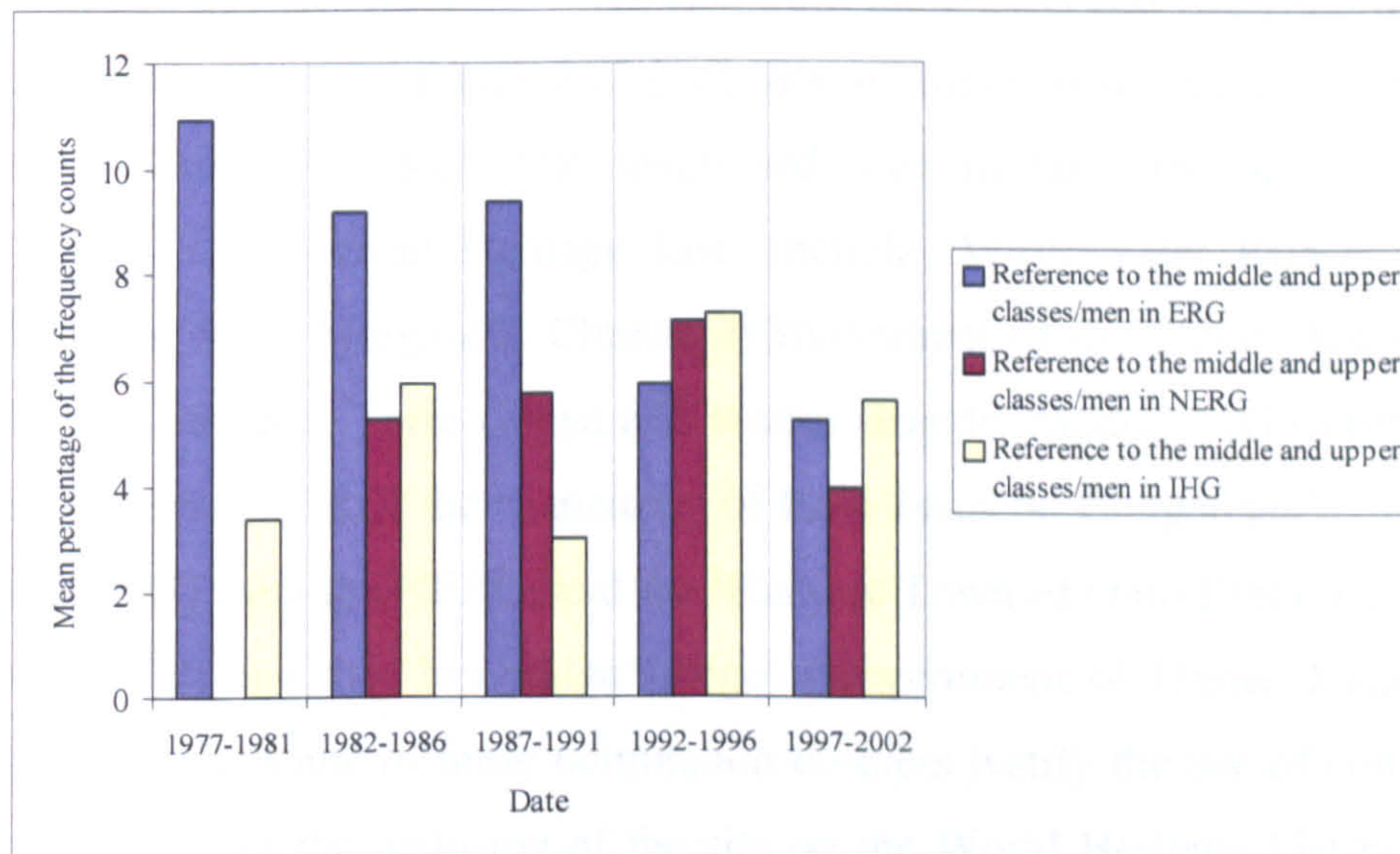


Figure 5.4.B. Mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘reference to the middle and upper classes/men’ for the three groups of cultural heritage

As illustrated by Figure 5.4.B., the mean percentages show a different evolution to the means of the frequency counts. Whilst the means of the frequency counts for this subcategory are high for the period 1997-2002 (with the exception of the NERG), their mean percentages do not reach higher than 5.61% (for the IHG). However, these mean percentages are higher than the other six mean percentages of the categories recording cultural and human diversity. ‘Reference to the middle and upper classes/men’ is therefore the value which is the most mentioned of all those referring to the cultural and human diversity in nomination dossiers.

5.5.1. The centrality of male figures

It is important to note that twenty-four nomination dossiers from the ERG, seven from the NERG and nineteen from the IHG mention male figures in the 'justification for inclusion in the World Heritage List' section of nomination dossiers. In comparison, women from both the lower classes and the middle and upper classes are mentioned in the section 'justification for inclusion in the World Heritage List' in just three nomination dossiers from the ERG, two from the NERG and two from the IHG. This demonstrates the importance and centrality of these male characters. Examples of these nomination dossiers that mentioned men in their section 'justification for inclusion in the World Heritage List' include 'Westminster Palace, Westminster Abbey and Saint Margaret's Church' (Government of the United Kingdom 1987a) and the 'Cathedral, Torre Civica and Piazza Grande, Modena' (Government of Italy 1996b) from the ERG; the 'Sanctuary of Bom Jesus do Congonhas' (Government of Brazil 1984) from the NERG, and the 'Historic Town of Ouro Preto' (Government of Brazil 1979) and the 'Ironbridge Gorge' (Government of United Kingdom 1985a) from the IHG. Some of these nomination dossiers justify the use of cultural heritage criterion (vi) for the inclusion of the site on the World Heritage List because of the importance of a male figure. This is the case of the nomination dossier of 'Aachen Cathedral' which highlights the importance of the site because it is the place where Charlemagne's relics are kept (Government of Germany, 1978). As detailed in Chapter 1 (Section 1.3.1.) direct reference to 'persons' was removed from the 1980 revised version of cultural heritage criterion (vi) onwards. However, at least one recent example, New Lanark, demonstrates the use of cultural heritage criterion (vi) to stress the outstanding universal value of the site because of its association with a person, Robert Owen (Government of the United Kingdom 2000b). New Lanark was also included on the World Heritage List on the basis of cultural heritage criterion (vi).

5.5.2. Representation of historical male figures

The qualitative analysis of this sub-category, as for the sub-category 'references to the middle and upper classes/women', separates the representation of male historical figures, detailed in the next paragraphs, from the representation of contemporary male figures, presented in Section 5.5.4. All the nomination dossiers from the three groups focus primarily on famous historical architects, monks, engineers or official figures. They include, for instance, Leonardo da Vinci, Erik Gunnar Asplund considered to be Sweden's leading modern architect, or Cristoforo Benigno Crespi, the entrepreneur behind Crespi d'Adda. This result confirms previous theoretical perspectives on the representation of the past. As stressed by Kavanagh, for instance, 'the nation's history had (...) to be heroic, illustrated by stories of great men and great events' (...) (1993, 14). The focus on these great men of history has increased over the past few years in the nomination dossiers from the IHG with inclusion of biographies of male entrepreneurs such as Richard Arkwright or Peter Nightingale [presented in the nomination dossier of the 'Derwent Valley Mills' (Government of the United Kingdom 2000a)], or engineers such as Pierre Paul Riquet [presented in the nomination dossier of the 'Canal du Midi' (Government of France 1995)]. No such biographies have yet been drafted for women.

This focus on the great men of history presents a very specific, stereotypical image of masculinity. This image corresponds to the definition given by Badinter of the 'real male' who 'must be superior to others. Masculinity is measured by success, power, and the admiration he wins' (1995, 130). These findings echo the theories in cultural studies on the traditional representation of men (see Bourdieu 1990, 21 for example). Whilst women from the middle and upper classes are, with a few exceptions, described in a neutral way, these famous men tend to be described in a more positive and praiseworthy manner. This is the case, for instance, of Ghegha, the engineer of the Semmering Railway, described as '(...) a man who was able to fully grasp the technical possibilities of the time and may be regarded as one of the pioneers of 19th century railway construction' (Government of Austria 1995). These famous men are described as 'inspirational' and 'geniuses' who are in control (Seidler 1997, 49). According to some cultural studies theorists, this representation of famous men helps

to portray a romanticised version of the past (Jordan and Weedon 1995, 121). This representation also enables the ‘myth of masculinity’ or ‘*illusio* of manhood’ (Badinter 1995, 2) to survive. According to Badinter this ‘myth’ helps man be defined as ‘a privileged human being, endowed with something *more*, unknown to women’ (1995, 4). This representation of men marginalises women, considered as ‘the other’, the weaker gender (de Beauvoir 1974, 16).

5.5.3. The exclusion of specific male categories

This focus on the ‘great men of history’ excludes a number of other male categories such as the disabled. Only one nomination dossier – the ‘Sanctuary of Bom Jesus do Congonhas’ (Government of Brazil 1984) - refers to a disabled person, namely Aleijadinho (1738-1814). Nonetheless, he is one of the most famous Brazilian sculptors and as such cannot be representative of disabled men in general. None of the nomination dossiers presents women from the lower, the middle or the upper classes or men from the lower classes, be they historical or contemporary figures, as disabled or blind for instance. This exclusion of disabled people has also been highlighted by scholars in cultural studies: ‘disability engenders distinct forms of social inequality and, like gender, age and social class, should be regarded as an organising principle of social inequality in its own right (Hyde 2000, 185).

5.5.4. Representation of contemporary male figures

Contemporary male figures from the middle and upper classes are mentioned as researchers, archaeologists or conservators in seventeen nomination dossiers from the ERG, eleven from the NERG, and fifteen from the IHG. As previously stated, contemporary female figures from the middle and upper classes are also represented in professional capacities. Nonetheless the quantitative discrepancy between these two groups is noticeable. One of the major differences between these two groups is that sentences or opinions by these male researchers are more often quoted in nomination dossiers than is the work of female researchers. More precisely, nine contemporary male researchers from the ERG, two from the NERG and four from the IHG have a sentence or paragraph of their work cited. As previously explained, being quoted gives these men a high degree of authority and legitimisation. Conkey and Spector

state that ‘many researchers, both male and female (...), place more credence in the views of male informants than in those of females’ (1998, 13-14). These results seem to confirm this view. Other cultural studies theorists have stated that men feel displaced and ‘threatened’ by the increased place played by women in public and academic life (Seidler 1997, 52; Badinter 1995, 3-4). Nonetheless these results demonstrate that contemporary men do not need to be ‘threatened’ by women who are demonstrably still marginally positioned.

5.6. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of ‘reference to the lower classes/collective citation’

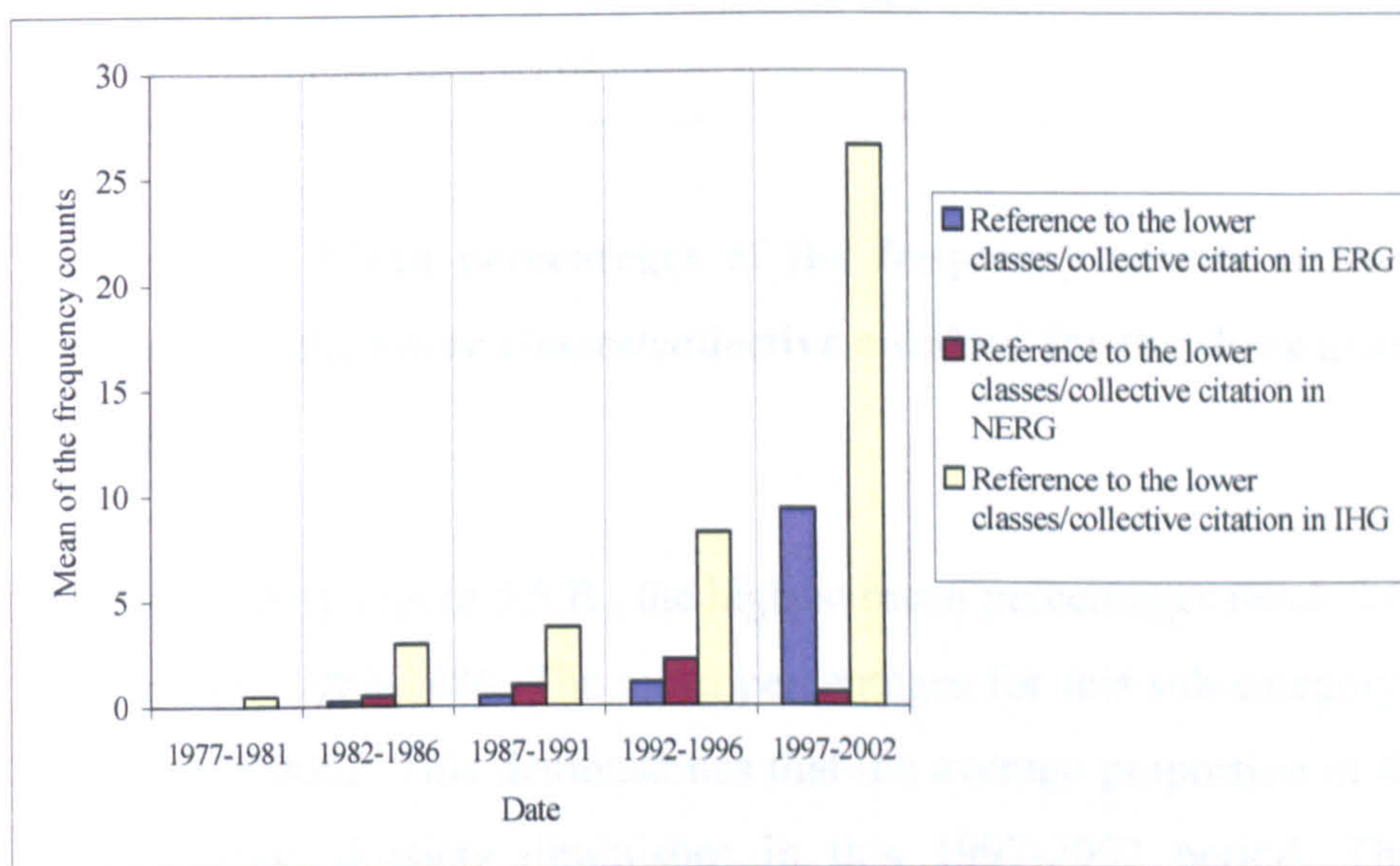


Figure 5.5.A. Means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘reference to the lower classes/collective citation’ for the three groups of cultural heritage

Of the three sub-categories recording references to the lower classes, ‘reference to the lower classes/collective citation’ is the most represented across the three groups of cultural heritage. This sub-category is represented the most in the nomination dossiers of IHG (twenty-six out of thirty-five dossiers (74%)), then in the dossiers of NERG [nine out of thirty dossiers (30%)], and, finally in the dossiers of the ERG (twelve out of forty-three dossiers (28%)). As indicated in Figure 5.5.A. the means of the frequency counts for this sub-category increase from 1987 onwards, with the exception of the NERG. Across the three groups of cultural heritage considered the means reach a peak at twenty-six sentences for the IHG during the 1997-2002 period.

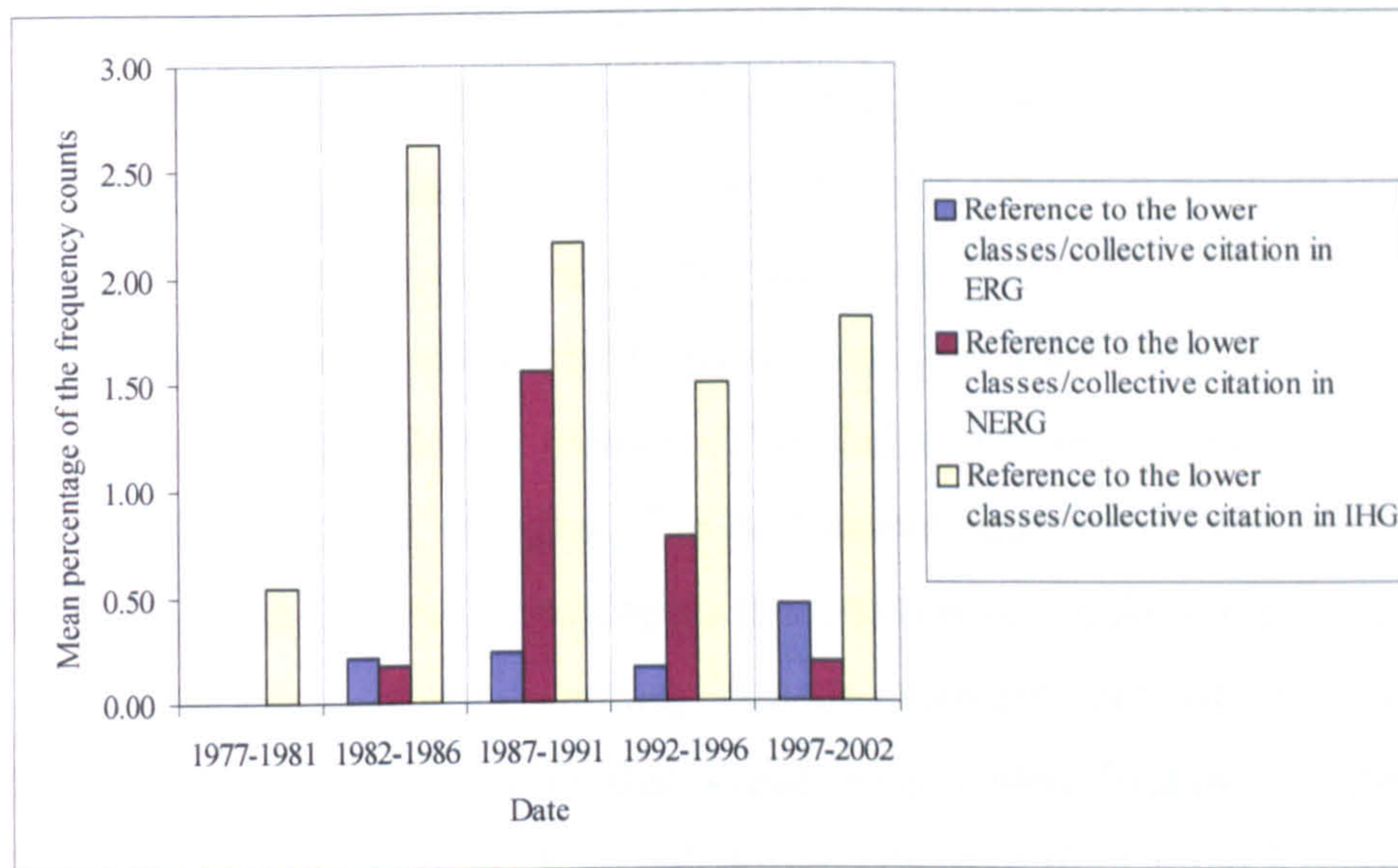


Figure 5.5.B. Mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘reference to the lower classes/collective citation’ for the three groups of cultural heritage

As illustrated by Figure 5.5.B., the highest mean percentages reach 2.62% for the IHG in the period 1982-1986. The mean percentages for this sub-category decrease in the period 1997-2002. This demonstrates that the average proportion of this sub-category in nomination dossiers diminishes in this 1997-2002 period. The overall small percentages for this sub-category confirm the marginalisation of the lower classes in nomination dossiers, be they women, men or referred to as a collective body.

5.6.1. Sanitised representations of the lower classes’ conditions?

The qualitative analysis is interesting because it confirms previous published theoretical positions. In particular, theorists have stressed that the lower classes are presented in a neutral manner and that this presentation helps present a ‘safe’ and ‘sanitised’ version of the past (see Kavanagh 1993, 19). Industrial heritage sites have been strongly criticised for presenting such a version of the past and of the social relations of production (see for example West 1988, 52-53 on the representation of the lower classes in the Ironbridge Gorge). Nonetheless, the results of this analysis demonstrate that this collective representation of the lower classes is not unique to the

IHG but can also be extended to the ERG and NERG. More precisely, eight dossiers from the ERG, seven nomination dossiers from the NERG and sixteen from the IHG mention, usually by quantifying them, the number of workers that worked on constructing the nominated site or worked in the industrial heritage property without providing much detail concerning their daily working and social conditions. However, five more recent nomination dossiers from the IHG refer to the suffering and exploitation of the lower classes. This helps present a more realistic and less 'sanitised' version of the past. The nomination dossier of the 'Hallstatt-Dachstein Salzkammergut Cultural Landscape's the first one of the IHG to mention the suffering and exploitation of the working classes (Government of Austria 1996). This nomination dossier also notes that social revolts were brutally handled by soldiers. The nomination dossier of 'Saltaire' (Government of the United Kingdom 2000c) and the 'Zollverein Coal Mine Industrial Complex in Essen' (Government of Germany 1999b) are the only ones to mention that accidents were part of the daily life of those working in the industrial heritage site.

Four recent nomination dossiers from the IHG, namely 'Blaenavon Industrial Landscape' (Government of the United Kingdom 1999), the 'Derwent Valley Mills' (Government of the United Kingdom 2000a), 'New Lanark' (Government of the United Kingdom, 2000b) and the 'Mining Area of the Great Copper Mountain in Falun' (Government of Sweden, 2000), also mention the working practices associated with child labour. This is an important evolution in the themes represented in nomination dossiers as child labour was current practice in most industrial sites but has been consistently omitted with the exceptions mentioned above. In particular, the nomination dossier of the 'Derwent Valley Mills' explains that children were employed because they were a much cheaper workforce. Whilst some industrial heritage sites are known for their arduous working conditions, these are not referred to in their nomination dossiers. This is the case, for instance, of the 'City of Potosí' (Government of Bolivia 1986). This nomination dossier mentions that mining work was obligatory for the Indians (indigenous population) but does not provide any information on the working conditions of the miners who used to work in this site. Moreover, this nomination dossier does not refer to the working conditions of the adults and children who are still working in these mines. This is rather surprising as child labour within this site is in violation of the *United Nations Convention on the*

Rights of the Child (United Nations 1989). Bolivia has ratified this Convention which requires in its Article 32 that States Parties need to take measures to ensure that children are protected from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with their education, or to be harmful to their health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development. No comment was made on this aspect of the nominated property when it was discussed at the eleventh session of the World Heritage Committee in December 1987 (UNESCO 20 January 1988).

Historical studies have also been commented on as 'demonising' the working class, representing it as a threatening group that needed to be controlled and improved (see for example Skeggs 1997, 76 or Jordan and Weedon 1995, 36). Two nomination dossiers from the NERG and six from the IHG contain such negatively connoted descriptions. The nomination dossiers of the 'Derwent Valley Mills' (Government of the United Kingdom 2000a) and 'Crespi d'Adda' (Government of Italy 1994) for instance, detail the subtle architectural organisation of the industrial heritage site which enabled the working classes to be controlled in their homes as well as in the mills and prevented them from rebelling.

5.6.2. References to the social and political cultures of the working classes

West in his analysis of the interpretation policies at the Ironbridge Gorge Museum (1988, 57-58), or Trustram, in her analysis of Labour History Museums, highlight the scarcity of mentions of the social and political rights and cultures of the working class, including, for instance, the history of trade-union and working class clubs (1993, 75). Nonetheless, nine nomination dossiers from the IHG refer to social welfare and working class culture including social rights, sports clubs, or choirs. The nomination dossier of the 'Mines of Rammelsberg and Historic Town of Goslar' explains that this site is of outstanding universal value because of the role it plays in introducing the miners' social welfare benefits system as early as the High Middle Ages (Government of Germany 1991c). According to its nomination dossier, 'New Lanark' is being nominated because it is associated with Robert Owen who developed the first co-operative retail society, innovative school methods and teaching, and communitarianism and utopian principles (Government of the United Kingdom 2000b). References to the social and political cultures of the working and lower

classes are important. Nonetheless no nomination dossier details the very special knowledge that the lower classes have of the site, in particular industrial sites, including their myths and legends or songs.

5.7. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of ‘reference to the middle and upper classes/collective citation’

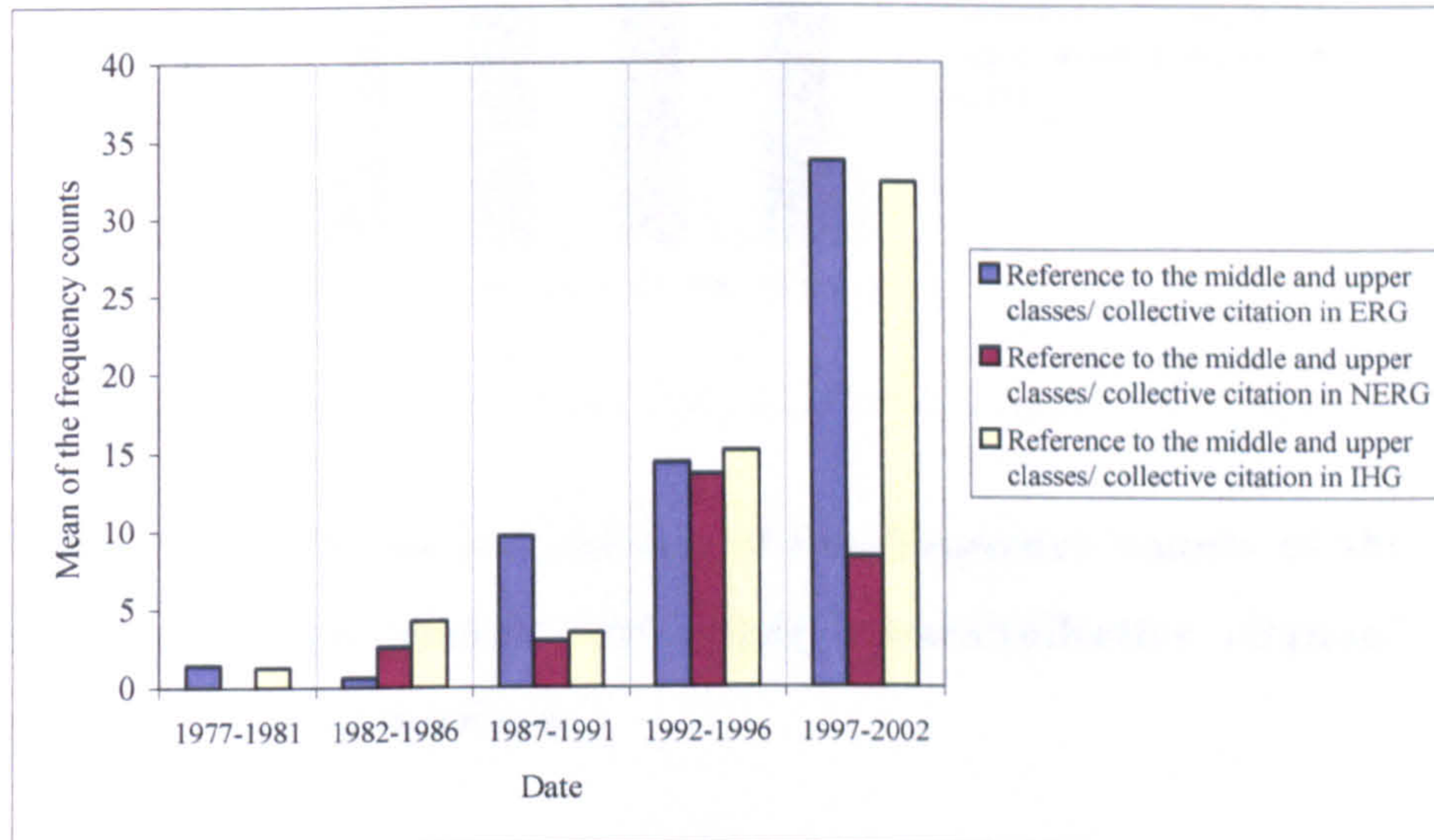


Figure 5.6.A. Means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘reference to the middle and upper classes/collective citation’ for the three groups of cultural heritage

The sub-category ‘reference to the middle and upper classes/collective citation’ is mentioned in twenty-nine out of thirty-five nomination dossiers (83%) from the IHG, twenty-two out of thirty nomination dossiers from the NERG (73%) and twenty-nine out of forty-three dossiers from the ERG (67%). As highlighted in Figure 5.6.A., this sub-category is increasingly mentioned from 1992 onwards for the ERG and IHG. The highest mean of the frequency counts across the three groups of cultural heritage considered reaches thirty-four sentences for the ERG during the period 1997-2002. This is mainly due to a peak of 139 sentences in the dossier of the ‘Routes of Santiago de Compostela in France’ (Government of France 1997). The second highest mean of the frequency counts is reached by the IHG at thirty-two sentences during the period 1997-2002. This is due to a peak of 170 sentences for the ‘Derwent Valley Mills’ (Government of the United Kingdom 2000a).

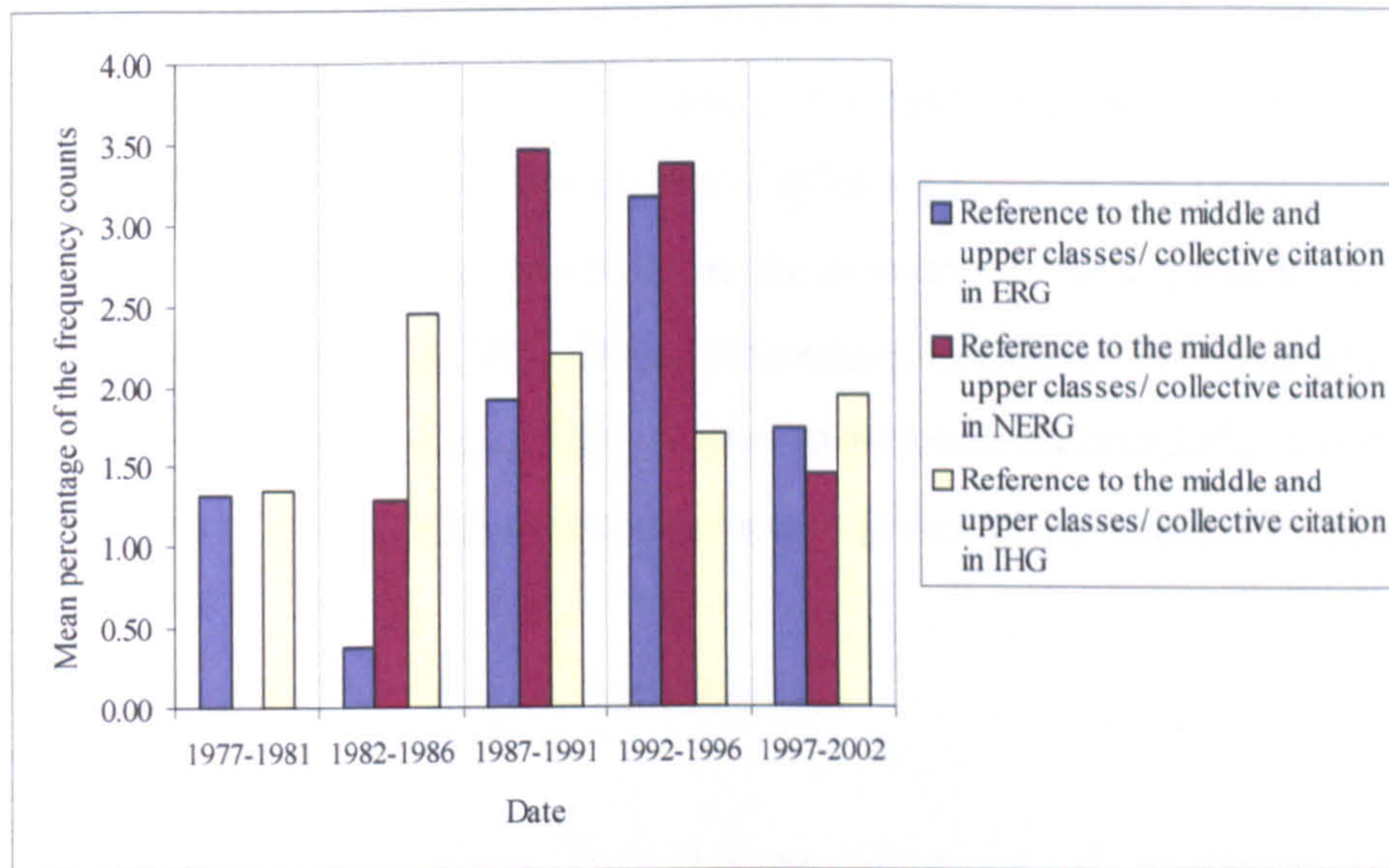


Figure 5.6.B. Mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘reference to the middle and upper classes/collective citation’ for the three groups of cultural heritage

As illustrated by Figure 5.6.B., the mean percentages reach their peak during the 1982-1986 period for the IHG at 2.45%, during the 1987-1991 period for the NERG at 3.47% and during the 1992-1996 period for the ERG at 3.17%.

