

Dealing with multiple hazards and threats on cultural heritage sites: An assessment of 80 case studies

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Dealing with multiple hazards and threats on cultural heritage sites: an assessment of 80 case studies

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Abstract

Purpose: Cultural heritage (CH) sites are not only important components of a country's identity but can also
 be important drivers of tourism. However, an increasing number of extreme events associated with the
 impacts of climate change, natural hazards and human-induced threats are posing significant problems in
 conserving and managing cultural heritage worldwide. Consequently, improved climate change adaptation
 and enhanced hazard/threat mitigation strategies have become critical (but to-date under researched)
 considerations. This paper aims to identify the key hazards and threats to cultural heritage sites, the most
 common types of risks to CH and the strategies being adopted to mitigate or even eradicate those risks.

Design/methodology: This paper reviews 80 CH case studies from around the world, which have been
 presented at a UNESCO International Training Course between 2006-2016. The case studies cover 45
 different countries and provide practical insights into the key challenges being encountered in a variety of 'at
 risk' locations.

Findings: The analysis assesses the key natural hazards and human-induced threats to the sites, an
 overview of the typical impacts to the tangible components of heritage and identifies the types of strategies
 being adopted to mitigate the risks, some of which could be transferred across cultural and geographical
 contexts.

Originality: The paper provides a wealth of useful information related to how challenges faced by CH sites might be addressed in the future

Keywords: cultural heritage, resilience, disaster risk management

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 bringing their experiences and insights from cultural heritage sites across the world.

INTRODUCTION

36 Recent disasters such as earthquakes in Nepal (2015), cyclones in the Philippines (2014), fires in Lijiang, 37 China (2013 and 2014) and the devastating tsunami along the east coast of Japan (2011), have caused 38 39 enormous loss of life, property and cultural heritage. These disasters are just a few examples (of many) that 40 have demonstrated the extent to which Cultural Heritage (CH) is highly vulnerable to the impacts of a wide 41 range of natural hazards and human induced threats. Thus, it is increasingly being recognised how important 42 it is to undertake proactive measures that can reduce risks to CH from these catastrophic events through 43 adequate mitigation and preparedness (Jigyasu et al., 2013). Additionally, in the post disaster phase, the 44 challenge is how to salvage heritage properties, which are at risk of demolition and to assess their damage. 45 The long-term challenge during the recovery phase is how to repair and retrofit affected properties, sites and 46 assets and undertake reconstruction that respects tangible as well as intangible heritage values (Ravankhah 47 et al. 2017). 48

49 In 2007 UNESCO adopted its 'Strategy for Reducing Risks at World Heritage Properties', not only to enhance 50 World Heritage sites protection from natural hazards, but also to advocate the importance of CH in 51 international developmental agendas. The document clearly emphasises "strengthen[ing] support within 52 relevant global, regional, national and local institutions for reducing risks at World Heritage properties" as one 53 of the main objectives, with a view to "promote cultural and natural heritage, and its potential positive role for 54 disaster reduction as part of sustainable development..." (UNESCO, 2007). Subsequently, a collaborative 55 paper on 'heritage contributions to resilience', prepared by ICOMOS-ICORP, UNISDR, UNESCO, and 56 ICCROM, was presented to the fourth session of the Global Platform on Disaster Risk Reduction in Geneva 57

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in 2013 (Jigyasu et al., 2013). Apart from highlighting CH issues in reducing disaster risks, it aimed to draw the attention of the global community of disaster risk reduction professionals to CH, and later to stress CH in upcoming international agendas.

4 The UN's report for the Post-2015 UN Development Agenda "Realising the Future We Want for All", 5 highlights the importance of disaster risk reduction and resilience within the context of environmental 6 sustainability; one of the four core dimensions of sustainability (UN, 2012). The concepts of sustainability and 7 resilience highlight the importance of long-term effects and of taking a holistic and systematic view of highly 8 interconnected variables. Goal 11 of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development - "make cities and 9 10 human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable" - explicitly acknowledges 'Heritage' in target 11 11.4: "strengthen efforts to protect and safeguard the world's cultural and natural heritage" (UN, 2015, p.18). 12 Following the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), the integration of the concept of 'Cultural Heritage' 13 into disaster resilience has been emphasised in the UN's Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction 14 (SFDRR) 2015-2030.¹ particularly within Priority for Action 1 'Understanding disaster risk and Priority', and 15 within Action 3 'Investing in disaster risk reduction for resilience' (UNISDR, 2015). While the above-16 mentioned efforts have helped to promote the importance of risk management of heritage as well as the 17 potential roles of heritage in contributing to disaster resilience, such a laudable aim may in reality pose a 18 number of problems in relation to competing priorities, disciplinary boundaries and ultimately operational 19 effectiveness, in particular when it comes to implementation at the national and local levels (Ravankhah et al. 20 2017). 21

22 A key factor indicating the need to increase the resilience of heritage sites is the fragility of their historic fabric 23 and higher vulnerability (i.e. due to ageing materials, limited critical infrastructure and urban density) to 24 natural hazards and human-induced threats in comparison with contemporary urban areas, which typically 25 have a higher response capacity (i.e. due to stricter/modern building codes, modern 'tested' materials and 26 better access for emergency services). This paper reviews a wide range of 'heritage' case studies from 27 around the world, which have been presented at the UNESCO International Training Course between 2006-28 2016, with the aim of identifying the key natural hazards and human-induced threats to the sites, the typical 29 types of impacts to the tangible components of CH and to identify the types of strategies being adopted to 30 31 mitigate or even eradicate the risks. 32