5.7.1. Continuity and stability of the nation

The three groups of cultural heritage considered share a number of themes. In particular, thirteen nomination dossiers from the ERG, nine from the NERG and six from the IHG mention kings (in the plural form), royal families that have ruled for generations and families and descendants of emperors that are linked to the site. These sentences refer to traditional events that have been repeated over the centuries which contribute to giving an image of the nation as a continuous and stable entity. The nomination dossier of ‘Westminster Palace, Westminster Abbey and Saint Margaret’s Church’ for instance, details the royal traditions and rituals that have been staged there since the eleventh century (Government of the United Kingdom 1987a). Ten nomination dossiers from the ERG, two from the NERG and nine from the IHG mention important families that used to or still do own part of the nominated property or are associated with the nominated property. These references include mentions of

the families of the male entrepreneurs of the industrial heritage sites. Examples include the descendants of Richard Arkwright in Cromford, part of the nomination dossier of the 'Derwent Valley Mills' (Government of the United Kingdom 2000a) or the descendants of Robert Owen in the dossier of 'New Lanark' (Government of the United Kingdom 2000b). These references reinforce the importance of these men who, as previously explained, are also mentioned individually in nomination dossiers. This also reinforces the continuous image given to the nominated property.

5.7.2. Importance of the nominated site

These frequency counts also include mentions of contemporary researchers or specialists on the nominated site. Collective references to scholars and authors help to convince the reader of the importance of the site because of academic interest and publications. This aspect is highlighted in the nomination dossier of the 'Pilgrimage Church of St John of Nepomuk at Zelena Hora' which highlights that 'the concentrated attention which has been devoted to the monument by three generations of leading scholars has deepened the knowledge of its original outlook, its artistic values and its significant position in the context of Baroque culture' (Government of the Czech Republic 1993).

5.8. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of the ‘local population’

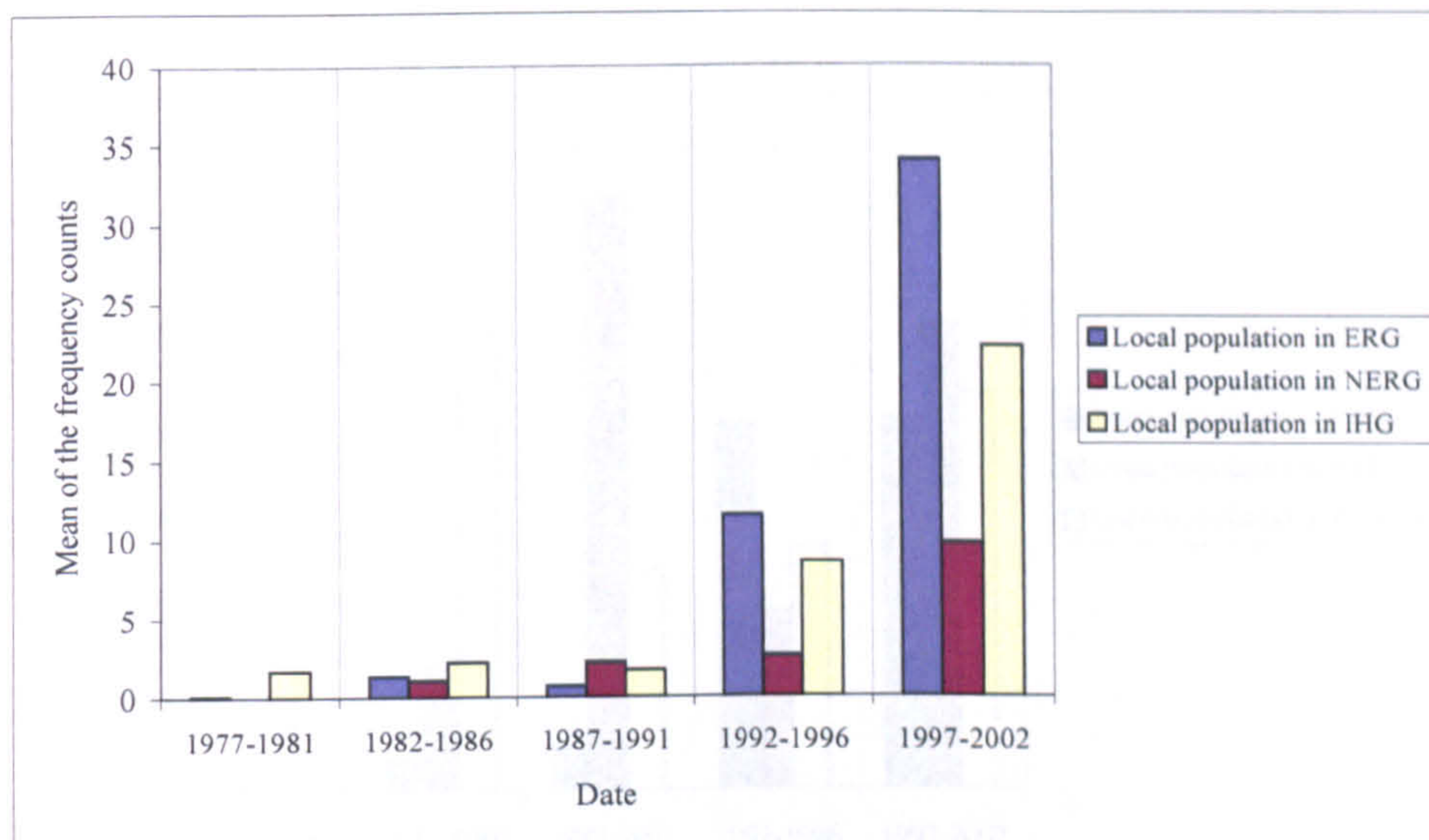


Figure 5.7.A. Means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of the ‘local population’ for the three groups of cultural heritage

The sub-category ‘local population’ is mentioned in nineteen out of forty-three nomination dossiers from the ERG (44%), nineteen out of thirty dossiers from the NERG (63%) and twenty-nine out of thirty-five from the IHG (83%). Mentions of this sub-category increase from the period 1987-1991 onwards, especially for the ERG. For this group it reaches a peak at thirty-four sentences during the 1997-2002 period. These increased references to the local population might be partly due to the World Heritage Committee’s recommendations. Indeed, since 1995 involvement of the local population has been included in Paragraph 14 of the Operational Guidelines. This increased reference to the local population might also be due to the fact that, from 1997 onwards, the Operational Guidelines have requested States Parties to provide information on the number of inhabitants within the site and the buffer zone in their nomination dossiers (see also Chapter 3, Table 3.2.).

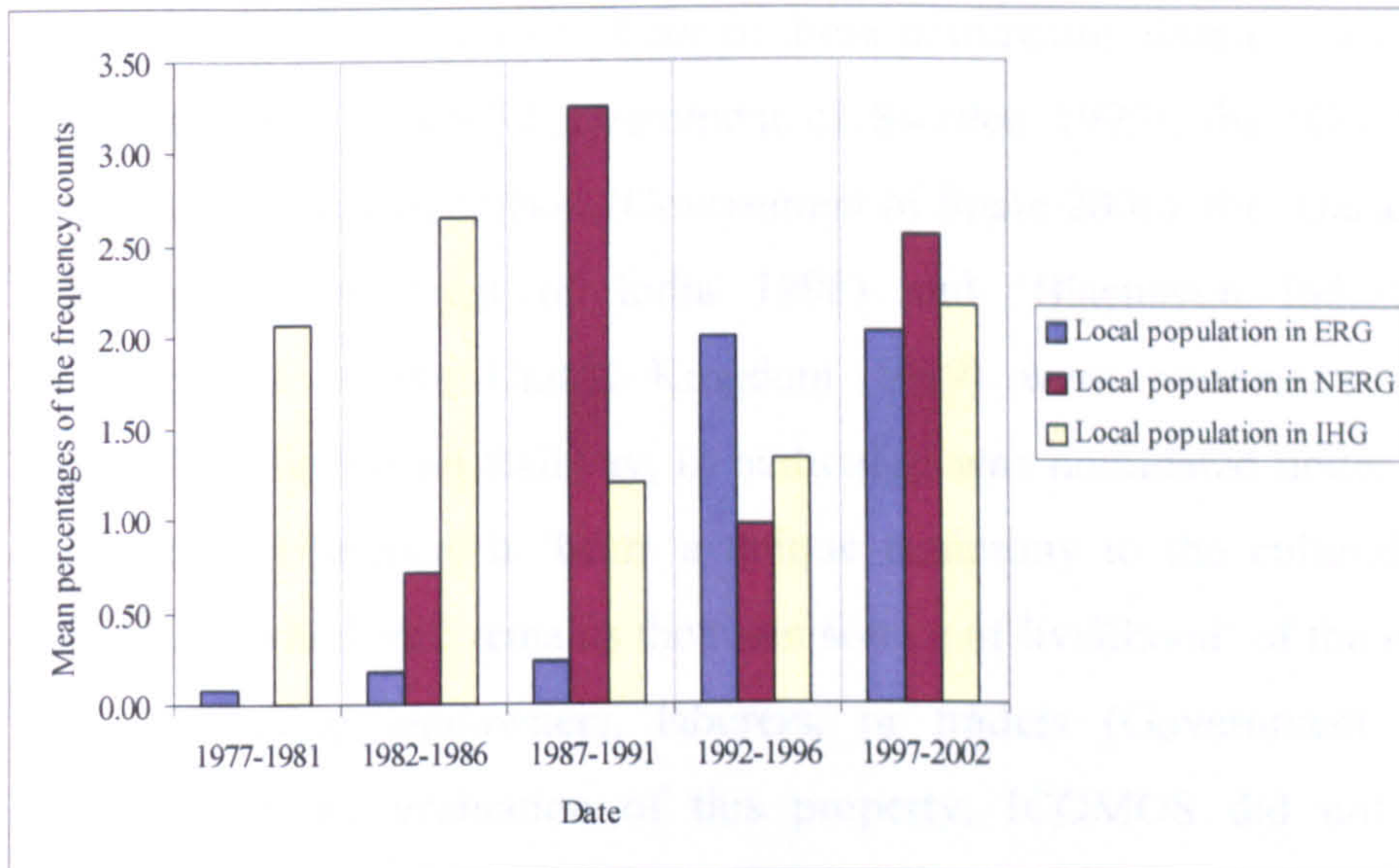


Figure 5.7.B. Mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of the ‘local population’ for the three groups of cultural heritage

Figure 5.7.B. shows that the proportion of this sub-category per nomination dossier increases gradually from 1977 to 2002 for the ERG. The mean percentages of this sub-category reach their highest peak for the IHG during the 1982-1986 period at 2.64%. A second peak is reached at 2.17% for the IHG during the 1997-2002 period. The mean percentages of this sub-category reach their highest peak for the NERG at 3.25% during the 1987-1991 period. A second peak is reached at 2.55% during the 1997-2002 period. Despite the recommendations by the World Heritage Committee presented in the previous paragraph, the proportion occupied by references to the local population in nomination dossiers is rather small as it does not reach higher than 3.25%.

5.8.1. References to the local population as a ‘justification for inclusion on the World Heritage List’

As detailed in Chapter 1 (Section 1.4.2. and 1.4.3.), the 1992 and 1994 revisions of the six cultural heritage criteria added direct references to cultural and living traditions to encourage the recognition of the social dimension of nominated

properties and the importance of socio-cultural continuity. Two nomination dossiers from the ERG, one from the NERG and four from the IHG mention the importance of the local population in the section of nomination dossiers 'justification for inclusion on the World Heritage List'. Four of these nomination dossiers, the 'Church Village of Gammelstad, Luleå' (Government of Sweden 1995), the 'Catalan Romanesque Churches of the Vall de Boí' (Government of Spain 2000), the 'Darjeeling Himalayan Railway' (Government of India 1998) and 'Blaenavon Industrial Landscape' (Government of the United Kingdom 1999) were nominated after 1994. The Darjeeling Himalayan Railway, in particular, was nominated under cultural heritage criterion (iii) because it 'bears a unique testimony to the cultural tradition of tea plantation, which still remains the main source of livelihood' of the inhabitants of this region, whether landowners, laborers, or traders (Government of India 1998). However, in its evaluation of this property, ICOMOS did not recommend the inscription of the Darjeeling Himalayan Railway under cultural criterion (iii), a recommendation which was followed by the World Heritage Committee (September 1999). This is also the case for the 'Monastic Island of Reichenau', nominated under cultural heritage criterion (iii) partly because it bears an exceptional 'testimony to a cultural tradition and to a living civilization' of processions and religious festivals (Germany 1999a, 12). This property was inscribed on the World Heritage List under cultural heritage criterion (iii) because of its 'religious and cultural role of a great Benedictine monastery in the early Middle Ages' (September 2000a) but not because of its exceptional living civilization. No explanations were provided explaining these lacks of acknowledgment of local populations by either ICOMOS or the World Heritage Committee (*ibid.*; UNESCO 11 December 2000).

5.8.2. Participation of the local population in the management and conservation of the site

Active participation by the local population has been stressed by the World Heritage Committee as a key aspect in the conservation and management of sites. Despite this, no section of the format of the nomination dossier requests States Parties to detail their participatory policies. Nonetheless, as detailed below, participatory policies have been detailed in some nomination dossiers. Cultural resource management literature has also highlighted the importance of participatory policies (see, for instance

Sullivan 1997, 18; Hall and McArthur 1998, 55-84; Fairclough 1999, 131; de la Torre 2001). Hall and McArthur, in particular, distinguish good and bad participatory policies unlike other references which only mention the importance of participatory policies (Fairclough 1999, 131; de la Torre 2001; Sullivan 1997, 18). According to Hall and McArthur, the provision of information on the conservation of the site without any involvement of local communities leads to a low degree of involvement and trust from the latter (1998, 74). On the other hand, full participation by the local communities in decision-making through, for instance, the organisation of advisory groups and small workshops, leads to a high degree of involvement and trust from the local population.

Only one nomination dossier from the ERG, six from the NERG and two from the IHG mention the provision of information as their participatory policies developed at the nominated property. According to Hall and McArthur this case scenario leads to 'low legitimacy of involvement' and 'low legitimacy of trust' from the local population (1998, 74). This can lead to problems as the values and uses of the site by the local communities are not taken into consideration. This is exemplified in the nomination dossier of the 'Potala Palace' which explains the 'continuous propaganda efforts to sharpen the senses of the monks' to protect the cultural relics (Government of China 1993a, 10). However, this nomination dossier does not explain how the different aspects of the site that are valued by the religious communities at Potala, as well as their special knowledge of the property are being taken into consideration in the protection of the site. As explained by Taruvinga and Ndoro, this situation can lead to conflict between the different users and managers of the site and poor management due to the lack of different perspectives being taken into consideration (2003, 7). This can also lead to resentment and distrust from the local communities as well as their lack of motivation to take part in the management and conservation of the site (Hall and McArthur 1998, 59).

On the other hand, seven nomination dossiers from the ERG, two from the NERG and eight from the IHG explicitly mention the participation of the local population in decision-making and the sharing of information between different stakeholders. The nomination dossier of the 'Earliest 16th Century Monasteries on the Slopes of Popocatepetl' from the NERG, for instance, indicates that a council of citizens

participates in deciding and conserving the sites (Government of Mexico 1993). It is unfortunate however that this nomination dossier does not further detail how this council operates. Interestingly too, some nomination dossiers from the ERG and IHG indicate that major decisions for the conservation and/or restoration of the site are taken primarily by local community groups and not by a heritage site manager. This is the case, for instance, in the nomination dossier of the San Millán Yuso and Suso Monasteries which stresses that 'the warnings of the Guardian of Yuso and/or the friars of Yuso, and the technicians continual attention to the buildings, are the base for deciding where and how to restore' (Government of Spain 1996b).

Participation by the local population in the interpretation of the site is also very important as this enables the site to have a function in the life of the community [Article 5(a) of the World Heritage Convention]. Moreover, interpretation policies might lead to the sharing of the special intangible knowledge that communities have of the property with visitors and tourists. The site can also be used for celebrations or rituals that are restricted to a specific community or an ethnic group for instance. Five nomination dossiers from the ERG, three from the NERG and three from the IHG specifically indicate that members of the local community are participating in the interpretation of the site or using it for traditional celebrations. This includes guided tours of industrial heritage sites by factory or mine workers or their descendants, as indicated, for instance, in the nomination dossiers of the 'Derwent Valley Mills' (Government of the United Kingdom 2000a), the 'Zollverein Coal Mine Industrial Complex in Essen' (Government of Germany 1999b) and 'Blaenavon Industrial Landscape' (Government of the United Kingdom 1999). The nomination dossier of the 'Kalwaria Zebrzydowska' provides the most precise description of a traditional theatrical reconstruction taking place on site. Benedictine monks and inhabitants take on the roles of Christ, the Apostles, and other characters from the gospels to re-enact the events of the Passion. As indicated in this nomination dossier, these events 'are characterised by a fixed ritual, and individual roles are often passed on from generation to generation in the local community' (Government of Poland 1998, 17).

5.8.3. Local population: dangerous or indispensable to the site?

Direct references to the local population also appear in the requested format of nomination dossiers in the Operational Guidelines from 1997 onwards under 'Section 5(e) Factors Affecting the site; Numbers of inhabitants within property, buffer zone'. Three nomination dossiers from the ERG, seven dossiers from the NERG and six dossiers from the IHG have interpreted 'factors affecting the site' negatively by stressing that the local population constitutes a threat to the site. This reference to the local population as a threat to the site echoes some statements on the relation between conservation of sites and local population. Taruvinga and Ngoro, for instance, commenting on the situation of cultural resource management in Africa, state that 'local communities are often regarded as a nuisance and are normally blamed for vandalizing places of heritage due to their perceived limited appreciation of the resource' (2003, 3). These threats caused by the local population include their growth in the region where the site is located, the danger and/or reality of encroachment of private properties onto the site, the need to expropriate these private properties from the owners, vehicle circulation and pollution, as well as vandalism and graffiti.

On the other hand, two nomination dossiers from the IHG ['Crespi d'Adda' (Government of Italy 1994) and 'Blaenavon Industrial Landscape' (Government of the United Kingdom 1999)] and two nomination dossiers from the ERG [the 'Catalan Romanesque Churches of the Vall de Boí' (Government of Spain 2000) and 'Assisi, the Basilica of San Francesco and other Franciscan Sites' (Government of Italy 1999)] indicate that the decline of the population is a threat to the site because this has led to economic and social deprivation. As indicated in these four nomination dossiers, the property consists of houses of architectural interest that need to be inhabited and looked after, otherwise they will slowly degrade. Some of the nominated properties are in regeneration areas where this economic and social degradation is being tackled, including most of the industrial heritage sites nominated by the United Kingdom such as the Ironbridge Gorge, Saltaire, Blaenavon and the Derwent Valley Mills. According to some theorists (see Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996, 77-78 for example) the process of regeneration leads, to gentrification that is 'the process by which an (urban) area is rendered middle-class' (Oxford English Dictionary Online). The

gentrification of the property is underlined in the nomination dossier of 'Saltaire' which states that 'the influx of younger people also ensures that the houses are well maintained, as younger people tend to be more active and also have greater disposable income' (Government of the United Kingdom 2000c, 65). Although, as indicated in this quote, gentrification has positive consequences for the site, it can also lead to some problems. In particular, this process might lead to higher housing and living prices and chase away members of the local population that have worked in and/or have knowledge of the property, including the working classes and the elderly. These nomination dossiers do not explain how these members of the community will be encouraged to remain within the nominated property and benefit from the site regeneration. This confirms Newman and McLean's viewpoint that the impacts of regeneration on strengthening social cohesion and identities are not clear (1998, 150).

5.9. Summaries and conclusions

This chapter has made a number of key and original findings. Quantitatively, it has demonstrated the centrality of men from the middle and upper classes in relation to the other categories analysed in this chapter including women or the local population. This category of men from the middle and upper classes occupies a central position in the nomination dossiers of the three groups of cultural heritage considered. Moreover, the mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of 'reference to the middle and upper classes/men' is high since 1978 and its evolution for the three groups of cultural heritage considered cannot be linked to any of the discussions or recommendations of the World Heritage Committee. This is a very important conclusion as it contradicts previous theoretical standpoints. These have stressed that the representation of human and cultural diversity of industrial heritage sites in particular have focused on the lower classes rather than on men from the middle and upper classes.

This is also a fundamental finding as it clearly demonstrates the lack of implementation of UNESCO's policies at national levels. Indeed, whilst UNESCO has been advocating gender equality in all its policies, the results of this research demonstrate a great gender bias in nomination dossiers and therefore in the World Heritage List. UNESCO has also advocated the importance of relocating the poor and

excluded groups of the population from a marginalised to a central position within official national documents and policies. However, this chapter has clearly demonstrated the continuous marginalisation of these groups in nomination dossiers and therefore in policies for the protection of the most important national and international cultural heritage sites.

Quantitatively, this chapter has also stressed that less than a fourth of all the nomination dossiers studied mention the active participation of the local population in the nomination process. This might be regarded as reflecting a lack of democratic process in consultation. These results are important as they stress a dichotomy, never highlighted before in a publication on World Heritage, between the World Heritage Committee and States Parties. Indeed, whilst the World Heritage Committee has already stressed the crucial importance of the active participation of local populations in the nomination of sites, this recommendation has not been widely followed at national level.

Qualitatively, the representation of men from the middle and upper classes in nomination dossiers is very similar regardless of which of the three groups of cultural heritage is considered. In most cases, this representation mirrors that of the past and the nation, identified in Chapter 4. Indeed, the men mentioned are presented as grand, heroic and powerful. This chapter has hence made a fundamental and original finding: that the depiction of cultural and human diversity reinforces the representation of a national collective identity based on coherent, grand and heroic deeds.

This focus on men from the middle and the upper classes helps to provide one version of the past based on heroism, power and grandeur and to exclude other dimensions and histories. Furthermore, it helps to highlight the image of a culturally unique nation and to foster social cohesion. This representation also helps to enable rulers, who tend to be men from the middle and upper classes, to legitimize their authority and 'to convince themselves, their citizens/subjects, and the relevant rest of the world, that their right to rule, their dominion of other states or peoples, or their cause or mission is "just"' (Fowler 1987, 229).

CHAPTER 6: REPRESENTATION OF ECONOMIC VALUE

6.1. Introduction

This chapter analyses quantitatively and qualitatively the results of the coding of the categories relating to economic value. The economic dimension of nominated sites for inclusion on the World Heritage List is also a key subject considering that most of them are important tourism sites. Tourism growth has been impressive in the past thirty years and is a major source of economic revenue. It is not surprising in this context that the first issue of the 'World Heritage Papers' (2002) published by the World Heritage Centre concerned the management of tourism at World Heritage sites. These publications as well as others by the World Heritage Centre and/or the advisory bodies (ICOMOS and ICCROM) on economic value have guided the qualitative interpretation of the results of the data analysis in this chapter.

6.2. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of ‘touristic venue/visitor numbers’

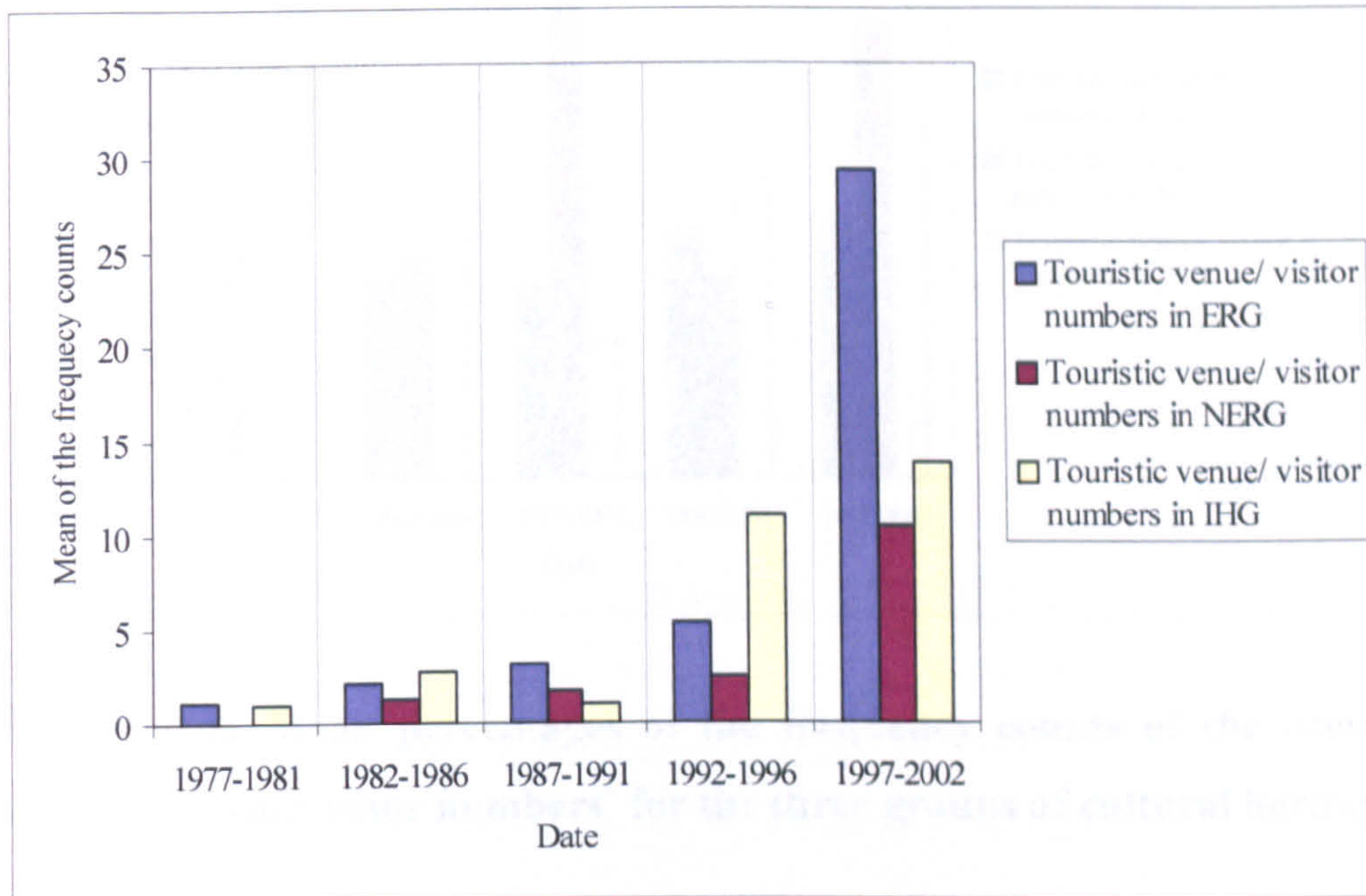


Figure 6.1.A. Means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘touristic venue/visitor numbers’ for the three groups of cultural heritage

From the 1980 revised version of the Operational Guidelines onwards, States Parties have been requested to detail in their nomination dossiers the accessibility of the nominated property to the general public. The results of the data analysis demonstrate that five nomination dossiers from the ERG, four from the NERG and five from the IHG that have been nominated after 1980 do not detail the accessibility of the property to the general public. As indicated by Figure 6.1.A. the scale of the means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of this sub-category gradually increases, over the five periods considered, for the ERG and NERG, and from 1987 onwards for the IHG. This sub-category reaches its maximum for all three groups of cultural heritage considered in the 1997-2002 period at twenty-nine sentences for the ERG, fourteen sentences for the IHG and ten sentences for the NERG. This increase might be due to a new section added to the format of nomination dossiers in the 1997 revised version of the Operational Guidelines requesting States Parties to provide information on visitor statistics in their nomination dossiers (see Chapter 3, Table 3.2.).

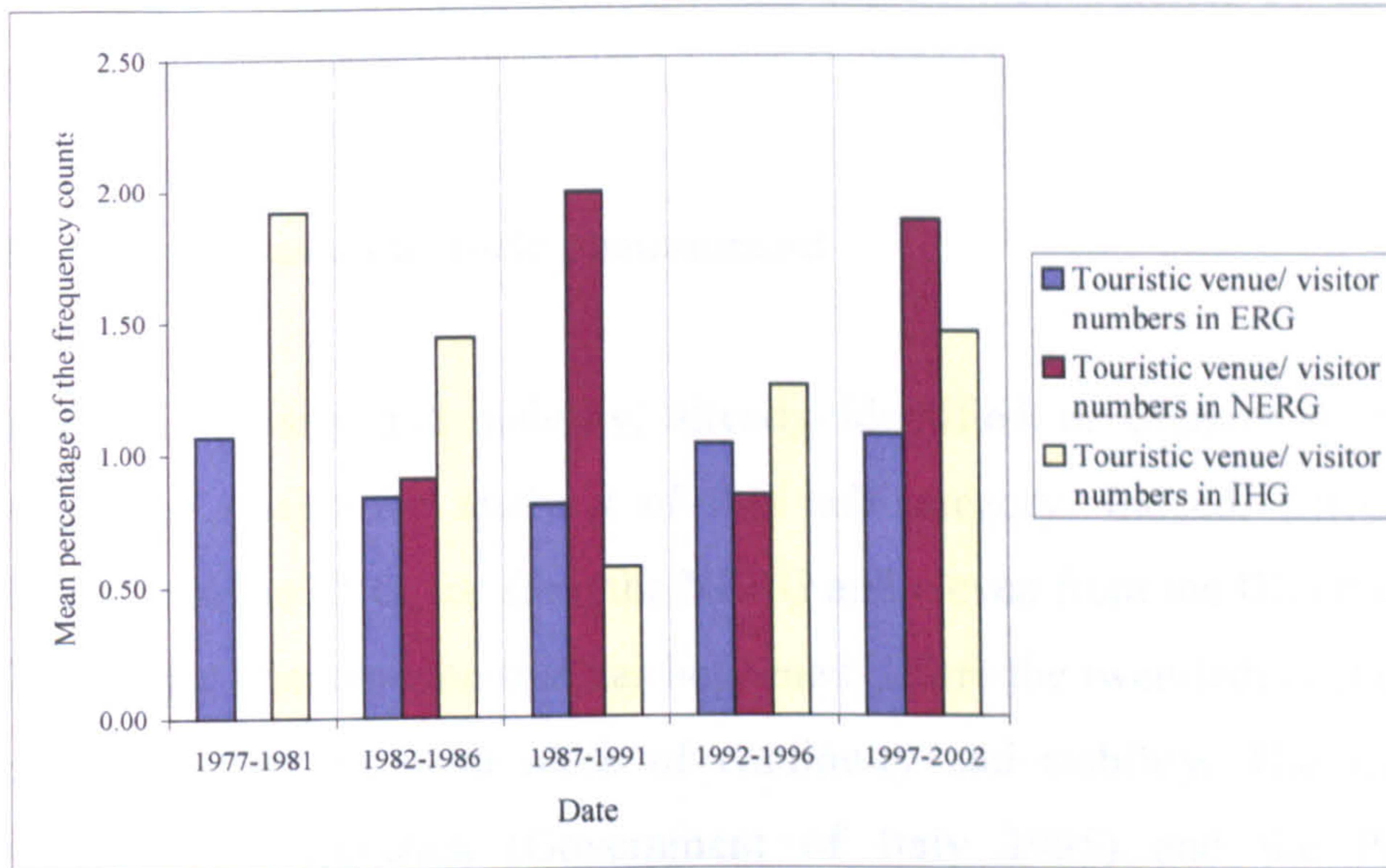


Figure 6.1.B. Mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘touristic venue/visitor numbers’ for the three groups of cultural heritage

The mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of this sub-category follow a more erratic evolution than the means of the frequency counts. As illustrated by Figure 6.1.B. these mean percentages are not very high. A maximum across the three groups of cultural heritage considered is reached at 2% for the NERG in the period 1987-1991. However, as explained in Chapter 3, tables were not taken into consideration in the coding of nomination dossiers as they were not recognised by Optical Character Recognition. Therefore Figure 6.1.B. does not take these tables into consideration. The nomination dossiers of the ‘Catalan Romanesque Churches of the Vall de Boí’ (Government of Spain 2000) for the ERG; ‘Longmen Grottoes’ (Government of China 1999b), ‘Yungang Grottoes’ (Government of China 2000b) ‘Dazu Rock Carvings’ (Government of China 1998) and ‘the Mahabodhi Temple Complex at Bodh Gaya’ (Government of India 2002) for the NERG; the ‘Mount Qincheng and the Dujiangyan Irrigation System’ (Government of China 1999c), the ‘Neolithic Flint Mines at Spiennes’ (Government of Belgium 1999a), ‘Blaenavon Industrial Landscape’ (Government of United Kingdom 1999), the ‘Derwent Valley Mills’ (Government of the United Kingdom 2000a), ‘New Lanark’ (Government of the United Kingdom 2000b), and ‘Saltaire’ (Government of the United Kingdom 2000c), for the IHG provide tables with visitor figures. All these properties were

nominated after 1997 and comply with the revised version of the Operational Guidelines.