³³ CULTURAL HERITAGE SITES AT RISK

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34 CH sites that have withstood the test of time are becoming increasingly prone to the impacts of natural 35 hazards (such as earthquakes, floods, cyclones) as well as human induced threats (such as vandalism, theft, 36 arson and rapid urbanisation). For instance, Figure 1 illustrates how many UNESCO cultural heritage sites 37 are located in seismically active areas. In the absence of any comprehensive legal framework for protection, 38 39 CH sites are vulnerable not only to impending disasters but also during emergency and post disaster 40 recovery phases (Jigyasu 2016). The major underlying causes for their increasing vulnerability are climate 41 change, population growth, urbanisation and poverty, especially in developing countries (ibid). 42

Rapidly urbanising areas with rich cultural heritage such as Istanbul in Turkey, Kyoto in Japan, Mexico City in
 Mexico, Kathmandu in Nepal and Cairo in Egypt are located in seismically active zones and thus are highly
 vulnerable to disasters. Likewise, many of the World's oldest cities were established along rivers and
 coastlines, mainly for the benefits of drinking, food, transport, energy and industry that such locations can
 provide in abundance. However, these locations (such as Bangkok, London and Venice) tend to provide
 environments that are hazardous due to a broad range of flooding events related to unmanageable amounts
 of excess water (related to floods, storms and tsunamis).



¹ The Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction 2015–2030 was adopted at the Third United Nations World Conference on Disaster Risk Reduction, held in March 2015 in Sendai, Japan.



Figure 1: Earthquake risk of UNESCO heritage sites (Masuda et al. 2009)



Figure 2: Flood risk of UNESCO heritage sites (Bigio et al., 2014)



Figure 3: Landslide risk of UNESCO heritage sites (Bigio et al., 2014)

MAKING HAZARD PRONE HERITAGE SITES MORE RESILIENT

Recent policy frameworks (e.g. SFDRR and SDGs) are addressing the importance of Disaster Risk Management (DRM) in both the sustainability and resilience agendas. Despite a shift to more pro-active and pre-emptive approaches to managing disaster risk, DRM is still largely influenced by more reactive emergency management practices (UN, 2015). The term 'resilience', whilst being surrounded by various debates on its meaning, usefulness and characteristics (see Chmutina et al., 2016; Alexander, 2013; Bahadur et al., 2010), has become an integral part of DRM terminology and international agendas, as this concept captures the (arguably rather constrained) ability of a system to rebound or resume its original form after a stress or perturbation. However, the vagueness and malleability of the term 'resilience' has led to a variety of interpretations and applications, thus making the term politically successful in reconciling the interests of politicians and practitioners (Bosher, 2014). Within the context of DRM and as defined by the UNDRR,² different approaches to resilience provide different levels of importance to the objectives of avoidance (avoid the shock), recovery (rebound after the shock), and withstanding (resist the shock). Tobin (1999) suggests that resilience is adopted in three ways: to mitigate (emphasising a reduction of exposures and risks); to recover (accepting that not all the shocks can be eliminated and thus embraces post-disaster

² ² UNDRR (2019) defines resilience as "The ability of a system, community or society exposed to hazards to resist, absorb, accommodate, adapt to, transform and recover from the effects of a hazard in a timely and efficient manner, including through the preservation and restoration of its essential basic structures and functions through risk management".

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actions); and to instigate structural changes in society and institutions based on the importance of situational
 and cognitive factors. From a holistic or a broader systems approach (e.g. Lizarralde et al., 2015), resilience
 needs to be considered in multiple sectors of intervention, including emergency action, environmental
 protection, urban development and, as argued here, cultural heritage.

Integration of cultural heritage requirements into DRM

7 In the context of heritage, "resilience may be understood as the ability to experience shocks while retaining 8 heritage values" (Australia State of the Environment 2011: 780). However, it is argued that resilience should 9 be much more than 'retention' of heritage values and more about the capacity for cultural values to thrive 10 (Ravankhah et al. 2017). To achieve this Jigyasu (2016) suggests that support (i.e. finance, technical 11 support, training, skills) should be provided for local economic development to reduce vulnerability to 12 disasters and build resilience through, for example, opportunities for livelihood regeneration. Within the 13 heritage community, any stakeholders involved in decision making related to conservation, and those who 14 influence the delivery and management of heritage sites, should be increasingly asked to respond 15 simultaneously to the challenges posed by DRM. Discussing reconsideration of mitigation in heritage 16 conservation, Boccardi (2015, p. 94) states that "in the new circumstances, the heritage paradigm should 17 thus be reassessed by dissolving the artificial boundaries that kept it for so long segregated from the non-18 19 heritage". The current holistic approaches to heritage, such as the Historic Urban Landscape (HUL) 20 approach, can for instance, better facilitate a proactive heritage role in disaster resilience planning. The HUL 21 approach emphasises the intangible socio-cultural and economic patterns of community associated with 22 cultural heritage on one side, and broader public-private stakeholder network and institutions on the other. 23 Within DRM planning, instead of mainly focusing on the regional geographical and hydro-meteorological 24 conditions, such an approach could contribute to reducing non-structural vulnerability on which disaster 25 resilience greatly relies (Ravankhah et al. 2017). 26

27 However, it should be noted that heritage can also be viewed as an obstacle for implementing disaster 28 mitigation policies or recovery plans. The European Parliament Committee Report on 'Protecting the Cultural 29 Heritage from Disasters' (Drdacky, 2007, p. iii) realised that "...effective risk management of cultural assets is 30 rare because of inadequate understanding of the assets, failure to calculate the true cost of loss and 31 damage, and difficulty in putting a value on the non-market nature of many cultural heritage values". In more 32 operational terms (and as observed by Menoni (2001), post-disaster responses and reconstruction efforts are 33 overly influenced by a political and economic will to 'reconstruct quickly' (with the misguided belief that this 34 will help society to 'recover'). Under these circumstances CH requirements are rarely put at the centre of 35 reconstruction and ultimately the role of CH in the attainment of physical or social resilience is not well 36 considered. It has also been noted that while the Sendai Framework on DRR clearly recognizes the 37 38 importance of protecting and drawing upon heritage as an asset for resilience, there remain challenges to 39 implement this policy, due to lack of capacities at international, national and local levels and the need to 40 establish the necessary institutional mechanisms that are supported by data collection and monitoring (Dean 41 & Boccardi, 2015). The following section discusses heritage contributions to the DRM system that may cause 42 challenges while bringing opportunities for increased disaster resilience. 43

44 45 **Previously acknowledged challenges for increased disaster resilience**

Previous studies on the specific subject of how the disaster resilience of heritage sites can be improved have
been limited or conducted at a high strategic level (lacking assessment of a suitably broad range of cases).
Some of the key challenges identified in previous studies are summarised thus:

49 50 a. Multi-sector cooperation for risk preparedness and recovery

Timely and effective reactive measures (i.e. emergency management) are not sufficient for keeping the built environment safe; it is vital to deal with hazards and threats proactively, with a broad range of stakeholders being involved, and to ensure interaction among them (Bosher and Chmutina, 2017). While DRM seeks to maximise safety through enhancing structural and non-structural performance, heritage conservation aims to keep a balance between safety and value. Heritage conservation principles, such as 'minimal changes to significant fabric and use' as advocated in key ICOMOS doctrinal texts play a vital role in formulating adequate disaster mitigation strategies to retain a balance between safety and heritage values. Multistakeholder cooperation, if not synchronised adequately in advance, may result in delaying the recovery process due to potential conflicts of perceptions, expectations and capacities of the sectors engaged in the process (Aysan and Davis, 1993). To ensure that cultural heritage is considered in multi-dimensional disaster resilience planning, raising awareness of heritage values among stakeholders involved in DRM should be encouraged, while increasing their competencies in dealing with cultural heritage through mitigation, preparedness, response and recovery strategies.

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b. Multi-assessment tools in decision making procedures

10 Methodologies to assess loss of value, which demands a gualitative and systematic multi-risk analysis are 11 still extremely complex (Ravankhah and Schmidt, 2014). This is particularly true of World Heritage properties, 12 for which loss of Outstanding Universal Values (OUV) as well as associated conditions of authenticity and 13 integrity should be adequately estimated within risk assessment procedures. When using a more holistic 14 approach, viewing heritage as a source of resilience should be linked to three different assessment tools: 15 Disaster Risk Assessment, Climate Change Impact Assessment, and Heritage Impact Assessment (HIA).³ 16 With respect to implementation of DRM policies in historic environments, for example, new challenges may 17 emerge regarding appropriate mitigation measures (e.g. flood control embankments, urban drainage system, 18 and fire prevention installations) that do not negatively impact the heritage values. Such considerations 19 20 should be explored earlier in the planning procedure, through multiple risk assessment and weighing risk 21 reduction and heritage protection strategies in a multi-criteria decision-making context.

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23 c. Post-disaster reconstruction and new development vs. maintaining cultural heritage

Within post-disaster rehabilitation and recovery, there is a unique opportunity for transformation and modernisation, but heritage properties are expected to be preserved with minimal change in order to retain their values and authenticity. This might be compromised for individual monuments, but heritage buildings that exist in a context of a non-heritage built environment (e.g. in rapidly developing urban areas) cannot be overlooked, since failure in some elements will result in declining resilience of the whole system (Weise, 2016).

Therefore, while previous studies have found that there are a few already acknowledged challenges to increasing the resilience of cultural heritage, as already noted, previous studies on this topic have tended to be related to a limited number of specific cases or conducted at a high strategic level. This paper sets out to add some richness to the evidence base by assessing 80 case studies, drawn from a variety of countries, presenting an overview of different types of impacts and challenges and dealing with a variety of hazards and threats; in doing so this paper will identify the types of strategies being adopted to mitigate the risks, some of which could be transferred across cultural and geographical contexts.