6.2.1. Tourism as an historic phenomenon

Ideas of continuity and stability, already identified in Chapter 4, have emerged through the qualitative analysis of this sub-category. Indeed, fifteen nomination dossiers from the ERG, ten from the NERG and eleven from the IHG mention tourism as an historic phenomenon that has happened before the twentieth century. This helps to associate the site with ideas of continuity and stability. The Early Christian Monuments of Ravenna (Government of Italy 1995) and the Pont du Gard (Government of France 1984), for instance, were on the itinerary of the Grand Tour. Another example is the nomination dossier of the 'Mount Qincheng and the Dujiangyan Irrigation System' which stresses that 'since ancient times of around 1,800 years ago, Mt Qingcheng has been one of China's leading tourist attractions' (Government of China 1999c, 37). Examples from the NERG include the nomination dossier of 'Dazu Rock Carvings' which stresses that the site has been a pilgrimage and tourist site 'since ancient times' (Government of China 1998, 59).

6.2.2. Providing site access

Article 4 of the World Heritage Convention implies that States Parties should ensure that visitors have access to the heritage sites of outstanding universal value. Thirty-four nomination dossiers from the ERG, twenty-four from the NERG and twenty-five from the IHG clearly mention that the site is open to visitors. However, the information provided differs from dossier to dossier. Some dossiers simply stress that the site is open to visitors without providing any more information on the opening hours. Examples include the nomination dossier of the 'Royal Saltworks of Arc-et-Senans' (Government of France 1981). Other dossiers are more precise and indicate the opening hours. This is the case of the Indian nomination dossier of the 'Brihadisvara Temple, Thanjavur' (Government of India 1987) or the German dossier of the 'Abbey and Altenmünster of Lorsch' (Government of Germany 1991). Other dossiers indicate that entrance is by admission ticket. This is exemplified in the nomination dossier of the 'Early Christian Monuments of Ravenna' (Government of

Italy 1995) or the 'Blaenavon Industrial Landscape' (Government of the United Kingdom 1999). Other nomination dossiers such as the 'Völklingen Ironworks' (Government of Germany 1993) indicate that visits and guided tours are possible by prior arrangement.

According to ICOMOS in its handbook on cultural tourism at World Heritage Sites, it is important to provide information on variations between high and low cycles of visitations 'for any possible influences it may have in site planning, programming, staffing and budgeting' (1994, 66-67). Seven nomination dossiers from the ERG, seven from the NERG and four from the IHG mention variations between high and low cycles of visitations. Most of these are due to pilgrimages at the nominated property, including a yearly pilgrimage at Bom Jesus do Congonhas which takes place between September 8 and 14. However, only one nomination dossier, that of 'Kalwaria Zebrzydowska', provides details on the measures undertaken to manage these seasonal changes (Government of Poland 1998). This nomination dossier indicates that 'In periods of intensified pilgrimage, the movements of cars are controlled by specially-schooled police patrols and the traffic controllers from the monastery' (*ibid.*, 26).

Pedersen (2002, 49-50), ICOMOS (1994, 18-19) and the Australian Heritage Commission (2001), stress the importance of understanding the characteristics of visitors, including their numbers, who they are, where they come from and what their expectations are. Nine nomination dossiers from the ERG, ten from the NERG and fourteen from the IHG provide statistics on visitors. Some of these nomination dossiers such as that of the 'Church Village of Gammelstad, Luleå' (Government of Sweden 1995) do not explain how these visitor figures were collected. On the other hand, other nomination dossiers, such as the 'Early Christian Monuments of Ravenna' (Government of Italy 1995) and the 'Darjeeling Himalayan Railway' (Government of India 1998) stress that these figures correspond to tickets sold. Only one nomination dossier, that of 'Saltaire' stresses the difficulty of recording exact visitor figures because it is a village with open and free access (Government of the United Kingdom 2000c). Only nomination dossiers nominated after 1997 provide information on tourist profiles that include their provenance and their expectations. This might reflect the revision of the Operational Guidelines.

6.2.3. Carrying capacity

Feilden and Jokilehto (1998, 103), Pedersen (2002, 58) and ICOMOS (1994, 20), mention the need to establish a site's maximum carrying capacity. The World Tourism Organisation considers carrying capacity to be 'fundamental to environmental protection and sustainable development (...) carrying capacity limits can sometimes be difficult to quantify, but they are essential to planning for tourism and recreation' (1992, 23). As stressed by Pedersen (2002, 56), different types of carrying capacities can be defined. Wager defines them as follows:

1. Physical capacity: is the measure of the number of visitors that can be accommodated at any one site at the same time.
2. Environmental capacity: is the level of use that the archaeological structures, the forest and the landscape features can withstand without damage either to the fabric of the brick and stonework or to the ecology.
3. Perceptual capacity: is the measure of how many visitors can be accommodated without a reduction or loss in the quality of experience of visiting the site (1995, 518).

According to Pedersen, the concept of carrying capacity is also about setting numeric visitor limits and defining 'how much and what kind of change is "acceptable"' (2002, 57). This is done by setting 'indicator limits or standards for any changes that would degrade the conditions agreed upon' (ibid., 57).

The carrying capacity of the site is not mentioned in nomination dossiers until 1994. From that time onwards, this concept is increasingly mentioned. The carrying capacity of the site is mentioned in all the nomination dossiers nominated after 1997. However, no nomination dossier details how the site's carrying capacity has been calculated; how it has been defined and what it encompasses. No nomination dossier distinguishes between the physical, environmental or perceptual capacity of the site. Some nomination dossiers, such as 'Kalwaria Zebrzydowska', do not provide any precise figure but stress that the site has an 'unlimited capacity' (Government of Poland 1998, 20). This claim is justified in this nomination dossier because of 'the size of the area and the wide avenues (but also the phenomenon of the multiplication of the lines of avenues - double, triple, and even quadruple avenues)' (ibid.). Other nomination dossiers provide precise figures to detail the carrying capacity of the site. However these figures are difficult to understand since no explanation has been

provided as to how they have been calculated. This is the case for the nomination dossier of 'Longmen Grottoes' which indicates that 'Through repeated repair and expansion and construction of protective railings, the sightseeing paths in the grotto area at Longmen have now gained the capacity of receiving 50,000 tourists a day' (Government of China 1999b, 47). The ICOMOS evaluation of 'Longmen Grottoes' only indicates that 'there are interpretational and infrastructural facilities on-site for the large number of visitors (in the neighborhood of one million per year)' (September 2000b). ICOMOS does not comment on the level of carrying capacity detailed in the nomination dossier of 'Longmen Grottoes' nor question how it was calculated. Because of these lacks of explanation, it is very difficult to understand the impact of visitors on the property and its environment.

It has to be noted that one nomination dossier from the ERG, 'Assisi, the Basilica of San Francesco and other Franciscan Sites' (Government of Italy 1999), and four from the NERG, the 'Potala Palace' (Government of China 1993a), the 'Jokhang Temple Monastery' (Government of China 1999a), 'Norbulingka' (Government of China 2000a) and 'Tiwanaku' (Government of Bolivia 1999), mention the pressure of the current levels of tourists on the site. The dossier of the 'Potala Palace' even mentions the fact that 'during peak seasons, some palace halls receive tourists beyond their capacity' (Government of China 1993a, 8). This nomination dossier then stresses that: 'these problems have aroused the attention of governments (...) and corresponding measures are being taken for their gradual solution' (ibid.). No information is provided on these 'corresponding measures'. The ICOMOS evaluations of the 'Potala Palace' (October 1994), the 'Jokhang Temple Monastery' (September 2000d) and 'Tiwanaku' (September 2000c) do not mention the pressure of tourism on the site and its potentially negative effect. The ICOMOS evaluation of 'Norbulingka' highlights the increase in the number of visitors without discussing the pressure this has caused for the site or without providing guidance on the management of such pressure (September 2001a).

6.3. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of ‘visitor facilities and activities’

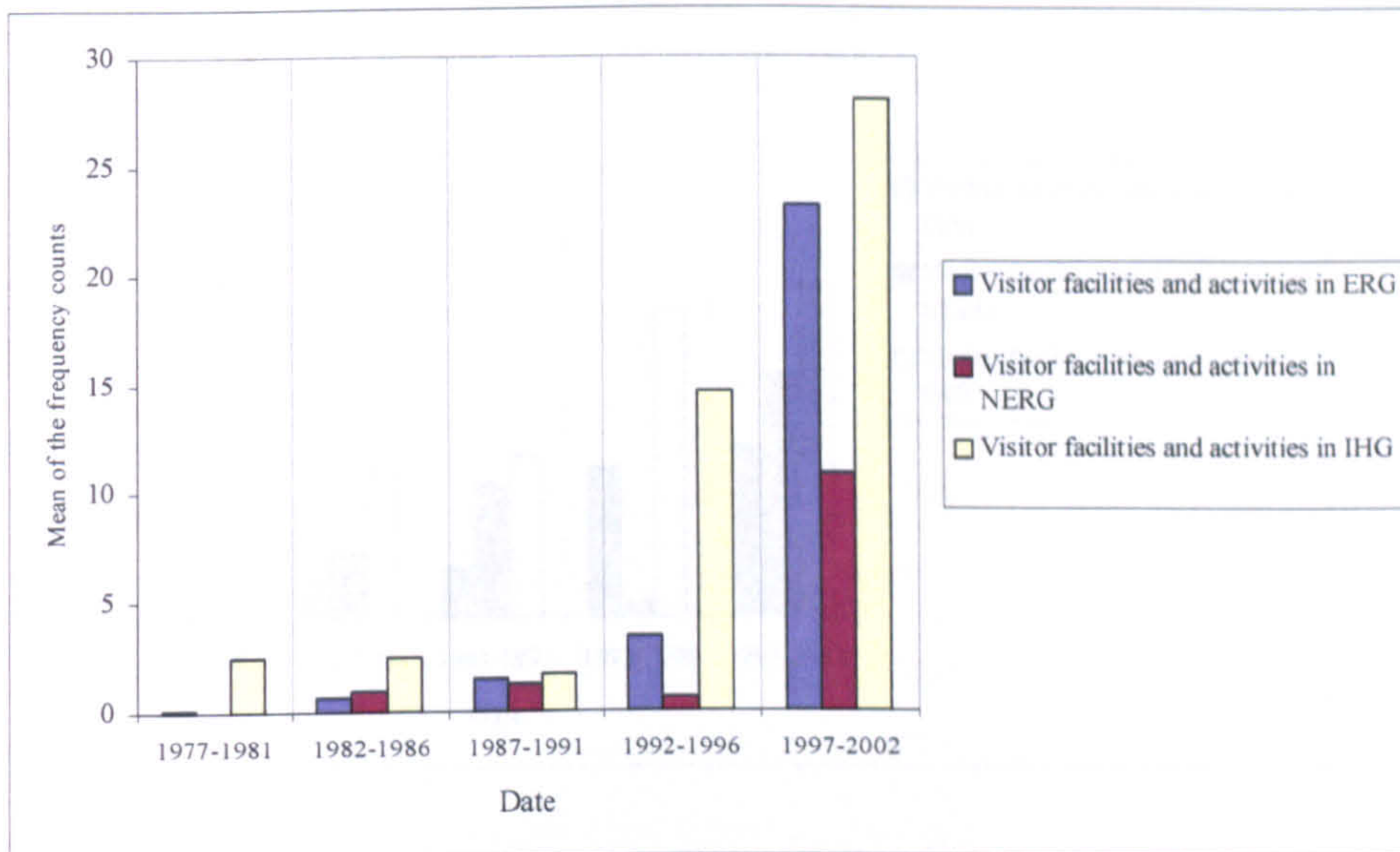


Figure 6.2.A. Means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘visitor facilities and activities’ for the three groups of cultural heritage

The sub-category ‘visitor facilities and activities’ is mentioned in twenty-five nomination dossiers from the ERG, sixteen from the NERG and twenty-seven from the IHG. As illustrated by Figure 6.2.A the means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘visitor facilities and activities’ between 1977 and 1996 reaches a maximum across the three groups of cultural heritage under consideration at fifteen sentences for the IHG. During this period the highest means for the ERG and the NERG are three and two sentences respectively. These are rather small means and might be due to the fact that the Operational Guidelines did not request States Parties to provide information on their visitor facilities and activities in their nomination dossiers until 1997. As illustrated by Figure 6.2.A. during the 1997-2002 period the means of the frequency counts increase strongly and reach maxima for the three types of cultural heritage groups considered at twenty-eight sentences for the IHG, twenty-three sentences for the ERG and eleven sentences for the NERG.

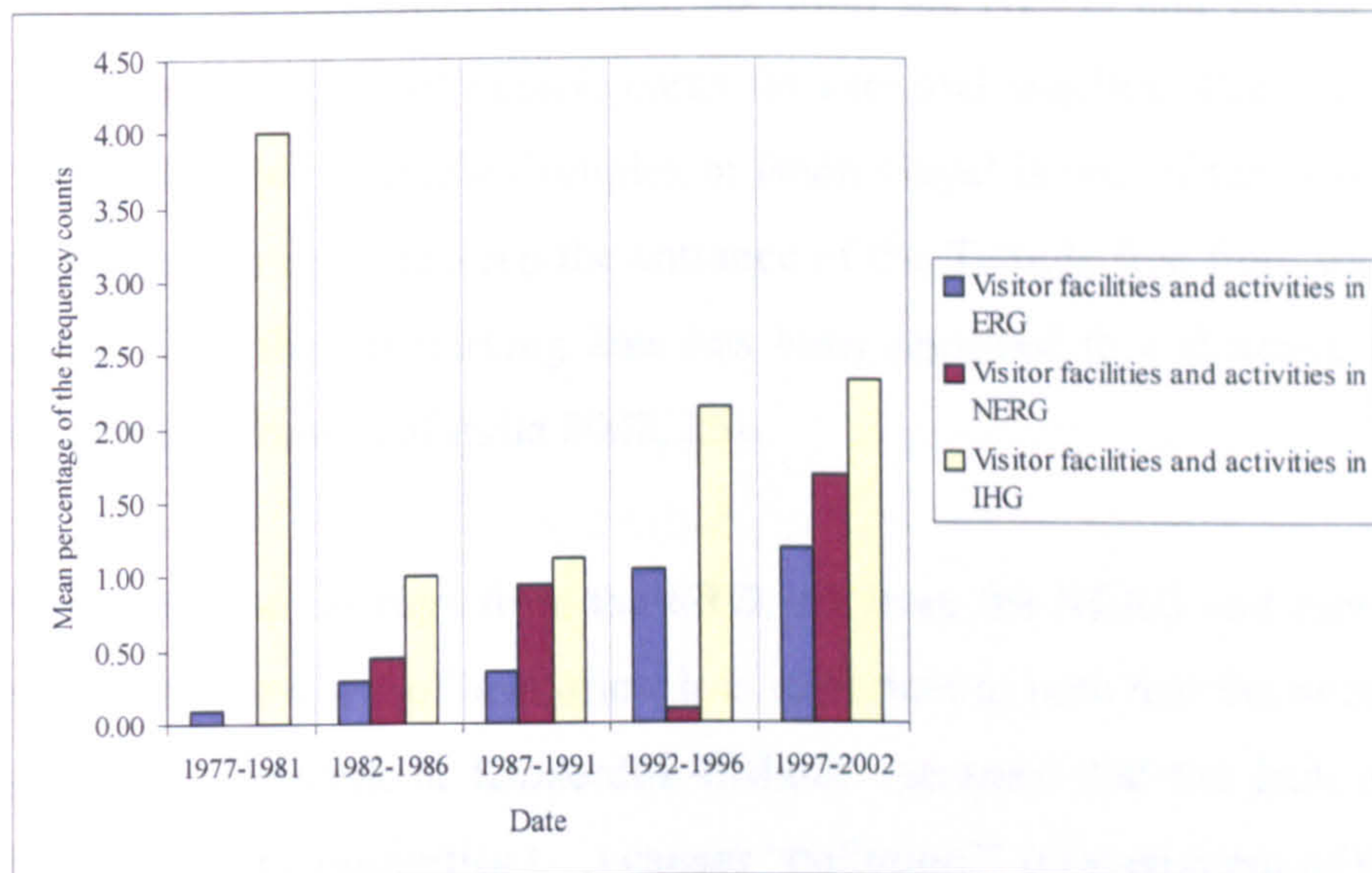


Figure 6.2.B. Mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘visitor facilities and activities’ for the three groups of cultural heritage

The mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘visitor facilities and activities’ reach a maximum at 4% for the IHG during the 1977-1981 period. The mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of this sub-category reach their highest peak for the NERG and ERG at 1.68% and 1.18% respectively during the period 1997-2002. During this period, the mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of this sub-category also reach their second highest peak for the IHG at 2.32%. The changes in the 1997 format of nomination dossiers might therefore have had the consequence of increasing the overall proportion of nomination dossier dedicated to this value. Nonetheless the proportion dedicated is rather small, since less than 2.50% of nomination dossiers have been dedicated to this value between 1997 and 2002.

6.3.1. The provision of basic facilities

ICOMOS stresses that two services are ‘crucial to visitor comfort’ and ‘must be provided on a cultural site’: vehicular parking and toilets (1994, 21-22). These requirements might be seen as a commodification and ‘standardization’ (Choay 2001a, 153) of cultural heritage sites. However, un-managed tourism is dangerous and

can lead to the destruction of sites (see Chapter 7, Section 7.3.2.). Only seven nomination dossiers from the ERG, six from the NERG and eleven from the IHG mention the provision of vehicle parks for cars and coaches. The nomination dossier of the 'Mahabodhi Temple Complex at Bodh Gaya' is one of the best examples as it stresses that 'in order to keep the entrance of the Temple free from traffic congestion and pollution, the car parking area has been removed to a distance away from the temple' (Government of India 2002, 25).

Four nomination dossiers from the ERG, six from the NERG and nine from the IHG mention the provision of lavatories. It is important to note that the nomination dossier of the 'Mill Network at Kinderdijk-Elshout' 'stresses that the lack of lavatories in some parts of the properties (...) causes "pollution"' (Government of the Netherlands 1996, 65). However, the lack of these basic facilities in some sites might be compensated for by the provision of cafes, bars, restaurants and accommodation facilities which also provide these conveniences. Seventeen nomination dossiers from the ERG, nine from the NERG and fifteen from the IHG mention the provision of accommodation and catering facilities for visitors including hotels, restaurants, cafes and bars. Most descriptions of visitor facilities from the data set are not precise and detailed. This is partly due to the fact that, until 1997, the Operational Guidelines did not request States Parties to detail their tourism infrastructures in their nomination dossiers.

It has to be noted that some nomination dossiers stress that the development of tourism facilities has been controlled and that they have been developed in specific areas of the town. The nomination dossiers of 'Norbulingka' (Government of China 2000a) and the 'Mahabodhi Temple Complex at Bodh Gaya' (Government of India 2002), for instance, stress that visitor facilities were constructed with careful attention so as not to cause a negative impact on the townscape. This respects guidelines on tourism development such as those of ICOMOS that state that 'The construction and location of all the elements of visitor services must combine convenience to the visitors with minimal impact to the visual image and the historic character and fabric of the site' (1994, 21). However, not all nomination dossiers mention that the development of visitor facilities has been conducted carefully and with respect for the

site. This idea will be further detailed in the next Chapter in the Section 'factors affecting the site'.

6.3.2. Interpretative policies

Feilden and Jokilehto (1998, 100-102), Pedersen (2002, 68) and ICOMOS (1994, 71-77) stress the importance of providing some interpretation of the values of the site. As far as Brooks and ICOMOS are concerned, the lack of adequate interpretative policies is dangerous as it 'can lead to a lack of understanding and appreciation of the culture and heritage of the place within the wider community. This lack of awareness can hinder or prevent the development of public, political and governmental support and funding to protect and conserve the place' (Brooks 2002). Twenty-one out of twenty-five nomination dossiers from the ERG, thirteen out of sixteen from the NERG and twenty-three out of twenty-seven from the IHG mention the provisions of on-site interpretation. The interpretative facilities are diverse and include the provision of written guide books as is explained in the nomination dossier of the 'Monastic Island of Reichenau' (Government of Germany 1999a), 'Assisi, the Basilica of San Francesco and other Franciscan Sites' (Government of Italy 1999) for the ERG and the dossier of 'Las Médulas' (Government of Spain 1996a) and 'Mount Qincheng and the Dujiangyan Irrigation System' (Government of China 1999c) for the IHG. These facilities also include guided tours as illustrated in the nomination dossier of the 'Maulbronn Monastery Complex' (Government of Germany 1991b) from the ERG, 'Dazu Rock Carvings' (Government of China 1998) from the NERG and the 'Völklingen Ironworks' (Government of Germany 1993) from the IHG. Whilst Feilden and Jokilehto stress that 'the aims of the interpretation of the heritage need to be clearly established' (1998, 100), no nomination dossier explains whether such aims have been defined and what the interpretative policies are intended to achieve as well as what information about the site the policies want to convey.

Brooks and ICOMOS warns that 'the use of guides and interpreters from outside a host community can minimise opportunities for the employment of local people in the communication of the significance of the place to visitors' (2002). As previously indicated in Chapter 5 (Section 5.8.2.) only five nomination dossiers from the ERG, three from the NERG and three from the IHG indicate that members of the local

community are participating in the interpretation of the site or using it for traditional celebrations.

6.3.3. Provision of facilities for disabled visitors

ICOMOS stresses the need to provide facilities for disabled visitors (1994, 77-78). It should be noted that the notion of disability can change according to culture. Two nomination dossiers from the ERG, three from the NERG and five from the IHG mention the provision of facilities for disabled visitors. This includes the provision of disabled access to the Mill Network at Kinderdijk-Elshout (Government of the Netherlands 1996) and Las Médulas (Government of Spain 1996a) and the provision of disabled toilets at Saltaire (Government of the United Kingdom 2000c) and New Lanark (Government of the United Kingdom 2000b). The nomination dossier of the 'Yungang Grottoes' indicates that 'the disabled are allowed to visit the grottoes and receive services from tourist guides free of charge' (Government of China 2000b, 24). However, none of these nomination dossiers further defines disability nor gives more information on these free services. This omission of mention of disabled people and/or lack of provision of facilities for them echoes Feilden and Jokilehto (1998) who do not mention the need to provide facilities for them.

6.4. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of 'development project/regeneration'

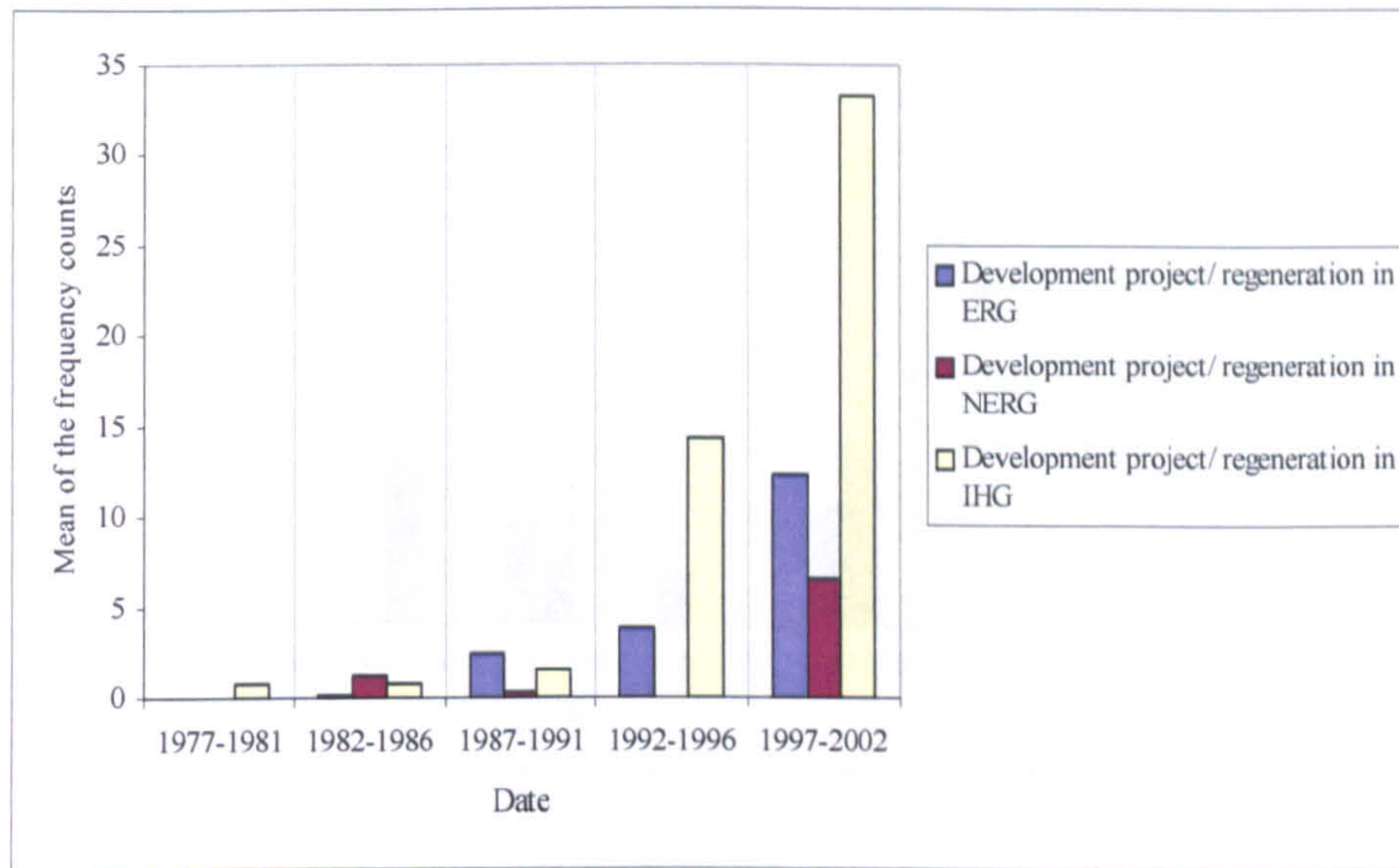


Figure 6.3.A. Means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of 'development project/regeneration' for the three groups of cultural heritage

From 1980 onwards the revised version of the Operational Guidelines has requested States Parties to detail development plans that would affect the property in their nomination dossiers. Nonetheless, as illustrated by Figure 6.3.A., this sub-category is not overtly mentioned in nomination dossiers, on average, until the 1997-2002 period. Eighteen nomination dossiers from the ERG, seventeen from the NERG and six from the IHG that have been submitted to the World Heritage Centre between 1981 and 1997 do not mention this sub-category at all. However, all properties nominated from 1998 onwards mention this sub-category except the 'Jokhang Temple Monastery' (Government of China 1999a) and 'Norbulingka' (Government of China 2000a). The means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of this sub-category gradually increase for the ERG and IHG from 1977 to 2002. The evolution of the means of the frequency counts for the NERG is more irregular. This sub-category reaches its peak for the three groups of cultural heritage considered during the 1997-2002 period at thirty-three sentences for the IHG, twelve sentences for the ERG and six sentences for the NERG.

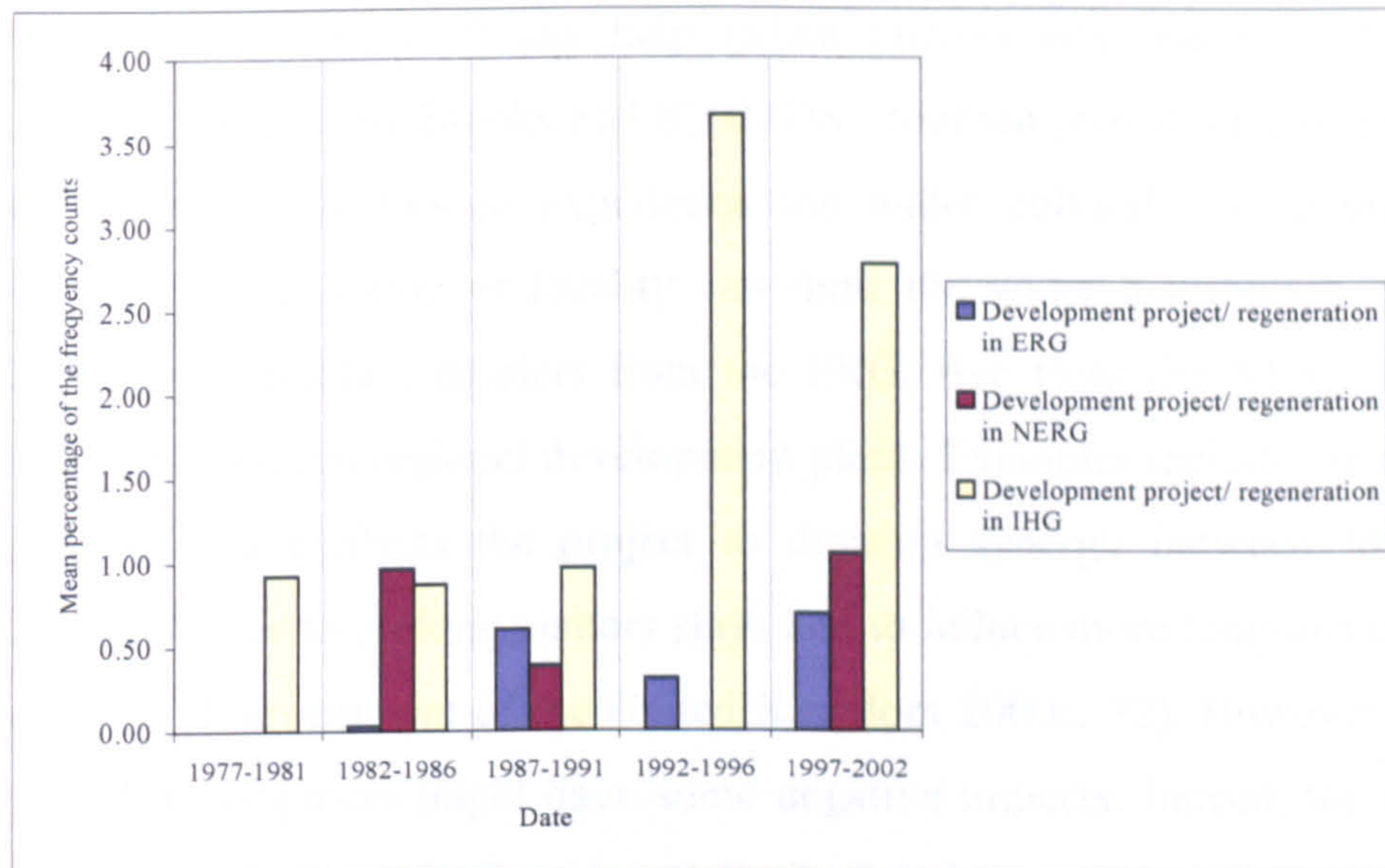


Figure 6.3.B. Mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘development project/regeneration’ for the three groups of cultural heritage

As illustrated by Figure 6.3.B. the highest mean percentage of the frequency count of the occurrence of ‘development project/regeneration’ is reached at 3.66% for the IHG during the 1992-1996 period. The second highest peak is reached by the IHG in the 1997-2002 period at an average of 2.78% per nomination dossier. As illustrated by Figure 6.3.B. an important difference in scale can be noted between the percentages for the IHG, on the one hand, and the percentages for the other two groups of cultural heritage, on the other. Indeed, the highest peak for the two other groups of cultural heritage only reaches 1.05% for the NERG in the 1997-2002 period. This discrepancy might be due to the fact that development projects are more relevant for industrial heritage sites than for religious sites. Indeed some industrial sites have lost their original function and are being converted into heritage places and used for the development/regeneration of their region. On the other hand, most of the religious sites studied in this thesis have kept their original function.