40 41 METHODOLOGY

42 This paper presents an analysis of detailed case studies that have been presented by participants on 43 UNESCO's International Training Course (ITC) on Disaster Risk Management of Cultural Heritage. The ITC 44 is organised by the Institute of Disaster Mitigation for Urban Cultural Heritage (R-DMUCH) at Ritsumeikan 45 University, Kyoto, Japan. R-DMUCH has hosted the UNESCO Chair ITC since 2006, attracting over 115 46 participants (through a competitive selection process) from mainly low- and middle-income countries. The 47 participants that submitted applications to participant in the course were mainly selected by experts from 48 international, national and local authorities, academics and the practitioners of DRM or in CH conservation 49 field. Every participant needed to select one case study site from their own country; ideally this should be a 50 CH site where there would be a high possibility of the participant to implement their DRM plans on the site. 51 There was also a requirement that the CH site should be vulnerable to one or more natural hazards. At the 52

 ³ HIA is "a process of identifying, predicting, evaluating and communicating the probable effects of a current or proposed development policy or action on the cultural life, institutions and resources of communities ... with a view to mitigating adverse impacts and enhancing positive outcomes" (Sagnia and INCD, 2004: 6).

end of each course, the participants have been required to present a detailed case study aimed at preparing an outline DRM plan for a specific heritage site in their country. This paper reports on an in-depth analysis of 80 of these detailed case studies; from 45 different countries (36 of which are classified as low/middle income nations), see Figure 4 for a map of the case study locations (which are listed in Table A in the Appendix). 50 of the 80 case studies assessed are designated as UNESCO (mainly cultural) heritage sites.

Analysis of the case studies

Overall a total of 115 participant case studies have been presented during the ITC course. Each of the case studies were tasked with providing a summary report and illustrative MS Power Point presentation slides, that were broken down into the following themes: a) Introduction (i.e. location and context), b) Heritage attributes of the site (background and specific attributes), c) Site risk assessment (identified hazards, threats and vulnerabilities), d) Scenario (of what could go wrong) and e) Risk management plan (setting out possibly mitigation, preparedness and recovery options). Each of the cases where then qualitatively assessed using thematic coding (based on the key themes and sub-themes included for each study). In the few cases where the report and/or presentation slides were lacking the relevant information, those case studies were excluded from the analysis, which resulted in 80 out of the 115 case studies being included in the analysis presented here. Of these 80 case studies, 50 of them are listed on the UNESCO World Heritage List under the Cultural Heritage classification⁴. Out of the 80 cases reviewed, 68 are in urban or peri-urban contexts, with only 9 in remote/rural locations (i.e. archaeological sites such as Volubilis, Chan Chan and Mohenio-Daro). Four of the cases included in this review are classified by UNESCO as 'In danger'.



Figure 4: Locations of the 80 case studies analysed for this study

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Key hazards and threats

The frequency of hazards and threats are summarised in Table 1; most case studies reported multiple hazards and threats. Across the geographical regions, the most prevalent hazards likely to be encountered

⁴ Based upon UNESCO listings on 11th April 2018, see https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/

were earthquakes, floods and fire. It is noticeable that in many of the Asian case studies, there are multiple earthquake related hazards listed for nearly all of the case studies, this category includes earthquakes (directly) and earthquake related (i.e. indirect such as tsunamis, landslides and fires) in this category. Most of the fourteen case studies in the Americas, mainly in South America but also including Central America and the Caribbean islands, encountered earthquakes, floods and fires. A high proportion of threats from Urbanisation was experienced in the Americas, in 4 out of 14 cases. Flooding and fire (natural and human induced) were the most prevalent hazards and threats in the seven African case studies, and vandalism and theft were experienced in nearly half of the African case studies. It is interesting to note that 'climate change' was only considered as a contributory problem in 11 out of the 80 case studies (although it should be acknowledged that climate change may be influencing the prevalence of floods and storms in a way that may have been too discreet for the course participants to have acknowledged).

	Frequency of key hazards and threats reported by region										
Region (cases)	E'quake	Flood	Fire	Storm	Land- slide	Vandal/ theft	Climate Change	War/ terrorism	Urban- isation	Volcano	Other
Africa (#7)	2	6	7	2	1	3	2	1			2
Americas (#14)	13	11	10	9	9	2	2	1	4	2	3
Asia (#44)	34	30	25	14	8	10	4	4	3	5	11
Europe (#6)	8	6	8	1	5		2	1			5
Mid. East (#7)	2	2	2		1			2	1		1
Pacific (#2)	1	2	3	3	1	2	1				1
Total (#80)	60	57	55	29	25	17	11	9	8	7	23

Table 1: Overview of key hazards and threats encountered on 80 case study sites (2006-2016)

Note: 'Landslide' category only includes direct landslide related impacts (not those indirectly triggered by earthquakes) 'Other' category includes pollution, tourism, crowd control, termites and transportation accidents

When the 80 case studies are segregated into those that are currently listed by UNESCO (#50) and those that are not listed (#30), there are some more interesting observations (Table 2). It is apparent that seven of the eight case studies that listed urbanisation as a threat are heritage sites that are not UNESCO listed (23%) of the unlisted cases compared to 2% of the UNESCO listed cases). Also 10 out of the 17 cases of vandalism/theft are in unlisted heritage sites (33% of the unlisted cases compared to 21% of the UNESCO listed cases). Whilst acknowledging the small sample size, this may indicate that UNESCO listed status might play a positive role in helping such sites proactively reduce or even eliminate human induced threats such as encroachment of urban development and contribute towards improving the security of the sites. Conversely, the UNESCO listed sites experienced slightly greater problems with 'tourism' and 'crowd control' (in the Other' category); this may highlight some of the negative impacts of being listed as important by UNESCO. Thus, possessing 'UNESCO listed status' can have positive and negative impacts on the sites.