6.4.1. The importance/danger of regional development

Feilden and Jokilehto (1998, 102) and the Australian Heritage Commission (2001) stress the importance of developing tourism policies at regional levels to reduce excessive visitor pressures on one specific site. Regional development has important

financial repercussions as it can help extant visitors stay and encourage greater spending. As stressed by Brooks and ICOMOS, 'tourism promotion programmes that do not encourage visitors to experience the wider cultural and natural heritage characteristics of a region or locality can limit the wider distribution of benefits' (2002). Nine nomination dossiers from the ERG, five from the NERG and twelve from the IHG mention regional development plans. Examples include the nomination of 'Saltaire' that explains the project to develop synergy between 'the region's attractions in order to prolong visitors stays and to induce more long-distance visitors to the region' (Government of the United Kingdom 2000c, 72). However this policy of regional development might have some negative impacts. Indeed, the nomination of the 'Mahabodhi Temple Complex at Bodh Gaya' for instance, stresses that plans are under consideration for the construction of an airport near the site (Government of India 2002). This major regional development might have some negative effects including increased pollution and vibration. This nomination dossier does not indicate how close this planned airport will be to the nominated property and does not present the possible negative effects of such a construction.

6.4.2. Sustainable development

The concept of sustainable development has been heralded in a number of conferences by the UN and by a number of UN specialised agencies, in particular the World Commission on Environment and Development, but also UNESCO and the World Heritage Centre (Southgate and Sharpley 2002, 242). The definition provided by the Brundtland Report *Our Common Future* (World Commission on Environment and Development 1987) has been widely quoted (see for instance Southgate and Sharpley 2002, 240; Ashley-Smith 2002, 4; Dresner 2002, 31; McNeill 2000, 11). This report stresses that development is sustainable when it 'meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs' (World Commission on Environment and Development 1987, 8). Eleven nomination dossiers from the ERG, seven from the NERG and fifteen from the IHG stress the fact that the development of the site is based on a respect for and protection of the cultural heritage. One example is the nomination dossier of 'Tiwanaku' from the NERG which describes the plans that have been developed with the assistance of the Interamerican Bank of Development (Government of Bolivia 1999). Its specific

objectives are centred around a better protection of the site and management of tourism, including the improvement of the presentation and interpretation of the site and building protective structures, the development of the infrastructure, services and reception centre for visitors and the increase and improvement of staffing (ibid.). The nomination dossier of the 'Neolithic Flint Mines at Spiennes' in Belgium is interesting as it is the only one to stress the difficulty of reaching a 'fragile balance' between the development of the site and its conservation (Government of Belgium 1999a, 49).

A number of academics and professionals, including Telfer (2002,131), Müller (1997, 33), Timothy and Boyd (2003, 179-183), Shaw and Williams (2004, 301-302), the World Bank (2001, 47-48) and Timothy (2002, 149) have stressed that sustainable development can only be achieved by letting local communities share in the development process. This idea has also been stressed in *Agenda 21* adopted during the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in June 1992 which is 'a comprehensive plan of action to be taken globally, nationally and locally by organizations of the United Nations System, Governments, and Major Groups in every area in which humans impact on the environment', in particular in Chapter 3 'Combating Poverty' (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs 1992).

Only one nomination dossier, the 'Catalan Romanesque Churches of the Vall de Boi' provides detailed information on the benefit of the development of tourism for the local population (Government of Spain 2000). This dossier indicates that the local population used to live badly and in poor conditions, relying on agricultural activities. However, this local population is increasingly working in the tertiary sector and provides tourism activities such as guided tours or lodging for tourists. This dossier stresses that the development of tourism in the valley will hence primarily benefit the local population. Findings that development projects do not benefit the local population socially and economically have also been stressed in theoretical literature. Telfer, taking the example of Cancún (Mexico), stresses that 'The distance continues to grow between local winners and the remaining population, which has been impoverished by national and regional economic crises, and the vast majority of the Mexicans in the region have not benefited from the development in Cancún' (2002,

131). The difficulties of sustainable development and community participation have also been stressed by Fennell (2003, 15) and Smith and Duffy (2003, 139).

6.4.3. Re-use of cultural heritage; cultural heritage as a regenerative factor

Eight nomination dossiers from the IHG mention plans to regenerate or re-use the site. Therefore, the industrial past is being used as the industry and job-creator of the future. The Ironbridge Gorge has been regenerated and described in its nomination dossier as a site that underwent 'a far-reaching programme of building conservation' which has brought 'a renewal of commercial activity, and is now an attractive residential area' (Government of the United Kingdom 1985a, 14). However, this property has been criticised in cultural heritage literature (see Walsh 1992, 95; Hewison 1987, 93; Boniface 1995, 44; West 1988, 36-60) for having been overtly commercialised with 'craft shops, antique shops, and the endless knick-knack emporiums that all sell the very same glitzy junk' (West 1988, 55). According to Boniface, the Ironbridge Gorge through this commercialisation, has lost its 'integrity, its "soul"' (1995, 44). None of the nomination dossiers that mention plans for the regeneration or re-use of the site explain how the changes will be undertaken and how the 'soul' of the property will be preserved in this transformation. This is the case of the nomination dossier of the 'Völklingen Ironworks' for example, which stresses that the ironworks will be preserved as an industrial museum without providing any more details (Government of Germany 1993).

6.4.4. Interpretative projects

Another nomination dossier from the IHG, 'Blaenavon Industrial Landscape' indicates plans for increased on-site interpretative activities. This document indicates that 're-enactment of nineteenth century work, living conditions and play will be considered' (Government of the United Kingdom 1999, 56). Feilden and Jokilehto encourage the use of actors and re-enactment because this form of interpretation is better understood by children (1998, 102). Nonetheless, according to Potter, no study has ever been conducted on how visitors benefit from these types of interpretation (1997, 38). It is therefore difficult to assess whether this is the best way of communicating the values of the site to adults and children. Moreover, Copeland

stresses the importance of enabling children to ‘ask a range of questions to make their own construction of the interpretation’ (2004, 35). It is rather unfortunate that the dossier of the ‘Blaenavon Industrial Landscape’ did not further detail how this re-enactment of nineteenth-century work will be organised, its educational dimension and whether it is intended that this re-enactment should help children and adults to develop their critical understanding of the past.

6.5. Summaries and conclusions

This chapter has made a number of key findings. It has highlighted that the sentences related to economic values are rather marginalised in nomination dossiers in comparison to other values analysed in previous chapters such as architectural value. Indeed, none of the values considered in Chapter 6 represent more than 4% of the sampled nomination dossiers over time and for the three groups of cultural heritage considered. This is an original finding. Indeed, previous theoretical publications on World Heritage that have been presented in Chapter 2 have insisted on the central importance of the economic value of World Heritage sites. This chapter has underlined a number of reasons for this lack of mention of economic values in nomination dossiers, including poor understandings of concepts such as the explanation of the carrying capacity of the site.

Qualitatively, this chapter has also revealed that some representations of tourism mirror that of the past and the nation. Indeed sentences related to the description of tourism patterns at sites reinforce concepts and ideas linked to the continuity, coherence and stability of the nation that were already identified in Chapter 4. A fundamental and original finding has therefore been made in Chapter 6: that the representation of economic value in nomination dossiers helps to strengthen the construction or reaffirmation of a national collective identity based on images of tradition, cohesion, unity and continuity. This chapter also confirms that this construction marginalises some categories of the population as was already highlighted in Chapter 5. Indeed, a total of only ten nomination dossiers across the three groups of cultural heritage considered mention the provision of facilities for disabled visitors and tourists.

This chapter is also of fundamental importance as it confirms the gap between the World Heritage Committee's recommendations and their implementation at national level. Indeed, whilst the World Heritage Committee has encouraged sites to be managed and developed in a sustainable manner as further developed in Chapter 1, only one of all the nomination dossiers analysed, the 'Catalan Romanesque Churches of the Vall de Boi' in Spain, describes a sustainable model where the economic development of the site is planned to benefit the local population.

CHAPTER 7: REPRESENTATION OF AUTHENTICITY, FACTORS AFFECTING THE SITE, CONSERVATION/PRESERVATION, RESTORATION, RECONSTRUCTION AND ADAPTATION/RE-USE OF THE SITE

7.1. Introduction

This chapter analyses quantitatively and qualitatively the results of the coding of the categories relating to the degree of authenticity, the factors affecting the site, the state of conservation/preservation, restoration, reconstruction and level of adaptation/re-use of the site. As further detailed in Chapter 1 (see Section 1.2.3.), the state of conservation and the degree of authenticity of the nominated site are key, essential aspects for its inclusion on the World Heritage List. The importance of these issues justifies the dedication of a whole chapter to them. A number of references on this theme have been published by the World Heritage Centre, or organisations working in collaboration with it. These references have been used as guidelines for the qualitative interpretation of the results of the data analysis.

7.2. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of ‘authenticity’

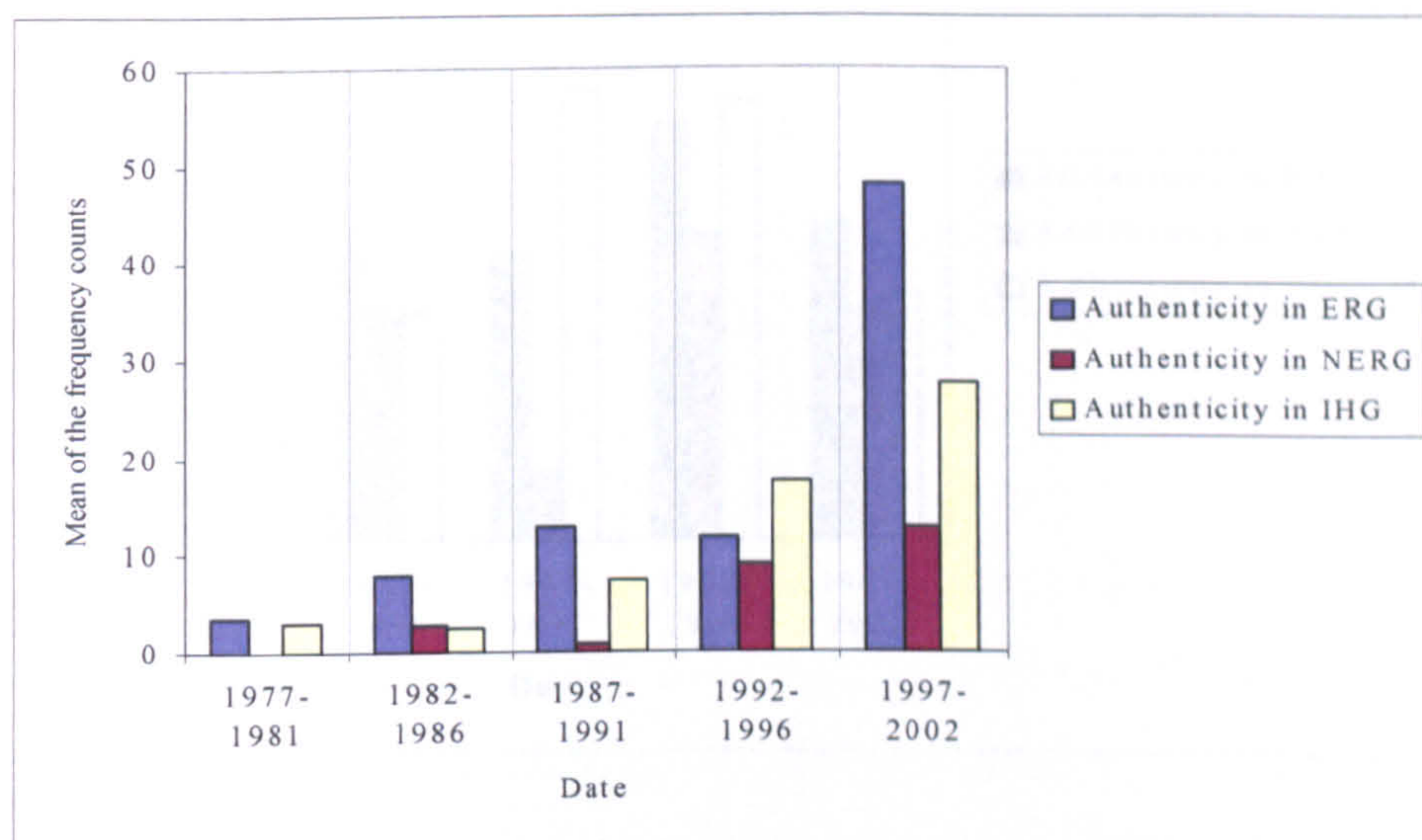


Figure 7.1.A. Means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘authenticity’ for the three groups of cultural heritage

As explained in Chapter 1, authenticity has always been an essential additional criterion that nominated sites should fulfil. Only three nomination dossiers from the ERG, four from the NERG and two from the IHG do not mention this sub-category from 1977 to 2002. However, it is surprising to note that mentions of this essential criterion do not reach more than seventeen sentences per nomination dossier up to the 1997-2002 period. The means of the frequency counts for this sub-category are very low for the NERG and only reach a maximum at three sentences during the period 1977-1991. This result confirms von Droste and Bertilsson’s statement that explanations of the authenticity of properties in nomination dossiers were very succinct in the first twenty years of the implementation of the World Heritage Convention (1995, 5).

This sub-category however reaches higher levels during the period 1997-2002 with averages at forty-eight sentences per nomination dossier for the ERG, twenty-eight sentences for the IHG, and thirteen sentences for the NERG. This increase in the mention of authenticity in nomination dossiers might be due to a better understanding of this notion by States Parties following the Nara Conference on Authenticity and the publication of its proceedings (see Chapter 1, Section 1.4.4.).

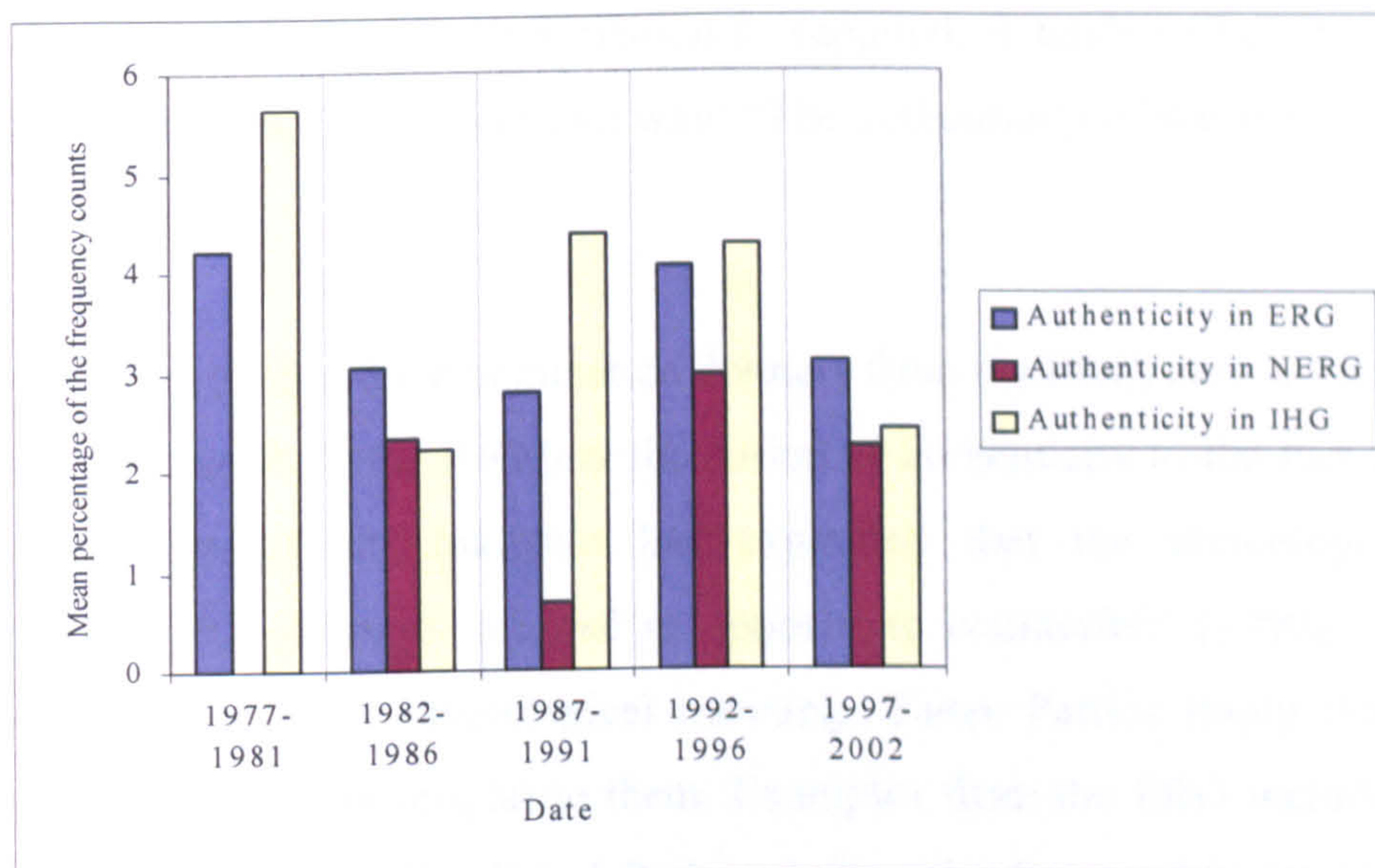


Figure 7.1.B. Mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘authenticity’ for the three groups of cultural heritage

As demonstrated by Figure 7.1.B. the mean percentages for the period 1997-2002 are rather small for the three groups of cultural heritage considered, especially if compared to the mean percentages for other periods. During this 1997-2002 period, the mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of this sub-category only reach, at their maximum, 3.11% in nomination dossiers of the ERG. Although the means of the frequency counts for this sub-category are higher in the 1997-2002 period, their average proportions in nomination dossiers have decreased in comparison to other sub-categories such as ‘comparison with other sites’ (see Chapter 4, Section 4.13.).

7.2.1. Authenticity as originality

A number of intellectuals reflecting on the notion of authenticity applied in the context of the implementation of the World Heritage Convention have stressed that States Parties have had problems understanding this concept (see von Droste and Bertilsson 1995, 4-5; Holtorf and Schadla-Hall 1999, 234; Stovel 1995, xxxiii; Cleere 1995b, 60). Following an analysis of the 306 properties that were inscribed on the World Heritage List as of 1994, von Droste and Bertilsson stress that ‘the most common observation is that the matter has not been brought forward at all, and in the

few cases where some information is supplied, it tends to be very short and to be formulated in a rather succinct way: “The authenticity of the site is unquestionable” (1995, 4-5).

However twenty-three nomination dossiers from the ERG, eleven from the NERG and twenty-two from the IHG link the notion of authenticity to the fact that the site is in its original form. Jokilehto has explained that the etymological meaning of authenticity refers to ‘original as opposed to counterfeit’ (1999a, 296). By linking authenticity to its etymological meaning, States Parties imply that this notion of authenticity is meaningful to them. Examples from the ERG include the nomination dossier of the ‘Studley Royal Park including the Ruins of Fountains Abbey Studley Royal Park’ which stresses that this is ‘one of the few great 18th century “green gardens” to survive substantially in its original form’ (Government of the United Kingdom 1986, 1). The nomination dossier of the ‘Yungang Grottoes’ from the NERG stresses that ‘the principle of “keeping things in their original shapes” has been strictly observed, that is, utmost efforts have been made to maintain the authenticity of the cultural heritage’ (Government of China 2000b, 28). Examples from the IHG include the nomination dossier of the ‘Völklingen Ironworks’ which stresses that ‘the plant (...) is fully preserved in its original form, with the exception of minor modernizations’ (Government of Germany 1993, 3). These examples demonstrate that ‘originality’ also refers to the site having been frozen in time and being exactly the same as when it was built. According to Krishna Menon this is a Western way of understanding authenticity (1994, 39). This representation of authenticity in nomination dossiers is likely to be a direct result of its Western definition provided in the Operational Guidelines.

7.2.2. Authenticity as change

It is interesting to note that four nomination dossiers from the ERG [‘Durham Castle and Cathedral’ (Government of the United Kingdom 1985b), the ‘Flemish Béguinages’ (Government of Belgium 1997a), ‘Notre-Dame Cathedral in Tournai’ (Government of Belgium 1999b) and the ‘Monastic Island of Reichenau’ (Government of Germany 1999a)] and five from the IHG [the ‘Canal du Midi’ (Government of France 1995), ‘Verla Groundwood and Board Mill’ (Government of

Finland 1995), 'Blaenavon Industrial Landscape' (Government of the United Kingdom 1999), 'Saltaire' (Government of the United Kingdom 2000c) and 'New Lanark' (Government of the United Kingdom 2000b)] also mention authenticity as a dynamic concept resulting from different historic changes in the construction. Six of these nomination dossiers have been submitted after 1994 and might reflect the impacts of the Nara Conference and Document. The nomination dossier of 'Notre-Dame Cathedral in Tournai', for instance, does not stress that the building has been conserved in its original form, frozen in time (Government of Belgium 1999b). On the contrary, it stresses that this monument followed a similar history to most medieval churches of the region, that is, it was subject to gradual adaptations and additions due to new functions and fashions followed by a campaign of restoration during the nineteenth century. The nomination dossier of 'Notre-Dame Cathedral in Tournai' concludes that the authenticity of the monument should be evaluated in the light of the different campaigns of restoration and reconstruction of the monument to understand, *inter alia*, how they were undertaken and what were the materials used. Analyses of references to restoration and reconstruction in nomination dossiers are presented in Sections 7.5 and 7.6.

Another example is the nomination dossier of 'New Lanark' which stresses that Mill 2 has been subject to change and widening over the centuries. This document stresses that 'the Venice Charter and Nara Document on Authenticity remind us that the widening of the mill is an essential part of the story of New Lanark' (Government of the United Kingdom 2000b, 56). These examples demonstrate that the concept of authenticity might have been understood and explained in a more flexible manner in recent nomination dossiers than previously. As explained by Melucco Vaccaro, buildings are hardly ever frozen in time as they 'rarely come to light in the state in which they left the hands of their creators; they have usually been tampered with, altered, restored, re-used, and adapted' (1996, 202). She goes on to stress that these changes have also ensured buildings' survival for future generations (1996, 203). Defining authenticity as a dynamic concept resulting from the different historic changes in buildings might therefore be closer to the actual history of most buildings than defining it as static, original and frozen in time. This definition of authenticity as synonymous with change is also increasingly mentioned in cultural heritage literature on authenticity (see, for example, Ashley-Smith 2002, 5).

It is important to note that these nine nomination dossiers that define authenticity as involving change and being a dynamic notion are located in Europe. This is rather surprising considering that the Nara Conference on Authenticity was organised, *inter alia*, to take better consideration of authenticity in non-European contexts (see Chapter 1, Section 1.4.4.). These references to the debates held during the Nara Conference in European nomination dossiers might demonstrate a willingness to acknowledge other viewpoints and understandings of authenticity. They might also be due to the fact that the proceedings of this conference have only been published in English and French (see Larsen 1995). This notion of authenticity has been further discussed in the following sections, in particular in the section analysing qualitatively the sub-category 'restoration'.

7.3. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of ‘factors affecting the site’

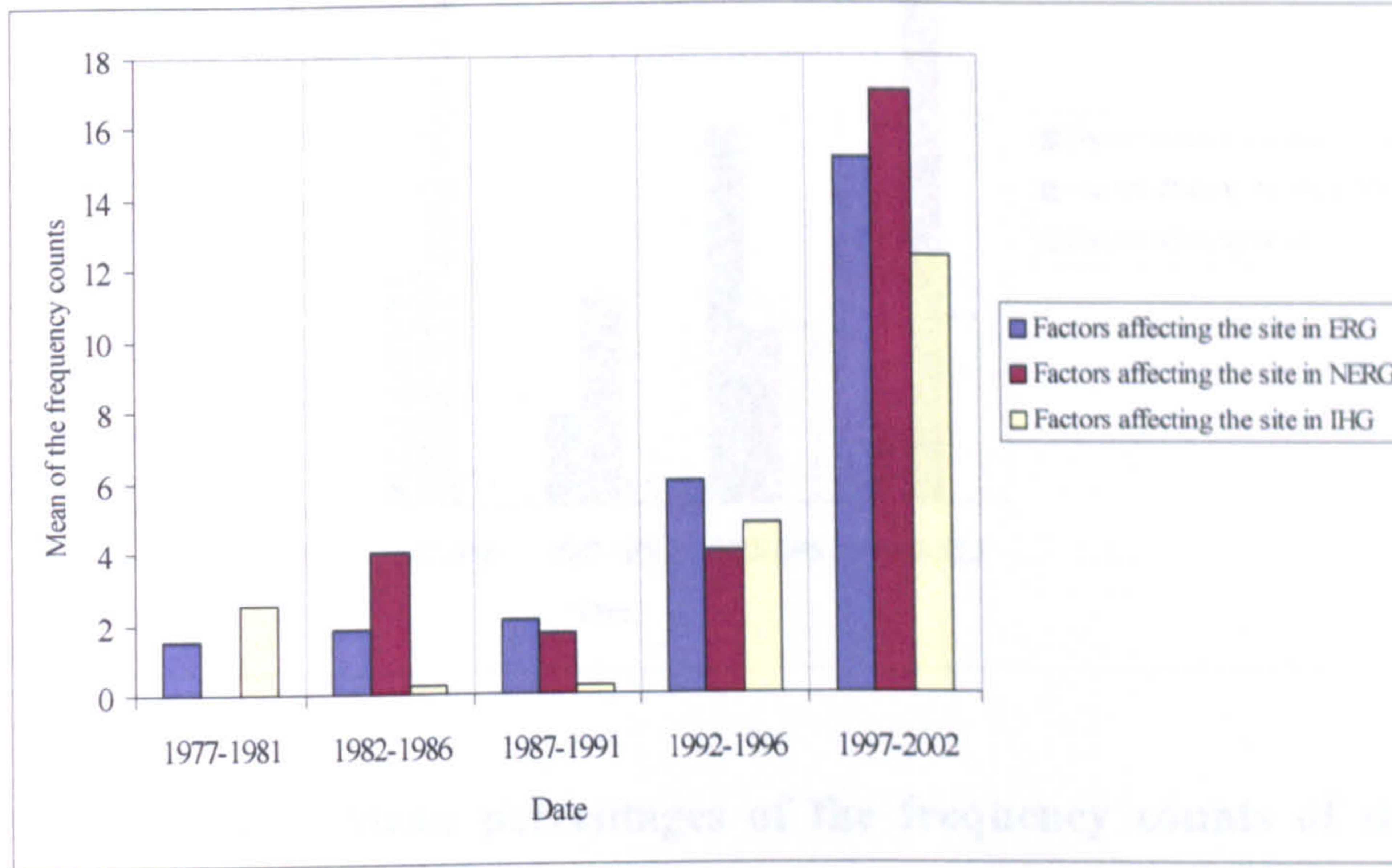


Figure 7.2.A. Means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘factors affecting the site’ for the three groups of cultural heritage

As illustrated by Figure 7.2.A., the means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘factors affecting the site’ do not reach higher than six sentences until 1996 for the three groups of cultural heritage considered. However, in the 1997-2002 period the means of the frequency counts of this sub-category attain higher levels for the three groups considered, with peaks at seventeen sentences for the NERG, fifteen sentences for the ERG and twelve sentences for the IHG. These increased references to the factors affecting the nominated sites might reflect the 1997 revision of the Operational Guidelines and the added request to States Parties to provide information on the different factors affecting the site in their nomination dossiers. Information requested includes details on development plans, environmental pressures, pressures from tourism and inhabitants within the nominated site and potential natural disasters. It is important to note that the factors affecting the nominated property are detailed in all the nominated properties from 1998 onwards.

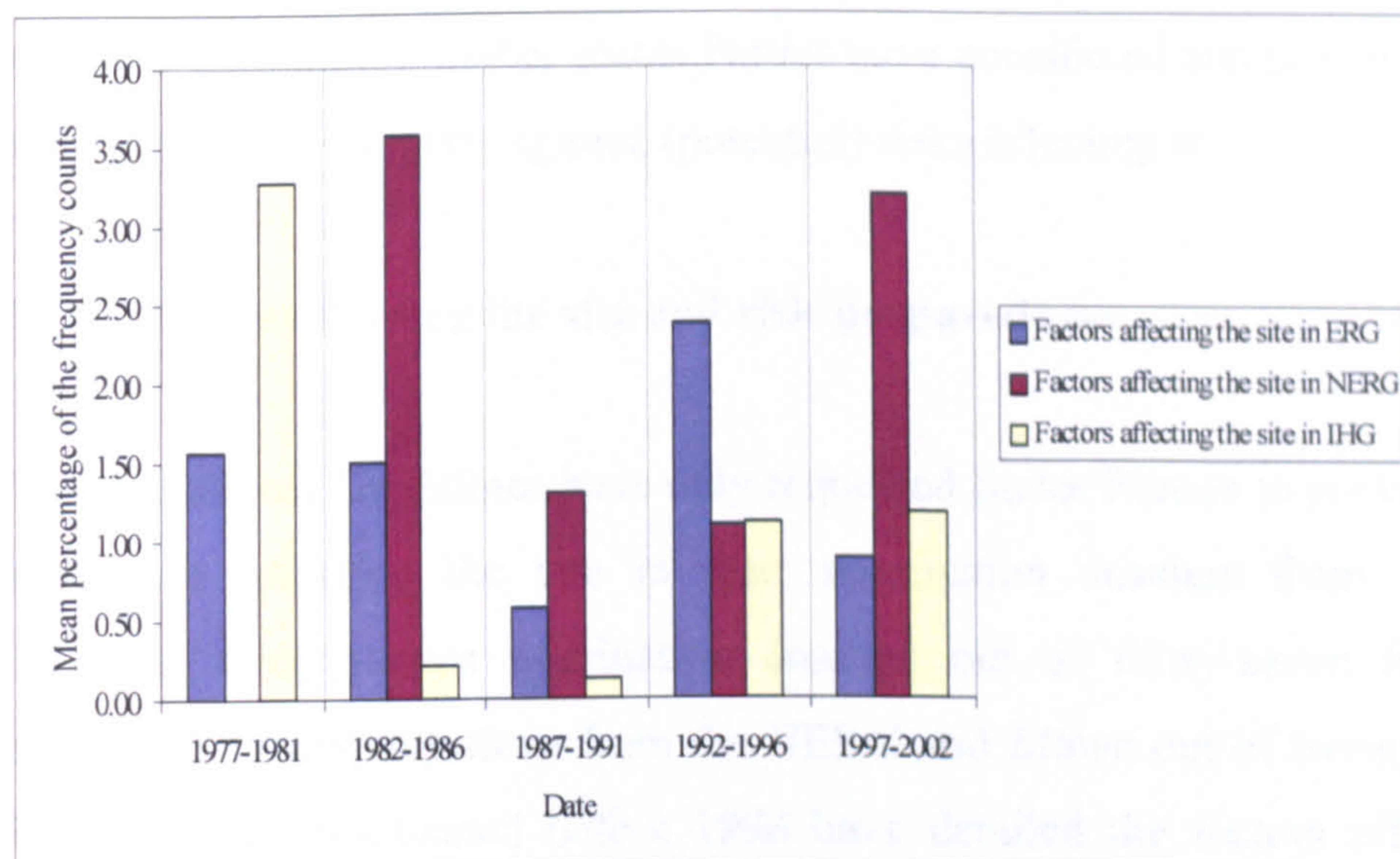


Figure 7.2.B. Mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘factors affecting the site’ for the three groups of cultural heritage

Figure 7.2.B. shows that, during the 1997-2002 period and in comparison to the 1987-1996 period, the mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of this sub-category increase for the NERG and, to a lesser extent, for the IHG. Indeed, during this 1997-2002 period, the mean percentages of the frequency counts reach 3.20% for the NERG and 1.18% for the IHG. This increase in the average proportion covered by this sub-category in the nomination dossiers of the NERG and IHG might be due to the revision of the Operational Guidelines which request States Parties to provide information on factors affecting the site in their nomination dossiers as indicated in Chapter 3, Table 3.2. On the other hand, a sharp decrease of the mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of this sub-category can be noted for the ERG from 1992-1996 when it reached 2.37% to the 1997-2002 period when it reached only 0.89%.