Table 2: Overview of key hazards and threats encountered on 80 case study sites, by listed status

	Frequency of key hazards and threats reported by listed status										
Listed status	E'quake	Flood	Fire	Storm	Land- slide	Vandal/ theft	Climate Change	War/ terrorism	Urban- isation	Volcano	Other
UNESCO listed (#50)	36	38	31	22	17	7	8	6	1	5	22
Not listed (#30)	24	19	24	7	8	10	3	3	7	2	1
Total (#80)	60	57	55	29	25	17	11	9	8 🧹	7	23

Typical impacts and challenges to heritage sites

Only four of the sites assessed in this study were ascribed by UNESCO on the 'List of World Heritage in Danger'; namely the Buddha in Bamyan Province (Afghanistan), Chan Chan (Peru), Alhusen Castle (Syria) and the Tombs of Buganda Kings (Uganda). It is not being suggested in this paper that the other CH case study sites included in this assessment may need to be inscribed on the 'List of World Heritage in Danger'.

however we do think it is interesting to reflect upon the extent to which these case studies sites are at risk. On that matter, it is beyond the scope of this paper to provide a detailed analysis of the specific tangible impacts (or indeed intangible impacts that were not prominent in the case studies reports) of the hazards and threats for each of the 80 case study locations. Nonetheless, the key hazards/threats have been summarised in Table A in the appendix. It has also been possible to draw out the most common tangible impacts across the case studies, as summarised in Table 3.

Table 3: Summary of the key tangible impacts to the case study sites

Hazards	Key tangible impacts
Such as -Earthquakes -Floods -Fire -Storms -Landslides -Volcanoes -Climate change	 Destruction/damage to structures (direct) Destruction/damage to building contents/collections (direct) Destruction/damage to supporting infrastructure (indirect) Generation of secondary hazards (i.e. fire, tsunamis and landslides) Blocking of access/egress routes to sites (i.e. for emergency access) Evacuation of sites (leaving CH prone to theft) Changes to weather increasing/decreasing moisture (leading to ground movements and affecting building/contents materials) Changes in moisture content leading to inc. pests and mould Inappropriate interventions (to address hazard mitigation)
Threats	Key tangible impacts
Such as -Vandalism/theft -War/terrorism -Rapid urbanisation -Stampedes/crowd management	 Destruction/damage to structures (direct) Destruction/damage to building contents/collections (direct) Damage to/stress on supporting infrastructure (indirect) Theft of CH assets/collections Low levels of site/CH asset security Poorly regulated construction affecting CH attributes Increases in air/water pollution affecting materials Demolition of CH for newly built developments Increases in tourist numbers (that are poorly managed) Reduction in tourism related income (due to ongoing war/conflict or loss of CH)

In all the cases assessed, there was either examples of, or great potential for, serious deterioration of materials, structure and/or ornamental features, architectural and/or town-planning coherence and/or serious deterioration of urban or rural space, or the natural environment. These are problems that could lead to the significant loss of heritage values. It is especially interesting to note that it is not only the direct impacts of hazards and threats that should be considered, but the (often overlooked) secondary impacts of hazards should also be a key consideration when managing 'at risk' sites; these secondary hazards include fire and landslides (i.e. after earthquakes), problems with crowd evacuation and emergency access (in the event of floods, fire and earthquakes) and increases in pests and mould (due to changes in the climate and due to long term impacts of floods or storms). Some of the secondary threats observed across the case studies, included increases in theft and (poorly managed) tourist numbers, and increases in air/water pollution because of rapid and poorly managed urbanisation.

Key challenges

It is increasingly being appreciated that effective disaster risk management should not be focused on the impacts of problems as that can lead to an overly reactive approach to how the risks are managed (Bosher and Chmutina, 2017). Therefore, it is important to ascertain what the underlying vulnerability factors were in the case studies that may have led to the observed problems. To ensure that an overly technocratic approach is not taken, six 'challenge' categories (including social, cultural, environmental as well as technical factors) have been utilised. In all the cases assessed, multiple challenges were experienced, and some challenges were more prominent than others (see Table 4). The most prevalent challenges were technical (90%), Infrastructure (74%), and Governance (71%). Interestingly 'financial' was only considered as a key challenge

in 29% of the 80 cases studies. When looking at the different challenges according to listed status, it is worthwhile noting that there were not any major differences in the prevalence of the different challenges except for 'social', which appears to be a slightly larger challenge for UNESCO sites (66%) than unlisted sites (43%).

	S	Technical	Environment	Infrastructure	Financial	Social	Behavioural	Governance
Listed (#50)		44 (88%)	28 (56%)	36 (72%)	15 (30%)	33 (66%)	22 (44%)	37 (72%)
Not listed (#	30)	28 (93%)	16 (53%)	23 (76%)	8 (27%)	13 (43%)	11 (36%)	20 (67%)
Total (#80)		72 (90%)	44 (55%)	59 (74%)	23 (29%)	46 (58%)	33 (41%)	57 (71%)

Table 4: Overview of the frequency (and %) of specific challenges identified on the case study sites

These challenges are explained below with some examples of case studies where the specific challenges are particularly prominent.

- Technical: mainly problems related to the inherent vulnerability of traditional materials used,
 deterioration of structure or materials, lack of maintenance and/or in appropriate renovation/repair, and
 low levels of traditional skills. Nine out of ten of the case studies experienced these problems, with prime
 examples of this challenge were found in Gjorakastra (Albania), Mompox (Colombia), Levuka (Fiji) and
 Bam (Iran).
- Environmental: related to problems associated with climatic conditions (some of which have changed over time), location in hazard prone areas, impacts of pests/animals and pollution (air/water/ground).
 Some key examples of this included Taoping Village (China), Coral Stone Mosques (Maldives), Rohtas Fort (Pakistan) and Hue Citadel (Vietnam).
- Infrastructural: related to lack of infrastructure (i.e. to cope with traffic, excess water, sewerage), ageing services (i.e. old/dangerous power supplies), narrow access roads and the impact of inappropriate neighbouring developments. Stone Town (Tanzania), Shimla (India), Tashichhodzong (Bhutan), Kandy (Sri Lanka) and Bagan (Myanmar) were some key examples experiencing this challenge.
- Financial: is related to direct lack of financial support, the deleterious impacts of too much tourism, but also including the constraints of the costs of appropriate hazard mitigation and insurance mechanisms.
 Puebla (Mexico), Izmir (Turkey), Sto Nino Shrine and Museum (Philippines) and the Old City of Mostar (Bosnia and Herzegovina) were the cases where this issue was especially problematic.
- Social: is largely related to low appreciation of heritage values by local communities, land tenure and
 livelihood conflicts, misuse of sites (vandalism, looting, littering) and impact of external visitors (tourists).
 Mosque City of Bagerhat (Bangladesh), Qhapaq Nan (Chile), San Antonio del Cerro de Oro de Zaruma
 (Ecuador), National History Park (Haiti), and Kotagede (Indonesia) are examples of where these social
 challenges have been particularly prevalent.
- Behavioural: related to constraints of working in disciplinary siloes (i.e. in urban management/ development and in the heritage sector), differing values of heritage attributes by different stakeholders and religious/cultural practices (i.e. incense/candle burning). Prime examples of this challenge included the Buddha in Bamyan Province (Afghanistan), Bangrakam Amphibious Village (Thailand), Melaka Town (Malaysia) and Fatehpur Sikri (India).
- Governance: these problems include lack of appropriate (integrated) policies and regulations, overly technocratic approaches, pressures of development and illegal or uncontrolled development, low levels of coordinating and emergency preparedness/response capacity. Nearly three quarters of the case studies highlighted problems with governance issues impeding effective coordinated risk management of sites, but these matters were especially problematic in Lamu (Kenya), El Tajin (Mexico), Bagan (Mayanmar), Sukur (Nigeria), Cusco (Peru), Tombs of Buganda Kings (Uganda), Stone Town (Tanzania) and Wangduephodrang Dzong (Bhutan).

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Possible ways forward

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The case studies provided a wealth of useful information related to how some of these challenges might be addressed in the future. Some generic examples of how these challenges could be addressed include:

- Technical: central to addressing this challenge is the need to protect and utilise traditional construction and craft skills and to ensure that maintenance and the use of locally available materials is supported; through investment in skills training and sourcing appropriate materials. Capacity building for local artisans, builders and conservation practitioners is critical.
- Environmental: the case studies acknowledged that this is a tough problem to deal with as there are 7 increasing cases where CH assets were built at a time when the climate/weather was guite different to 8 9 that being experienced today. Some possible ways forward would be to monitor sites to measure 10 environmental changes/sensitivities and to learn from good practice from other CH heritage sites that 11 experience similar problems. In relation to dealing with sites in hazard prone areas, it would be useful to 12 take a broader/neighbourhood/catchment approach to dealing with the hazards (i.e. looking at how flood 13 risk can be addressed upstream of a site rather than at the exact location of the site) or indeed the use 14 of nature-based approaches to risk management.
- 15 Infrastructural: the management, maintenance and upgrading of key (especially urban) infrastructure is 16 a major problem in heritage and non-heritage contexts globally. It was noted in the case studies that 17 many of the major infrastructure weaknesses tend to be beyond the capabilities/remits of CH sites to 18 deal with (i.e. inadequate drainage, ageing/unsafe electricity supplies and overcrowded roads). The only 19 way to really address this challenge is to work hand-in-hand with local government and with the 20 agencies (and possibly private sector businesses) that are responsible for keeping the infrastructure 21 functioning at the levels required. As part of this work, strategies are needed to support wider 22 stakeholder engagement. Additionally, there is a pressing need to develop emergency access scenarios 23 that can identify pinch points and improve access for emergency services. 24
- **Financial:** as noted above, 'financial' was the least prevalent challenge on the case studies. Nonetheless, it was acknowledged that there is scope for improvements in how, for instance, the revenue from tourism can be used to protect CH or indeed help to develop DRM capacities.
- Social: the social issues encountered are invariably highly context specific. Central to many of the 28 challenges encountered on the case studies, are the low levels of basic services (i.e. water, sanitation, 29 30 healthcare, employment, education) for the local population (especially in the low- and middle-income 31 countries where 36 of the cases were located). Generally, improvements to the basic services that 32 underpin peoples' living conditions will help to alleviate many of the social issues (such as theft, littering 33 and open defecation). Of course, addressing these problems is beyond the capabilities of CH 34 practitioners but there are activities that can be undertaken to contribute positively to addressing this 35 issue; for instance, developing awareness campaigns, especially with local communities and the 36 business sector.
- 37 Behavioural: these constraints were largely related to problems of working in disciplinary siloes and to a 38 lesser extent the differing values of heritage attributes by different stakeholders and religious/cultural 39 practices. There is a growing movement of inter-disciplinary and multi-disciplinary activities where the 40 various stains of CH practice as well as other sectors such as urban management and disaster risk 41 management are working together to co-produce frameworks and solutions to break out from the 42 previous disciplinary siloes. Still there is more room for improvement and more scope to develop 43 integrated DRM and CH plans as part of master planning and to maximise the links between tourism, CH 44 and DRM. 45
- Governance: these challenges were prevalent in 71% of the case studies. It is widely acknowledged
 that all the key stakeholders need to work together, this includes legislative approaches such as tighten
 building regulations and planning policy (plus effective enforcement) so that the negative impacts of
 urbanisation on CH can be minimised. To help instigate these changes there may be a need to provide
 evidence of how CH is being adversely affected by urbanisation and to develop a database of evidence
 of good (and poor) practice.