The qualitative analysis examines the different factors that are described in nomination dossiers as affecting properties. The qualitative interpretation for risk-preparedness and strategies taken to remedy the factors affecting the site are included here despite the fact that it has been coded under the sub-category: ‘conservation/preservation’. Analyses of the references to risk-preparedness has

helped to determine whether States Parties have considered and prepared plans for the protection of the property against (potential) risks affecting it.

7.3.1. Factors affecting the site and risk-preparedness

The Operational Guidelines have only requested States Parties to provide information on factors affecting the site in their nomination dossiers from 1998 onwards. However, twenty-seven nomination dossiers out of thirty-seven from the ERG, eighteen out of twenty-three from the NERG and fifteen out of twenty-five from the IHG that were nominated before 1998 have detailed the factors affecting the site. These factors identified are diverse and different according to each site. All these nomination dossiers submitted before 1998 tend to focus on a single major negative factor. This includes weathering of the stones due to environmental conditions as detailed in the nomination dossiers of the 'Group of Monuments at Mahabalipuram' (Government of India 1983) and the 'Churches and Convents of Goa' (Government of India 1982c) both from India and located in a monsoon zone. The nomination dossier of the 'Group of Monuments at Mahabalipuram' indicates the problems to the Shore Temple which is located right on the sea shore and vulnerable from waves and high velocity winds during monsoons. Due to these environmental conditions, the stones and the carvings have weathered to such an extent that all the sculptural wealth and carvings have been lost over the centuries (Government of India 1983, 4). This nomination dossier stresses that a comprehensive programme of structural repairs of this temple has been undertaken. This site was nominated and inscribed on the World Heritage List under criteria (i) and (ii) for its aesthetic and architectural values. Nonetheless this nomination dossier does not explain whether and how the weathering of the sculptures has affected these values. Neither the evaluation from ICOMOS nor the report of the World Heritage Committee refers to this problem of a change of values (May 1984; UNESCO December 1985).

Four nomination dossiers from the IHG nominated before 1998 namely 'Røros' (Government of Norway 1978), the 'Engelsberg Ironworks' (Government of Sweden 1989a), the 'Völklingen Ironworks' (Government of Germany 1993) and 'Crespi d'Adda' (Government of Italy 1994), stress that the main factor affecting the site is the partial or full cessation of industrial activity with portions of the industrial

property being abandoned. One nomination dossier, the 'Völklingen Ironworks', stresses the problems associated with the conservation of industrial heritage sites since 'The cooling down of a plant which was once operated at permanently high temperatures causes "reverse" reactions for which the steel used in construction is unprepared' (Government of Germany 1993, 6). This nomination dossier stresses that finding conservation measures to counter this process remains a challenge.

From 1977 to 1998, fifteen nomination dossiers from the ERG, thirteen from the NERG and four nomination dossiers from the IHG mention risk-preparedness and explain solutions taken against the factors affecting the site. Some of these policies seem to endanger the degree of authenticity of the site. For instance, the European nomination dossiers of 'Aachen Cathedral' (Government of Germany 1978) stresses that some of the statues and other parts of the building made of stone have suffered from weathering and have been replaced by copies. None of these nomination dossiers provide any information on whether and how the authenticity in material has been preserved. Neither is any explanation provided as to whether these replacements were undertaken in respect of the Venice Charter (Article 9) and the advice of Feilden and Jokilehto who stress that new material should be distinguished from original material 'so as not to fake or to mislead the observer' (1998, 67).

From 1998 onwards, nomination dossiers have tended to be more precise and encompassing in their descriptions of the factors affecting the site and the different risk-preparedness policies that have been adopted. Most nomination dossiers tend to follow the format of the nomination dossier provided in the Operational Guidelines and provide the requested information on development and environmental pressures, natural disasters and preparedness, visitor/tourism pressures, number of inhabitants within the property and other factors affecting the site. However, four nomination dossiers from the ERG, four from the NERG and three from the IHG that have been nominated after 1998 do not provide any information on risk-preparedness or solutions taken against the factors affecting the site. One nomination dossier, 'Dazu Rock Carvings', stresses that finding working solutions to some of the problems affecting sites is an arduous task (Government of China 1998).

7.3.2. Tourism as a factor affecting the site

Here a theme that was discussed previously in Chapter 6, namely the representation of tourism as a factor affecting the site, is explored further.

References concerning tourism tend to stress the ambivalence of this phenomenon as it can contribute positively to the socio-economic development of a region while at the same time to the degradation of the environment and the cultural heritage (see Brooks 2002; Feilden and Jokilehto 1998, 103; Melucco Vaccaro 1996, 206 and The World Bank 2001, 24). It is interesting to note nonetheless that Stovel, in his *Risk-Preparedness : A Management Manual for World Cultural Heritage* (1998) does not mention tourism as a factor affecting sites. Only nine nomination dossiers from the ERG, twelve from the NERG and four from the IHG mention the negative, even destructive, effect of tourism. The nomination dossier of 'Tiwanaku' for instance mentions the "touristic erosion" 'which leaves irreparable damages' (Government of Bolivia 1999). Examples of these 'irreparable damages' mentioned in this dossier include graffiti left by 'impolite visitors' (ibid.). Only a minority of these dossiers provide clear indications that preventive measures have been taken against the harmful behaviour of tourists. This is the case of the nomination dossier of 'Longmen Grottoes' which states that 'Notices to visitors have been set up in the sightseeing areas and guides and security personnel are at hand to serve visitors. So all visitors can enjoy themselves safely without any concern over possible danger to the cultural relics or to themselves' (Government of China 1999b, 47).

Whilst tourism is an important factor affecting the site it is also a risk that, unlike fire or earthquake, can be controlled by careful management of the property (Ashley-Smith 1999, 246). As indicated by Ashley-Smith, 'the effects of visitors on the building and its contents can be estimated using the Visitor Impact Assessment (VIA)' (1999, 251). Elements of the Visitor Impact Assessment include, *inter alia*, the ratio between the number of visitors and the established maximum visitor capacity, the recording of the wear and tear of visitors, the monitoring of the conditions of the building fabric and fixtures. Only one nomination dossier, that of the 'Mount Qincheng and the Dujiangyan Irrigation System', mentions that the impact of tourism

on the environment is being monitored (Government of China 1999c). These results demonstrate that the impacts of tourism are not presented in nomination dossiers as being carefully taken into account.

7.4. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of ‘conservation/preservation’

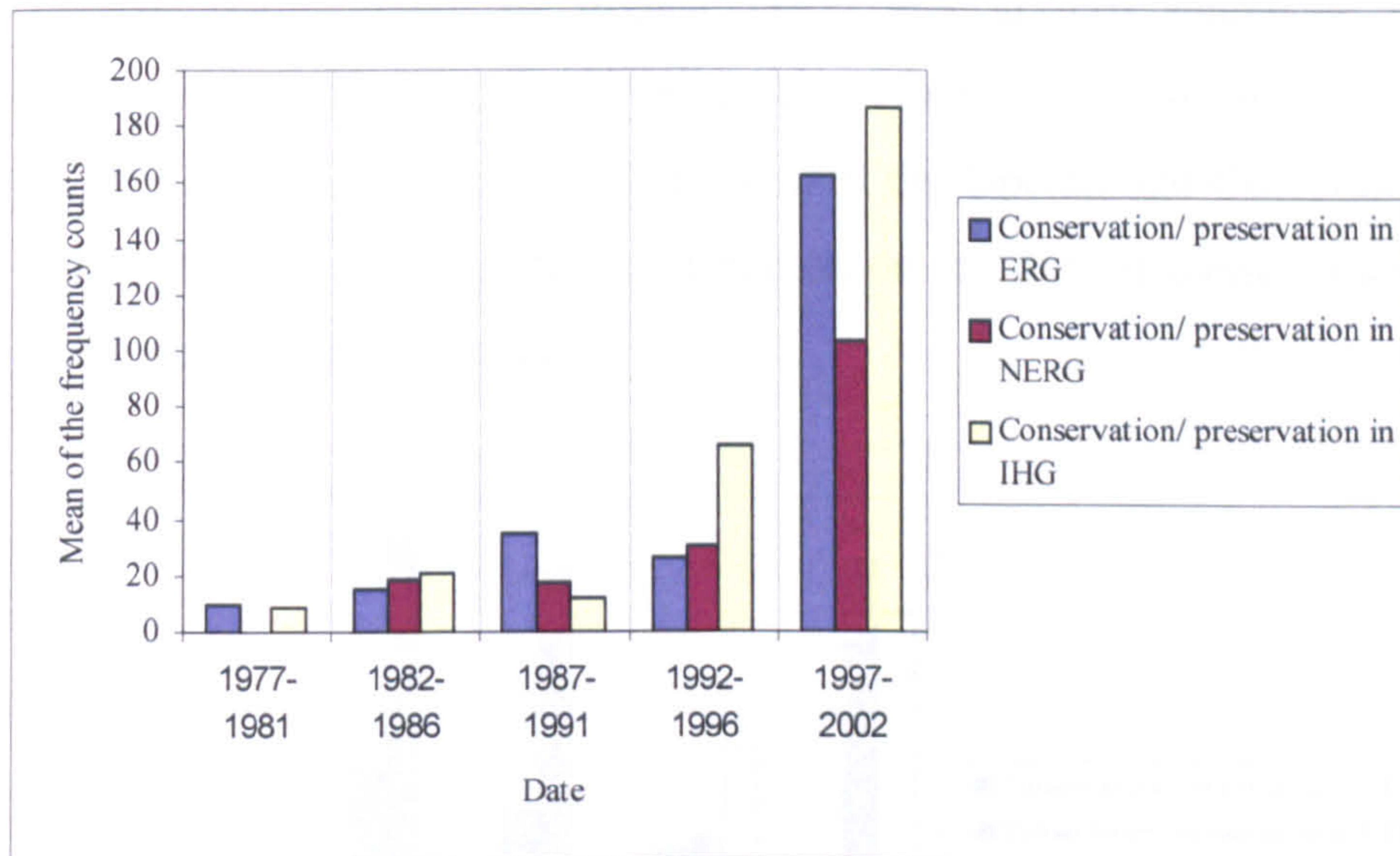


Figure 7.3.A. Means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘conservation/preservation’ for the three groups of cultural heritage

As detailed in Chapter 1, the different versions of the Operational Guidelines have stressed the importance of the state of conservation of the nominated property. As indicated in Chapter 3, Table 3.2, each successive format of the nomination dossier as provided in the Operational Guidelines has contained a section requesting information on the state of conservation or preservation of the property such as its ‘diagnosis’, ‘agent responsible for preservation and conservation’, ‘history of preservation/conservation’ or ‘measures for preservation/conservation’. From 1980 onwards, the Operational Guidelines have also requested States Parties to detail the legal and administrative protective measures for the conservation of nominated properties.

It is important to note that all the nomination dossiers studied refer to this sub-category. However, mentions of the state of preservation or conservation of the site do not reach more than sixty-seven sentences (IHG, 1992-1996) up to the 1997-2002 period. However, this sub-category reaches higher levels during the 1997-2002 period

with averages at 186 sentences for the IHG, 163 sentences for the ERG and 103 for the NERG. This is due to peaks for the IHG at 400 sentences for the ‘Derwent Valley Mills’ (Government of the United Kingdom 2000a) and 369 sentences for ‘Blaenavon Industrial Landscape’ (Government of the United Kingdom 1999). This is also due to peaks, for the ERG, at 585 sentences for the ‘Routes of Santiago de Compostela in France’ (Government of France 1997) and at 210 sentences for the ‘Catalan Romanesque Churches of the Vall de Boí’ (Government of Spain 2000). This increase might be the result of the 1997 revision of the Operational Guidelines which requests States Parties to provide new information on the state of conservation of sites such as details of their management.

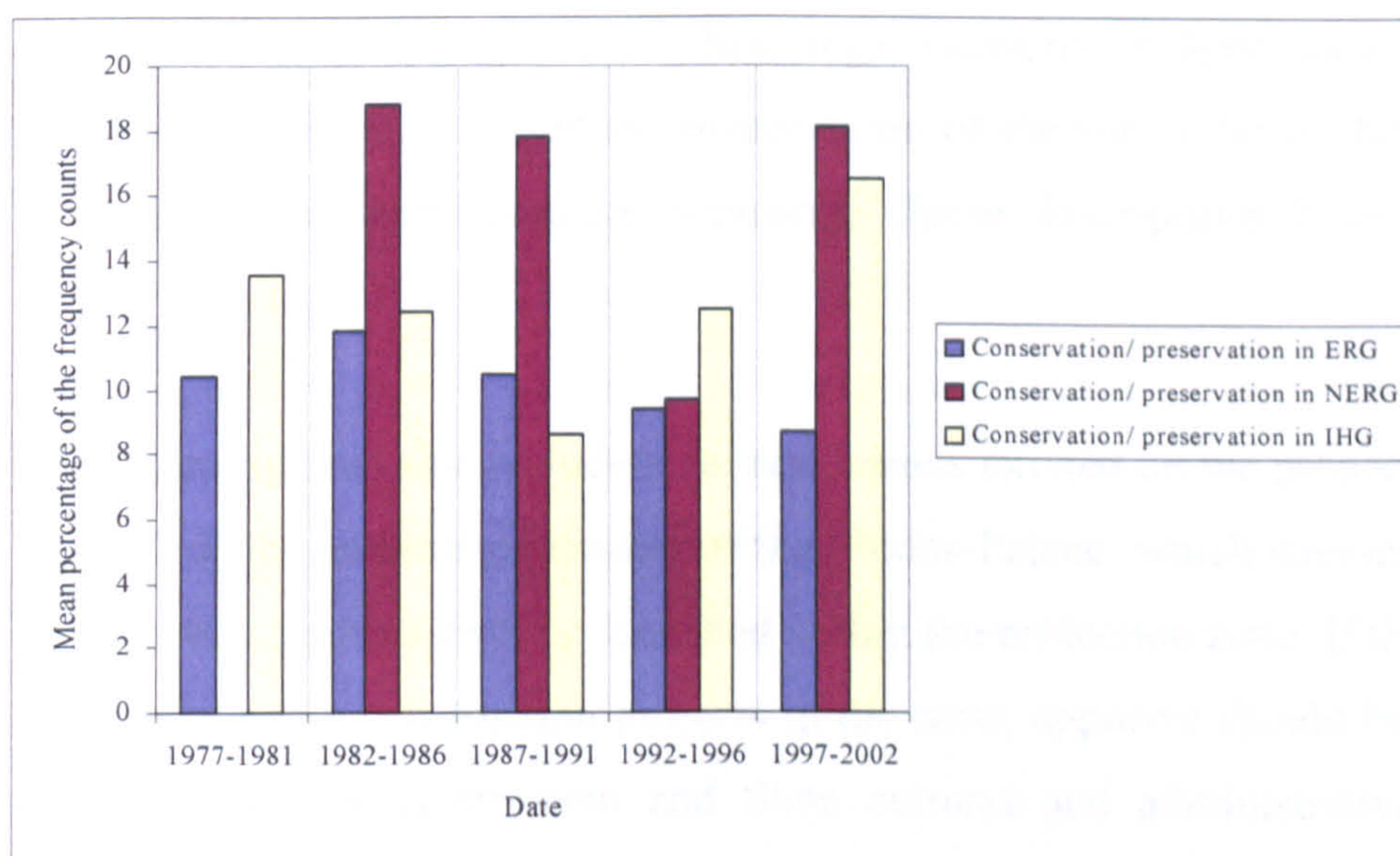


Figure 7.3.B. Mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘conservation/preservation’ for the three groups of cultural heritage

The NERG has the highest mean percentages of the frequency counts for the occurrence of this sub-category. Figure 7.3.B. demonstrates that, in the periods 1982-1986, 1987-1991 and 1997-2002 an average of between 17.5% and 18.8% of nomination dossiers from the NERG cover aspects of the conservation and/or preservation of the nominated site. The average percentage of this sub-category for the IHG increases in the period 1997-2002 to reach 16.5%. The mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘conservation/preservation’ are smaller for the ERG and reach a maximum at 11.80% during the 1977-2002 period.

These results show that conservation is one of the longest sections of nomination dossiers together with descriptions of the architectural value of the site and its history and development. This is particularly true for the NERG and IHG.

7.4.1. Legal provisions for the conservation of the nominated property

All the nomination dossiers from the three groups of cultural heritage detail the legal and administrative measures taken for the protection of the nominated property. This could be predicted since each successive version of the Operational Guidelines has requested States Parties to detail these legal measures in their nomination dossiers. Most of the sentences coded as 'conservation of the site' refer to the description of these legal and administrative measures. These descriptions have become more precise with time.

These descriptions also include legal restrictions exerted on the property. An extreme example is the nomination dossier of the 'Potala Palace' which stresses that 'no other construction projects shall be launched within the protection zone. If there is a special need to launch a construction projects in the zone, approval should be won from the regional people's government and State cultural and administrative departments' (Government of China 1993a, 2). However, as detailed in Chapter 4, Section 4.2.2, traditional buildings in Lhasa have been destroyed because of development pressures and new construction. This example shows that legal provisions are rather inefficient if not enforced when those who are responsible for executing them opt for the unsustainable development of the site rather than its conservation. Therefore the existence of legislation for the protection of cultural heritage does not automatically lead to the protection of cultural heritage.

These descriptions also include explanations of measures for dealing with potential or actual breaches of protection. In European as well as in non-European countries this includes fines and/or prison sentences. The nomination dossier of 'Tiwanaku', for instance, stresses that 'anybody who destroys, damages, subtracts or exports any (...) monument or object of the archaeological, historical or artistic national patrimony, will be put in prison from one to six years' (Government of Bolivia 1999). Other

examples include the nomination dossiers of the 'Mining Area of the Great Copper Mountain in Falun' (Government of Sweden 2000) and 'Blacnavon Industrial Landscape' (Government of the United Kingdom 1999).

7.4.2. Understandings of the terms conservation and preservation

Twenty-nine nomination dossiers from the ERG, twenty from the NERG and twenty-five from the IHG state that the site is in a good state of conservation. Most of these use superlatives to describe the state of conservation of the site. The nomination dossier of the 'Engelsberg Ironworks' (IHG), for instance, stresses that it is 'one of the most complete and best preserved early industrial sites in Europe based on ironmaking' (Government of Sweden 1989a, 1). However, the different versions of the Operational Guidelines have also requested that States Parties provide information on the history of the preservation/conservation of the site. Analyses of these histories demonstrate that most sites had to undergo some forms of conservation, restoration and/or reconstruction work as detailed in the following sections. These descriptions demonstrate that the history of the site tends to be complex and that no nominated site is in its 'original', 'authentic' condition, unaltered by the action of time or fashion. Therefore the section of nomination dossiers on the history of the preservation/conservation of the site can be seen as contradicting the section describing the degree of authenticity which, in most cases and until 1994, solely emphasised the originality of the site.

Twenty-three nomination dossiers from the ERG, twenty from the NERG and twenty-three from the IHG mention the word 'preservation'. In most cases, preservation seems to have been understood as being the state in which the building has been kept and seems to be synonymous with the state of conservation of the building. Ten nomination dossiers from the NERG, for instance, state that the site is in a good state of preservation. It is interesting to note that this concept has also been defined differently in theoretical literature. Pye, for example, defines preservation as 'protection from all harmful or damaging factors and one thinks of things sealed up or isolated, and certainly not in daily use' (2001, 27). Only eight nomination dossiers from the ERG, four from the NERG and three from the IHG mention preservation measures as protection from all harmful and damaging factors. An example includes

reburial of excavated remains as explained in the nomination dossier of 'Canterbury Cathedral, St Augustine's Abbey and St Martin's Church' (Government of the United Kingdom 1987b).

The measures applied to the nominated sites to conserve and preserve their conditions are multiple and diverse. Maintenance work, for instance is mentioned in seventeen nomination dossiers from the ERG, thirteen from the NERG and twelve from the IHG. Aplin defines maintenance work as 'a necessary, positive process to help maintain significance' (Aplin 2002, 71). Maintenance work has also been recognised as the most basic and important means of conservation as it helps to identify and eliminate potential threats (Agnew and Demas 2002, 7). According to Aplin, examples of maintenance work include, 'painting, cleaning out roof guttering, and weeding gardens' (ibid.). The majority of nomination dossiers simply stress that the site is being regularly maintained without providing any more detail.

7.5. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of ‘restoration’

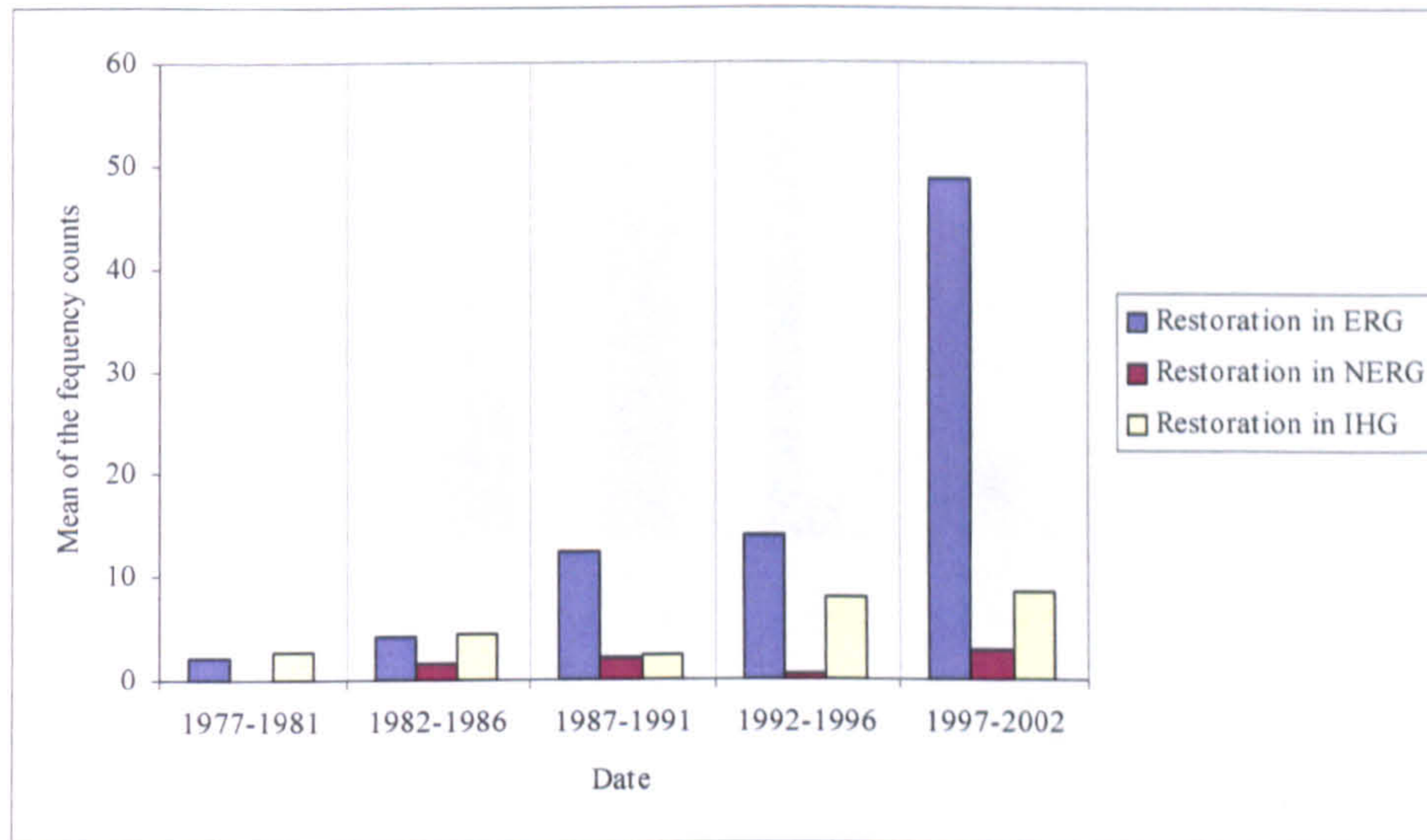


Figure 7.4.A. Means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘restoration’ for the three groups of cultural heritage

As illustrated by Figure 7.4.A. the sub-category ‘restoration’ is increasingly mentioned in nomination dossiers from the ERG. The means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of this sub-category reach their highest peak for the ERG at almost fifty sentences in the 1997-2002 period. This is due to a peak at 213 sentences for the dossier of the ‘Routes of Santiago de Compostela in France’ (Government of France 1997). This sub-category is very small for the other two groups of cultural heritage and only reaches a maximum of eight sentences for the IHG during the 1992-1996 period and two sentences for the NERG during the 1987-1991 period. These small figures for the IHG and NERG might mirror the lack of information requested by the Operational Guidelines on issues of site restoration. This might also reflect a lack of debate on this issue during the sessions of the World Heritage Committee. This is rather surprising considering that the level of restoration of a property can affect its degree of authenticity.

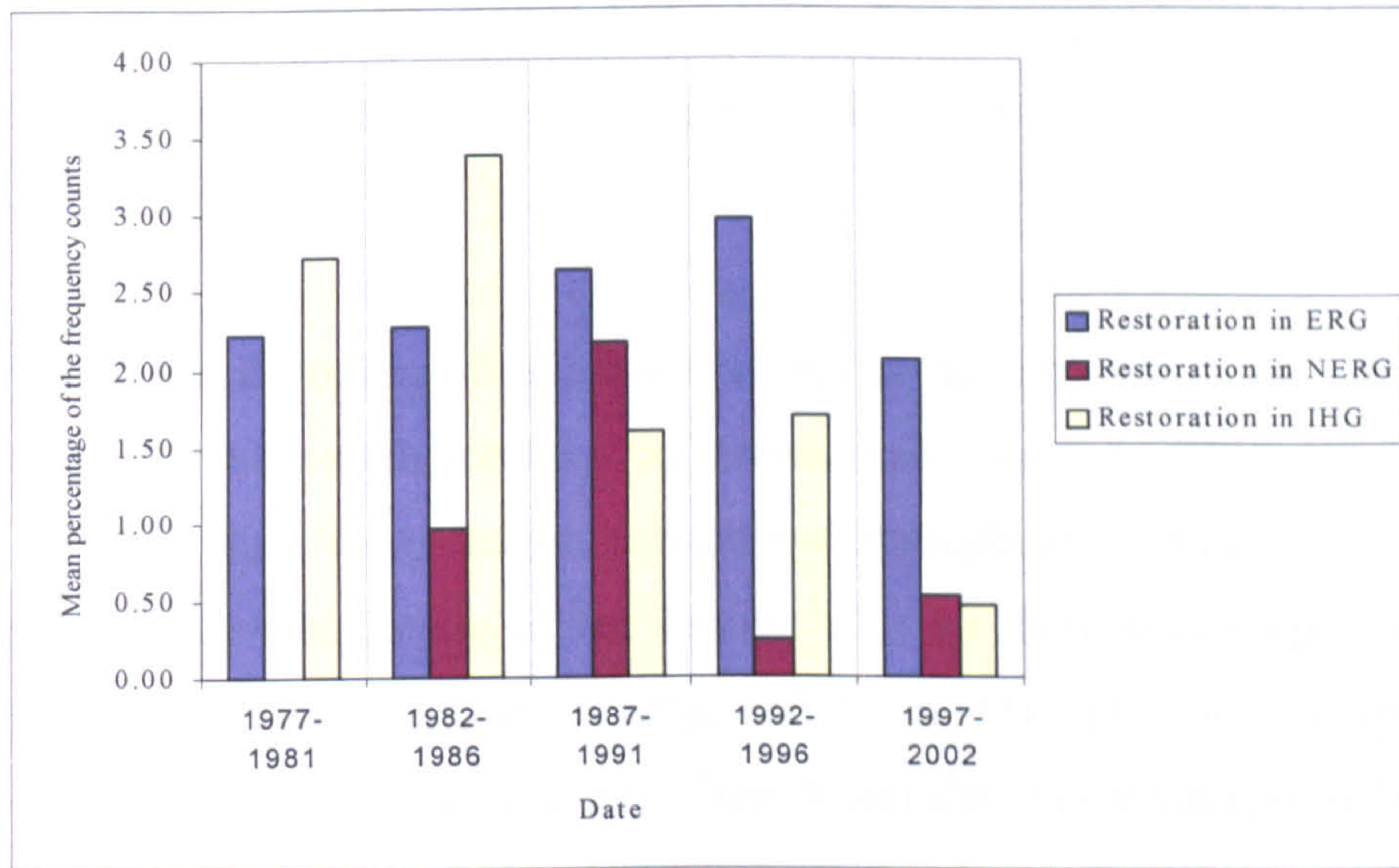


Figure 7.4.B. Mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of 'restoration' for the three groups of cultural heritage

As illustrated by Figure 7.4.B. the mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of 'restoration' reach, at their maximum, 3.38% for the IHG in the period 1982-1986. This is rather small but mirrors the means of the frequency counts which are small too. As stressed in the previous paragraph, this lack of references to issues of site restoration is not surprising considering the lack of discussions on this issue at sessions of the World Heritage Committee. It is also not surprising since the Operational Guidelines have never requested States Parties to provide information on issues of site restoration in their nomination dossiers.

7.5.1. Understandings of restoration

As stressed in Chapter 3, Section 3.5.6.3., a diversity of definitions of the term 'restoration' exists. The results of the analysis demonstrate that in sixteen nomination dossiers from the ERG, four from the NERG and eight from the IHG the term 'restoration' is explained as repair of a building undertaken in the nineteenth or twentieth centuries. This intimate link between restoration and repair has also been stressed by Berducou (1996, 253). In most cases these works are presented as being essential for the safety of the building and for prolonging its life and original function. This mirrors the definition of restoration provided by Brandi that 'restoration is the

methodological moment in which the work of art is appreciated in its material form and in its historical and aesthetic duality, with a view to transmitting it for the future' (1996, 231).

Most of the European sites are described as having undergone restoration/repair during the nineteenth century in nomination dossiers. This is not surprising considering that 'many major monuments throughout Europe were in a state of disrepair at the beginning of the century (...) so there was scope for widespread reconstruction and restoration' (Pye 2001, 42-43). This is exemplified in the nomination dossier of the 'Vézelay, Church and Hill' (Government of France 1979c). This document quotes that in 1835 Prosper Mérimée, French General Inspector of Historical Monuments, described this building as having walls cracked and leaning, rotted by humidity (ibid). Pye goes on to stress that, in the nineteenth century, 'Buildings were repaired to maintain their function but often considerably altered or rebuilt to suit the restoring architect's concept of the style of the original, rather than by following the design and detail of the remaining structure' (2001, 43). Most of the nomination dossiers from Europe stress the part of the building affected by the repairs, for instance the buttresses and spires as in the case of the nineteenth century restoration/repair of the Church of Saint-Savin sur Gartempe in France (ERG). However, they do not explain how these repairs were undertaken. Therefore no explanation is provided in most of these nomination dossiers on whether the restorations undertaken respect the authenticity in materials, workmanship or design.

A further twenty-six nomination dossiers from the ERG, ten from the NERG and sixteen from the IHG mention the term restoration without any more explanation or detail. One example is the nomination dossier of the 'Ironbridge Gorge' (Government of the United Kingdom 1985a). It stresses that all the monuments mentioned in the dossier have been, or are in the process of being, conserved and restored. However, no more information is provided in this document as to the meaning of the term 'restoration'. This programme of restoration which is aimed at re-using some of the buildings and regenerating the area has been criticised in theoretical literature on cultural heritage (see Walsh 1992, 95; Boniface 1995, 44; and West 1988, 36-60). These cultural heritage theorists agree that, through this programme of restoration for re-use and regeneration, the site has lost its integrity and authenticity. The nomination

dossier of the 'Ironbridge Gorge' does not provide any information on the degree of authenticity of the site and whether the programmes of restoration have affected it (Government of the United Kingdom 1985a). The ICOMOS evaluation of this site did not discuss either the degree of authenticity of the site or how it has been affected by the restoration campaigns (April 1986).

7.5.2. Removal of later parts and period restoration for European sites

Jokilehto has stressed that the principles of the Venice Charter have been recognised as the basic policy guidelines for the assessment of cultural heritage sites on UNESCO's World Heritage List (1998, 230). The Venice Charter emphasises that 'the valid contributions of all periods to the building of a monument must be respected, since unity of style is not the aim of restoration. When a building includes the superimposed work of different periods, the revealing of the underlying state can only be justified in exceptional circumstances and when what is removed is of little interest (...)' (1964, Article 11). This respect for different periods was also stressed by Brandi (1996, 235) and by the *Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments adopted in 1931* (see in particular Chapter I. 'Doctrines. General principles') which preceded the Venice Charter.

Nine nomination dossiers from the ERG and four from the IHG indicate that twentieth century restoration has focused on removing later accretions to return the building to its original appearance. This is the case for instance of the nomination dossier of the 'San Millán Yuso and Suso Monasteries' which stresses that works have taken place to restore Suso since 1935 (Government of Spain 1996). It then concludes that the works may be considered to be finished 'as far as the recovery of its XIIIth century appearance is concerned'. None of these dossiers explains why later additions to the buildings have been removed or whether these were removed because of their lesser historical, architectural or social importance.

The nomination dossier of 'New Lanark' clearly indicates that most of the village was restored to its appearance in Robert Owen's time (Government of the United Kingdom 2000b). However, Jokilehto condemns this type of 'period restoration' that relies on choosing 'an earlier period as a guideline for the choice of what to keep,

what to remove, and what to reconstruct. At the end of the restoration, the historic building tends to have lost its authenticity and to have become a modern interpretation' (1999b, 8). The ICOMOS evaluation of 'New Lanark' however stresses that its authenticity is 'relatively high' because the restoration and rehabilitation of the buildings were based on careful research, and graphic and written archives (September 2001b). Nonetheless, as detailed in the previous section on authenticity (Section 7.2.2.), the nomination dossier of 'New Lanark' also stresses that Mill 2 has been subject to changes and widening over the centuries, changes that have been kept whilst most of the rest of the village has been restored to its nineteenth century appearance. Hence the contemporary New Lanark is not a faithful image of its nineteenth century appearance but seems more to be a modern interpretation with a combination of old and new buildings. The nomination dossier of 'New Lanark' does not further explain why the later additions to some buildings have been kept whilst others have been removed. Therefore Jokilehto's comment that period restoration destroys the authenticity of the site by being a modern interpretation could be seen to apply to New Lanark. This confirms some authors' comparison of New Lanark to a theme park (McIntosh and Prentice 1999, 608) that mixes different epochs, but which "never really exists in the form in which it is presented" (Bryman 1995, 128; Sorensen 1989, 65). According to Choay, these 'arbitrary destructions and restorations' are common. As examples, she provides the centres of Old Quebec (Canada) and Provins (France) which are both World Heritage sites (Choay 2001a, 145). According to Choay, these restorations aim to enhance sites and make them more appealing to the public (ibid., 144). This example of New Lanark illustrates the disparate views that are held regarding the concept of restoration and its relation to the degree of authenticity of nominated properties. This example also reflects the lack of discussions on this issue at sessions of the World Heritage Committee, leaving the advisory bodies to assess what is an acceptable restoration according to their own implicit standards.

7.6. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of ‘reconstruction’

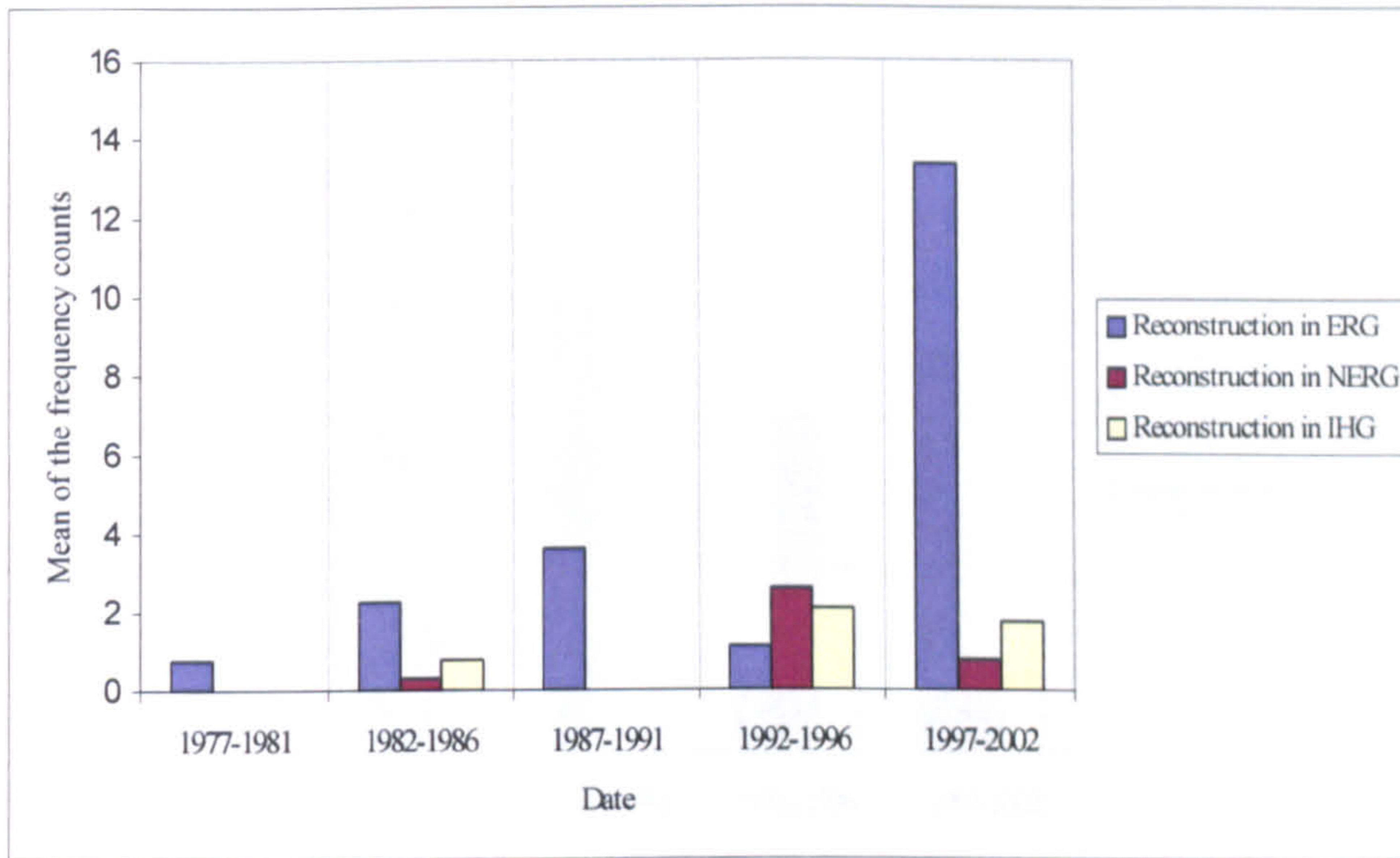


Figure 7.5.A. Means of the frequency counts of the occurrence ‘reconstruction’ for the three groups of cultural heritage

As indicated in Chapter 1, the issue of reconstruction has been discussed at the World Heritage Committee sessions, in particular in 1980, following the inscription of the Historic Centre of Warsaw (Poland) on the World Heritage List. Following this inscription, the Operational Guidelines were revised to provide guidelines on reconstruction which is ‘only acceptable if it is carried out on the basis of complete and detailed documentation of the original and to no extent on conjecture’ (UNESCO October 1980). Despite these guidelines, reconstruction does not seem to have been widely discussed in nomination dossiers. This issue was not discussed at all in nomination dossiers from the NERG and the IHG during the 1977-1981 and 1987-1991 periods. As indicated by Figure 7.5.A. the means of the frequency counts for this sub-category only reach more than five sentences in nomination dossiers from the ERG during the period 1997-2002 when this figure rises to thirteen sentences. It is interesting to note that during the World Heritage Committee sessions this issue of reconstruction has been discussed more than the issue of restoration. Nonetheless the issue of reconstruction is less discussed in nomination dossiers than restoration. This might be because this issue is not relevant to the properties considered in my thesis and hence nomination dossiers do not refer to them. Reconstructed sites might also

not be nominated because of the emphasis placed on authenticity in the framework of the Convention as stressed at the beginning of this paragraph.

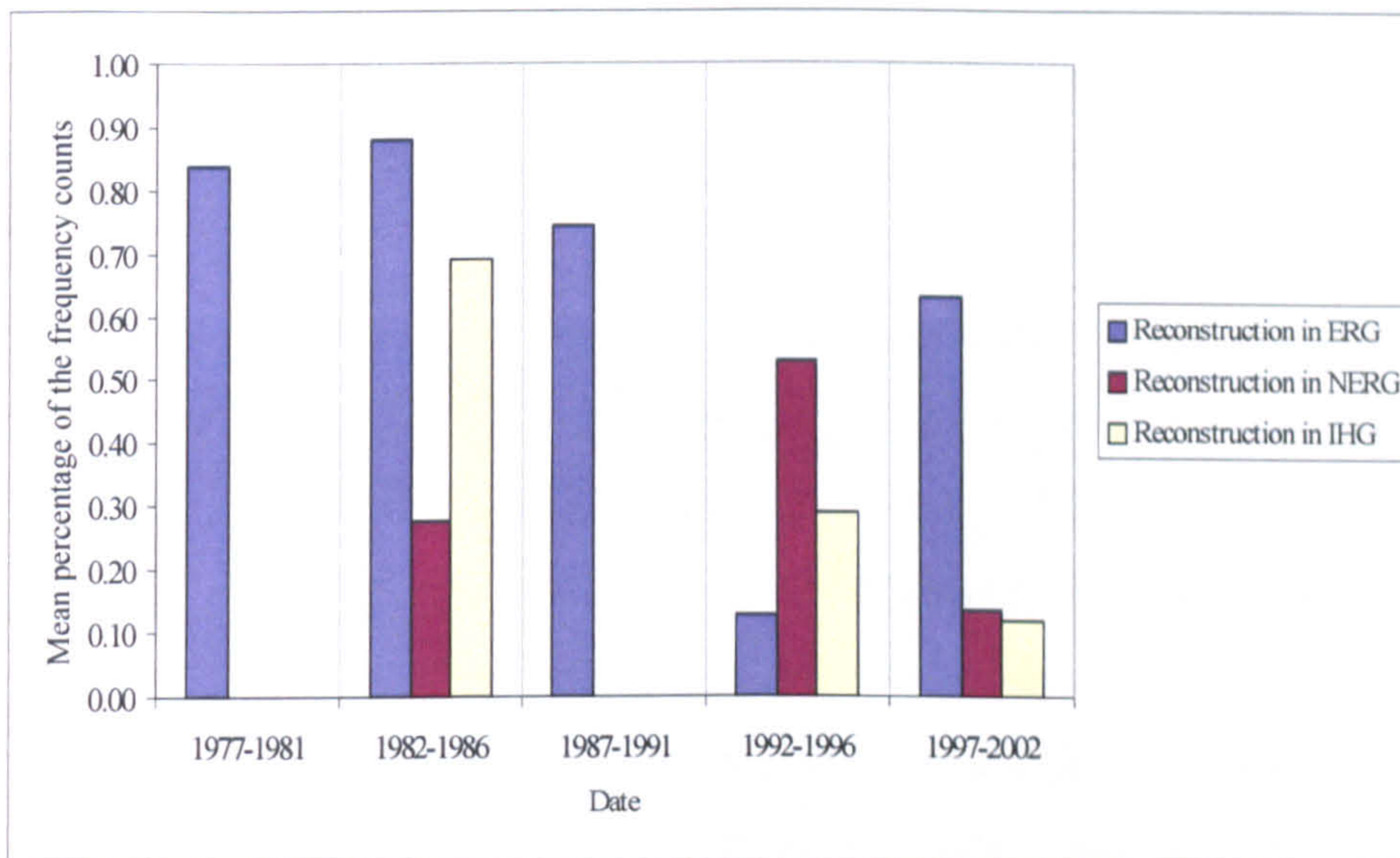


Figure 7.5.B. Mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of 'reconstruction' for the three groups of cultural heritage

As indicated by Figure 7.5.B. the mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of the sub-category 'reconstruction' does not even reach 1% for the three groups of cultural heritage considered. This small figure was predictable from the small means of the frequency counts. Figure 7.5.B. confirms the lack of discussion of this issue of reconstruction in nomination dossiers. This also shows that the added guidelines on reconstruction in the 1980 revision and subsequent versions of the Operational Guidelines have not had any real impact on States Parties' discussions of this sub-category.

7.6.1. Reconstruction explained

As stated in the previous paragraph, from 1980 onwards, the Operational Guidelines have stressed that reconstruction is only acceptable 'if it is carried out on the basis of complete and detailed documentation of the original and to no extent on conjecture' (UNESCO October 1980). Feilden and Jokilehto add that 'although reconstruction may prove to be an appropriate strategy following disasters such as fire, earthquake or war, its validity is more questionable when it is used as a measure to improve the

presentation of heritage sites' (1998, 63). Twenty-one nomination dossiers from the ERG, eleven from the NERG and nine from the IHG explain that reconstruction was essential for the survival of the nominated site. Most of these nomination dossiers from the ERG and IHG mention that the reconstruction followed the destruction of the structure by fire or war. Examples from the ERG include 'St Mary's Cathedral and St Michael's Church at Hildesheim' (Government of Germany 1984) and 'Westminster Palace, Westminster Abbey and Saint Margaret's Church Westminster' (Government of the United Kingdom 1987a). Examples from the IHG include the nomination dossiers of the 'Derwent Valley Mills' (Government of the United Kingdom 2000a) and 'New Lanark' (Government of the United Kingdom 2000b) which mention that reconstruction of one of the mills was necessary following destruction by fires in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. 'Westminster Palace, Westminster Abbey and Saint Margaret's Church Westminster' (Government of the United Kingdom 1987a) is one of the few nomination dossiers that states that the reconstruction following a fire that took place in the nineteenth century was not undertaken 'on the basis of complete and detailed documentation on the original' (UNESCO October 1980). However this dossier does not further discuss this dimension of the nominated property.

An interesting and different example is the nomination dossier of 'Saltaire' which stresses that part of the roof and tower of its United Reform Church was reconstructed in 1998-1999 'to maintain the original use of the building and ensure its long term survival' (Government of the United Kingdom 2000c, 67). This nomination dossier nonetheless does not explain whether this reconstruction was carried out on 'the basis of complete and detailed documentation of the original and to no extent on conjecture' (UNESCO October 1980).

7.6.2. Nineteenth and twentieth century reconstructions unexplained

Eight nomination dossiers from the ERG, one from the NERG [the 'Pre-Hispanic City of Teotihuacan' (Government of Mexico 1986)] and three from the IHG mention reconstruction undertaken in the nineteenth or twentieth century without providing any explanation of the reasons for these reconstructions or explaining whether these reconstructions are based on accurate archaeological and architectural documentation.

One example is the dossier of the 'Pre-Hispanic City of Teotihuacan', nominated before the adoption of the Nara Document, which mentions that reconstructions were undertaken during the twentieth century without providing further explanation (ibid.). This dossier does not explain the extent of these reconstructions or whether these have been based on 'complete and detailed documentation of the original and to no extent on conjecture' (UNESCO October 1980). This dossier also does not explain whether these reconstructions were undertaken with the authenticity of material, of workmanship and design taken into consideration. Neither ICOMOS nor the World Heritage Committee discussed this aspect in their evaluations of this property for inclusion on the World Heritage List (April 1987; UNESCO 20 January 1988).

7.7. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of ‘adaptation/re-use’

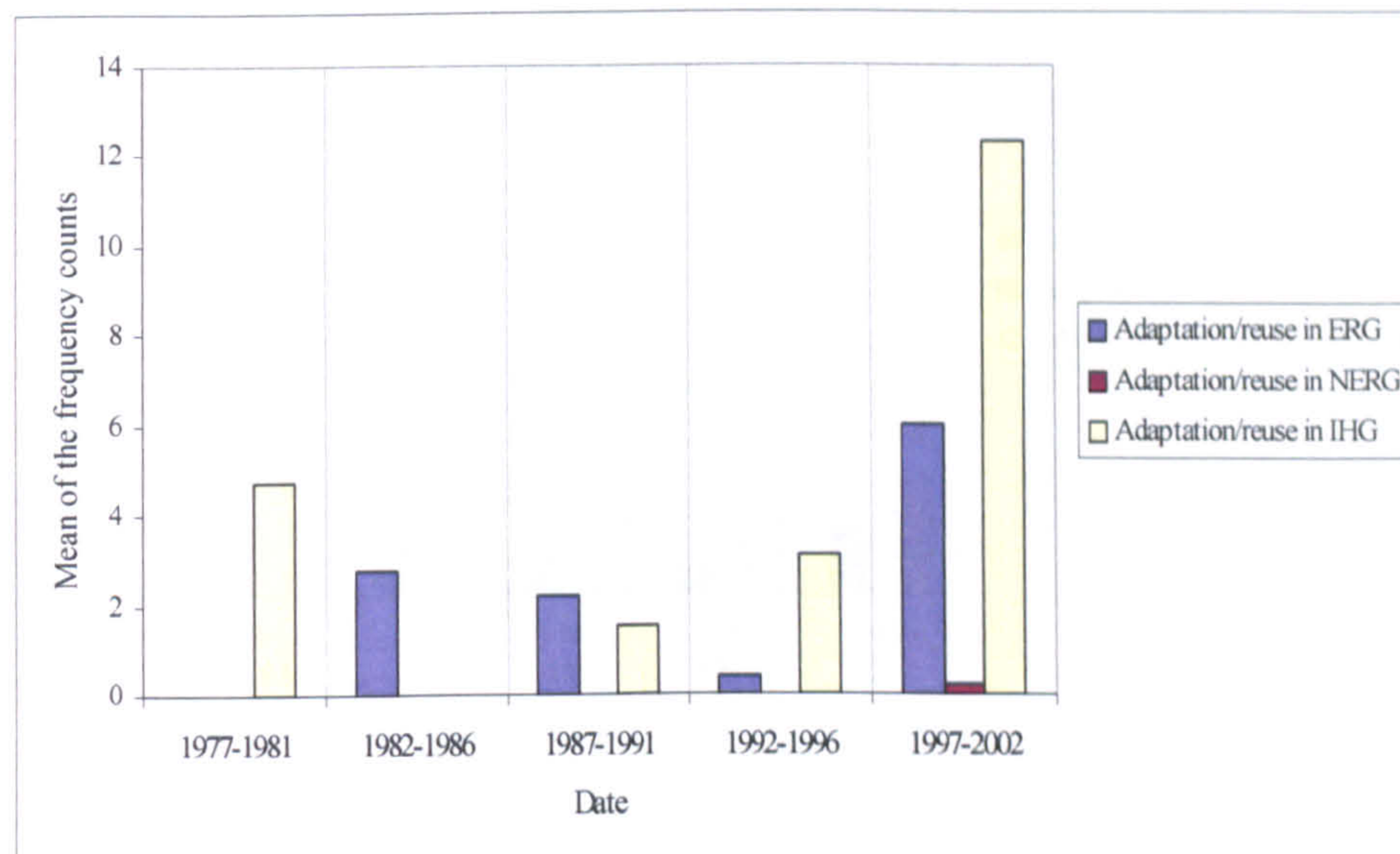


Figure 7.6.A. Means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘adaptation/re-use’ for the three groups of cultural heritage

The sub-category ‘adaptation/re-use’ is mentioned in twelve nomination dossiers from the ERG, two from the NERG and twenty-two from the IHG. This sub-category is most often quoted in the nomination dossiers from the IHG. The means of the frequency counts of the occurrence of this sub-category reach a peak, across the three groups of cultural heritage considered, at twelve sentences for the IHG in the period 1997-2002. This is not surprising considering that adaptation and/or re-use might be of more relevance to industrial heritage sites than to religious ones. Indeed, most industrial heritage sites on the World Heritage List are being or have been re-used following the cessation of industrial activity. The scales of these means are not, however, very high as illustrated by Figure 7.6.A. This might be because the Operational Guidelines do not request States Parties to provide information on this issue in their nomination dossiers. Furthermore, this topic seems, to have been discussed only at the first session of the World Heritage Committee in 1977 when it was stressed that changes to the function of a building did not violate its authenticity as long as changes were reversible (UNESCO 17 October 1977). This concept has not, since, been debated at the World Heritage Committee sessions or at any other expert meetings on the implementation of the World Heritage Convention.

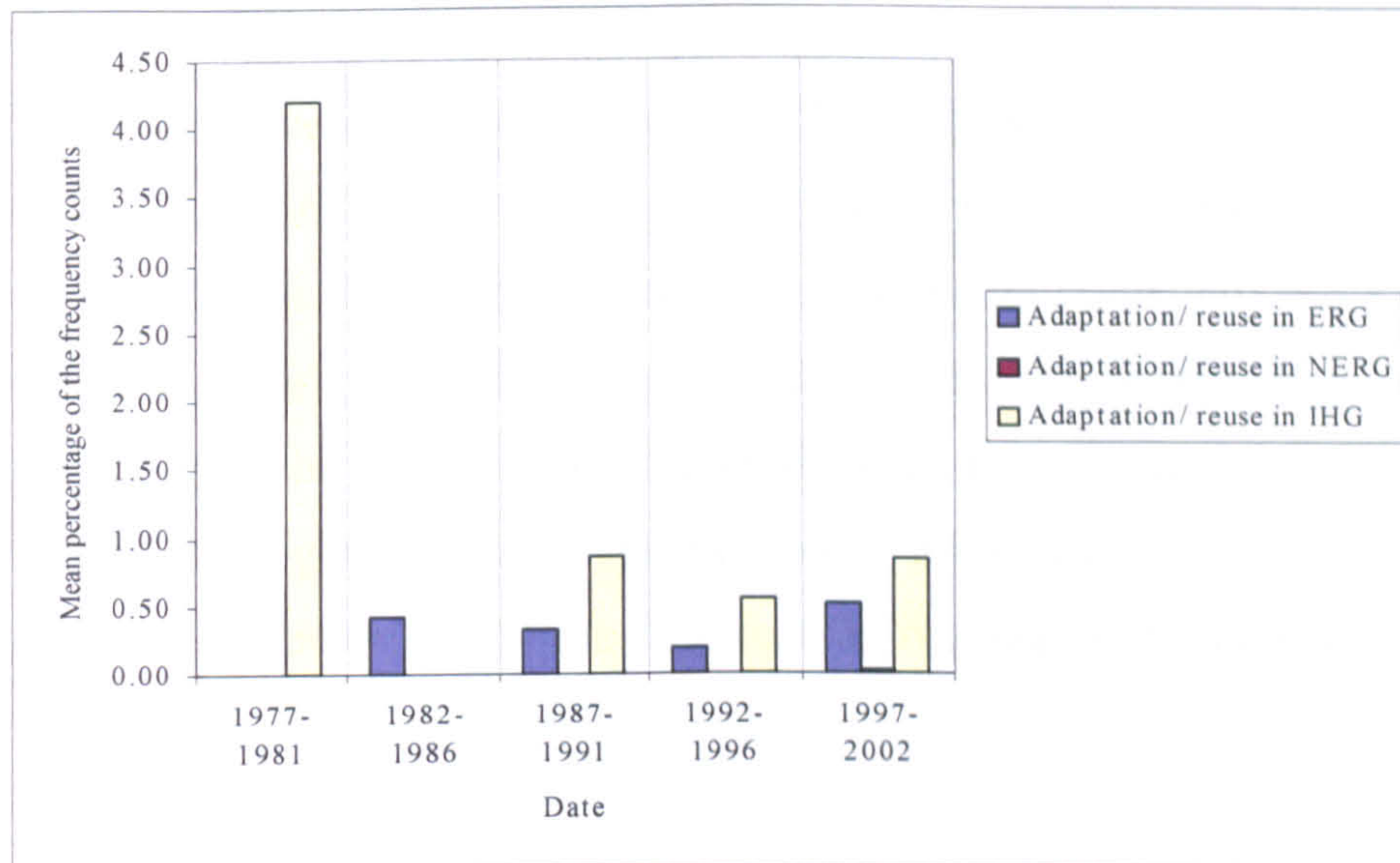


Figure 7.6.B. Mean percentages of the frequency counts of the occurrence of ‘adaptation/re-use’ for the three groups of cultural heritage

Figure 7.6.B shows that the mean percentages of the frequency counts for the occurrence of ‘adaptation/re-use’ reach, across the three types of cultural heritage considered, a maximum at 4.22% for the IHG during the period 1977-1981. The other mean percentages for this sub-category do not exceed 1%. This is not surprising as the means and real numbers for this sub-category are small as illustrated in Figure 7.6.A. It is rather unexpected that mentions of this sub-category are marginalised even in recent nomination dossiers, considering that this is an important issue for the assessment of the authenticity of nominated properties. This is all the more surprising for the IHG, considering that some of the industrial heritage sites studied have been adapted and re-used to fulfil a different function.

7.7.1. Essential adaptations

Two nomination dossiers from the ERG [namely ‘Westminster Palace, Westminster Abbey and Saint Margaret’s Church’ (Government of the United Kingdom 1987a) and ‘Kalwaria Zebrzydowska’ (Government of Poland 1998)], the only two nomination dossiers from the NERG that mention ‘adaptation/re-use’ [‘Dazu Rock Carvings’ (Government of China 1998) and ‘Yungang Grottoes’ (Government of China 2000b)] and three dossiers from the IHG [the ‘Semmering Railway’

(Government of Austria 1995), the 'Four Lifts on the Canal du Centre and their Environs' (Government of Belgium 1997b) and 'New Lanark' (Government of the United Kingdom 2000b)] clearly detail changes that make practical the continuation of a specific use. According to Feilden and Jokilehto (1998, 60) and Kerr (1996, 25), these changes are acceptable and do not detract from the significance of the place. An example from the ERG, the nomination dossier of 'Kalwaria Zebrzydowska', stresses that electric lighting and telephones were introduced into buildings within the nominated property during the first half of the twentieth century (Government of Poland 1998).

7.7.2. Compatible re-use

Feilden and Jokilehto explain that if the function of a site cannot be maintained, 'the resource should be adapted to serve an appropriate use as part of a carefully conceived plan that acknowledges its outstanding universal value and its educational role' (1998, 60). However, they do not provide any more information on their interpretation of 'appropriate use'. The Venice Charter stresses that the use of a site 'must not change the layout or decoration of the building. It is within these limits only that modifications demanded by change of function should be envisaged' (1964, Article 5). Aplin provides added explanation of acceptable or compatible re-use in stating that 'the definition of *compatible use* concentrates on the *significant fabric*, requiring that there be no change, changes that are substantially reversible, or changes with minimal impact' (2002, 73). These are basic principles of conservation that should guide the work of professionals (Philippot 1996, 228; Pye 2001, 32-33).

Seven nomination dossiers from the ERG, and eleven from the IHG describe compatible re-use of the nominated site or buildings within it. Some of these descriptions correspond to the explanation quoted above from Feilden and Jokilehto as these re-uses highlight the outstanding universal value of the site and its educational role. This includes buildings whose functions have evolved into a museum or a depository of local archives; a new function which helps to communicate the different values of the site to visitors. Examples include the nomination dossier of 'Kutná Hora: Historic Town Centre with the Church of St Barbara and the Cathedral of Our Lady at Sedlec' (Government of the Czech

Republic 1994) which stresses that one of the buildings within this property called 'Little Castle' has been adapted to house the new municipal museum, and the dossier of the 'Engelsberg Ironworks' (Government of Sweden 1989a) which explains that a barn has been converted to house local archives on ironworks. Some of these explanations also detail that changes to the function of the building were carefully undertaken and that all the main changes are reversible. This is the case for instance of the nomination dossier of 'Saltaire' which stresses that 'Salts Mill has undergone (...) partitioning of the original large workspaces to convert the old mill into economically viable uses. All partitioning is reversible' (Government of the United Kingdom 2000c, 66).

7.7.3. Lack of information on the compatible re-uses and problems involved

Four nomination dossiers from the ERG and six from the IHG describe the re-use of the nominated site or a building within it without mentioning how this was undertaken or how the significance and history of the building have been preserved and/or have been communicated to visitors. This is the case for instance of 'San Millán Yuso and Suso Monasteries' (Government of Spain 1996b) and 'New Lanark' (Government of the United Kingdom 2000b) which state that part of the monastery (in the case of Yuso) and one of the main former textile mills (in the case of New Lanark) have been transformed into hotels. Kerr explains that some buildings or sites have varying degrees of significance with some parts of the building being of 'such significance that adaptation is unacceptable. On the other hand, some later accretions are of much more modest significance; modifications to these accretions would not "substantially detract" from the significance of the place and would help make the whole complex viable' (1996, 29). However, none of these nomination dossiers has explained that some parts of the building have less significance than others, as the justification for the manner in which they have been re-used. Nonetheless the ICOMOS evaluation of Yuso Monastery explains that adaptations undertaken to use part of the monastery as a hotel 'have been discreetly and sympathetically handled' (September 1997). However, the ICOMOS evaluation of New Lanark does not comment on the transformation of one of its main mills into a hotel and whether this re-use has been undertaken in respect of the conservation principles mentioned in the previous paragraph (September 2001b). The most extreme example from the data set is the

nomination dossier of the 'Royal Saltworks of Arc-et-Senans' which states that 'the two large buildings for the extraction of salt were emptied of their contents and provided with a handsome concrete frame so that they could be converted into a riding-school, stables and hay-loft' (Government of France 1981, 5). The ICOMOS evaluation did not discuss this issue of the re-use of Arc-et-Senans (May 1982).