CONCLUSIONS

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It is widely appreciated that cultural heritage sites are not only important components of a country's identity
 but can also be important drivers of economic sustainability and central to supporting societal resilience.

However, an increasing number of disastrous events have highlighted the vulnerability of cultural heritage worldwide. It is noted that there has so far been a lack of research on how multiple hazards and threats affect CH sites and what types of strategies are typically adopted to manage the myriad risks. This paper provides a broad but solid foundation for future research. Thus, this study aimed to identify the key natural hazards and human-induced threats to 80 cultural heritage sites around the world and in doing so has highlighted the typical types of impacts to the tangible components of CH.

This analysis has assessed the range of structural and non-structural strategies being adopted to mitigate or
in some cases eradicate the risks. It demonstrates that whilst the issues are indeed complex (and typically
context specific), there are nonetheless many similarities, to the problems encountered and approaches to
risk reduction, regardless of the location. It is these key messages that we feel can provide a useful catalyst
for future research and more effective risk management activities across CH sites globally; at least this
analysis can provide the basis for further debates on the topic.

Key messages

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The risks to CH sites tend to come from multiple hazards and threats: All the sites analysed included
 more than one hazard/threat as an observed/experienced problem, this indicates the folly of adopting
 approaches to risk management that focus on a specific type of hazard/threat rather than considering a multi hazards/threats approach to DRM.

Disaster risk management can often be too reactive: Whilst DRM of CH is being promoted and the
 number of initiatives is growing, many of these initiatives are addressing a specific disaster risk management
 phase (e.g. response and recovery). There are currently not enough initiatives that proactively include hazard
 mitigation/retrofitting into CH (ideally before a disaster has occurred).

Overly technocratic approaches are missing the point: This paper indicates that although finance and
 technical challenges exist, it tends to be the non-technical challenges (such as governance, behaviour,
 inequality and marginalisation) that exacerbate the risks faces by CH sites irrespective of contextual nuances.

UNESCO status was not a key determinant in level of risk: It is acknowledged that a review of 80 sites 30 (out of over 1,000 UNESCO sites) may only be scratching the surface of the problem, thus the following 31 observations should be treated with caution. Overall it appears that UNESCO status does not play a major 32 33 role in the extent to which sites are exposed to risks. It appears from this analysis that UNESCO listed status 34 can provide a fine balance between a) negative impacts associated with attracting increased visitors and thus 35 added developmental pressures to the site and b) playing a positive role in helping sites at risk of 36 vandalism/theft to proactively address such problems (possibly due to improved security fencing around the 37 site perimeter and higher presence of security personnel that listed status might support). 38

Challenges for research and practice: It is clear that the domain of DRM for CH is under-researched, in particular when it comes to finding evidence about best practices and failures, as well as what might be viewed as addressing 'non-traditional' threats such as urbanisation and the secondary hazards and threats associated with poorly regulated urban expansion. Table 5 provides an overview of the potential research areas and highlights the complexity of DRM for CH - and the criticality of finding answers to these questions because - as emphasised by Aparna Tandon, one of the ITC trainers, - "culture cannot wait".