7.8. Summaries and conclusions

Quantitatively, this chapter has made key findings. It has demonstrated that sentences related to the state of conservation of sites occupy a central position of nomination dossiers. Overall, conservation is the third most mentioned value after 'History and Development', and 'Architectural and aesthetic value of religious buildings, works of art and remains' for the ERG and NERG and 'History and Development' and 'Architectural and aesthetic value of industrial buildings, works of art and remains' for the IHG. Other values that might have been considered as central in nomination dossiers have not been mentioned as much as conservation. This is the case for authenticity which is an essential criterion in the assessment of the outstanding value of nominated properties for inclusion on the World Heritage List but which represents less than half of the percentage dedicated to conservation. This lack of mention of authenticity might denote a lack of understanding of this concept by States Parties, despite discussions and publications on this concept following the adoption of the Nara Declaration on Authenticity. Other values analysed in this chapter which are important to understand the degree of authenticity of the site such as the degree of reconstruction are also marginalised in nomination dossiers.

Qualitatively, this chapter has made a number of fundamental and original findings, never highlighted before in previous publications on World Heritage. Indeed sentences related to the conservation and authenticity of sites contribute to create an image of the nation based on positive ideas of grandeur, continuity, coherence and stability. This is a crucial finding as it confirms trends identified in the previous chapters on the interpretation of the data analyses. This helps to explain, *inter alia*, why conservation is so central in all the nomination dossiers considered. A total of seventy (64%) nomination dossiers state that the nominated property is in a very good state of conservation. In most of these documents, superlatives are used to describe

this state of conservation. The representation of authenticity follows the same patterns. Indeed, a total of fifty-six nomination dossiers link the notion of authenticity to the fact that the site is in its original form, *id est* that it has been frozen in time and is exactly the same as when it was built. It therefore seems that conservation and authenticity have been used in nomination dossiers to reinforce images of a stable, coherent and continuous site, and by analogy, of the nation where it is located. Only six out of a total of forty nomination dossiers presented after 1994 recognise that the authenticity of the site is changing as recognised in the Nara Document on Authenticity. This chapter is therefore crucial as it confirms once again the gap between the World Heritage Committee's recommendations and their implementation at national level.

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSIONS AND CONTRIBUTIONS FOR CHANGE

8.1. Introduction

This final chapter has four aims. The first aim is to discuss the main results and conclusions drawn for each of the research questions and explain their implication for policy and practice. Indeed, the main results of this research have guided the structure and content of the biggest and most comprehensive publication on World Heritage, entitled the *State of World Heritage Report* that I am co-ordinating and editing at the UNESCO World Heritage Centre (Labadi, in prep). This publication, between 200 and 300 pages long, resembles a United Nations World Report and analyses and evaluates the implementation of the World Heritage Convention over the past thirty-three years. Because of its wide scope, this will be the flagship publication of the World Heritage Centre in 2006. Since the World Heritage Convention is the flagship program of UNESCO, this will certainly be one of the most important publications published by UNESCO in 2006. This publication will also be released as part of the celebrations of the 60th anniversary of UNESCO which will help its visibility. The *State of World Heritage Report* has thus enabled the results of this thesis to be incorporated into official discourses on World Heritage. The second aim of this chapter is to detail the theoretical implications of the results of this research. The third aim of this chapter is to provide a revised format for nomination dossiers based on the conclusions of the preceding chapters. Nomination dossiers are the most important document produced by States Parties in the implementation of the World Heritage Convention as they should detail the values which should guide the long term conservation and management of properties. This has been the reason why this thesis has focused on them. This revised nomination

Chapter 8: Conclusions and Contributions for change

dossier should help States Parties to identify better the values for which sites are being nominated for World Heritage status and improve their long-term conservation and management. The fourth and final aim of this chapter is to provide ICOMOS with recommendations so as to resolve a number of issues and pitfalls identified in the preceding chapters.

All through this conclusion, references have also been made to other publications that have already disseminated the results and recommendations of this thesis to the wider academic and professional communities. This includes Labadi (2005a, 89-102) that is already being used as part of the teaching syllabus of some MA courses on Cultural Heritage/World Heritage Studies, including the ones at Deakin University (Australia) or at Cottbus University (Germany).

8. 2. Conclusions about the research questions and implication for policy and practice

8.2.1. Relations between the Committee and the States Parties

This section firstly analyses the conclusions to my second research question: how the values for which sites have been nominated have evolved over time in relation to the World Heritage Committee's discussions and recommendations. Indeed, for ease of reading and for a more logical structure, research questions one and three related to the identification and evolution of the values for which sites have been nominated according to specific categories of heritage have been dealt with in the next section.

Research question 2 has intended to analyze the fundamental relationships and processes of negotiation between global institutions represented by the World Heritage Committee, and national/local institutions represented by States Parties. The analyses of the selected nomination dossiers have demonstrated that the relationships between the World Heritage Committee and States Parties were not fluid and unproblematic and that a number of key

Chapter 8: Conclusions and Contributions for change

recommendations adopted by the Committee over the years have only had minor impacts at national level. This is a distinct and significant finding which has never been highlighted in previous publications on World Heritage. The 1994 text of the Global Strategy is but one example. This text represents a landmark as it encourages a move away from an architectural and monumental conception of cultural heritage to one which recognises the anthropological and multi-vocal values of heritage. However, this research has demonstrated that this text has not had any major impact on the values for which the studied sites have been nominated for inclusion on the World Heritage List. A number of reasons can explain these difficult relationships between the global institution represented by the Committee and its Secretariat, *id est* the World Heritage Centre, and national governments.

8.2.1.1. The exclusion of States Parties from the World Heritage Committee

As of 2002, almost two-thirds of the States Parties to the Convention had never been elected to the World Heritage Committee. This exclusion might have had a negative impact on the implementation of the decisions of the Committee by these marginalised States Parties who might have felt excluded. States Parties that are not members of the Committee can attend its sessions as observers and be consulted on specific issues. However States Parties with an observer status were not able to obtain any financial assistance to attend the Committee meetings, until the 2003 revision of *the Rules of Procedures of the Committee* (see Chapter 1). A brief analysis of the list of participants that took part in a recent World Heritage Committee meeting, the one organised in Budapest in 2002 for instance, demonstrates that fifty-nine States Parties participated as observers in addition to the twenty-one who acted as members of the Committee. This represented less than half of the total number of States Parties to the World Heritage Convention at that time. Therefore, a number of States Parties, especially the least developed ones, might never have been able to attend the World Heritage Committee meetings and thus lack information on the Convention and on the decisions adopted. Furthermore, the World Heritage Committee meetings take place in a different State

Chapter 8: Conclusions and Contributions for change

Party each year. A yearly rotation in the States Parties and regions that organise the World Heritage Committee meetings is important to allow a greater number of them to be informed of the Convention system and its functioning. However, this rotation has not covered all the regions or States Parties equally. Indeed, whilst the World Heritage Committee has been organised twice in the United States of America, Australia and Italy, it has never been organised in a high number of other States Parties including India and Bolivia. Assuring a more effective rotation in the States Parties and regions that organise the World Heritage Committee might help to increase awareness of the Convention. Nonetheless, organising such a meeting requires a heavy financial investment from the host country in order to cover, *inter alia*, the venue, logistics and interpretation. It might therefore be important for the World Heritage Committee to identify resources to assist least developed States Parties in the organisation of these Committee meetings.

8.2.1.2. The lack of publications on World Heritage

Only a few representatives of States Parties, usually two or three people, take part in the World Heritage Committee meetings. In some cases, these people might be ambassadors and not be experts in either cultural or natural heritage protection. These people might also not be responsible for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention in their respective countries. Therefore, the discussions and recommendations of the Committee might not be disseminated to heritage professionals at the national and local level. This demonstrates that the availability of and access to all relevant World Heritage documentation are an essential prerequisite for a relevant application of the Convention by all the States Parties, indiscriminately. The reports of the Committee are freely available on the website of the World Heritage Centre. However, these are rather dry and complex statutory documents that might be difficult to understand to those unfamiliar with the World Heritage system; hence the key importance of publications that would explain the World Heritage Convention system and the most important decisions and recommendations that have been taken over the years by the World Heritage Committee. Such publications are thus very important as bridges between the global sphere of the

Chapter 8: Conclusions and Contributions for change

World Heritage Committee and national spheres. The lack of publications on the World Heritage system has been stressed in the previous chapters of this thesis. Furthermore, the few existing publications, some of which were produced in collaboration with the World Heritage Centre, often provide obsolete information. As further detailed in the preceding chapters, this is the case, in particular, for the second edition of *Management Guidelines for World Cultural Heritage Sites* (Feilden, and Jokilehto 1998), a key text that has been mentioned in a number of nomination dossiers and management plans. A number of unofficial translations of this text have been allowed with apparently no control over the content of the text.

8.2.1.3. The problems of the languages of publication

Another problem highlighted in this research is the lack of translation of key texts in other languages than English and French, including the Operational Guidelines. This has resulted in new concepts being only mentioned by a minority of States Parties who do not have any problems understanding the two working languages of the World Heritage Committee (English and French). As further detailed in Chapter 7, this might, for instance, be the reason for the definitions of the concept of authenticity from the Nara Document to be referred to only in the nomination dossiers from Europe. This demonstrates the importance of publishing important texts in other languages. This is however difficult due to financial and administrative constraints.

8.2.2. Practical implications of these conclusions on the implementation of the World Heritage Convention

These results have had a major impact on a current publication that I am co-ordinating and editing at the World Heritage Centre, entitled the *State of World Heritage Report*. Indeed, the tense relationships between the World Heritage Committee and the States Parties have highlighted the fundamental necessity of producing a general publication that would explain the Convention system as well as the evolution in its implementation.

Chapter 8: Conclusions and Contributions for change

This publication would bridge the gap, identified in this research, between the global sphere of the World Heritage Committee and the national level. I have already stressed the need for a general publication on the World Heritage Convention in my latest article (Labadi 2005a, 98-99). Originally, the *State of World Heritage Report* was supposed to focus solely on the state of conservation of World Heritage sites. However, the conclusions of this thesis have led me to devise a more general publication which would not only focus on the conservation of World Heritage sites but also on detailing, in simple terms, the history and the main recommendations related to the modalities of implementation of the Convention (Labadi, in prep). Chapter 1 of this thesis has been essential in this work and has provided the necessary information on the evolution of the Convention. It is very important to note that, without this readily available chapter, it would have been virtually impossible to provide detailed information on the evolution of the decisions and recommendations of the Committee on the implementation of the Convention due to severe lacks of resources at the World Heritage Centre. It is hoped that the provision of all this information and explanations on the most important resolutions and recommendations adopted by the Committee such as the Global Strategy would help to disseminate necessary information to all States Parties, indiscriminately.

The previous paragraph has also stressed that a number of publications provide obsolete information on the World Heritage Convention system. The publication that I am coordinating at the World Heritage Centre is also essential to provide up-to-date, accurate and official information on the implementation of the Convention (Labadi, in prep). This publication will also suggest the revision and updating of obsolete texts such as *Management Guidelines for World Cultural Heritage sites*.

Previous chapters of this research have also demonstrated the importance of translating official documents on World Heritage in other languages than French and English. This conclusion has recently been reiterated in my latest article which also recommends the translation of key texts and other documents in other languages than French and English (Labadi 2005a, 98). The *State of World Heritage Report* will only be translated in English

Chapter 8: Conclusions and Contributions for change

and French for lacks of financial resources (Labadi, in prep). However, this publication has mentioned extrabudgetary funds that have just been provided for the translation of some key texts and some of the pages of the website of the World Heritage Centre in Arabic. It is hoped that explaining and promoting this initiative and those financial provisions for translation would have a cumulative effect and would help to encourage States Parties to provide the World Heritage Centre with extra-budgetary funding for the publication of resources in other languages than English and French.

8.2.3. Evolution of the values for which sites have been nominated across the three groups of cultural heritage considered

Research questions one and three have aimed to identify the different values for which sites have been nominated by States Parties for inclusion on the World Heritage List as well as their evolution over time and according to specific categories of cultural heritage.

Architectural, aesthetic and historical values are the most central codes of the nomination dossiers analysed, across the three groups of cultural heritage considered, from 1977 to 2002. Therefore, the values for which the sampled sites have been nominated have not been demonstrated to have evolved greatly, either according to region or category of cultural heritage. This is a fundamental and original finding which contradicts most cultural heritage theorists who have maintained that values change over time and according to the particular cultural, intellectual, historical and psychological frames of reference held by specific groups. These results raise a key question: are World Heritage values intrinsic, objective and immutable or are they subjective and changing according to each society?

8.2.3.1. Values: universal and intrinsic or subjective and relative?

Whilst the question of values is of central and fundamental importance to the implementation of the World Heritage Convention, there has been a lack of clarity in

Chapter 8: Conclusions and Contributions for change

discourses on this issue by the Committee, the advisory bodies and other expert groups appointed by the Committee. On the one hand, some key texts such as the Global Strategy and the Nara Document on Authenticity have highlighted that the values for which sites are protected are numerous and changing over time and according to different regions and cultures. On the other hand, other key documents such as the Operational Guidelines, including the latest revised version released in February 2005, qualify the values for which sites should be protected as 'intrinsic' and 'objective' (UNESCO 2005, Paragraph 116 and 192). These terms 'intrinsic' and 'objective' imply that the values for which the sites are being protected are detached from local socio-cultural dynamics and the passing of time. The use of this vocabulary might have been triggered by the phrase 'outstanding universal value', the condition *sine qua non* for a site to be included on the World Heritage List. This phrase implies that sites have values that are so exceptional that they transcend time and their socio-cultural contexts in order to be valued by all people around the world for the same values indiscriminately. The results of the data analyses have demonstrated that States Parties have understood 'outstanding universal value' as referring, first and foremost, to the most obvious, primary and widely recognised values of sites. Other, often competing social and more locally-grounded values have been omitted or marginalised. Whilst, over the centuries, most sites have been valued for different reasons by their different inhabitants, these different and sometimes competing values have not been mentioned in nomination dossiers as these focus primarily on the architectural and aesthetic values of sites. One example is the Royal Saltworks of Arc-et-Senans (France, included on the World Heritage List in 1982) which have been nominated primarily for their architectural value without taking into account the important local and social dimensions of this property as a memorial site for the Tziganes which were held prisoners there during the Second World War. These omissions of the different competing socio-cultural values for which relevant populations value sites in the sampled nomination dossiers also relate to the use of nomination dossiers as construction/reinforcement of national collective identity. This aspect has been dealt with in the next section on the analyses of the results of the fourth research question.

8.2.3.2. The possibility of re-nominating sites

The World Heritage Convention system allows States Parties to renominate sites to take better account of all the different values for which they are protected. The possibility of re-nominating sites was stressed by the Committee after the adoption of the category of cultural landscapes in 1992. Since then, only two natural heritage sites have been re-nominated, Tongariro National Park in New Zealand and Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park in Australia. Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park, for instance, was first included on the World Heritage List in 1987 for outstanding tangible natural values. However, this inscription did not take account of the important locally-grounded cultural and symbolic values. Indeed, this site is also significant as a living cultural landscape for the local indigenous population, the Anangu, shaped by ancestral beings that still animate it. This important local socio-cultural dimension of the site was taken into consideration when Uluru-Kata Tjuta was re-nominated as a cultural landscape in 1993. This example shows the importance of re-nominating sites to take better account of the different socio-cultural values for which they are protected. It is unfortunate to note that only two States Parties ever followed the World Heritage Committee's recommendations to re-nominate sites as cultural landscapes. None of the sites analysed in this thesis have been re-nominated to take better account of their locally grounded values.

The periodic reports represent another opportunity for States Parties to update statements of significance and of outstanding universal value on the basis of which sites have been included on the World Heritage List. Every six years, States Parties are invited to submit to the World Heritage Committee a specific periodic reporting form on the application of the World Heritage Convention and on issues related to each site inscribed on the World Heritage List. The first periodic reporting cycle has been planned to take place between 2000 and 2006 and has included all sites inscribed on the List up to 1997. One of the questions of this form refers to the evolution of the values for which sites have been nominated. If a statement of outstanding universal value for one of the sites included in the first periodic reporting cycle was incomplete, the State Party was then supposed to

Chapter 8: Conclusions and Contributions for change

propose a new and revised statement. Such statements of significance were then supposed to be sent to the appropriate advisory body(ies) for comments and evaluation and subsequently transmitted to the World Heritage Committee for approval. This is one of the most important requests of the periodic reporting form. Indeed, this research has shown that the statements of outstanding universal value on the basis of which sites have been nominated and included on the World Heritage List need to be revised and updated to take better account of their different local socio-cultural values. For instance, the nomination dossier of the Great National Monument of Zimbabwe (inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1986) did not mention the important uses of this site by the local population. The periodic reporting form for this site insisted that the statement of significance should be revised to include the fact that this is a living site used for ritual and other social functions by the people of Zimbabwe. This is a key additional value for which this site should be protected. However, as far as I am aware, this important change has never been sent by the World Heritage Centre to the advisory bodies for evaluation and comments. This might be due to a lack of resources at the World Heritage Centre. This raises a fundamental question: does the World Heritage Centre have enough resources to fulfil its role whilst it has increasing work with a List that expands yearly? The World Heritage Centre has just been reinforced with twenty new staff members from the UNESCO Division of Cultural Heritage. Hopefully, this reinforcement will help the World Heritage Centre to manage its workload better.

This also raises the question of drawing the World Heritage List to an end as it might be difficult, or even impossible, to manage it as it will soon reach one thousand sites. This problem of the finitude of the World Heritage List was not foreseen by the drafters of the World Heritage Convention, as they surely did not expect it to be so successful. This unforeseen problem has however been discussed during the reflections on the modalities for the implementation of a recently adopted UNESCO Convention, the 2003 *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Heritage*. The World Heritage Convention served as a model for the drafting of this 2003 Convention. Sites of intangible value would be included on a *Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity*. In

Chapter 8: Conclusions and Contributions for change

order to avoid an endless and unmanageable List, the possibility of adopting a sunset clause has been discussed. This means that sites would be included on this Representative List for a limited period of time, after which they will not be part of this List anymore. Adopting a sunset clause in the case of the World Heritage List might nonetheless prove to be problematical. Firstly, this was not foreseen by the drafters of the World Heritage Convention. Some members of the World Heritage Committee might request the revision of the text of the World Heritage Convention to include the mention of a sunset clause which would be a very lengthy and complex process. Secondly, one of the main aims of the World Heritage Convention is to assure the conservation of sites. The state of conservation of World Heritage sites is, theoretically, being increasingly monitored through, *inter alia*, the periodic reporting cycles and the State of Conservation reports. The adoption of a sunset clause would break this momentum of sites monitoring and the provision of suitable conservation measures for them. The sunset clause might thus contradict one of the aims of the Convention and would therefore be difficult to adopt. One possible solution to help to manage better the workload of the World Heritage Centre and reduce the number of sites included on the World Heritage List would be for the Committee to evaluate only a maximum of forty-five sites (as agreed at its session in 2004) once every two years instead of once every year. This would enable the World Heritage Committee to dedicate one session every two years to issues related to sites already inscribed on the List such as the review of revised statements of significance and other important matters.

8.2.4. Practical implications of these conclusions on the implementation of the World Heritage Convention

The results of this research have underlined the crucial necessity of involving local populations and other concerned stakeholders in different aspects and steps in the nomination of sites for inclusion on the World Heritage List. The results of the data analyses have shown that, when local populations and other concerned stakeholders were not actively involved in the preparation of nomination dossiers, important socio-cultural

Chapter 8: Conclusions and Contributions for change

and locally-grounded values were omitted or marginalised. This is a fundamental finding. If these local values are not taken into account in the conservation and management of sites, then they might become endangered in the long-term. These results have had a direct impact on the selection of the information that is contained in the *State of World Heritage Report* (Labadi, in prep). Indeed, as often as possible, this publication has mentioned the importance of the active involvement of the local population and other concerned stakeholders at all levels in the identification, protection and management of World Heritage properties. This has included the analyses of all the questions from the periodic reporting forms concerned with the involvement of the population in the identification and management of World Heritage sites. These forms include questions related to the involvement of the local population and other concerned stakeholders in the identification of sites for inclusion on tentative lists, in the nomination of sites for inclusion on the World Heritage List and in the drafting and implementation of management plans. The replies to these questions from the States Parties concerned by this periodic reporting exercise have highlighted an obvious lack of involvement of the local population. These analyses presented in the *State of World Heritage Report* have therefore helped to show the inadequacy in the levels of involvement of local populations in the implementation of the Convention by States Parties (Labadi, in prep). It is hoped that States Parties will be more aware of this lack of involvement through my publication.

The *State of World Heritage Report* also provides States Parties with examples and models of involvement of local populations that they could reproduce (ibid.). The 1993 re-nomination of Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park is, for instance, mentioned as a positive example of a successful negotiation between different stakeholders and the inclusion of the different local socio-cultural values for which the site is being cared. This publication also stresses that the Park is jointly managed under the direction of a Board of Management with a majority of Anangu traditional owners which help to consider and resolve potential competing interests. The *State of World Heritage Report* also contains a section, based on analyses of the States of Conservation reports, that analyses conflicts between the local populations and the local or national authorities in the conservation of

Chapter 8: Conclusions and Contributions for change

World Heritage sites. This section also provides examples of resolution of conflicts between these different stakeholders. The importance of the active involvement of the local populations and other concerned stakeholders at all levels in the identification, protection and management of World Heritage properties has also been the focus of a whole section of my latest article (Labadi 2005a, 97-98).

The results of this thesis have also highlighted the key necessity of revising existing statements of significance and of outstanding universal value. They have also underlined the importance of the periodic reporting forms as a key medium for such revision. I am currently taking part in the reflections on the changes to the periodic reporting forms for the next cycle. As part of these reflections, I have strongly stressed the importance of taking account of the statements of significance that were changed in the first periodic reporting cycle (Labadi 2005b).

8.2.5. States Parties' representation of the past and the nation, of human and cultural diversity, economic value, and authenticity and conservation

The last research question has aimed to analyse the information that the different values identified have provided on States Parties' representation of the past and the nation, of human and cultural diversity, economic value, and authenticity and conservation in the selected nomination dossiers.

8.2.5.1. Carefully selected representations as consolidation of the national collective identity

The results of this last research question have led to a number of key conclusions that are original. These results demonstrate that the representations of the different values analysed are similar across the three groups of cultural heritage and do not evolve over time or across different regions. These representations help to propagate ideas and images of stability, continuity, homogeneity, grandeur, heroism and eternity of the nation.

Chapter 8: Conclusions and Contributions for change

Superlatives and other terminologies have also been used to stress the chronological primacy of the site and hence, by analogy, of the nation. The use of superlatives has also helped to stress the differences between similar sites and nations, rather than highlight similarities. These results are fundamental as they demonstrate that sites have been carefully selected and presented by States Parties as providers and perpetrators of very specific images of the nation used for the construction/reaffirmation of national collective identity. These constructions/reaffirmations are essential and positive factors in the consolidation of the unity and cohesion of the nation. These fundamental results help to clarify the reasons why States Parties want to nominate sites for World Heritage status; *id est* to consolidate the unity and cohesion of the nation. It is understandable in this context that the World Heritage Convention is the most ratified of the UNESCO Conventions for the protection of heritage and that it is so successful, in particular for European States Parties. These countries have had a long and relatively coherent history and have been using the past for the construction of national collective identity for centuries in some cases, such as France or Italy. It is therefore easier for them to implement the World Heritage Convention.

A number of reasons can explain the similarities in the representation of the nation and the construction/reaffirmation of collective national identity across regions and categories of cultural heritage. Some of the nomination dossiers of sites located in non-European countries that have been analysed might have been written by national civil servants, some of whom are likely to have been educated in European or North American universities and who might therefore have integrated European values. Some of these nomination dossiers might also have been written by European consultants and their own representation of the past and the nation might thus be reflected in nomination dossiers. In some cases, European consultants are sent by the World Heritage Centre to help draft nomination dossiers as part of a preparatory assistance scheme or by a European State-Party as part of a bilateral cooperation project. For this reason it might be important for the World Heritage Centre to send consultants who are from the region where the site to be nominated is located.

Chapter 8: Conclusions and Contributions for change

A number of potential reasons may explain the lack of evolution in the representation of the nation and construction of national collective identity. This lack of evolution might reflect a negative reaction towards the movements of supra-national and globalising integration. States Parties might have wanted to counterbalance such supra-national integration represented, for instance, through the development of the European Union and the strengthening of a globalised economy by consolidating the traditional representation of the nation in nomination dossiers. This process of regional and global integration has also been held responsible for intensifying regional particularisms world-wide. Regional and local movements, including resurgences of cultural traditions, folklore and dialects, have also been developing as a way of counteracting these supra-national forces. Representatives of States Parties might therefore fear that a unique and coherent nation has been challenged by regional or local movements and might therefore want to use nomination dossiers as a tool to reaffirm the coherence and unity of the nation and its constituents.

8.2.5.2. The marginalisation/omission of key concepts

These carefully selected representations have led to the marginalisation/omission of a number of subjects that would not help the construction/reaffirmation of national collective identity. Marginalised or omitted subjects include mentions of women, of the lower classes and of the local population, negative facts such as the exploitation of workers or accidents at industrial properties and other events that might prevent the presentation of the linear and continuous history of the nominated site. This is a major finding. No other research or publication on World Heritage has ever detailed the themes that were central and those that were marginalised in nomination dossiers. Two reasons can explain these marginalisations or omissions. Firstly, these themes might have been marginalised or omitted because they were not considered to be important explanations of the outstanding universal value of the nominated property. Secondly, these themes might have been marginalised or omitted because they have not been well understood and

Chapter 8: Conclusions and Contributions for change

therefore could not have been properly discussed in nomination dossiers. This seems to be the case for notions linked to the economic value of properties such as their carrying capacity, or related to concepts of restoration and reconstruction which have not been thoroughly explained in the nomination dossiers analysed. These marginalisations or omissions might be imputed to contradictory actions by UNESCO. Indeed, whilst UNESCO, for instance, has encouraged the empowerment of women in all its activities and the parity between men and women, no official publications from UNESCO or the World Heritage Centre have mentioned the empowerment of women within the World Heritage system or have even mentioned women. Furthermore, the marginalisations or omissions of important concepts because they have not been properly understood by States Parties, highlight, once again, the problems and dangers of lacks of publications explaining the World Heritage system and its important but difficult concepts. Thus, these results demonstrate the importance of publications on World Heritage to explain these concepts.

8.2.6. Practical implications of these results on the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention

The nomination by more than one State Party of transboundary sites located in more than one country might help to construct different models of national collective identity. For this reason, the *State of World Heritage Report* focuses, in a full section, on the presentation of transboundary World Heritage sites in order to further encourage their nomination by governments. (Labadi, in prep). Indeed, it is believed that these nomination dossiers would be based on shared and collective legacies rather than on claims of supremacy and superiority and opposition to other similar properties. These types of properties are all the more important as they have recently been encouraged to be nominated by the World Heritage Committee since they are under-represented on the List. Although each section of the transboundary property is ultimately the responsibility of the State Party in which it is located, this type of nominations would certainly encourage cooperation between countries rather than cultivate rivalries. One example

Chapter 8: Conclusions and Contributions for change

provided in the *State of World Heritage Report* is the current collaborative project among the governments of Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador and Peru to nominate Qhapaq Ñan (Main Andean Road) as a transboundary site for inclusion on the World Heritage List which testifies to a common and shared history and legacy (ibid.). Quapaq Ñan runs along the peaks of the Andes and constitutes a network of roads, over 6,000 kilometres in length, connecting various production, administration and ceremonial centres. This network of roads was essential for the expansion and organisation of the Inca Empire.

As also mentioned in the section 'Generalising the results', sites such as the Hiroshima Peace Memorial (Japan, inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1996) or Auschwitz Concentration Camp (Poland, inscribed in 1979) might also help to construct different models of national collective identity than the ones identified in the preceding chapters. For this reason, these sites are being presented and discussed in the *State of World Heritage Report* as representing under-represented and important themes and ideas (Labadi, in prep). Indeed, these sites relate to shameful and painful events and illustrate a rupture in the linear history of their nation. These sites therefore represent and act as a vehicle for negative ideas and images, unlike all the sites that have been analysed in this research project which convey positive images and representations. These types of sites such as Hiroshima or Auschwitz cannot epitomise ideas and images of stability, continuity, homogeneity, heroism and eternity of the nation. It is therefore possible that the nomination dossiers of these sites for inclusion on the World Heritage List would include different representations to the ones identified in this research. It might, however, be difficult for States Parties to mention and recognise officially these sites as they are linked to collective guilt and shame. It is therefore important for UNESCO to recognise, in an official publication, the importance of these sites in order to encourage States Parties to conserve them and nominate them for inclusion on the World Heritage List. The *State of World Heritage Report*, by mentioning these sites, is hence playing a key role in officially recognising their importance within the List (Labadi, in prep).

Chapter 8: Conclusions and Contributions for change

As far as possible the *State of World Heritage Report* has also mentioned most of the themes that have been identified in this research as being marginalised or omitted in the nomination dossiers analysed (ibid.). This has helped to relocate these themes from a marginalised to a central position. This is the case, for instance, for women who are presented in this publication as having essential roles in the organisation of some sites and their conservation and preservation. The *State of World Heritage Report* provides the example of the Flemish Beguinages, a site that illustrates the importance of women in the history of Belgium and Northern France. This site is presented in the *State of World Heritage Report* as belonging to an emerging theme, the importance of women and their different histories, under-represented on the World Heritage List and that still needs to be better recognised at an international level (ibid.). A section of this publication also details the different roles played by women in the construction of some African sites that have been included on Tentative Lists and in their symbolic organisation and their conservation. Examples provided in this section include the 'Kassena' built by the Gourounsi tribes from Burkina Faso and northern Ghana as well as nomad habitats, which tend, in general, to be built solely by women and represent a number of symbols related to the organisation of matriarchal nomadic societies (ibid.).

UNESCO has also recently contracted an independent firm to analyse whether issues of gender equality were taken into account in its cultural policies and programmes. Chapter 5 which has clearly demonstrated the male-biased representation of history has been forwarded to this independent firm. It is hoped that this would help the staff of the World Heritage Centre to realise this massive bias and encourage this staff to take proactive measures to rectify it.

This thesis has also stressed that explanations of technical concepts related to the implementation of the Convention and the conservation of sites were lacking and have resulted in their marginalisation in or omission from nomination dossiers. As far as possible the *State of World Heritage Report* has provided detailed information on these identified themes (Labadi, in prep). A full section of this report has been, for instance,

Chapter 8: Conclusions and Contributions for change

dedicated to explanations of the negative impacts of tourism as well as measures and best case studies to mitigate these impacts. Within this section, a paragraph has been dedicated to defining the carrying capacity of a site, explaining its importance, how this is calculated, the problems with carrying capacity and the alternatives to carrying capacity such as environmental impact assessments. Examples have also been given of World Heritage Sites that have developed and implemented measures to control the flow of tourism, as a further clarification and explanation of this concept.

8.3. Theoretical implications of the results of this research

This research has led to a number of significant theoretical findings and conclusions as detailed in the previous chapters and in the paragraphs above. Moreover, this research has important theoretical implications resulting from the novel and complementary use of a quantitative and qualitative methodology, the strength of which has been underlined in the four preceding chapters on the interpretation of the results of the data analyses. As demonstrated in the following paragraphs, this novel model could have an important theoretical impact, *inter alia*, on the fields of cultural heritage and environmental studies.

8.3.1. Detecting central and marginalised subjects

The preceding chapters on the interpretation of the results of the data analyses have demonstrated how the use of a quantitative and processual method can be used to help reply to post-processual concerns. The use of a quantitative analysis has been of key importance to identify so clearly patterns of central and marginalised themes in nomination dossiers. Indeed, the use of such a method has allowed me to establish the percentages/amounts of text from each nomination dossier dedicated to specific values and detail the ones that were central and the ones that were marginalised or omitted. Without these quantitative analyses, it would have been virtually impossible to demonstrate so convincingly, for instance, the lack of cultural and human diversity in nomination dossiers, the male-biased representation of history in these documents and the

Chapter 8: Conclusions and Contributions for change

wide-scale and almost universal marginalisation of women, the lower classes and the local population. Chapter 2 has explained that post-processualists have criticised processualists and the New Archaeology for not admitting that the practice of archaeology and interpretations of the past are never free from biases. This research is very important as it demonstrates how the use of a processual and quantitative method based on a large sample of data can help to unravel biases, marginalisations and omissions in historical/cultural heritage texts. This is of fundamental importance. As far as I am aware, the strength in the use of a quantitative methodology to reply to post-processual concerns has never been demonstrated in previous publications on World Heritage or on cultural heritage studies.

Moreover, the identification of these central and marginalised values through quantitative analyses has helped to reveal relations of powers between different groups of societies as detailed in nomination dossiers. Identification of the relations of powers through analyses of discourses and representations has tended to be a post-processual endeavour as further explained in Chapter 2. The combination of quantitative and qualitative analyses of nomination dossiers has helped to reveal that the past was constructed in a very specific way in nomination dossiers in order to legitimise the authority of men from the middle and upper classes and consolidate their positive and grand conception of the past and the nation.

8.3.2. Size matters when replying to post-processual concerns

This research has been based on quantitative analyses and it has therefore been necessary to have a relatively large sample of data. The large size of the data set (109 case studies) is original as previous publications on World Heritage have focused on one or two specific examples and contexts. Moreover, post-processual archaeology has tended to privilege the study of one specific site or object within its own context and has tended to criticise the use of large samples. The large size of the data (over fifty times the average size of that used in a post-processual context) reflects the influence of processual

Chapter 8: Conclusions and Contributions for change

archaeology which has advocated the use of a representative sample of the data. The relatively large size of my sample has given strength to the results of this data analysis and has helped to confirm some post-processual positions. Indeed, this large sample has helped to demonstrate similarities in the patterns of central and marginal themes, in the biases identified and in the representation of the past and the nation, of cultural and human diversity, of economic value and of conservation and authenticity in the nomination dossiers from the different types of cultural heritage and regions analysed. The use of a large sample has therefore helped to reach post-processual conclusions.

The size of the sample is important as it obviates any criticism that the results and conclusions of this thesis can only be applied to one or two isolated cases. As further detailed in Chapter 2, this is one of the inconveniences of a post-processual methodology which focuses on one or two individual examples and contexts without linking them, in some cases, to the wider data. This size of the sample has made possible the drawing of inferences and some generalisations as further detailed in Section 8.4. Attempting to generalise the results of my research is an important endeavour. Indeed, this helps to detect whether these results are significant within the total population of the research. The fact that the results can be generalised highlights the urgent need for a change in States Parties' conceptions and understanding of the World Heritage system.

8.3.3. Continuous or disruptive patterns in discourses and representations at different levels

These quantitative analyses have also been very important in detecting patterns of continuity or rupture in references to the concepts studied over time and across regions. Indeed, the analyses of the mean percentages have enabled me to detect whether some values were increasingly mentioned in nomination dossiers over time. The quantitative analyses have therefore been of key importance to highlight the lack of evolution in the values for which sites have been nominated over time, across different regions of the world and according to different categories of heritage. This quantitative analysis has

Chapter 8: Conclusions and Contributions for change

been complemented by a more fine-grained, qualitative one. Reasons for this stability and lack of evolution were also looked for in the qualitative analysis. This research has concluded that nomination dossiers have been used over the years and in different regions of the world in a similar way: to perpetuate a carefully-defined, static and immutable image of the nation. The combined use of a quantitative and qualitative methodology has therefore helped to stress that the past presented in nomination dossiers was partial and constructed and served the political interests of men in power. Therefore this research has made a fundamental theoretical contribution to the field of cultural heritage by demonstrating the importance of combining quantitative and qualitative methods to reach post-processual conclusions.

This novel methodological approach has also enabled the analysis of the evolution of a specific discourse by different stakeholders, at different levels over time. This method has demonstrated the possibility of analysing quantitatively and qualitatively whether different concepts and positions that have been increasingly central in the World Heritage Committee's discourse have followed similar patterns at national levels. For instance, it has been possible to analyse whether the 1994 recommendations of the World Heritage Committee to move away from an architectural conception of cultural heritage has resulted in the shortening of the sections of nomination dossiers dedicated to describing the architectural value of sites. This method is important as it shows whether there is continuity and harmony in the formation of specific discourses or rupture and conflict between the different stakeholders responsible for establishing these discourses. This is a novel way of engaging with the subject of World Heritage. Indeed, never before have these different levels of discourses on World Heritage by different stakeholders been analysed. Previous publications have indeed analysed the implementation of the Convention in a static manner focusing on the understanding of the Committee or that of States Parties without attempting to cross-link or cross-reference these two levels. It is important to note that this analysis of the construction of discourses by different stakeholders has been considered a post-processual endeavour as further explained in Chapter 2. The use of a quantitative and processual method to reply to post-processual

concerns is therefore again demonstrated.

Finally, it is important to note that this novel method has the potential to be applied again to other subjects or fields to analyse the relationship, processes of negotiations and degrees of influence between different levels and stakeholders. For instance, one could analyse whether and how the 1992 Rio Declaration on Environment and Development and Agenda 21 have impacted on discourses by governments, academics or non-governmental organisations on environmental protection and sustainable development.

8.4. Generalising the results

The three categories selected share similar central and marginal themes quantitatively. Qualitatively, the dossiers studied are not all radically different from each other and they also share similar central and marginalised themes and representations. Can the results of the quantitative and qualitative analyses be generalised so as to apply to the whole of the World Heritage List? The nomination dossiers analysed are centred primarily on detailing the architectural and aesthetic value of the property and its history and development. These results might apply to other sites that have strong architectural, aesthetic and historical value such as other religious and industrial heritage sites, modern heritage properties, military properties or historic towns. According to recent analyses of the World Heritage List that I undertook as part of an ICOMOS analysis (2003) these categories represent 70% of the sites on the World Heritage List. Therefore these results would certainly be applicable to more than 70% of the World Heritage List. These results can thus be generalised to the great majority of sites inscribed on the List.

These results might be different for non-monumental sites that do not possess important and exceptional aesthetic dimensions such as some cultural landscapes. These results would certainly be different if these cultural landscapes were also important because of their associated outstanding intangible values for local and, in some cases, indigenous populations. However, only a minority of the cultural landscapes inscribed on the World

Chapter 8: Conclusions and Contributions for change

Heritage List, twenty out of a total of fifty-three, correspond to these descriptions. Indeed, as previously stressed in Chapter 4, most cultural landscapes on the List are characterised by their historical significance as well as by notions of continuity, tradition, religiosity and aesthetics. This confirms the fact that my results would be applicable to other categories of sites.

These results might also be different for sites linked to painful events such as Auschwitz Concentration Camp, the Island of Gorée (Senegal, inscribed on the List in 1978), or the Hiroshima Peace Memorial (Genbaku Dome). These sites symbolise humanity's cruelty to its fellow human beings over the centuries and continue to serve as sanctuaries for reconciliation and peace among different countries. It would be extremely interesting to analyse how the nation is represented and the national collective identity constructed in these nomination dossiers. However, only ten World Heritage sites correspond to these characteristics. This confirms that my results would not be applicable to only a minority of sites on the World Heritage List.

Since my results apply to so many categories of sites, it is believed that an initial selection of sites through random sampling rather than through purposeful sampling would not have led to major differences in the results. Indeed, the great majority of the sites on the World Heritage List present the same characteristics as those that have been analysed in this present research, *id est* that they have strong architectural, monumental and aesthetic values; therefore the results would have been the same. Since sites that present other characteristics are a minority on the World Heritage List, they would have been marginalised within the data set, which would have needed to be relatively large (at least 10% of the World Heritage List) to provide meaningful statistics. It was originally felt that probability (random) sampling should be discarded for this research as this method would have introduced too many variables, in particular, too many types of properties (religious, military sites, historic centres...). However, the similarities in the results of the data analyses demonstrate that the different types of properties would not necessarily have led to differing results.

8.5. Revisiting nomination dossiers

8.5.1. The importance and aims of revising nomination dossiers

This research has demonstrated that a number of important recommendations and decisions taken by the World Heritage Committee have not been implemented at national level. This lack of a fluid relationship between the global sphere of the World Heritage Committee and the national sphere of governments has led to major problems in the implementation of the World Heritage Convention as identified in this research. In particular, the need to take into consideration the multi-faceted, anthropological, socio-cultural and local values of sites as recommended in the 1994 text of the Global Strategy has not been followed by States Parties. This research has also identified the marginalisation of a number of stakeholders including the local population in the drafting of nomination dossiers. This can lead to potentially dangerous situations for the conservation of sites. Indeed, this can create tensions and resentment from the groups of population, usually the local population and/or other concerned stakeholders, that have been excluded from the process of identification of the different values for which the site should be conserved. These tensions and resentments can lead to vandalism perpetrated on the property by these rejected groups of the population which can endanger the site. Furthermore, the different values that make these stakeholders care for the site might not be protected as part of the conservation and management of the property. In the medium to long terms, these important values might become endangered.

Identifying all the different values for which sites should be conserved is therefore a fundamental step. This makes the nomination dossier that records the values for which sites should be conserved one of the most important, if not the most important, document in the World Heritage process. The main aim of management and conservation plans is to devise a structured method for the preservation of the values that make sites special. Therefore, if no statement of significance and of outstanding universal value is drafted,

Chapter 8: Conclusions and Contributions for change

sites cannot be conserved. If the different values that make sites special are poorly identified in the nomination dossier, only part of the significance of sites would be protected which is detrimental to them. Hence the fundamental importance of nomination dossiers should be to guide States Parties to record all the different values for which sites have been and should be preserved for future generations.

Nomination dossiers are also very important as they are the key document on which the advisory bodies and the Committee base their decision to include a site on the World Heritage List. If a State Party wants its site to be included on the World Heritage List, it would comply with the format required for nomination dossiers. These documents can therefore constitute a bridge between the World Heritage Committee's decisions and recommendations and their implementation by States Parties. This demonstrates the importance of revising the format of nomination dossiers. However, States Parties' knowledge and understanding of the Convention is a prerequisite in order to implement this new format properly. The publication and diffusion of the *State of World Heritage Report* is a prerequisite to the release of a new format of nomination dossier since States Parties firstly need to understand the Convention system better.

The proposed revised format of nomination dossier is presented in Table 8.1. This revision follows two aims. Firstly, this revised nomination dossier aims to guide States Parties in providing a more holistic and comprehensive statement of outstanding universal value that takes into account all the values for which the site is protected, including the local socio-cultural and anthropological ones. The second aim of this revision is to propose a more logical presentation of this form so as to encourage States Parties to present a more consistent and coherent document. Indeed, my research has shown a number of contradictions in nomination dossiers which might be a consequence of its current format.

Table 8.1. Revised and current formats for the nomination dossier of sites for inclusion on the World Heritage List

Revised format of nomination dossiers	Current format of nomination dossiers
<p>1. Identification of the Property</p> <p>a. Country (and State Party if different) b. State, Province or Region c. Name of Property d. Geographical coordinates to the nearest second e. Maps and plans, showing the boundaries of the nominated property and buffer zone f. Area of nominated property (ha.) and proposed buffer zone (ha.)</p> <p>2. Description</p> <p>a. History and Development b. Description of Property</p>	<p>1. Identification of the Property</p> <p>a. Country (and State Party if different) b. State, Province or Region c. Name of Property d. Geographical coordinates to the nearest second e. Maps and plans, showing the boundaries of the nominated property and buffer zone f. Area of nominated property (ha.) and proposed buffer zone (ha.)</p> <p>2. Description</p> <p>a. Description of Property b. History and Development</p>
<p>3. Justification for Inscription</p> <p>a. Statement of outstanding universal value and criteria under which inscription is proposed. Detail the different values (such as social, architectural, environmental, economic and/or informational values) that make the site of 'outstanding universal value'. Experts should bear in mind the recommendations of the Global Strategy to move away from an architectural and monumental conception of cultural heritage to one which recognises the anthropological and multi-vocal values of sites b. Authenticity. Define the degree of authenticity of the site in relation to the Nara Document. Detail the historic and contemporary restoration and reconstruction programmes and their relationships to the authenticity of the site</p>	<p>3. Justification for Inscription</p> <p>a. Criteria under which inscription is proposed (and justification for inscription under these criteria) b. Proposed Statement of Outstanding Universal Value c. Comparative analysis (including state of conservation of similar properties) d. Integrity and/or Authenticity</p>
<p>4. Local Populations and relevant stakeholders</p>	<p>4. State of Conservation and factors affecting the Property</p>

<p>stakeholders in the selection and nomination of the site for inclusion on the World Heritage List. Detail the plans for the participation of the local population in the management of the site following its inscription on the List</p> <p>b. Information on the participation of local populations in the interpretation of the site</p> <p>c. Number of inhabitants within the site, buffer zone</p> <p>d. Provide information on past and planned displacement(s) of local populations</p>	<p>a. Present state of conservation</p> <p>b. Factors affecting the property</p> <p>(i) Development Pressures (e.g., encroachment, adaptation, agriculture, mining)</p> <p>(ii) Environmental pressures (e.g., pollution, climate change, desertification)</p> <p>(iii) Natural disasters and risk preparedness (earthquakes, floods, fires, etc.)</p> <p>(iv) Visitor/tourism pressures</p> <p>(v) Number of inhabitants within the property and the buffer zone</p> <p>Estimated population located within: Area of nominated property _____ Buffer zone _____ Total _____ Year _____</p>
<p>5. State of Conservation</p> <p>a. Juridical data. Provide information on the ownership and legal status as well as the administration responsible for the site</p> <p>b. Protective measures and means of implementing them. List the relevant protective legislation available for the property and provide a brief summary of its provision</p> <p>c. History of preservation/conservation. Present state of conservation</p>	<p>5. Protection and Management of the Property</p> <p>a. Ownership</p> <p>b. Protective designation</p> <p>c. Means of implementing protective measures.</p> <p>d. Existing plans related to municipality and region in which the proposed property is located (e.g., regional or local plan, conservation plan, tourism development plan)</p> <p>e. Property management plan or other management system</p> <p>f. Sources and levels of finance</p> <p>g. Sources of expertise and training in conservation and management</p>

	<p>techniques</p> <p>h. Visitor facilities and statistics</p> <p>i. Policies and programmes related to the presentation and promotion of the property</p> <p>j. Staffing levels (professional, technical, maintenance)</p>
<p>6. Factors affecting the site and risk-preparedness</p> <p>a. Environmental pressures (e.g., pollution, climate change). List all the major sources of environmental deterioration on building fabric and the environment. Provide detailed information on the measures taken to solve these environmental problems</p> <p>b. Natural disasters and preparedness (earthquakes, floods, fires, etc.). Itemize the disasters that present a foreseeable threat to the property and the plans taken for dealing with them</p> <p>c. Development pressures (e.g., encroachment, adaptation, agriculture, mining). Provide detailed information on the development pressures affecting the property including pressure for development and rebuilding, inappropriate industrial activity at or in vicinity of the nominated property as well as methods to prevent development pressures</p> <p>d. Visitor/ tourism pressures</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Provide visitor figures as well as a clear and detailed account of the carrying capacity of the property. Explain how the carrying capacity was drawn up. Provide information on the plans to put into action when the carrying capacity of the site is exceeded. - Provide a detailed account of the visitor facilities (e.g. overnight accommodation, restaurant or refreshment facilities; shops, car parks, lavatories) and their location within the site 	<p>6. Monitoring</p> <p>a. Key indicators for measuring state of conservation</p>

<p>- Provide detailed information and statistics on the different effects of visitors on the buildings and its environment. Provide detailed information on measures taken to prevent the degradation of the nominated property and the environment by tourists and visitors e. Other</p>	
<p>7. Management</p> <p>a. Administrative and financial capacity available for the site. Provide information on the sources and levels of finance. Provide detailed information on the staffing levels and the sources of expertise and training in conservation and management technique</p> <p>b. Agreed plans related to the property including conservation plans, site management plan and regional and local development plans. Explain how the development will be undertaken in a sustainable manner. Provide a clear explanation of the benefits of the development of the site for the local population</p>	

8.5.2. Encouraging the listing of more relative, anthropological values

Section 1 of the current nomination dossier should not be changed. Section 1 requests basic essential information on the name of the site, its geographical location and its boundaries. This essential information identifies the area that should benefit from tight protection measures against any threats such as unsustainable development projects. The two sub-sections of Section 2 have been reversed so as to provide a more logical structure to this Section. Indeed, it is necessary to have background information on the history and development of the property to be able to understand the descriptions of the important features of the property. This small re-organisation prevents information being repeated from one sub-section to the next. The sub-section 'history and development' should enable the reader to acquire an overall understanding of the history of the site. This section should then describe the property, provide explanations on the size and characteristics of the important buildings that should be monitored and protected following the inscription of the site on the World Heritage List.

Section 3 as it is presented at the moment is problematic since it is not presented in a logical manner. This is the most important section of nomination dossiers as it should detail the different values that make the site of outstanding universal value. This is also the keystone in the World Heritage system as this section should then be used as the basis for the management and conservation of properties. It is therefore essential for this section to be organised in a logical manner in order to facilitate States Parties' provision of coherent statements of outstanding universal value. As Section 3 stands at the moment, it seems that the statement of outstanding universal value derives from the criteria for which the site should be inscribed. This is problematical since, by giving such a prominence to the criteria, the Committee is encouraging States Parties to adapt the significance of the site to the criteria. This might surely encourage States Parties to provide an 'artificial' statement of outstanding universal value that would be based on objective and intrinsic values rather than on inventorying all the values for which the site should be protected. Instead, the criteria should derive from the statement of outstanding

Chapter 8: Conclusions and Contributions for change

universal value. The revised format of the nomination dossier requests the statement of outstanding universal value and the criteria to be provided together. This would enable States Parties to be able to adapt the criteria to the situation of the site and to be more creative in their understanding of these criteria.

Chapter 4 has demonstrated the difficulty for States Parties to conduct and provide meaningful comparative analyses. The sub-section requesting a comparative analysis has been removed from this new format but should become part of ICOMOS evaluations. This is further detailed in Section 8.6.

One of the major results of this research is that States Parties do not provide comprehensive and holistic statements of outstanding universal value but focus only on a few values such as architectural, aesthetic or historical values. In order to encourage States Parties to provide more holistic statements of outstanding universal value, the revised format of nomination dossier presented in Table 8.1. refers directly to the recommendation of the Global Strategy to move away from an architectural and monumental conception of cultural heritage to one which is more anthropological and multi-vocal. This direct addition should encourage States Parties to put into practice the recommendation from the Global Strategy. In order to encourage States Parties further not to present solely the main, obvious architectural, aesthetic and historical values of the site, the revised nomination dossier format clearly refers to the different values that should be discussed such as anthropological and social values. The list of values provided in the revised nomination dossier also includes environmental ones. Environmental values are an important aspect of the site and their protection is one of the three dimensions of sustainability, a concept heralded by UNESCO. Indeed, many cultural heritage sites encompass important natural features such as outstanding landscapes, exceptional eco-systems and threatened species that need to be protected for the well-being of future generations. Environmental values are also essential as they help to explain further the *raison d'être* of a specific settlement and provide a justification for its development. The lack of recognition and protection of a site's environmental values can

Chapter 8: Conclusions and Contributions for change

be dangerous in the medium to long term and lead to the deterioration of the site.

Section 3 of the revised format of nomination dossier also requests States Parties to detail the authenticity of the property in relation to the Nara Document. Indeed, as further discussed in Chapter 7, the Nara Document refers to a more realistic definition of authenticity than previously. The revised model of the format of the dossier refers directly to the Nara Document in order to encourage a greater number of States Parties to use this text. Chapter 7 has demonstrated that the historical and contemporary restorations and reconstructions of the nominated site can affect its degree of authenticity. This is the reason why the revised model of the format of nomination dossier requests the justifications of the degree of authenticity to be related to the historical and contemporary restorations and reconstructions of the site. Information on the degree of integrity of the site has not been requested to be included in this section. Indeed, the integrity of the site refers to its degree of wholeness which should be explained in the section on the description of the property.

As indicated in Table 8.1. a new Section 4 on 'Local Populations and Relevant Stakeholders' has been added in the revised model of the format of nomination dossier. Indeed, a key finding of this research is that the local population and other relevant stakeholders, as well as their understanding and uses of the nominated site, have not been taken into consideration in the drafting of nomination dossiers. This is the main reason for a number of social and anthropological values to be marginalised from the nomination dossiers analysed. Section 4 therefore requests States Parties to detail whether and how local populations and other concerned communities have taken part in the process of site nomination. This is a crucial addition to the revised nomination dossier. Indeed, without the involvement of the local population, it is very difficult, if not impossible, to record the socio-cultural values that make each site different from one another. By asking for the provision of information on this issue, it is hoped that States Parties would be encouraged to involve the local population in all the different phases in the nomination of potential sites for inclusion on the World Heritage List and their future management. In order to

Chapter 8: Conclusions and Contributions for change

encourage States Parties to involve the local population further, a section of the *State of World Heritage Report* provides a number of case studies on the involvement of the local population and other concerned communities in the identification of the values for which sites should be nominated for inclusion on the World Heritage List (Labadi, in prep). This report also provides examples of resolutions of conflicts between different local stakeholders in the identification of those values and in the conservation of sites. The need for a new section of nomination dossiers which would explain the involvement of local populations and other relevant stakeholders has also been demonstrated in my latest article (Labadi 2005, 99).

8.5.3. A more logical presentation for fewer contradictions

The other sections of this revised nomination dossier are presented in a more coherent manner than in the current form of nomination dossier in order to help to reduce contradictions in the information provided by States Parties. The history and present state of conservation of sites and the juridical data concerning their conservation are separated in the current nomination dossier format. As indicated in Table 8.1., the revised format of nomination dossier requests the history and present state of conservation of sites and the juridical data concerning their conservation to be presented in the same sub-section. This is because Chapter 7 has shown that the state of conservation of sites is intimately linked to the degree of legal protection. Therefore it is logical to request this related information to be presented in association sequentially. Without such information being presented in such a coherent manner, it is very difficult to judge the state of conservation of nominated properties.

According to Chapter 7, the States Parties that have detailed the factors that affect sites have not systematically presented risk-preparedness and mitigation policies. These nomination dossiers thus do not clarify whether any risk-preparedness or mitigation policy has been implemented at site level. One of the reasons for this lack of information might be due to the fact that the current format of nomination dossier does not request States Parties to detail their risk-preparedness or mitigation policies. For this reason,

Chapter 8: Conclusions and Contributions for change

Section 6 the revised format of nomination dossier requests that risk-preparedness or mitigation policies be detailed. Asking States Parties for such information would also encourage them to adopt such policies. The *State of World Heritage Report* further details the problems of not adopting risk-preparedness and mitigation policies (Labadi, in prep). This publication also presents examples of good practice to prepare against natural and man-made disasters including earthquakes, floods, hurricanes and infrastructure and tourism development. These examples aim to help and guide States Parties in the adoption of good risk-preparedness strategies.

Chapters 6 and 7 have demonstrated an overall lack of precise information on tourism and its impact in nomination dossiers. This is a major issue since tourism, one of the biggest industries in the world, might have deep, harmful and irreversible impacts on sites. In an effort to encourage States Parties to clarify and better detail their management of tourism, the sub-section on 'visitor/tourism pressures' of the revised format of nomination dossier has been widened with more precise questions to the ones in the current format. In particular, information is requested as to how carrying capacity was calculated, on the relation between visitor numbers and carrying capacity and on the activities and facilities provided on-site. Chapters 6 and 7 have also shown that the current nomination dossier does not request explanations of the proactive measures that have been taken to protect the site against the harmful impacts of visitors and tourists. The revised nomination dossier form thus requests States Parties to detail the effects of visitors and tourists on the environment and the built environment as well as the proactive measures taken to prevent the degradation of the nominated property and the environment by tourists and visitors.

Section 7 of my revised nomination dossier refers to the 'Management' of the nominated property. The current section of the format of nomination dossiers concerning the management of properties is repetitive and not presented in a logical manner. Table 8.1. presents a reorganised and shortened section on management. The sub-sections 'sources and levels of finance', 'sources and levels of expertise and training in conservation and management techniques' and 'staffing levels (professional, technical, maintenance)' of the

Chapter 8: Conclusions and Contributions for change

current format of nomination dossier have been grouped into one sub-section 'capacity available for the site' with the requirement to detail these administrative and financial capacities.

Section 7 of the revised format of nomination dossier also requests details of the agreed plans related to the property. Chapter 6 has demonstrated that, whilst sustainable development is an important and recurring concept of the UN and its specialised organisations, less than a third of the nomination dossiers analysed have explained whether and how development projects will respect the heritage and its environment and contribute to the socio-economic well-being of the local population. For this reason the revised format of nomination dossier requests information detailing the environmental impacts of regional and local development plans and the benefits of these planned developments for the local population.

The section entitled 'Monitoring' of the current format of nomination dossier has been removed in the revised one. Indeed, this thesis as well as the analyses of the Periodic Reports that have been undertaken as part of the *State of World Heritage Report* have demonstrated the lack of suitable monitoring systems at site level. Because of this lack, nomination dossiers tend to repeat information already provided in previous sections of the dossiers. It is important to note that Periodic reports, not the nomination dossiers, should provide information on monitoring of World Heritage sites.

8.6. Recommendations to ICOMOS

This research has also stressed a number of problems with ICOMOS, the main advisory body responsible for the evaluation of nomination dossiers of cultural heritage sites. ICOMOS plays the key role of a bridge between the World Heritage Committee and States Parties by assessing, *inter alia*, whether the recommendations of the former have been implemented in nomination dossiers. Making recommendations to ICOMOS is

Chapter 8: Conclusions and Contributions for change

essential to assure that the revised format of nomination dossier will be suitably assessed.

One of the key conclusions from this research is that nomination dossiers do not present a holistic and comprehensive statement of outstanding universal value but focus on the main, objective values of sites. The revised nomination dossier presented in table 8.1. as well as the *State of World Heritage Report* encourage States Parties, and provide them with the necessary information, to draft more holistic and comprehensive statements of significance (Labadi, in prep). Ideally, it would also be necessary that ICOMOS ensure that all the relevant values are recorded. Chapter 5 has stressed that ICOMOS has never commented on the level of participation of the local populations in the evaluations of the nomination dossiers analysed. This demonstrates that ICOMOS has not ensured that the decisions of the Committee are implemented by States Parties. Indeed, paragraph 14 of the revised version of the Operational Guidelines from the mid-1990s up to 2005 requested that the local population be involved in the nomination process. It is therefore recommended that ICOMOS assess the way in which nomination dossiers have been drafted and report on the involvement of local population and other concerned stakeholders in its evaluations. It is also necessary that, during on-site evaluation, ICOMOS meets not only with officials from the governments but also with the representatives from the local populations in order to understand the values and uses of the site by the local population. ICOMOS should also pay particular attention to the proper implementation of the recommendations of the Committee in nomination dossiers. It might also be useful for the World Heritage Committee to assess ICOMOS evaluation forms regularly to ensure that the latter evaluates States Parties' implementation of the Committee's recommendations in their nomination dossiers.

This research has also stressed that very specific and controlled representations of the past and the nation, of human and cultural diversity, of economic value and of conservation and authenticity have been constructed in nomination dossiers which have led to a marginalisation or even omission of specific subjects such as women, the lower classes or indigenous people. These omissions and marginalisations are potentially

Chapter 8: Conclusions and Contributions for change

damaging to sites as a number of outstanding values are not taken into account and hence might not be protected. The *State of World Heritage Report* has mentioned the importance of these marginalised or omitted subjects, hence relocating them from a marginalised position to a central position within official discourses on World Heritage (Labadi, in prep). It would be important for ICOMOS to mention these marginalised subjects within official discourses on World Heritage. One way to include better these subjects would be to involve them actively in ICOMOS work. Another crucial recommendation would then be for ICOMOS to involve marginalised groups of people such as women or indigenous communities better and more actively. ICOMOS, at its thirteenth General Assembly in December 2002, proposed that the ICOMOS Executive Committee investigate opportunities for indigenous people to participate in its activities. This is a very important decision but has not been implemented as of October 2005. For this reason, this important recommendation was mentioned in a recent article so as to remind ICOMOS executives of the necessity of implementing it (see Labadi 2005a, 98).

This research has also stressed the importance, for ICOMOS, to proceed with the comparative analysis of sites for inscription on the World Heritage List. Indeed, this would enable any comparative analysis to be drafted in a more scientific and objective manner than currently. Moreover, ICOMOS has the necessary knowledge to draft such comparative analyses. As detailed in Chapter 1, they have been responsible for the coordination of comparative and thematic studies since the early years of the implementation of the World Heritage Convention.

This research has also stressed a lack of thorough analyses of key aspects in ICOMOS evaluations, including those related to the representation of economic values and authenticity. This research has shown, for instance, that a number of concepts did not seem to have been properly detailed or explained in States Parties' nomination dossiers. This includes for instance the carrying capacity of the site which is very high in some cases (for example, it reaches 50,000 visitors per day according to the nomination dossier of Longmen Grottoes). The level of visitations should have been discussed in ICOMOS

Chapter 8: Conclusions and Contributions for change

evaluation as this can become a major threat through wear and tear of the property. Moreover, some ICOMOS viewpoints are sometimes difficult to comprehend. As further detailed in Chapter 7, this is the case with ICOMOS assessment of the authenticity of sites. ICOMOS evaluations therefore need to be more thorough, detailed and explicit. It is therefore recommended that ICOMOS be more specific and detailed in the analyses of key concepts. At present, ICOMOS evaluations are five pages long on average whilst IUCN evaluations are ten pages long average. It is therefore suggested that ICOMOS takes the example of IUCN and lengthens its evaluation in order to be more thorough and detailed.

8.7. Future and related developments and research

The publication of articles on the results of this thesis (see in particular Labadi, 2005a and Labadi, forthcoming) as well the preparation of the *State of World Heritage Report* (Labadi, in prep) has led to a high number of requests for access to the manuscript of my thesis. This interest has encouraged me to actively look for an editor to publish this thesis before the end of 2006.

The World Heritage Centre has also started working on a new publication, at the request of the World Heritage Committee, entitled *Principles for the protection and conservation of properties inscribed on the World Heritage List and interventions situated within their buffer zones*. This publication will discuss value-based management of World Heritage sites. I plan to write a contribution for this publication on the impact of values on the management of World Heritage sites.

I am also involved, as an independent researcher, in a project related to the potential nomination of nineteen fortified towns located in Northern France, Belgium and the Netherlands for inscription on the World Heritage List. One aspect of this project entitled Septentrion and partly financed by the European Union, is to involve academics and

Chapter 8: Conclusions and Contributions for change

researchers in reflections on issues related to this nomination. I am part of the group from three countries that meets regularly to debate theoretical issues related to this nomination. It is planned that reflections and issues discussed be published. This project is important as it has the potential to enable me to analyse further the results of this research. Indeed, this is a transboundary project where the selected sites do not represent so much a history of harmony and grandeur between the countries as of religious wars (between Catholic and Protestant empires) and bloody conquests between different European monarchs. This project therefore offers the possibility of constructing different models of the past, the nation and collective national identity from the ones recognised in this thesis. Through this project, I will be able to analyse whether and how these different models can be built. This project also aims to encourage the active participation of local populations from these nineteen sites and three countries. Hence this project will enable me to analyse, on a practical and theoretical level, whether and how these different stakeholders' views and understandings of these nineteen sites can be included in the nomination dossier of the Septentrion for inclusion on the World Heritage List. My active participation in this project is very important as this constitutes yet another avenue by which this thesis is being used to reflect on and change the theory and practice on World Heritage.

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