Structural diagnostics that can help understand key risks and prioritise interventions
'underground' vulnerabilities is required Blue Green (nature-based) approaches to risk management in flood prone areas

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Table 5: Challenges in research and practice that need addressing in a DRM and CH context

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Dealing with multiple stakeholders (some	 Stakeholder mapping (inc. influence and interest considerations) Develop strategies for wider stakeholder engagement
so)	Dhis and awareness campaigns, esp. with tourists and local communities/business sector
Need to link CH and	Develop integrated DRM and CH plans as part of master planning
DRM policy and	• Links between tourism, CH and DRM – identify how tourists can play a positive role
practices	Develop a database of evidence of good practice
Need to consider CH	Better integrated DRM approaches that include not just the site but surrounding
development context	Provide evidence of how CH is being adversely affected by urbanisation
development context	 Provide evidence of how CH can actually support sustainable urban development
Previous inappropriate	Develop database of evidence of good (and poor) practice
interventions (to repair	Canacity building for local artisans, builders and conservation practitioners
or maintain CH)	• Development of appropriate retrofitting interventions (design materials technology)
or maintain only	Development of covert (and affordable) fire suppression systems
Pressures of urban	Emergency access: scenarios to identify pinch points and improve access for
development	emergency services
	Develop integrated DRM and CH plans as part of master planning
	• Where necessary tighten building regulations and planning policy (plus enforcement)
Pressures from tourism	 Find evidence of how revenue from tourism can be used to protect CH or develop DRM activities
	Development of crowd management strategies/tools
	Identify how tourists can play a positive role
	Emergency access: develop scenarios to identify pinch points and improve egress for tourists
Lack of capacity at the	Capacity development (including community participation)
local level (professional	Community involvement in delivering DRM for CH
and social)	CH is not a priority in disasters; awareness as to why CH needs protecting
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This paper does not, and has not set out to, answer all the questions about dealing with multiple hazards and threats on cultural heritage sites. However, it has provided useful insights from 80 case studies as a platform for further studies. This study has also provided suggestions for how practitioners and researchers may wish to ensure that the high level ambitious of the UN (i.e. the SDGs and Sendai) can become realities on the ground. Central to this agenda for research and practice is the requirement for DRM, CH and many other development practitioners to better understand not just what they can do for cultural heritage but importantly what cultural heritage can do for them.

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APPENDIX

Table A: Details of the 80 CH case studies, listed status and summary of key hazards andthreats for each site

Country	Heritage case study site	UNESCO listed? *'in danger'	Key hazards/threats
Albania	Gjorakastra	Y	BOASA
Afghanistan	Buddha in Bamyan Province	Y*	8. Ait
Bangladesh	Mosque City of Bagerhat	Y	
-	Lal Bagh Fort, Dhaka		
Bhutan	Wangduephodrang Dzong		
-	Tashichhodzong		
Bosnia & Herz.	The old city of Mostar	Y	6
Brazil	Tijuca forest sector (Rio)	Y	
Chile	Qhapaq Nan	Y	
-	Valparaiso	Y	
China	Taoping village	Y	
-	Dujiangyan	Y	6
-	Old Town of Lijiang	Y	\$ 0
Colombia	Mompox	Y	
Ecuador	S. Antonio del Cerro de Oro de Zaruma		
Egypt	Historic Cairo	Y	₿
Fiji	Port town of Levuka (2013)	Y	A \$\$\$\$0
-	Levuka (2012)	Y	
Guatemala	City of Antigua Guatemala	Y	
Haiti	National history park	Y	231
Honduras	Tegucigalpa		
India	Shimla		BOAS
-	Mahaballpuram	Y	¢.
-	Fatehpur Sikri	Y	Orit
-	Taj Mahal	Y	
-	Champaner - Pavagadh	Y	

-	Qutub Complex, New Delhi	Y	BO
Indonesia	Gedung Sate		\$0
-	Kotagede		202
-	Prambanan Temple Complex	Y	
Iran	Bam (2014)	Y	80.
-	Bam (2008)	Y	BO
-	Tehran bazaar and Golestan palace	Y	BO
Iraq	Al-Habda Minaret		Bito.
Jamaica	Holy Trinity Cathedral		
-	Port Royal		640
Kenya	Lamu	Y	
Malaysia	Melaka town	Y	
Maldives	Coral stone mosques		
Mexico	El Tajin	Y	
-	Puebla	Y	
Moldova	Fine Art Museum		8
Morocco	Volubilis	Y	
Myanmar	Bagan		
Nepal	Thapathali-Teku dobhan ghea area 🦷		
-	Tansen		
-	Boudhanath Stoupa	Y	
-	Patan Durbar (2009)	Y	
-	Patan Durbar (2008)	Y	HAA
Nigeria	Sukur	Y	0
Pakistan	Mohenjo-Daro	Y	A A
-	Lahore Fort	Y	
-	Mehrgarh		
-	Rohtas Fort	Y	
Palau	Bai: traditional wooden meeting houses		
Peru	Chan Chan	Y*	
-	Cusco	Y	
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Key to symbols used:

Symbol*	Type of hazard/threat	Symbol*	Type of hazard/threat
	Climate change		Rapid urbanisation
	Crowd control/tourism management		Salinity intrusion
Þ	Cyclone/Hurricane	÷	Storm
<u>1</u>	Drought	ဂျာ	Strong winds
ß	Earthquake		Tsunami
•	Fire	× T	Vandalism/theft

		Flood	Je	Volcano
		Heavy rainfall	A ¥	War/terrorism
	6			
Note: S	Source of the	e symbols used in this table is OCHA 2018		
		40		